UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

UNACKNOWLEDGED INFLUENCE: THE IMPACT OF ANIKIA JULIANA'S CULTURAL MATRONAGE ON SIXTH-CENTURY CONSTANTINOPLE

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

VISUAL STUDIES

by

Maureen McGuire

June 2024

The Dissertation of Maureen McGuire is approved:

Maria Evangelatou, chair

Elaine Sullivan

Albert Narath

Tracy Chapman Hamilton

Peter Biehl
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ____ iv

List of Figures ____ vi

Abstract ____ xiv

Chapter 1 ____ 1

Chapter 2 ____ 28

Chapter 3 ____ 93

Chapter 4 ____ 164

Chapter 5 ____ 270

Appendix A ____ 282

Appendix B ____ 285

Appendix C ____ 286

Bibliography ____ 290

Acknowledgements

I and my project are deeply indebted to the work of my trusted advisors: Maria Evangelatou, Elaine Sullivan, Tracy Chapman Hamilton, Albert Narath, and Elisabeth Cameron. Their scholarship has been endlessly inspirational to me and I am so grateful for their generosity of time and energy guiding me through the process of writing and researching.

I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Helena Szépe and Sheramy Bundrick, at the University of South Florida, without whom my scholarship would not have come this far. They both kindly and graciously ushered me through my Master's degree and I continue to be grateful for their counsel and training.

The advice and assistance of Ruby Lipsenthal has likewise been invaluable as I progressed through the doctoral program at UCSC and I am so grateful for her reminders, announcements, and help.

To George Penelis, I am very grateful for his generous responses to my emails about domed structures. Similarly, Nicola Camerlenghi and Geoffrey Nathan were also very helpful in email communications, and I remain thankful.

The 2018 cohort in the History of Art and Visual Culture at the University of California, Santa Cruz was instrumental in the production of this work, too. Without their comments and suggestions, and their unwavering support, I would not have been able to complete this unprecedented undertaking. Their feedback on each chapter has been invaluable to me, and I cherish our friendships. To Carlos, Catherine, Christina, Rachel, and Zoe: thank you!

I am equally thankful for the kindness of Katie, Stacy, Leslie, Jeppe, Madalen, and Evelyn, who soldiered through the program with me and reminded me to relax, laugh, and go to the Jane Austen Festival in Bath without feeling guilty.

To the participants and organizers of the Immersive Global Middle Ages National Endowment for the Humanities Institute, I am so thankful for your friendship and support. Working with you was constantly revitalizing for my writing and my research. You have all inspired me in a variety of ways. I very much look forward to all of our future collaborations.

I am eternally grateful for the support of my found and chosen family who have listened, cajoled, commiserated, and provided me with both technical and emotional support. They are the best at trivia, and board games, and the best of friends. I look forward to spending more time with them in the very near future.

My family has supported me throughout this process and I am so grateful to all of them. It has been disappointing missing out on so many happy events, like the birth of my nieces, and other family gatherings. Living far away and not being able to visit as frequently as I would have liked has been challenging. I look forward to spending more time with them now that this arduous degree is complete. Mom and Dad, thank you for believing in me. Sissy, Brad, and Koo, I am so grateful for all the ways you support me. To Parker, Stephanie, Samson, Maximus, Barry, Margaret, and Rose, I look forward to spending more time with you! I love you all very much!

List of Figures

Figures

Chapter 2

Figure 1	Relief from Trastevere, 2nd century AC (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. ZV 44)	41
Figure 2	Marble funerary relief of Sentia Amarantis. Mérida, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.	42
Figure 3	Juliana's family tree	49
Figure 4	Ivory consular diptych of Areobindus, 506. Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich, Switzerland.	65
Figure 5	*Dioscoridies de Materia Medica* Cod. Med. Gr. 1 Fol. 6r, Aniikia Juliana escorted by Magnanimity & Prudence. 512 A.D. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13721389.	72
Figure 6	Gold solidus of Pulcheria (414-453), 414-419, Constantinople. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.	74
Figure 7	Gold solidus of Galla Placidia (421-450), 426-430, Ravenna. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.	74
Figure 8	Gold solidus of Eudocia (423-460), 430, Constantinople. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.	75
Figure 9	Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, c.425, Ravenna, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13900072.	77
Figure 10	Detail, *Dioscoridies de Materia Medica* Cod. Med. Gr. 1 Fol. 6r, Juliana Anicia Escorted by Magnanimity & Prudence, 512 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13721389.	84

Figure 11	Virgin and Child with Two Saints. second half of the 6th century. Encaustic on wood, 69 x 48 cm. St. Catherine Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt. https://jstor.org/stable/community.18129960.	85
Figure 12	Marble head, possibly of Empress Flaccilla, ca. 380–390, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Public domain.	89

Chapter 3

Figure 13	Translation of Relics, Ivory. Cathedral Treasury, Trier, Germany. https://www.en.dominformation.de/the-structure/cathedral-treasury/relic-procession.	112
Figure 14	Tetrarchs., c. 305 AC, porphyry. https://jstor.org/stable/community.14667290.	113
Figure 15	Inlaid column of the chancel screen in situ from the site of St. Euphemia of Antiochos. Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.	134
Figure 16	Column inlaid with glass and stones, from St. Polyeuktos church in Constantinople, ca. 524-527. Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Wikimedia Commons.	135
Figure 17	*Dioscoridies de Materia Medica Cod. Med. Gr.* 1 Fol. 148v, Violet, 512 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13725749.	149
Figure 18	*Dioscoridies de Materia Medica Cod. Med. Gr.* 1 Fol. 483v, Birds, 512 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13718115.	149
Figure 19	Gilded silver Missorium of Theodosios, late 4th to early 5th century AC. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. https://www.rah.es/disco-de-teodosio/.	152
Figure 20	Gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.	153

Figure 21	Top detail of the gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.	154
Figure 22	Inscription detail of the gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.	154
Figure 23	Front detail of the gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.	155

Chapter 4

Figure 24	Peacock niche, St. Polyeuktos, Summer 2021. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul , Turkey. Author's photograph.	167
Figure 25	Architectural fragments with epigram from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.	168
Figure 26	Harrison's plan with the position of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's name highlighted in blue. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12179149.	183
Figure 27	Bardill's plan with the position of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's name highlighted in blue. From Bardill.	184
Figure 28	Harrison's plan with the position of Juliana's name highlighted in green. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12179149.	184
Figure 29	Bardill's plan with the position of Juliana's name highlighted in green. From Bardill.	185
Figure 30	Baiae Complex from Fikret K. Yegül, "The Thermo-Mineral Complex at Baiae and De Balneis Puteolanis," The Art Bulletin 78, no. 1 (1996): 141. https://doi.org/10.2307/3046161.	189
Figure 31	Interior, Temple of Mercury of Baiae. From Wikipedia.	190
Figure 32	Temple of Diana of Baiae. From Wikipedia.	190

Figure 33	Octagonal hall, Domus Aurea, 64-68 AC, Rome, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13909579.	191
Figure 34	Interior, Domus Aurea, from Robert Hannah, Giulio Magli, and Antonella Palmieri, "Nero's 'Solar' Kingship and the Architecture of the Domus Aurea." Numen 63, no. 5/6 (2016): 515, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44505307.	192
Figure 35	Campus Martius, 1st century AC, Rome, Italy. Visual Arts Legacy Collection. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13924471.	194
Figure 36	Detail of Pantheon dome intrados at the springing with plaster knocked off, 1892. From Martines.	196
Figure 37	Basilica and forum, Leptis Magna, dedicated AD 216; plan: (a) forum; (b) Severan basilica; (c) temple to the Severan family; (d) colonnaded street. From Hazel Dodge, "Basilica" *Grove Art Online*, 2003, Accessed 11 Feb. 2024, https://www-oxfordartonline-com.oca.ucsc.edu/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000006715.	198
Figure 38	Plan of Santa Sabina, from https://jisforjourney.com/49-santa-sabina/	198
Figure 39	Interior looking northeast, Santa Sabina, 422-432 AC, Rome, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.14450038.	200
Figure 40	Exterior of Santa Sabina, facing southeast. From Paul Ellie, "The Sacred Shapes of Santa Sabina," Notre Dame Magazine (Summer 2021), https://magazine.nd.edu/stories/the-sacred-shapes-of-santa-sabina/.	200
Figure 41	Mausoleum of Augustus, c.28-23 BC, Rome, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13929167.	202
Figure 42	Mausoleum of Helena, c. 326-330 AC, Rome, Italy. From Wikipedia.	202
Figure 43	Ivory casket with the Mary's at the tomb, c. 420-430 AC. British Museum,	203

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1856-0623-5 (Accessed 10 February 2024).

Figure 44 Plan of the Church of Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom), Anthemius of Tralles & Isidorus of Miletus, Constantinople, modern Istanbul, Turkey. 532-537. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12084479. 204

Figure 45 Mosaic fragment from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison. 210

Figure 46 Inlaid column from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison 210

Figure 47 Basket capital from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison. 211

Figure 48 Marble fragments. From Bardill. 212

Figure 49 Sectional elevation by Harrison, Saint Polyeuktos, 524-527 AC, Constantinople, modern Istanbul, Turkey. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12207243. 213

Figure 50 Bardill's sectional elevation. From Bardill. 214

Figure 51 Stavelot Triptych, ca. 1156-1158, 19 in x 26 in, Wood; copper-gilt frames, silver pearls and columns, gilt-brass capitals and bases, vernis brun domes, semi-precious stones, intaglio gems, beads, champlevé and cloisonné enamels. The Morgan Library and Museum. https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/93248 216

Figure 52 Detail, Stavelot Triptych, ca. 1156-1158, 19 in x 26 in, Wood; copper-gilt frames, silver pearls and columns, gilt-brass capitals and bases, vernis brun domes, semi-precious stones, intaglio gems, beads, champlevé and cloisonné enamels. The Morgan Library and Museum. https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/93248 216

Figure 53 Inlaid column, Hagia Ioannes, Hebdomon. From the Byzantine Legacy, https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/hebdomon 217

Figure 54 Harrison's plan of St. Polyeuktos' crypt with massive foundation walls (shaded) on the north and south sides of the naos. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12203491. 218

Figure 55	Plan of the Piazza d'Oro, Hadrian's Villa, 118-134 AC, Tivoli, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13917255.	219
Figure 56	Iron ties in use at Madonna dell'Umiltà" (Our Lady of Humility) in Pistoia, Italy. From Luca Colloni et al.	226
Figure 57	Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. c.350. Reconstruction by Conant. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12194948.	233
Figure 58	Plan of the Church of the Pool of Siloam. From Armstrong.	235
Figure 59	The so-called Domed Basilica, c. 471-494, Meriamlik (on the southern coast of Turkey) (after E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer, Meriamlik und Korykos).	237
Figure 60	Plan of St. John Stoudios. From *Smarthistory*.	240
Figure 61	Plan of the church of the Chalkoprateia. From Wikipedia.	241
Figure 62	Hagia Eirene, Constantinople (Istanbul), plan and hypothetical sections of the sixth-century building (© Robert G. Ousterhout, adapted from S. Ćurčić, Architecture in the Balkans, 2010)	243
Figure 63	Plan of SS. Sergios and Bakchos. From Wikipedia.	245
Figure 64	Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from southeast corner, 6:51 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	249
Figure 65	Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from southeast corner, 11:34 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	249
Figure 66	Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from northwest corner, 2:58 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	250
Figure 67	Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from northwest corner, 4:50 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	250
Figure 68	Solar analysis, domed interior from southeast corner, 6:51 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	251

Figure 69	Solar analysis, domed interior from southeast corner, 11:34 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	251
Figure 70	Solar analysis, domed interior from northwest corner, 2:58 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	252
Figure 71	Solar analysis, domed interior from northwest corner, 4:50 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.	252
Figure 72	Carved floral motif from the marble screen at St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.	261
Figure 73	Detail of peacock plumes from conch at St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.	263

Maps

Chapter 3

Map 1	The seven hills of Constantinople.	101
Map 2	The walls of Constantinople.	102
Map 3	The Mese and surrounding waterways.	105
Map 4	The 10th and 11th regions in Constantinople.	106
Map 5	Monuments funded by Juliana.	107
Map 6	Juliana’s monuments and imperial monuments.	109

Chapter 4

Map 7	Monuments funded by Juliana.	166
Map 8	Juliana’s monuments between the Church of the Holy Apostles and the imperial complex.	176

Map 9 Location of St. Polyeuktos near the Aqueduct of Valens. 208

Abstract

Unacknowledged Influence: The Impact of Anikia Juliana's Cultural Matronage on 6th-Century Constantinople

By Maureen McGuire

Anikia Juliana, a woman with the title epiphanestate (επιφανιστάτη) or *noblissima*–meaning most well-known or most noble–and ostensibly the last illustrious member of the Theodosian dynasty, lived in Constantinople in the late fifth and early sixth century AC. She was one of the most aristocratic women in the city at the time, a *patrikia* or patrician, and, according to legend, she controlled great wealth. Legend also indicates that her wealth may have intimidated a male leader of the time–one almost synonymous with the early- to mid-sixth century–Justinian I.

In this dissertation, I consider Juliana's matronage in relation to the matronage and patronage of elite men and women from the first century BC to the sixth century AC across the Roman and what became the Byzantine empire. In doing so, I also situate her matronage within these customary practices to demonstrate that her philanthropy was at once traditional and unique. From her program of building and renewal in and around Constantinople, it is clear that Juliana tapped into the standards of matronage established by prominent women, like Augusta Livia, and reframed for a Christian milieu by Augusta Helena, but also expanded upon them to suit her needs. Using the most famous of her renewed monuments, the church of St. Polyeuktos, as a case study, I show that the connections to her female family members signaled by her

monuments conveyed serious theological and, thereby, political messages to the public but also illustrate the importance of matrilineage to at least one woman. I seek to uncover more about the lived experience of Juliana, a descendant of two prominent households, as a way to understand the lived experience of other women.

Chapter 1

"Who hath not heard of Juliana"?[1]: An Introduction to the matronage of Anikia Juliana

Background

Anikia Juliana, a woman with the title *epiphanestate* (επιφανιστάτη) or *noblissima*[2]–meaning most well-known or most noble–and ostensibly the last illustrious member of the Theodosian dynasty, lived in Constantinople in the late fifth and early sixth century AC. She was one of the most aristocratic women in the city at the time, a *patrikia* or patrician, and, according to legend, she controlled great wealth. Legend also indicates that her wealth may have intimidated a male leader of the time–one almost synonymous with the early- to mid-sixth century in the eastern Mediterranean–Justinian I, the so-called Great. Little of Anikia Juliana's biography is available to readers today though she descended from three illustrious dynasties:[3] the Theodosians, the Valentinians, and the Anikii.

Perhaps her most conspicuous legacy was her matronage across Constantinople. Though the remains of only one of her four known monuments have been unearthed and excavated, ekphrastic texts and other records, such as recordings

[1] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 11.

[2] Brian Croke notes that this title is conferred upon imperial children. See Brian Croke, "Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006): 29, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25046210.

[3] Juliana's father, Anikios Olybrios, was the emperor in Rome from 472 AC. See Alan Cameron, "Anician Myths," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 159, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41724969.

of the epigrams that decorated at least two of her churches' interiors, provide additional information about her motives for funding the renewal and construction of monuments in Constantinople and its vicinity. The excavated monument, the church of St. Polyeuktos, is also mentioned, obliquely, in the so-called *Book of Ceremonies*. These primary references are very helpful in understanding the prominence and importance of the monuments funded by Anikia Juliana.

In this dissertation, I consider Juliana's matronage in relation to the matronage and patronage of elite men and women from the first century BC to the sixth century AC across the Roman empire at a time of transition to what we now call the Byzantine empire. In doing so, I also situate her matronage within these customary practices, to demonstrate that her philanthropy was at once traditional and unique. From her program of building and renewal in and around Constantinople, it is clear that Juliana tapped into the standards of matronage established by prominent women, like Augusta Livia, and reframed for a Christian milieu by Augusta Helena, but also expanded upon them to suit her needs. As many authors have noted, imperial Roman women engaged in acts of philanthropy that supported the public good and simultaneously cultivated a positive public persona for their imperial family. By engaging in a tradition of matronage deeply embedded within imperial custom, Juliana signaled her dedication to the political and cultural health of the new capital city and, by extension, the Roman empire.

Juliana's matronage, however, pivots slightly from previous traditions. Juliana, more than other matrons, noticeably connects herself and her monuments to

her female ancestors. In a deeply patriarchal cultural milieu, the sites Juliana renewed, the saints with whom the monuments were connected, and the decorative elements within the monuments, especially the epigrams, laud her ancestresses more than they celebrate her male forebears. Using the most famous of her renewed monuments, the church of St. Polyeuktos, as a case study, I show that the connections to her female family members signaled by her monuments conveyed serious theological and thereby political messages to the public but also illustrate the importance of matrilineage to at least one woman.

After Juliana's death, the history of the structure is difficult to piece together; some of the marble carvings uncovered during excavation suggest that the decoration suffered during the well-documented periods of Iconoclasm in Constantinople in later centuries.[4] Jonathan Bardill, an independent scholar, suggests it suffered from an earthquake around 1200 AC.[5] The building undoubtedly suffered during the Fourth Crusade of 1204 AC; spoliated columns are now located in Spain and Venice. Still, the archaeological remains allow for some hypothesizing. As such, I have employed a digital simulation to more deeply understand the ways in which St. Polyeuktos imparted Juliana's own beliefs and those of her noble female family members. The simulation also aids in the understanding of the appearance of the superstructure of the building based on the ekphrastic epigram that decorated the interior.

[4] See Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul* (London: Harvey Miller, 1989), 109.

[5] Thomas F. Mathews also notes that coins dating from no later than the reign of Isaac II further signal the church of St. Polyeuktos' ruination around the turn of the 13th century. See Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 52.

My focus throughout is examining the possible meanings and significance of Juliana's matronage during her own lifetime. Her most famous monument, St. Polyeuktos, was known for its great luxury and opulence. It was so well known that even Gregory of Tours, far away in what is now central France, wrote about it a few decades after its initial completion. Her other monuments certainly impacted the Constantinopolitan community as well. Very little is known of these monuments, but the traces in primary sources indicate they stood in fairly prominent locations, on the Mese, on the Golden Horn, and in Honoratae. Some of the epigrams that decorated Juliana's churches were recorded in the so-called *Greek Anthology* and we can accurately assign them to her churches.

Using all of this information, I seek to uncover more about the lived experience of Juliana, a descendant from two prominent households, as a way to understand the lived experience of other women. In many ways, her matronage is a window through which to see the experiences of other women. Since so many textual records reveal only the stereotypical or male ideal of womanhood in Late Antiquity and Byzantium, I use the information available to puzzle together what Juliana was really like and to disentangle her from the stereotypical language applied to her over the centuries by other authors, as I will discuss in more detail below.

Scope

I have tried to limit the primary sources referenced here to those chronologically and geographically close to Juliana and her monuments. Although the legends about Juliana and her monuments that sprang up elsewhere, like that of

Gregory of Tours, are certainly informative and impress upon readers the luxury and fame of Juliana's most notable monument, St. Polyeuktos, the authors of such stories had extremely different worldviews and experiences to that of early-6th-century Constantinople. Without a frame of reference for the mosaic-clad walls, deeply carved relief, and elaborate liturgy of the Late Antique Constantinopolitan church, authors beyond the eastern Mediterranean may not have been able to conceptualize and accurately convey the stories they heard through the proverbial grape-vine. By employing sources close to her, I hope to provide a more accurate depiction of Juliana and get a clearer idea of her motivations and convictions along with an accurate simulation of St. Polyeuktos.

The analysis here is also limited by the time period. As such, the discussion of Juliana's monuments ends soon after the death of the matron. I suggest that the luxurious decoration at Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos almost certainly impacted the decoration of Hagia Sophia during the reign of Justinian I, but without the remains of the super structure of St. Polyeuktos, it is difficult to ascertain the full impact of Juliana's church on Hagia Sophia and beyond.

Why matronage?

Wanda Corn, professor emerita of American art history at Stanford University, coined the term matronage in its application to the philanthropy of women.[6] In her article on American matronage, Corn describes the ways in which

[6] Fred S. Kleiner, *Art Through the Ages: A Global History*, vol. 2, 16th ed. (Boston: Cengage, 2020), 938.

Isabella Stewart Gardner cultivated a unique philanthropy in the United States. Corn discusses the ways in which prominent, American women were described in much of American literature produced since the 1960s. She notes that such women, "too often [got] packaged as individual eccentrics or as domineering women whose personalities [got] more attention than does the fact that they spent years of their lives trying to shape the cultural life in their cities." [7] Corn eruditely notes that, "[such] an emphasis helps keep [female philanthropists] incidental to American cultural history rather than centered in it."[8] The same goes for the illustrious matron of Late Antiquity, Juliana.

Thus, throughout the dissertation, I will refer to the philanthropic endeavors of Anikia Juliana as matronage. Leslie Brubaker, an art historian at the University of Birmingham, has further demonstrated that the term matronage is more applicable to the endeavors of women rather than the male-gendered term patronage. The term philanthropy might seem like a gender-neutral term applicable to Anikia Juliana's monuments across Constantinople, but her intentions were tied to her female identity and, very specifically her female ancestors, driving the need for a gender-specific term to fully understand Juliana's largesse. The epigrams decorating at least two of her monuments reference her female ancestors by name and make fewer reference to her immediate male bloodline. She does reference Constantine I and Theodosios I, but, as I argue, the female connections are more important to her. I reason, therefore,

[7] Wanda Corn, "Arts Matronage in Post-Victorian America," *Cultural Leadership in America: Art Matronage and Patronage* 27 (1997): 12.

[8] Corn, "Arts Matronage in Post-Victorian America," 12.

that a gender-specific term (i.e., matronage) is better used in this context rather than a gender-neutral term, like philanthropy, a term which I will use occasionally.

A close analysis of the word patronage provides important insight into the need for an alternative word to refer to the funding of visual and material culture by women. Patronage is etymologically gendered; its root comes from the Latin word for father (*pater*). In contrast, the word matronage is etymologically rooted in the Latin noun for mother (mater). Since the late fifteenth century AC, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, a patron is "A person or organization that uses money or influence to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.,"[9] but in the ancient Roman period, a patron was "a defender or advocate before a court of justice."[10] Women were largely occluded from ancient Roman courts of justice–including the period of Juliana's lifetime–the patron was a decidedly male role. The later modification of the word to apply to a patron of the arts is thus rooted in this more gender-specific and ancient sense. Further, the largesse of elite Roman and Late Antique men is equally tied to their male identity, as I will argue. By differentiating between male and female patterns of generous funding through distinct terminology, I further situate Juliana's matronage in its unique position within philanthropic practices across Roman and Late Antique history.

Historical Terminology

[9] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "patron (n.), sense I.5.a," December 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8272285987.

[10] *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "patron (n.), sense I.2.a," December 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/5492981150.

In keeping with the religious affiliation of the people discussed herein, I will use chronological determiners rooted in Christianity. Traditionally, historians have used the BC/AD determiners, but I will use BC to abbreviate "before Christ" and as a label for dates falling within the expanse of time before the life of Jesus Christ, and AC, or "after Christ", to denote the roughly two thousand years since the life of Jesus Christ.[11] The use of AC rather than AD fully acknowledges, in simplified terms, the same two-thousand-year time period, while avoiding the religious connotations of the Latin *anno domini* (which may suggest Christ is everybody's Lord, regardless of their actual beliefs).

The use of the umbrella term Late Antique follows in the precedent of Peter Brown, professor emeritus of history at Princeton University, who coined the phrase.[12] Indeed, Juliana's matronage demonstrates the union of the Roman traditions established by pagans and later reformulated by members of the imperial Christian elite described by Brown in *The Making of Late Antiquity*.[13] Brown specifically addresses the shift from a pagan, Greco-Roman past to a Christian, Greco-Roman present in the third and fourth centuries AC.[14] The shift of the capital from Rome to Constantinople and the loss of land to Vandals, Goths, Huns, and other so-called

[11] Merrill Fabry, "Now You Know: When Did People Start Saying That the Year Was 'A.D.'?" *Time*, 31 August 2016, https://time.com/4462775/bc-ad-dating-history/; Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 8-9, ProQuest Ebook Central. Maria Evangelatou first introduced me to the BC/AC system, and I think she rightly uses it in her own work.

[12] Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 2, https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb01596.0001.001, PDF.

[13] Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity,* 2.

[14] Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity*, 2.

barbarians resulted in a dramatic shift under Constantine I and his immediate successors. The shift, thus, deserve a different label to define the period within this geographic region.

I also appreciate the use of the moniker here for its signal to another watershed: the gradual transition of the Roman Empire into what we call today the Byzantine Empire. The Christian Church was still finding its footing within a deeply Roman political crucible during Juliana's lifetime. Constantine I established a strong imperial role in codifying theological debates and doctrines and later emperors further shaped the Church to match political affiliations and persuasions. Just as their male counterparts, Juliana and her female family members engaged closely with the religious debates of the time period, debates that would eventually result in the development of political, cultural, and theological systems that defined a unique Byzantine milieu.

With regard to the trends in visual and material culture during this transition from a Classical past to a Byzantine future, Juliana's matronage fits squarely within the transition between the two; her funding supported a monument that inspired Hagia Sophia, the most emblematic early Byzantine structure that inspired later domed Byzantine and by which other monuments were evaluated. The pivotal role of Juliana's matronage, therefore, cannot be overstated.

Some might apply the title Early Byzantine onto the time period during which Juliana lived,[15] however, Juliana was obviously tapping into traditions and practices established during Classical Antiquity. Because of the strong gestures towards the Roman past in Juliana's matronage, I find Late Antique to be a more appropriate term, though I acknowledge that her buildings also gesture towards trends of an imminent Early Byzantine future.

Juliana's Name

Throughout this study, I will refer to Anikia Juliana as Juliana. The epigrams that decorated at least two of her churches refer to the matron as Juliana, so I presume she would have preferred this. Further, as the name Anikia places more emphasis on her Anikiian genealogical roots, and I argue that they were less important to her than her Theodosian and Valentinian heritage.

Using her first name also positions her among her male contemporaries in similar ways. By this I mean that the male leaders were usually referenced by their first names, so it seems appropriate to refer to a cultural leader like Juliana by her first name, too.

Outline

[15] An article on *Smarthistory*, for example, indicates that Early Byzantium begins around 330 AD. See Evan Freeman, "About the chronological periods of the Byzantine Empire," in *Smarthistory*, September 22, 2020, accessed December 24, 2023, https://smarthistory.org/periods-of-the-byzantine-empire/.

In Chapter One, I examine and explore the socio-historical background of Constantinople, as well as the Roman legacy and familial history of Juliana. Her background is of paramount importance when considering her reasons for constructing monuments in the city. A careful analysis of religious and cultural matronage among female Theodosians and Valentinians augments the understanding of Juliana's matronage, which she modeled closely on that of her ancestresses. This practice is quite unusual within the traditions of Classical Greco-Roman and Late Antique matronage, because Juliana overtly aligned herself with her female family members rather than her male forebears, in rather stark contrast to other matrons who usually referenced their male family members to extol their own virtues.

Chapter Two is dedicated to the monuments Juliana funded beyond the church of St. Polyeuktos: St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, St. Stephen in Zeugma, and the Church of the Theotokos in Honoratae. In the chapter, I plumb the information available to investigate Juliana's building campaign to more clearly understand her agenda. My investigation is augmented by careful mapping of the sites using QGIS to understand the regions of Constantinople she endowed and her possible rationales for doing so.

An analysis of the epigrams inscribed on or inside the churches provides insight into Juliana's cultural agenda. I suggest her building program supported orthodox religious beliefs during a time of spiritual turmoil in the city while simultaneously reifying Juliana's dynastic heritage and privilege. With these three churches, Juliana connected herself and the sites of her largesse to august women who

fought for orthodoxy during the fifth century and laid out an important precedent for later political leaders and members of their households.

The locations of St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, St. Stephen in Zeugma, and the Church of the Theotokos in Honoratae in Constantinople allows for a window into the public's perception of the matron herself and the philanthropy with which she engaged. I argue that Juliana matronized neighborhoods in the capital and its immediate periphery perspicaciously.

The analysis of the *Vienna Dioskorides* in chapter two is instructive in further elucidating the relationship between Juliana and the Constantinopolitan public. The codex was ostensibly gifted to Juliana from the people of Honoratae, who were grateful for the construction of the church dedicated to the Theotokos in that same region. Although the exact location of the monument is still unknown, through the codex we have a clear conversation between two parties and this conversation requires consideration to understand Juliana's milieu clearly.

Chapter Three closely considers St. Polyeuktos, Juliana's most noteworthy monument. We have the most archaeological evidence about this site, so it lends itself to more scrutiny than the other sites discussed in chapter two. Using a digital simulation based on comparative analysis of other buildings in and around Constantinople in the late fifth and early sixth centuries helps to more carefully understand the floor plans suggested by R. Martin Harrison and Jonathan Bardill. It may not be possible to establish the presence of a dome at the Church of St. Polyeuktos, but the digital simulation and the careful analysis of the comparative

architectural material, along with a close reading of the epigram recorded in the so-called *Greek Anthology*, rather than anecdotal evidence, provides some insight into a realistic understanding of the superstructure.

Methodological approaches

The methods followed in this study are interdisciplinary by and large. Unlike previous analyses of Juliana and her matronage, I want to consider all the visual, architectural, material, and textual productions with which she is associated. This includes the churches she funded, along with their epigrams, the *Vienna Dioskorides*– a gift to Juliana, as well as her biography and genealogy. To do so, I conduct a comparative analysis between Juliana's churches and other coeval Christian monuments and I also examine the locations of each of Juliana's churches. This provides important insight into Juliana's motives for matronage. I also use literary analysis to explore the layers of meaning of the epigrams that decorated at least two of Juliana's churches: St. Polyeuktos and St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou. I also compare Juliana's epigrams to epigrams written around the same time, especially the epigrams at SS. Sergios and Bakchos and Paul the Silentiary's description of Hagia Sophia. I also investigate the religio-political and historical context of the early-sixth century to more fully understand Juliana, while an additional genealogical assessment exposes some important links between Juliana and her ancestors, both male and female.

All this information fits into the larger history of early-sixth-century Constantinople, just at the proverbial dawn of the pivotal reign of Justinian I, providing a robust understanding of gender, religion, politics, and culture at the time.

While Emperor Justinian I had the power and means to be the most prodigious patron of the arts, religion and culture of his time, we must also recognize that Juliana deserves more credit for her contributions to the cultural and architectural landscape of her home city.

In this way, I pick up on the work of R. Martin Harrison, who excavated the site of St. Polyeuktos in the 1960s, and published extensively on his observations and opinions about Juliana, her matronage, and the impact of the interior decoration of the early-sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos. Jonathan Bardill has published several articles specifically on the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos, and much of his work refutes the claims made by Harrison. This kind of analysis is certainly important; however, I wish to explore Harrison's observations and opinions further in order to push for a better understanding not only of the church, but also its matron, Juliana, and the broader architectural milieu.

Gynocentric Approach

I take a decidedly gynocentric approach to the material here, by which I mean that I focus on female contributions and female perspectives in the material examined. This approach remains an important avenue of exploration, especially for this time period and location. Focus on the influence of men, both ecclesiastical and aristocratic, remains central to studies of early-sixth century Constantinople. Men

produced many of the textual records which often omit information about women.[16] Excavating women from time periods with little to no records written by or about them requires an analysis of a broad spectrum of alternative primary sources, such as the epigrams and the images related to Juliana, in addition to critical analysis of primary texts written from a male points of view.

By making female-centered observations, that is to say considering the positionality of women in early-sixth century Constantinople, about the visual and material culture of the time, I will reinsert Juliana into this milieu by more carefully exploring the laws and socially constructed definitions of gender that likely directly impacted Juliana. The image in the *Vienna Dioskorides* provides an excellent window into the perceptions of Juliana at the time, for example, as does the epigram that decorated the interior and exterior of St. Polyeuktos. Analyzing these texts through a gynocentric lens is critical to understanding Juliana because her contributions are often discussed from a patriarchal point of view, which is inappropriate and has led to skewed perceptions. The traditions of female funding of monuments across the Roman Empire, though similar to male funding, implied different meanings unique to women and are often misunderstood by patriarchal historians of the past (and present). In the St. Polyeuktos epigram, Juliana presented herself and her female relatives as strong arbiters of piety and culture in a long and standardized tradition of matronage. Likewise, the decorative medallion in the *Vienna Dioskorides* presents

[16] Diliana Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantine* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 68, https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520959682.

Juliana between the virtues attributed to her by the inhabitants of Honoratae: magnanimity, prudence, and wisdom. By attempting to analyze Juliana's self-perception and the public perception through primary sources created by or for her, I hope to further shed light on her intentions and contributions.

Understanding the public perception of Juliana will clarify some possible misconceptions of the historical figure. As Peter Brown stated, "We must at all costs avoid doing the feeling for Late Antique men" (and women, I should add).[17] Yet, historians over the centuries have read a thirst for power into Juliana's matronage and activity in Constantinople during her lifetime. Through a gynocentric lens, I will demonstrate that, while it is possible Juliana did covet the imperial seat for her son, it is also possible she was engaging in practices appropriate for her social standing and these actions coincidentally could have promoted her son's imperial claim. I demonstrate here that there are a multiplicity of interpretations and it is more helpful to consider them rather than follow the precedent of male authors who traditionally label powerful women as power hungry.

Visual Studies Lens

By approaching the dissertation through the lens of visual studies, I will expand the discourse on the ways in which scholars and students perceive church construction funded by women. Visual studies allows for a more textured and properly contextualized analysis of the matron, her projects, and her cultural milieu

[17] Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity*, 10.

through an exploration and analysis of numerous sources that provide insight into people's lives and interactions according to specific social structures and power dynamics. My analysis will include an audit of contemporary fifth- and sixth-century church architecture and decoration, epigrams and encomia, and the socio-political context of sixth-century Constantinople. Juliana's refurbished foundation at St. Polyeuktos and her other churches stand at the intersection of these spheres.

Although texts will make up a component of the research sources (such as the legend reported by Gregory of Tours and the epigrams recorded in the so-called *Greek Anthology*), I will also explore the visual and material culture related to Juliana, in the context of the political and religious sphere and other cultural trends and precedents prominent in the sixth century. This exploration will further include a geographical analysis of the relationships not only between the churches Juliana funded, but also the structures and landscape in the immediate vicinity of each of her foundations, in order to better understand the significance of her buildings with the larger urban fabric of the city.

Somatics/Somaesthetics

The somatic experience of visitors to St. Polyeuktos deserves strong attention. By analyzing the placement of the epigram within the interior of St. Polyeuktos and the probable movement of visitors inside the building, I hope to demonstrate the important and careful choices Juliana made with respect to the refurbishment. These aspects likely reinforced a visitor's understanding of Juliana's social status, piety (both familial and religious), and her dynastic connections. As such, the statements

made at the churches Juliana funded were not only conveyed epigrammatically, but spatiotemporally and kinesthetically as well, through the bodily experience of the visitor, just as her genealogy, piety, and social status were a bodily experience for her.

Richard Shusterman has written extensively on this topic, and it seems important to consider his insights in an analysis of a digital simulation of a space that would have originally affected the body so impactfully.[18] Shusterman observed that, "[if] architecture is the articulation of space for the purpose of enhancing our living, dwelling, and experience, then the soma [or body] provides the most basic tool for all spatial articulation by constituting the point from which space can be experienced and articulated."[19] It is this bodily, somaesthetic experience that is required to understand not only a space that no longer exists but a space organized and planned with so much intention. The epigram from inside St. Polyeuktos suggests a dazzling space, and we can imagine the sounds and aromas that filled such a space would have also made a strong impression on visitors.[20]

Reception Theory

The interest in the somatic experience of the interior of St. Polyeuktos leads toward an interpretation of the space through the lens of reception theory. Although Stuart Hall obviously understood reception theory from a modern point of view–he

[18] Richard Shusterman, *Thinking Through the Body Essays in Somaesthetics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[19] Richard Shusterman, "Somaesthetics and Architecture," in *Thinking Through the Body: Essays in Somaesthetics* (Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press, 2012), 224.

[20] For robust discussions of the sensory experiences of Byzantine and Medieval churches, see the essays in Bissera V. Pentcheva, ed., *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

specifically writes about the encoding and decoding of television media[21]–using the theory to understand Late Antique audiences has interesting results. Not only must we disentangle Juliana's matronage from the patriarchal trappings of modern scholarship, but we must also attempt to decipher the multiplicity of meanings from the point of view of not only Juliana but also the Late Antique visitor to the space. The known decoration of the interior, the significant location of the structure along the Mese between the third and fourth hills of the city, and the social standing of the matron result in a complex web of meanings encoded by Juliana and her team of artists and decoded not only by the viewers of the past, but also those who want to interpret this information today.

Of course the portrait in the *Vienna Dioskorides* was also encoded by the artist and the givers of the manuscript and decoded by the recipient: Juliana. The image is laden with messages and symbols easily interpreted by a Late Antique viewer, but not so easily accessible by viewers today. The symbols and messages embedded in the image relied on but also confirmed the existing socio-economic hierarchies, religious ideologies, and political structures of the time.[22] As such, a robust understanding of the context from which the architecture and imagery emerged is requisite and reception theory helps to unpack their meanings.

Archaeological Research

[21] Stuart Hall, "Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse," in *Writings on Media: History of the Present*, Charlotte Brandon, ed., 247-266 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021).
[22] Hall, "Encoding and Decoding," 250.

Exploring the physical foundations of the church itself also deserves attention. Although Martin Harrison suggested Juliana's St. Polyeuktos included a dome, Jonathan Bardill suggests it did not. Over time, Juliana's churches have suffered not only the vicissitudes of time but also spoliation, damage from natural disasters, and the modifications of a still-living city. Further, comparative monuments still in use today can be more difficult to understand since their foundations should not be disturbed by excavation. Analysis of the architectural remains of the church of St. Polyeuktos will help to establish the truth of the matter and provide insight into the impact this building might have had on later churches in Constantinople, especially Ss. Sergios and Bakchos, Hagia Sophia, and the Holy Apostles, all of which had prominent domes under Justinianic patronage.

When possible, a comparative analysis of the foundations of other church basilicas constructed at or around the time of St. Polyeuktos may provide more clues. By examining the foundations and plans of coeval church structures with and without domes along with a careful analysis of the epigram at St. Polyeuktos, it seems most likely the building was crowned by a dome. The surviving foundations of other churches confirm what can also be assumed theoretically: a dome would require sturdy piers on firm and substantial foundations, like those at St. Polyeuktos, whereas a wooden, gabled roof would not need as much foundational support.

Digital Tools

Digital tools, like LiDAR and QGIS, will allow me to recreate and map the Constantinopolitan sites Juliana funded in the early-6th centuries. LiDAR, or Light

Detection and Ranging, allows a user to take three-dimensional photographs. These photographs can then be transferred into drafting software to reconstruct a building, which, for my purposes, will be St. Polyeuktos. QGIS allows users to carefully map sites in order to make observations about patterns and/or trends across a landscape. In this case, the mapping will demonstrate the breadth of Juliana's matronage across Constantinople, even across the Golden Horn, an estuary that branches west from the Bosporos and divides what is now modern Istanbul. My approach with these digital tools is two-pronged: one avenue of inquiry will demonstrate Juliana's pervasive presence in and around the city by mapping the buildings she funded and the second will use three-dimensional photographs along with archaeological records and extant pieces of the interior decoration to digitally reconstruct St. Polyeuktos.

These digital tools permit creative hypothesizing about spaces and human interactions within and around them, which is something I want to consider in my analysis of Juliana's matronage, the church of St. Polyeuktos, and related Late Antique sites in Constantinople. In an attempt to demonstrate her prominence and influence in the city and its cultural sphere, I will reinsert Juliana's matronage into the urban landscape of Constantinople using QGIS so as to trace and map the sites of her cultural matronage around the imperial capital. Through the digital reconstruction of St. Polyeuktos, I will analyze Juliana's contributions and explore the impact of her matronage on subsequent Byzantine visual culture.

Historiography

The epigrams that decorated two of Juliana's churches were recorded in the *Greek Anthology*.[23] These epigrams appear in the first book, which is dedicated to epigrams. The epigrams do not provide specific information about Juliana's biography, other than some genealogy.

Although several good translations of the epigrams purportedly from Juliana's churches have been produced over the years,[24] I rely here on the translation by W. R. Paton, an early-twentieth century independent scholar and translator.[25] Paton made these translations before the rediscovery of the remains of the early-sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos. In my opinion, this means that his translation is not colored by any interpretation or understanding of the superstructure of the church that has developed since the excavation of the site in the 1960s.

Juliana and her buildings are referenced in a number of primary sources beyond the *Greek Anthology*, including the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,[26] Theophanes' *Chronographia*,[27] Evagrius Scholasticus' *Ecclesiastical History*,[28] and

[23] *The Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton.

[24] See Mary Whitby, "The St. Polyeuktos Epigram (AP 1.10): A Literary Perspective," in *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). https://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/3263.mary-whitby-the-st-polyeuktos-epigram-ap-1-10-a-literary-perspectiv

[25] *The Greek Anthology, Volume I: Book 1: Christian Epigrams*, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916).

[26] John Matthews, "The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, 1st ed., ed. Lucy Grig, 81-115 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.001.0001.

[27] Theophanes Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor,* trans. Cyril Mango (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

[28] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. E. Walford (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1847), https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/evagrius_2_book2.htm.

the *Book of Ceremonies.*[29] The information from primary sources is sparse, yet helps to provide locations for the buildings and some information about Juliana's biography.

The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire has provided a great deal of background information on Juliana and her family members,[30] while Raymond Janin's incomparable research on the landscape of Constantinople and its environs provides some insight into the locations of some of Juliana's lesser-known churches.[31] Some of the records he collected remain confusing, though.

One of the earliest contributors to biographical information about Anikia Juliana, Carmelo Capizzi, provides biographical details about Juliana and her family.[32] Capizzi culls the sources and provides details that provide some insight into Juliana's mindset during her lifetime. He especially notes the trauma that may have affected Juliana's mother, Noble Placidia, and was transmitted to Juliana. Even Juliana's life echoed some of the trauma of the other women in her family.

Capizzi suggests that watching the downfall of her own family may have tempered the ambitions of her mother, Noble Placidia.[33] It is possible, then, that watching the trials and tribulations of her own relations may have tempered Juliana's

[29] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *The Book of Ceremonies: With the Greek Edition of the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1829)*, trans. Ann. Moffatt, Maxeme Tall, and Johann Jacob Reiske (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012).

[30] A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and John Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

[31] Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2. éd. (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1964).

[32] Carmelo Capizzi, SJ, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," *Oreintalia Christiana Analecta* 204 (1977): 119-146.

[33] Capizzi, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," 121.

own ambitions, who watched the disintegration of the imperial seat in Rome after the death of her father, Anikios Olybrios, and later the violent riots surrounding the elevation of her husband, Areobindos.

Capizzi often uses stereotypical terms to describe Juliana and other female members of her dynasty, he flattens the identities of all women and especially the Theodosians.[34] He describes them as gullible,[35] overcome by emotions in difficult situations,[36] and he insinuates an antagonistic relationship between Augusta Aelia Pulcheria and Augusta Aelia Eudokia.[37] It is important to reframe the ways in which scholars approach the actions and ambitions of women in order to characterize them fairly and, most importantly, accurately. Readers should acknowledge that the events in people's lives evoke and provoke emotions, regardless of gender, and these emotions can catalyze certain reactions and responses.

Since I use the church of St. Polyeuktos as a case study to understand Juliana's matronage, my work engages carefully with the excavation reports of R. Martin Harrison and the more recent examinations of the site by Jonathan Bardill.[38]

[34] Carmelo Capizzi, "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca – 530 ca): Ricerches sulla sua Famiglia e la Sua Vita," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 1 (1964): 50.

[35] Capizzi, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," 121.

[36] Capizzi, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," 130.

[37] Capizzi, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," 129.

[38] Jonathan Bardill, *Brickstamps of Constantinople* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Jonathan Bardill, "Église Saint-Polyeucte à Constantinople: Nouvelle Solution pour l'Enigme de sa Reconstitution," in *Architecture Paléochrétienne*, ed. Jean-Michel Spieser, 77-103 (Gollion: Infolio, 2011), Jonathan Bardill, "A New Temple for Byzantium: Anicia Juliana, King Solomon, and the Gilded Ceiling of the Church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople," in *In Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, eds. William Bowden, Adam Gutteridge, and Carlos Machado, 339-370 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047407607_015, R. Martin Harrison, et al, *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul*, Volume 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), and Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium* (1989).

Their work has shed important light on the archaeological remains of the church, especially hypothesizing about the superstructure and its decoration. They have drawn different conclusions about the superstructure's ceiling and whether it was domed or not. Thus, examination of the ruins and extant foundations is paramount to my study of the church, its interior decoration, and the experience of the viewer within the space.

I have been deeply inspired by the work of Leslie Brubaker and Liz James, who have approached Late Antique imperial and elite women from a creative and equitable position for many years.[39] Likewise, the work of Diliana Angelova has forged an important path for my own study here.[40] Their gynocentric approach the material has deeply inspired my own approach here.

Kenneth Holum's seminal text on the Theodosian women also inspired me to approach this topic.[41] Unfortunately, I have found that the study presented in *Theodosian Empresses* often relies on the stories of infighting between the Theodosian women I wish to avoid in my study.[42] Regardless, I have always been grateful for Holum's book, which focuses so closely on the women of the dynasty and their lived experiences.

[39] Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena," in *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997), and Liz James, "Making a Name: Reputation and Imperial Founding and Refounding in Constantinople," in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart, et al, eds., 63-72 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013).

[40] See especially Angelova, *Sacred Founders* (2014).

[41] Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520909700.

[42] See also J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, "Review of *Theodosian Empresses*, by Kenneth G. Holum." *The Classical Review* 35, no. 1 (1985): 146, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3063719.

Aside from the work of the scholars listed above, Juliana's matronage is largely dismissed or entirely missing from textbooks about the Early Byzantine period. If textbooks mention her matronage, it is referenced as patronage as in *Gardner's Art Through the Ages* in a mere two paragraphs.[43] More attention is given to Juliana's portrait in the *Vienna Dioskorides* than to the architectural marvels she endowed. The lack of information shared about Juliana and her monuments is certainly a detriment to students who might find her subtle messaging and keen but pious eye for beauty inspiring.

Concluding Remarks

My aim with the dissertation is to illustrate the importance of Anikia Juliana's matronage and the power of her public persona in early-sixth-century Constantinople. During her lifetime, she was almost certainly an important figure in the city, despite the transfer of imperial power away from her family. I show here that Juliana's matronage made significant contributions to her socio-cultural and religio-political milieu that resounded in the visual and material culture for centuries after. The tradition of matronage in which Juliana was involved was simultaneously prescriptive–adhering to the customs of her ancestresses–and original: she clearly set philanthropic trends which men and women copied later.

Juliana found ways to move within the socially constructed limitations of her economic standing and her gender to express her pride in her family legacy. She

[43] Kleiner, *Art Through the Ages,* 266.

clearly identified the importance and intellectual brilliance of the members of her matrilineage despite the gender stereotypes that pervaded the Roman and Christian city. Through her matronage, she amplified not only her own voice but also those of her ancestresses and memorialized their religious convictions and the political stability of their dynasty overall.

Her special attention to her matrilineage is an important and distinctive element of her matronage that deserves special attention and demonstrates the strong links Juliana had with her–even distant–female kin. Memorializing Theodosian women, for Juliana, was a means to support the religious orthodox stability during the reigns of the Theodosian dynasty, a dynasty populated by bold and canny women.

Although many have written about Juliana, this dissertation is meant to truly explore her biography and her choices to understand her life without the stereotypes applied by even modern scholars. It is in the spirit of the amplification of lost voices that I, similarly to Juliana, seek to move beyond the gender stereotypes long ascribed to women to situate Juliana equitably within history and the history of cultural matronage.

Chapter 2

"Increasing the glory of her many-sceptered ancestors"[1]: The precedent of matronage for Anikia Juliana

Introduction

This chapter serves to contextualize Juliana's matronage within a broader and longer historical and philanthropic background of matronage during the imperial Roman and Late Antique period. Juliana's known renewal and construction of Christian churches across the early-sixth century AC[2] city of Constantinople was a small component of a larger tradition of building foundation and renewal practiced by Roman imperial women.[3] The four churches we know she funded, St. Polyeuktos, St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, St. Stephen in Zeugma, and the church of the Theotokos in Honoratae, have strong links to her noble ancestresses of the Theodosian dynasty. Indeed, the churches and their patron saints had connections to her family members within four generations. Although it was not unusual for elite matrons to renew or

[1] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 11.

[2] I use AC (after Christ) rather than AD (anno domini) which fully acknowledges, in simplified terms, the same two-thousand-year time period, while avoiding the religious connotations of the Latin *anno domini* (which may suggest Christ is everybody's Lord, regardless of their actual beliefs). Maria Evangelatou first introduced me to the BC/AC system, and I think she rightly uses it in her own work.

[3] The practice among Roman imperial and elite women is well documented from the lifetime of Augusta Livia onward. See especially Diliana Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantine* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520959682, Emily Ann Hemelrijk, *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: Women and Civic Life in the Roman West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), and Emily Ann Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf, *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

construct monuments to honor or memorialize family members, Juliana's matronage is unique in prioritizing her female family members, rather than her august male genealogy, as I will discuss below.

In some instances, the study of matronage presents some problems because it neglects an analysis of the majority of women who lived during the Classical Greco-Roman and Late Antique periods: those of the working class. My study in this chapter, however, attempts to gesture toward more ubiquitous mores and social conventions related to all women and their gendered spheres, regardless of social class. It also reveals that the expectations of women recorded by men in extant texts from across the centuries describes a patriarchal ideal rather than the reality of women. Below, I reference Classical and later Christian authors who extol the ideal reality with firm gender dichotomies, but it is not likely the ideals they wrote about were ever realized absolutely in the lives of many women.

The first section of the chapter presents the socially constructed gender roles in the late-fifth and early-sixth centuries AC–gender roles that were, in many ways, polar opposites. As in centuries before, women living in the Eastern and Western parts of the Mediterranean were expected to remain enclosed in the home, which was perceived as the natural domain of women due to their presumed innate skills and capacities for domesticity and their dislike of outdoor pursuits. I draw from primary sources–written by men–which attest to the ideal lifestyle for all women and the social expectations to which they were held. The sources imagine distinct and separate roles for women and men, but it is most likely that the lives and occupations

of men and women could overlap. Women and men could work alongside one another, outdoors or indoors, for example, especially members of the working class.

The first section also describes some of the laws that separated the lived experiences of elite women and working-class women. The sources reveal that elite women and working-class women were unequally limited and protected by laws. Understanding the gender binaries and the dichotomies between social classes permits a clearer view of life at the time in which Juliana was sharing her largesse across the city and its vicinity.

The chapter's second section outlines Juliana's genealogy, especially her matrilineage, as a means to contextualize the reasons she may have had to pay for the construction of monuments across the city discussed in more detail in chapter three. I describe the ways in which the lived experiences of her ancestresses, such as their religious affiliation, their marriage arrangements, and relationships with male leaders may have impacted the Theodosian and Anikiian women. This helps to ground Juliana's possible world view vis a vis the experiences of her female relatives, which seems to have impacted and influenced her building program in Constantinople and the ways in which she memorialized those women and herself. Juliana's matronage served to commemorate her female family members, their pious works, and their stalwart dedication to their families.

An analysis of the titles bestowed on imperial and elite women also appears in the third section of the chapter. Women's titles signaled special positions within the imperial family, the court, and social sphere. Of most importance, the titles were not

inherited, but bestowed on women by their imperial fathers, or brothers. This precedent was set by Augustus Caesar when he elevated Livia to augusta around 14 AC.[4] Neither Juliana nor her mother were given the title of augusta, and this differentiated them from other generations of Theodosian women.

The fourth section of the chapter situates Juliana's matronage within the gendered framework of her milieu and within imperial and dynastic traditions that informed and molded Juliana's matronage. In this final section, I explore the possible rationale for such prolific magnanimity, such as Juliana's position as the last member of the Theodosian dynasty. There is some evidence of the matronage of her ancestresses, but much has been lost to time, similarly to Juliana's matronage. Juliana was a prolific matron compared to the known matronage of her female forebears which is important to consider. Maria Evangelatou has suggested that Juliana's matronage was a kind of swan song for her dynasty and I tend to agree since Juliana funded so many monuments across the region and may have also funded projects that are now unknown today but we know of no later philanthropy of her descendants.[5]

Section I

The Status of and Expectations about Women in the Late Antique Roman Empire

[4] Geraldine Herbert-Brown, "Livia," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-721.

[5] This matter was discussed in a personal correspondence.

The world in which Juliana and her ancestresses lived was deeply patriarchal; men made concerted efforts to dominate the socio-cultural sphere. Greco-Roman women were expected to remain modest in their comportment, maritally faithful, demure, enclosed within or bound to the home, and to produce legitimate heirs to the male head of household.[6] The imagined ideal woman was restricted to the home and the domestic sphere.[7] Her limits within the domestic sphere meant that a woman would maintain decorum and family honor;[8] keeping away from public view was a way to preserve a girl's or woman's modesty.[9]

This belief in tethering women and girls to the home was rooted in Classical Greek and Roman social mores that were transferred and adapted in the Christian, Late Antique, and early Byzantine cultural milieux.[10] Ancient authors, like Xenophon, who wrote during the 5th and 4th centuries BC in Greece, promoted the ideal marriage relationship as one of men working in the public or outdoor sphere and

[6] Working-class women were also held to similar expectations, although elite men often had sexual access to working-class women, whereas their sexual access to an elite woman was more restricted by law. As such, elite men might have been more cautious of raping an elite woman since the punishment was more severe. I am thankful to Tracy Chapman Hamilton for encouraging me to clarify this in a personal correspondence. There is no clear evidence known to me about marital rape among the elite. For more information, see Guy de la Bédoyère, *Domina: The Women Who Made Imperial Rome*, 17 (Yale University Press, 2018), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv5cg9pm.8, and Elaine Fantham, Helene Peet Foley, Natalie Boymel Kampen, Sarah B. Pomeroy, and H. A. Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1995), 299, accessed December 28, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[7] Sara Elise Phang, *Daily Life of Women in Ancient Rome* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2022), 117, accessed December 28, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[8] Phang, *Daily Life of Women,* 10.

[9] The concept of modesty is slightly beyond the scope of this dissertation, though it is fascinating and worthy of study. For information on rape prosecution during Juliana's lifetime see Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novel and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 244-246.

[10] Fantham, et al, *Women in the Classical World,* 344-345.

women working within the sphere of the home. Through the character of Ischomachus, Xenophon states,

> 'God made provision from the first by shaping, as it seems to me, the woman's nature for indoor and the man's for outdoor occupations. Man's body and soul He furnished with a greater capacity for enduring heat and cold, wayfaring and military marches; or, to repeat, He laid upon his shoulders the outdoor works. While in creating the body of woman with less capacity for these things,' I continued, 'God would seem to have imposed on her the indoor works. . .'[11]

Women's supposed inherent vulnerability served as a patriarchal device to naturalize a connection to the home and domesticity.[12] If a woman's divinely ordained province is the home and domestic sphere, men could prohibit a woman's access to public spaces and functions outside the home, thereby protecting the reputation of the family from possible improprieties committed by women.

Christian authors further enclosed women and defined their position in the Christian society of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean, sometimes restating the messages of earlier Greek authors, like Xenophon. As Judith Evans Grubb states, "Christian teachings on the importance of sexual chastity and

[11] Xenophon, *The Economist*, trans. H. G. Dakyns, Project Gutenberg, last updated January 15, 2013, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1173/1173-h/1173-h.htm.

[12] Judith Evans Grubbs, "The Institutes of Gaius I.144," in *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood* (Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), 25, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=170450.

female modesty merely reinforced age-old attitudes."[13] For example, John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404 AC,[14] wrote that,

> Therefore God did not apportion both duties to one sex, lest the other be displaced and be considered superfluous. Nor did God assign both to be equal in every way, lest from equality a kind of struggle and rivalry should again arise, for women in their contentiousness would deem themselves deserving of the front-row seats rather than the man! But taking precautions at one and the same time for peace and decency, God maintained the order of each sex by dividing the business of human life into two parts and assigned the more necessary and beneficial aspects to the man and the less important, inferior matters to the woman.[15]

The Classical Greco-Roman patriarchal social model was perpetuated by Christian mores and standards of behavior in the Mediterranean region. John Chrysostom reasserts the supposedly divinely bestowed traits of all women and men as a way for the divine to create order in a chaotic world.

Laws and other texts from Classical Greece and Rome suggest that from childhood onwards, girls and women were indoctrinated into a world that viewed them as feeble-minded, weak, and incapable of making decisions on their own.[16]

[13] Evans Grubb, "Constantine and Imperial Legislation on the Family," in *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity,* ed. Jill Harries and Ian Wood (London: Duckworth, 1993), 137.

[14] Barry Baldwin, Alexander Kazhdan, and Robert S. Nelson, eds., "John Chrysostom," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-2617.

[15] John Chrysostom, "The Kind of Women Who Ought to Be Taken as Wives," in *Women in Early Christianity: Translations from Greek Texts*, by Patricia Cox Miller, 272 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), accessed September 6, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[16] de la Bédoyère, *Domina*, 21.

Women in general were considered lacking in sense and were thought to be in constant need of the protection of men.[17]

One of the earliest records of the status of Roman women appears in the Twelve Tables, a set of laws developed and organized by the Romans in about the sixth century BC, the echoes of which resounded for centuries after. This source indicates that ". . . Women, even though they are of full age, because of their levity of mind shall be under guardianship . . . except vestal virgins, who . . . shall be free from guardianship . . .."[18] Women were clearly considered naturally irrational and inherently unable to make sound judgments for their own benefit which resulted in the need for a male guardian.[19] The loaded language of the law itself reified biased social expectations rooted in stereotypes and patriarchal notions focused on controlling women, their wealth, and their bodies.

Greco-Roman boys and girls were treated differently from infancy onwards. The future motherhood of female infants was sometimes foreshadowed in their upbringings: Sara Elise Phang, author of *Daily Life of Women in Ancient Rome*, notes

[17] Elizabeth A. Clark, "Ideology, History and the Construction of 'Woman' in Late Ancient Christianity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 166-167.

[18] "The Twelve Tables," in *Ancient Roman Statutes: A Translation, with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index*, eds. Allan Chester Johnson, Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton, and Frank Card Bourne (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), 10. Larry May, *Ancient Legal Thought: Equity, Justice, and Humaneness from Hammurabi and the Pharaohs to Justinian and the Talmud* (Cambridge;: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 442. Vestal Virgins are an extremely interesting subset of women in the ancient Roman world. The small and selective group of women held specific religious responsibilities thought to maintain the health of the city of Rome and the empire. The scope of this dissertation does not permit a full analysis of their position in society and the unique ways in which their bodies and wealth were controlled. For a robust discussion of the Vestal Virgins, see Holt N. Parker, "Why Were the Vestals Virgins? Or the Chastity of Women and the Safety of the Roman State," in *Virginity Revisited: Configurations of the Unpossessed Body*, eds. Bonnie MacLachlan and Judith Fletcher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 66-99.

[19] Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 23-24.

that, ". . . A Greek physician recommended that female infants be swaddled more loosely at the hips, to encourage the development of a feminine body shape with wider hips . . ."[20] The need for a female body with wide hips to produce healthy children seems to have been a paramount concern.

As they aged, boys were afforded more freedom from guardianship than girls of the same age.[21] According to the *Institutes* of Gaius, written in the second century AC,[22]

> Therefore it has been permitted to parents to give guardians to their children whom they have in their power: to male children below puberty, but to female children both below and above puberty, even when they have married. For the ancients wanted women, even if they are of full age, to be in guardianship on account of their lightmindedness.[23]

The innate lack of sense possessed by girls and women resulted in their need to be protected and guided by a male guardian; biological changes, like puberty, did not modify a girl's intelligence as it seems to have done with boys. Christian Laws and Johan Strubbe, authors of *Youth in the Roman Empire: The Young and the Restless Years?*, even suggest that "In Roman Law women in a certain sense remained minors throughout their whole life."[24] Confirming the need for a constant guardian for girls

[20] Phang, *Daily Life of Women*, 44.

[21] Larry May, *Ancient Legal Thought: Equity, Justice, and Humaneness from Hammurabi and the Pharaohs to Justinian and the Talmud* (Cambridge;: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 443.

[22] Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 25, and May, *Ancient Legal Thought*, 443.

[23] Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law,* 25. See also Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius*, trans. Francis De Zulueta (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), 11, http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/cdonahue/courses/ReadingGrp/GaiusInst1_3.pdf.

[24] Christian Laes and Johan Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire: The Young and the Restless Years? (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 32, accessed December 30, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

and women kept them in a perennial state of childhood, perpetuating the apparent burden of women upon men in Greco-Roman ideology.

Education was an important aspect of a child's upbringing because it was through education and experiential learning that social practices were cultivated across generations.[25] Mothers especially cultivated religious practices and beliefs within their homes and children.[26] Some male authors discuss the education of girls beyond religious upbringing. In a letter from around 413 AC,[27] the Christian theologian Jerome wrote,

> . . . [Let] her learn the alphabet, spelling, grammar, and syntax. To induce her to repeat her lessons with her little shrill voice, hold out to her as rewards cakes and mead and sweetmeats. She will make haste to perform her task if she hopes afterwards to get some bright bunch of flowers, some glittering bauble, some enchanting doll. She must also learn to spin, shaping the yarn with her tender thumb; for, even if she constantly breaks the threads, a day will come when she will no longer break them. Then when she has finished her lessons she ought to have some recreation. At such times she may hang round her mother's neck, or snatch kisses from her relations. Reward her for singing psalms that she may love what she has to learn. Her task will then become a pleasure to her and no compulsion will be necessary.[28]

[25] Ville Vuolanto, "Elite Children, Socialization, and Agency in the Late Roman World," in *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, ed. Roslynne Bell (Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2013), 580, accessed December 29, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[26] Vuolanto, "Elite Children, Socialization, and Agency," 585.

[27] Jerome, Letter 128, trans. W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W.G. Martley, from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 6, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001128.htm.

[28] Jerome, Letter 128.

It seems a girl's feeble-mindedness resulted in the need to cajole with rewards to learn and study.[29] By treating the education of girls in the manner prescribed by Jerome, girls gained important skills like reading and writing, but within the parameters of domestic space and domestic tasks and always in the state of a child. One of the main tasks of a girl or a woman was to spin thread and weave fabric.[30] Maria Evangelatou has rightly pointed out the crippling effects constant spinning and weaving would have had on the bodies of women.[31] As such, assigning the duty of weaving to women in the Greco-Roman world was a way for men to control (and contort) their bodies.

Encouraging the use of treats and gifts to cultivate learning among girls contradicts what many Christian authors say about women. Clement of Alexandra, writing around 200 AC,[32] discouraged women from a love of glittering baubles, by explaining that ". . . as a general rule, ornaments should not be desired, as they are

[29] In contrast, it seems that most boys, whose primary educator was their father, were treated coldly. Gregory of Nazianzus notes the cold relationship he had with his father. See Jostein Børtnes, and Tomas Hägg, eds, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Images and Reflections* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004), 145, accessed March 6, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central, and Vuolanto, "Elite Children, Socialization, and Agency," 584.

[30] See Nicholas Constas, "Weaving the Body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotokos, and the Loom of the Flesh," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3, no. 2 (1995): 186, https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.0.0063, Maria Evangelatou, "Threads of Power: Clothing Symbolism, Human Salvation, and Female Identity in the Illustrated Homilies by Iakobos of Kokkinobaphos," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014): 292, 299, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24643760, Molly Fulgham Heintz, "The Art and Craft of Earning a Living," in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, ed. Ioli Kalavrezou, 139-143 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 2003).

[31] See also Constance H. Berman, "Women's Work in Family, Village, and Town after 1000 CE: Contributions to Economic Growth?" *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 3 (2007): 19, https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2007.0052,

[32] "Clement of Alexandria," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-1253.

mere childish toys, and women should eschew the very thought of embellishment."[33] From the guidance offered by Jerome and Clement, though, it is not clear when a girl should stop expecting gifts to learn as she transitioned from girlhood to womanhood. It seems likely that the transition took place abruptly at puberty when womanhood through marriage was often thrust upon her.[34]

Even if a girl was considered mature enough for marriage, her intellect could still be considered underdeveloped. Indeed, a woman's intellectual prowess could be ascribed to a male relation rather than her own abilities. Pliny, in a letter to Erucius around the late-first or early-second century AC,[35] wrote that,

> A little while ago [Pompeius Saturninus] read me some letters which he declared had been written by his wife. I thought, on hearing them, that they were either Plautus or Terence in prose, and whether they were composed, as he said, by his wife or by himself, as he denies, his credit is the same. It belongs to him either as the actual author of the letters or as the teacher who has made such a polished and learned lady of his wife--whom he married when she was a girl.[36]

[33] Clement of Alexandria, "The Pedagogue," in *Women in Early Christianity: Translations from Greek Texts*, by Patricia Cox Miller, 76 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), accessed December 29, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[34] Although the age of twelve seems to have been considered an acceptable age for marriage, many young women were not married until their later teenaged years. Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 30-32. Phang, *Daily Life of Women,* 42.

[35] "Pliny," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-4595.

36. Pliny, *Letters*, Book 1.16.6, trans. John B. Firth, accessed 29 December 2023, https://pages.pomona.edu/~cmc24747/sources/plin_1-5.htm. Fantham, et al, *Women in the Classical World,* 586.

The stereotype of woman as weak minded meant that her intelligence was often questioned. For Pliny, it is impossible to believe that a woman was capable of writing well; in his mind, because the writing sounded like the writing of a male poet, it must have been written by a man.[37]

Elite Women vis a vis Working-Class Women

Presumably, all women, no matter their social standing, were expected to adhere to the standards discussed above. Late Antique women had to find a balance in living their lives according to the ideal imagined by authors and lawmakers. A woman's social class impacted her ability to live within the bounds prescribed and the social expectations placed upon her.[38] For girls and women whose families could not afford teachers or for those whose labor was needed to support the family trade, their lifestyles were quite different from the ideal prescriptions.

In reality, women and girls worked alongside their fathers, brothers, husbands, sons, and other male relatives to ensure the success and productivity of the family

[37] Terence and Plautus both wrote in the mid-second century BC. Sappho wrote in the 7th-6th centuries BC.

[38] Fantham, et al, *Women in the Classical World,* 341.



Figure 1. Relief from Trastevere, 2nd century AC. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. ZV 44.

métier, especially among the working class.[39] A funerary relief from the second century AC, now housed in the Skulpturensammlung of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, illustrates a woman working with a man and providing skilled labor (Fig. 1). The female figure, seated at the far left of the marble funerary relief, appears with a male companion engaged in butchering meat. The seated figure appears to refer to a tablet in her lap, suggesting she was learned enough to read and write and possibly complete arithmetic. Since it is a funerary relief, the female figure is well-coiffed but it is unlikely a working woman, here the wife of a butcher, would dress so elaborately.[40]

[39] Nick Frigo, "Women in Ancient Rome." *Agora* 50, no. 3 (2015): 56. https://search-ebscohost-com.oca.ucsc.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eue&AN=112839901&site=ehost-live. Phang, *Daily Life of Women*, 10.

[40] Emily Hemelrijk, "Matronal Virtues, Professional Pride and Divine Associations: Funerary Commemoration of Freedwomen in Roman Italy," *Eugesta*, no. 13 (2024), https://doi.org/10.54563/eugesta.1479.



Figure 2. Marble funerary relief of Sentia Amarantis. Mérida, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.

Another woman is illustrated pouring wine from a large barrel (Fig. 2) in a funerary relief now housed in the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano in Mérida, Spain. The figure likely represents a slave woman who was freed.[41] Her garment is similar to those worn by working-class women of the time; the shorter length allows for more freedom of movement.[42]

Girls and women who worked to earn a living were exposed to public spaces which were considered inappropriate for them. As such, working-class women were not held to the same standard as noble women and had fewer protections from the law. The higher the social status of a woman, the more closely she was tied to the domestic sphere and discouraged from public spaces.[43] Working-class women, on the other hand, ran businesses, but their exposure to public spaces left them vulnerable to,

[41] Hemelrijk, "Matronal Virtues."
[42] Hemelrijk, "Matronal Virtues."
[43] Evans Grubb, "Constantine and Imperial," 137.

ostensibly, interactions with men. Although, women over the age of eighteen and of "a good reputation" could "request official release from the need for a guardian," "Constantine [I] felt that public exhibitions by women were to be avoided at any time."[44] That is to say, elite or reputable women should, ideally, not enter the public spaces of men, even courts of law.[45]

As opposed to the ideal public restrictions for women, men and boys were unrestricted from public spaces. Augustine of Hippo (354 to 430 AC)[46] mentions visiting public baths on his own in his teenaged years,[47] and it seems boys also attended public spectacles, like athletic competitions.[48] Many religious writers, however, noted how witnessing such entertainments might distract boys from more worthwhile endeavors, like education.[49]

Given the strong dichotomy between the ideal public access between genders, it seems that an ideal, modest woman stayed away from public view. Modesty also related to sexual activity. The Greek term for modesty, *sophrosyne* (σωφροσύνη), relates to concepts of discretion, prudence, and moderation in addition to control of

[44] Evans Grubb, "Constantine and Imperial," 136.

[45] Evans Grubb, "Constantine and Imperial," 136.

[46] "St. Augustine of Hippo," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-464.

[47] Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, Book II, Chapter 3, Section 6, trans. J.G. Pilkington, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, Vol. 1, ed. Philip Schaff. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/110102.htm. Vuolanto, "Elite Children, Socialization, and Agency," 586.

[48] Vuolanto, "Elite Children, Socialization, and Agencey," 586.

[49] Vuolanto, "Elite Children, Socialization, and Agency," 586.

sensual desire and temperance.[50] A woman's sexual activity was connected to the concepts of modesty/sophrosyne, but Late Antique Roman laws defined ordinary or working-class women as outside the bounds of the expectation of modesty.[51] While a man was only considered to commit adultery if he engaged in sex acts with another man's wife, he could develop sexual relationships with slaves, or other working women at will. A married woman, on the other hand, was considered an adulteress if she had sex with any man besides her husband.

Social class played a role in the severity of punishment for a so-considered adulteress. For example, in reference to women who worked in taverns–sites of numerous sexual indiscretions[52]–the Theodosian Code, a collection of legal rulings created between the reigns of Constantine I to Theodosios II (roughly 306 AC to 450 AC),[53] states that,

> If any woman should commit adultery, it must be inquired whether she was the mistress of a tavern or a servant girl and thus in the performance of her servile duty she herself frequently served the wines of intemperance. If she should be mistress of the tavern, she shall not be exempt from the bonds of the law. But if she should give service to those who drink, in consideration of the mean status of the woman who is brought to trial, the accusation shall be

[50] See *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*, and Patricia Cox Miller, ed., *Women in Early Christianity: Translations from Greek Texts* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 278, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=3135089.

[51] Fantham, et al, *Women in the Classical World*, 299.

[52] Mathew Kuefler, "The Marriage Revolution in Late Antiquity: The Theodosian Code and Later Roman Marriage Law," *Journal of Family History* 32, no. 4 (October 2007): 357.

[53] Christopher Kelly, "Rethinking Theodosius," in *Theodosius II : Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity*, ed. Christopher Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 22, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=1303745. Kuefler, "The Marriage Revolution," 344.

> excluded and the men who are accused shall go free, since chastity is required only of those women who are held by the bonds of law, but those who because of their mean status in life are not deemed worthy of the consideration of the laws shall be immune from judicial severity.[54]

That is to say, that if a working, unmarried woman, like a tavern worker, was exposed or suffered the sexual advances of men, she would not be punished in the same way an elite woman or a woman of higher standing would be punished for acts of adultery.[55] She was not held to the same standards of modesty because of her "mean status," that is her exposure to the public and spaces of intoxication. The recommended punishment for adultery included torture,[56] and capital punishment.[57] A law from 339 AC states that,

> . . . You ought to have punished with a severity equal to its wickedness any crime of adultery, reported to your court and proved after an inquisition had been held. In such crimes, it must be observed hereafter that when adultery is proved by clear evidence, a frustrative appeal must not be admitted, since for an equal and similar reason the judge must sew up alive in a leather sack and burn the sacrilegious violators of marriage as though they were manifest parricides.[58]

[54] Kuefler, "The Marriage Revolution," 356-357. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 231.

[55] Kuefler, "The Marriage Revolution," 356-357. Nghiem L. Nguyen notes that, under the laws of Constantine I, the rape of a woman was punishable by death. See Nghiem L. Nguyen, "Roman Rape: An Overview of Roman Rape Laws from the Republican Period to Justinian's Reign," *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law* 13, no. 1 (2006): 104-105, https://www-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/scholarly-journals/roman-rape-overview-laws-republican-period/docview/236649396/se-2.

[56] Kuefler, "The Marriage Revolution," 357. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code,* 232.

[57] Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 233.

[58] Kuefler, "The Marriage Revolution," 357. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 335.

Although unmarried, working-class women were purportedly not held to these standards, while the ramifications for an elite woman convicted of adultery were gruesome at best. The laws suggest that a woman's or girl's exposure to public spaces directly impacted the severity of certain consequences due to her level of modesty. Still, elite women were often celebrated for their humility by appearing in public in certain circumstances, as will be discussed briefly below.

Given Juliana's extremely high social standing and likely good education, she would have been acutely aware of the pressure for her to maintain decorum and her family's reputation. The strong patriarchal nature of ancient and late-ancient Roman society meant that nobility was passed through the male line[59]. As such, women (sometimes men) and their bodies were strictly guarded to ensure that nobility passed to the proper male children. The infidelity of an elite, married woman could mean that nobility passed to unworthy and illegitimate male offspring, a danger that seemed to concern many and the extreme punishment for noble women convicted of adultery. For example, a law from around 326 AC states that,

> If any woman is discovered to have a clandestine love affair with her slave, she shall be subject to the capital sentence, and the rascally slave shall be delivered to the flames. . . . The children also whom she bears from this union shall be stripped of all the insignia of rank. They shall remain in bare freedom, and neither through themselves nor through the interposition of another person shall they receive anything under any title of a will from the property of the woman. Moreover, the inheritance of the woman, in case of intestacy, shall be

[59] Alan Cameron, "Anician Myths," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 149, https://doi.org/10.1017/S007543581200007X. Phang, *Daily Life of Women*, 68.

> granted either to her children, if she has legitimate ones, or to the nearest kinsmen and cognates . . . so that whatever of their own property her former lover and the children conceived from him appear by any chance to have had shall be joined to the property of the woman and may be vindicated by the aforesaid successors.[60]

There was a somewhat reciprocal social expectation for men to produce children with noble women under Constantine I.[61] A noble man who conceived a child with a slave woman was strictly prohibited from bequeathing his property to them and the act was punishable.[62] A law from 336 AC states that,

> It is Our pleasure that Senators or persons of the rank of Most Perfect or those adorned with the honors of the duumvirate or the quinquennalitate in the municipalities or with the honor of flamen or of the civil priesthood of a province shall suffer the brand of infamy and shall become foreigners in the eyes of the Roman law, if by their own judgment or by the prerogative of Our rescript they should wish to consider as legitimate the children born to them of a slave woman, a daughter of a slave woman, a freedwoman, a daughter of a freedwoman, whether made a Roman or a Latin, a woman of the stage, a daughter of a woman of the stage, a mistress of a tavern, a daughter of a tavern keeper, a low and degraded woman, the daughter of a procurer or of a gladiator or a woman who has charge of wares for sale to the public. Thus if a father should give anything to such children, whether he calls them legitimate or natural, all such property shall be taken from them and restored to his legitimate offspring, or to his brother or sister or father or mother.[63]

[60] Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 233.
[61] Evans Grubb, "Constantine and Imperial," 130-132.
[62] Evans Grubb, "Constantine and Imperial," 130-131.
[63] Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 86. It is not clear to me at this time how this would have affected Theodora, wife of Justinian I. I look forward to exploring it more in future.

The control of wealth and the maintenance of the social hierarchy resulted in the strict control of citizens' bodies. This further illuminates the disparate gender binaries and constructs during Juliana's lifetime. Juliana and her female family members would have been under intense scrutiny to abide by all social conventions and legal boundaries.[64]

Section II

Juliana's Genealogy

Juliana descended from the highest aristocratic households on both sides of her family (Fig. 3). She counted at least five emperors among her immediate ancestors and her imperial female forebears held significant sway in a number of religio-political debates because they held such important social positions at the top of the social pyramid. Her pedigree meant that Juliana's social standing was deeply rooted in this top tier and she likely felt some pressure to maintain her status, especially since she was the last member of her dynasty; her son and his daughters passed into obscurity after roughly 533 AC.[65]

Theodosios I, the progenitor of the Theodosian dynasty, came to power in 379 AC.[66] A native of what is now Spain, he served in the military in Western Europe and

[64] de la Bédoyère., "Virtue, Honour and Chastity," 21, 23.
[65] *PLRE* II, 793.
[66] *PLRE* I, 905.

initially retired in 375 AC.[67] He was recalled to Rome in 378 AC and after important

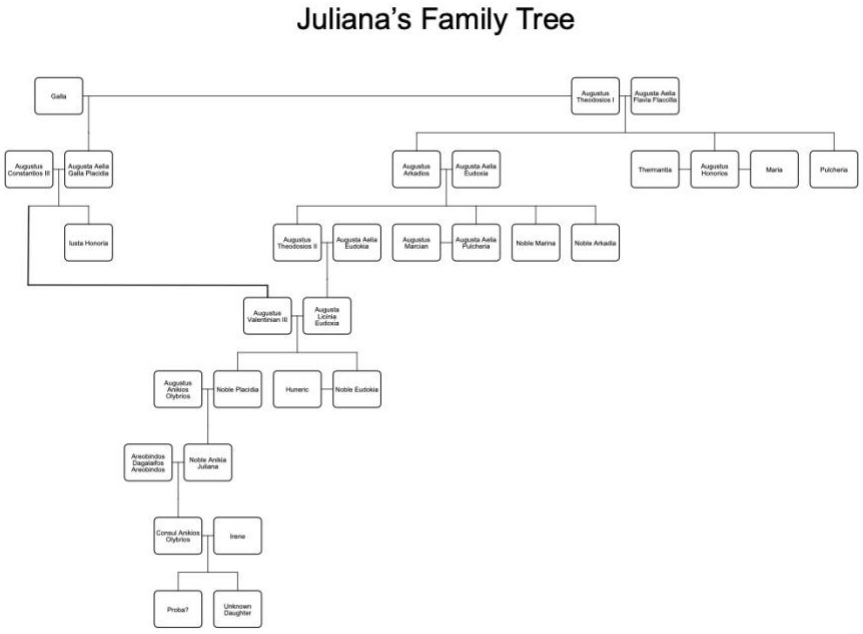


Figure 3. Juliana's family tree.

successes against the Goths,[68] he was proclaimed Augustus over a unified Roman Empire.[69] His reign was characterized by an alliance with the Visigoths and his strong allegiance to Nicene Christianity, an allegiance that moved him to order the closure of pagan temples and the banning of sacrifices.[70] Theodosios I had three children with

[67] *PLRE* I, 904.

[68] Ryan R. Abrecht, "Theodosius I," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-1239.

[69] *PLRE* I, 905.

[70] Alan Cameron, Jacqueline Long, and Lee Sherry, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 2, https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb08399.0001.001, PDF. Iain Spence et al, eds. *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*: *The Definitive Political, Social, and Military Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, ed. (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2016), 1251-1252, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=4556205.

his first wife, Flavia Aelia Flaccilla: two sons, Arkadios, Honorios, and a daughter, Pulcheria. He also had another daughter with his second wife, Galla: the half-sister of the other imperial children, Galla Placidia.[71]

After the death of Theodosios I in 395 AC,[72] the empire was divided between his sons, Arkadios, ruling in the East, and Honorios, ruling in the West. Both boys were relatively young at the time of their father's death: Arkadios was about eighteen[73] and Honorios was roughly eleven years of age.[74] Arkadios, who ruled from Constantinople, was plagued by problems with the Goths and Ostrogoths[75] and he is remembered as a weak ruler.[76] Likewise, Honorios, who ruled from Ravenna, is remembered as weak.[77] His reign was characterized by the control of several regents, especially Stilicho, a powerful general who rose through the ranks under Theodosios I.[78] Honorios married twice, to the daughters of Stilicho, but had no known issue.[79]

Upon deaths of the augusti Arkadios and Honorios, Theodosios II and Valentinian III were elevated to augusti. Theodosios II, the son of Arkadios and his

[71] Augusta Galla Placidia became a notable matron in Ravenna. See especially Joyce E. Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress: Galla Placidia Rules at the Twilight of the Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), and Hagith Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[72] Spence et al, *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 1251.

[73] Cameron, et al, *Barbarians and Politics*, 4. Spence, et al, *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 706.

[74] Cameron et al indicate Honorios was about ten years old. See Cameron, et al, *Barbarians and Politics*, 4. Spence et al, *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 959.

[75] Spence et al, *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 707.

[76] Cameron, et al, *Barbarians and Politic*, 4.

[77] Cameron, et al, *Barbarians and Politic*, 4.

[78] Álvaro Sánchez-Ostiz, "Claudian's Stilicho at the *Urbs*: Roman Legitimacy for the Half-Barbarian Regent," in *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire,* eds. Diederik P. W. Burgersdijk, and Alan J. Ross (Boston: BRILL, 2018), 310-311, accessed October 19, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. Spence, et al, *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 1224.

[79] Frank M. Clover, "The Family and Early Career of Anicius Olybrius," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 27, no. 1 (1978): 172, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4435589. *PLRE* I, 442.

wife Eudoxia and grandson of Theodosios I, was still quite young when he was elevated in 408 AC and his elder sister, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, famously served as one of his regents.[80] Valentinian III, son of Augusta Galla Placidia, thereby grandson of Theodosios I, was just six years of age when he was elevated to augustus in 425 AC and so his mother ruled briefly on his behalf.[81]

The reigns of both Theodosios II and Valentinian III were therefore characterized by female regents. Although not entirely unusual, female regents serving Roman emperors in their minority were proverbially few and far between. Both regents were also close family members. Theodosios II was served by his noble sister, and Valentinian III by his noble mother. It was the female regents that Juliana recalled in her monuments and the decorative elements therein.[82] Of course the men of Juliana's family are important to understand, but it is the women she named, so they obviously played a vital role in inspiring her matronage.

The cousins Theodosios II and Valentinian III left no male heirs. Power passed on to Marcian, the husband of Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, who reigned from 450 to 457 AC.[83] Dynastic control of the imperial seat was lost to the Theodosians upon Marcian's death and power transferred to Leo I, a military leader.[84]

[80] Spence, et al, *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 1252.
[81] Spence, et al, *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 1283.
[82] In the decorative epigrams at St. Polyeuktos and St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, Juliana recalled her great-grandmother, Augusta Aelia Eudokia, her grandmother, August Aelia Licinia Eudoxia, and her mother, Noble Placidia.
[83] *PLRE* II, 714-715.
[84] *PLRE* II, 663.

The Theodosian Women

As was common among elite Roman women, many shared given names. While men with the same name often have numerals placed after their name to differentiate them, here I use each woman's full names and titles to differentiate them. In doing so, I hope to emphasize the close links between the women who memorialized their ancestresses through the naming of children and also to highlight their social standing and esteem enshrined upon them through the bestowal of important titles, especially the title of augusta.

The links between the women of the Theodosian dynasty are quite fascinating since there were such obvious connections through naming and their participation in controversial religious and theological matters of the time. It was not only the genealogical threads that united these women; they seem to have cared about similar matters, and to have found fulfillment in celebrating the successes of their family.

After the death of Theodosios I, it seems Theodosian women acted as driving forces at the sides of their husbands, sons, and brothers to ensure the health of the empire and the dynasty. As will be shown, Theodosian women traveled extensively, and not always by their choice, across the Mediterranean. They cultivated relationships with important religious thinkers of the time and they worked with or against some of the most important political figures. Their fascinating biographies may have interested Juliana deeply and the effects of their memory upon her are demonstrated in her matronage.

Though not referenced in any of Juliana's extant decorative epigrams,[85] Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia (c. 388-450) was the daughter of Theodosios I from his second marriage to Galla and therefore the half-sister of Arkadios and Honorios.[86] Early in her life, she was taken from Rome as a hostage by the Visigoth. Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia lived in what is now Spain where she married the Visigothic king, Athaulfus.[87] Honorios, her half-brother ruling from Ravenna, did not seem much to mind that his half-sister had been taken to the west.[88] While married to Athaulfus, she bore a son named Theodosios, who died in infancy.[89] After the death of her first husband Athaulfus, Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia returned to the court in Ravenna.[90] In Ravenna, she married Flavius Constantius III,[91] to whom she bore Valentinian III and a daughter, Augusta Iusta Grata Honoria.[92] According to Agnellus of Ravenna, an Italian author who wrote around 827 AC,[93] Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia paid for the construction of at least two churches in the city of Ravenna: one

[85] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an epigram is "An inscription, usually in verse." See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "epigram (n.), sense 1," September 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1027415680.

[86] *PLRE* I, 382. *PLRE* II, 888-889. *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 53. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* seems to have misordered Theodosios I's marriages. See ibid. n. 168.

[87] *PLRE* II, 888. Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress,* 73.

[88] Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress*, 73-74.

[89] *PLRE* II, 1100.

[90] Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress*, 111.

[91] Flavius Constantius III was not related to Constantine I. *PLRE* II, 321-324.

[92] Iusta Grata Honoria is remembered for several scandals, one involving Attila the Hun. See *PLRE* II, 568-569.

[93] Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *The (Medieval Texts in Translation) Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 7, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=3134788. See also *PLRE* II, 889.

dedicated to the Holy Cross and another dedicated to John the Evangelist.[94] In addition to this palace, Theodosios I also established a palace for her in Constantinople.[95] At least three houses or palaces are labeled with Placidia's name in the *Notitia*, too.[96] She and her children lived in Constantinople briefly, but Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia was buried in Ravenna.[97]

Like her half-sister-in-law discussed above, Augusta Aelia Eudoxia (died c. 462)[98] is not referenced in the extant epigrammatic material of Juliana's churches but that is not to say her biography did not influence Juliana. As the wife of Arkadios and apparently a woman of great beauty, she was prolific in childbirth; she gave birth to at least five children and four survived into adulthood.[99] She was the daughter of a Frankish general under Theodosios I, but was raised in Constantinople.[100] Augusta Aelia Eudoxia may have played an important role in the reign of her husband. She

[94] Agnellus, of Ravenna, *The (Medieval Texts in Translation) Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna,* trans. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 148-151, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=3134788. Fascinatingly, Agnellus indicates that both churches were decorated with carved epigrams. See also *PLRE* II, 889, and Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena," in *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (New York: Routledge, 1997), 54.

[95] *Chronicon Paschale*, 53, n. 167. The *Notitia* also mentions at least three palaces or houses attached to Augusta Galla Placidia.

[96] John Matthews, "The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. Lucy Grig, and Gavin Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 86 and 93, accessed 10 Apr. 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.003.0004. Given the date of *Notitia*, it is likely all three palaces were those of Augusta Galla Placidia rather than Noble Placidia.

[97] *PLRE* II, 889.

[98] *PLRE* II, 410.

[99] *PLRE* II, 410. Augusta Aelia Eudoxia gave birth to Flaccilla (c. 397 AC), Pulcheria (c. 399 AC), Arcadia (c. 400), Theodosios II (c. 401), and Marina (c. 403).

[100] *PLRE* II, 410.

seems to have had a bad relationship with John Chrysostom.[101] This relationship between the empress and John Chrysostom, though fraught, may suggest that she had an interest in the religious matters of the period, an interest pursued by her noble descendants, like Juliana.

Augusta Aelia Eudoxia also participated in the translation of relics, a form of matronage in itself,[102] and a significant demonstration of piety. In a homily delivered in early 400 AC,[103] Chrysostom extols the piety of the Augusta Aelia Eudoxia, having said,

> Yet why should I speak of women or magistrates, when she who wears the imperial crown and is dressed in purple could bear to be separated not even a little from the remains for the entire extent of the journey? Rather, like a maidservant she walked one step behind the holy relics touching the casket and the veil which covered it. Suppressing all human vanity, she allowed herself to be seen by the crowd at the midst of a vast spectacle–she upon whom it's forbidden for even all the eunuchs who serve in the imperial palace to gaze.[104]

[101] Nathan Schumer, "Arcadius (Emperor) (395-408 CE)," in *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome: The Definitive Political, Social, and Military Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, eds. Iain Spence, et al (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2016), 707, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=4556205.

[102] I am grateful to Tracy Chapman Hamilton for pointing out this significant aspect in a personal correspondence.

[103] Pauline Allen and Wendy Mayer, *John Chrysostom* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1999), 85, accessed January 3, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[104] Allen and Mayer, *John Chrysostom*, 87. Notably, Chrysostom describes the empress as a maidservant as a kind of panegyric. In this context, Augusta Aelia Eudoxia is likened to a working-class woman to extol her humility, an important Christian virtue. See Colossians 3:12 (NIV). Still, her humility is framed by the enclosed state in which she normally lives, as evidenced by Chrysostom referencing that even the eunuchs should not look at her.

Not long after this kind description of Augusta Aelia Eudoxia's piety, John Chrysostom decried the empress upon the erection of a column adjacent to Hagia Sophia in about 404 AC.[105] According to Theophanes the Confessor, "In this year [c. 404 AC] John Chrysostom gave a sermon against evil women, which the enemies of truth, who were ill-disposed to him, used in order to provoke Eudoxia by claiming that the sermon had been aimed against her."[106] His admonishment of Augusta Aelia Eudoxia, whether actual or perceived, resulted in his exile from the city.[107] Augusta Aelia Eudoxia died after a miscarriage and was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles, as befitting a member of the imperial household.[108]

August Aelia Pulcheria, daughter of Arkadios and Augusta Aelia Eudoxia, born in 399 AC,[109] served as the regent for her younger brother, Theodosios II. She seems to have played an important role throughout his reign, even after his minority.[110] Although Juliana does not mention her by name in any of the extant epigrams of her renewed churches, there are close symbolic links to Augusta Aelia Pulcheria through the figures venerated at three of the churches Juliana funded, the Theotokos, St. Euphemia, and St. Stephen. Augusta Aelia Pulcheria quite notably played an integral role during the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesos during which

[105] Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Making of Christian Constantinople* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1994), 43, accessed January 4, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central. Theophanes the Confessor indicates the column was adjacent to Hagia Eirene. See Thoephanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*, trans. Cyril Mango (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 121.

[106] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango,120.

[107] Allen and Mayer, *John Chrysostom*, 10. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 43.

[108] *PLRE* II, 410. *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 60. It's not clear where other members of the Theodosian dynasty were buried.

[109] *PLRE* II, 929.

[110] *PLRE* II, 929.

she strongly advocated for the application of the term Theotokos (Θεοτοκος) to the Virgin Mary.[111] At the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon, for which St. Euphemia was considered the patron saint, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria supported the definition of the unity of Jesus Christ as both human and divine, his two natures united in one person.[112] Augusta Aelia Pulcheria also ensured the translation of some important relics to Constantinople and Juliana renewed churches related to the veneration of those relics, including St. Stephen the protomartyr.[113]

Perhaps one of the most important of Juliana's relations was her great grandmother, Augusta Aelia Eudokia. She was originally from Athens but moved to Constantinople where she married Theodosios II after converting to Christianity and abandoned her given name, Athenaïs.[114] Augusta Aelia Eudokia's father was a pagan scholar and it is likely that she developed a talent for poetry thanks to his instruction.[115] It is not clear if the poetry of her great grandmother inspired any of the epigrams at Juliana's renewed churches, but the common interst of both women in poetry appears a noteworthy link none-the-less. Augusta Aelia Eudokia gave birth to three children, but only one survived into adulthood, Augusta Licinia Eudoxia.[116]

[111] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 59-60.
[112] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 60.
[113] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 56.
[114] *PLRE* II, 408-409. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), 1: 861, accessed July 3, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.
[115] *PLRE* II, 408-409.
[116] *PLRE* II, 408-409.

Because Augusta Aelia Eudokia may have been implicated in some scandals, she left Constantinople to live in the Holy Land. Theophanes suggests that the augusta was unfaithful to Theodosios II and related that,

> A certain Paulinus, the magister, was greatly loved by Eudokia for being very educated and handsome and she used to meet him frequently in private. And so on Christmas Day, someone brought to the emperor a large and marvellous apple. After admiring it, the emperor sent it to Eudokia who sent it to Paulinus. Two days later Paulinus sent it to the emperor. Recognizing it, the emperor hid it, went away, and asked the Augusta, 'By my salvation, where is the apple I sent you?' She replied 'By your salvation, I have eaten it.' Then, moved to anger, he ordered that the apple be brought in and that Paulinus be exiled to Cappadocia and executed there.[117]

She ultimately retired to Jerusalem, where she died.[118] She was purportedly buried at a church dedicated to St. Stephen in Jerusalem.[119] While in the Holy Land and its vicinity, she is known to have developed special relationships with the people of Antioch and is said to have funded numerous churches and other religious establishments there. Augusta Aelia Eudokia possibly played an instrumental role in translating the relics of St. Stephen Protomartyr to Constantinople.[120] She may have been particularly devoted to St. Polyeuktos, who, like Augusta Aelia Eudokia, was a Christian convert. It is likely she founded a church dedicated to him in either

[117] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango,155.

[118] *PLRE* II, 408-409. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 167. Kai Trampedach, "The Making of the Holy Land in Late Antiquity," in *City of Caesar, City of God: Constantinople and Jerusalem in Late Antiquity*, eds. Konstantin M. Klein and Johannes Wienand, 25 (Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2022), accessed March 18, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[119] *PLRE* II, 409.

[120] Gregory T. Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1970): 18.

Jerusalem or Constantinople, a subject that will be discussed further in chapter four. Two of Juliana's foundations in Constantinople, on dedicated to St. Stephen and one to St. Polyeuktos, linked Juliana's matronage with that of her Augusta Aelia Eudokia.

Juliana's maternal grandmother, Augusta Licinia Eudoxia, was the daughter of Theodosios II and Augusta Aelia Eudokia. Her parents arranged a marriage to Theodosios II's first cousin, Valentinian III as a way to shore up the dynastic links between the two branches of the family. Augusta Licinia Eudoxia bore Valentinian III two daughters, Eudokia and Placidia.[121] While she was born in Constantinople, she lived at the court in Ravenna while married to Valentinian III.[122] After the assassination of Valentinian III, Augusta Licinia Eudoxia and her daughters experienced great tumult. Under somewhat unclear circumstances, the Vandal king, Geiseric, took Augusta Licina Eudoxia, along with her two daughters, to Africa.[123] In Africa, Eudokia was married to Geiseric's son, Huneric.[124] Later, Augusta Licinia Eudoxia and her younger daughter Placidia, were sent to Constantinople where Augusta Licinia Eudoxia allegedly owned property.[125]

Augusta Licinia Eudoxia and her two daughters were probably traumatized by the assassination of Valentinian III and their own captivity in North Africa. It is likely that later on the three women shared their experiences with Juliana.[126] The events are referenced subtly in the epigram at St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, which states, "First

[121] *PLRE* II, 410-412.
[122] *PLRE* II, 410-412.
[123] *PLRE* II, 410-412.
[124] *PLRE* II, 410-412.
[125] *PLRE* II, 410-412.
[126] *PLRE* II, 887.

[Augusta Licinia] Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosios [II], having escaped from war and the barbarians, erected and dedicated me to God in acknowledgement of her rescue from distress."[127] I can only hypothesize about what may have drawn Augusta Licinia Eudoxia to St. Euphemia. The augusta may have aligned herself with the saint because of the strong connection between the saint, the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon at which her aunt, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria was instrumental. St. Euphemia may also have attracted the devotion of Augusta Licinia Eudoxia because the saint was martyred near Constantinople, and born to a noble family. That is to say, the augusta may have identified with her on various levels.

Very little is recorded about Juliana's mother, Noble Placidia (c. 439-after 478).[128] We know that she was titled *nobilissima femina* or ἡ ἐπιφανεστάτη (most renowned/celebrated woman).[129] Several Late Antique and Early Byzantine authors note that Noble Placidia was taken with her mother and sister to North Africa as captives.

> Writing in the later sixth century,[130] Evagrius Scholasticus reports that,
>
> . . . after firing the city and making an indiscriminate pillage, he retired, taking with him Eudoxia and her two daughters, and returned to Africa. The elder daughter, Eudocia, he espouses to his own son, Huneric; but the younger, Placidia, he subsequently sends, together with her mother Eudoxia, with a royal escort to Byzantium, with the view of pacifying Marcian, who was

[127] *Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), 13.
[128] *PLRE* II, 887.
[129] *PLRE* II, 887.
[130] Roger Scott, "Evagrius Scholasticus," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-1772.

> exasperated both by the burning of Rome and the outrage upon the royal ladies. Placidia, in obedience to Marcian, consents to marry Olybrius, a distinguished member of the senate, who had come to Constantinople on the capture of Rome.[131]

Writing a little later, Theophanes records that,

> [Geiseric], with no one to stop him, entered Rome on the third day after the murder of Maximus, and taking all the money and the adornments of the city, he loaded them on his ships, among them the solid gold and bejewelled treasures of the Church and the Jewish vessels which Vespasian's son Titus had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. Having also taken the empress Eudoxia and her daughters, he sailed back to Africa. He married Eudokia to his eldest son, [Huneric], but after learning that Placidia had a husband, the patrician Olybrius, he held her in custody with her mother Eudoxia.[132]

Noble Placidia married Anikios Olybrios around 454 or 455 AC.[133] Juliana is their only child recorded. Both Noble Placidia and Olybrios are mentioned in the epigram at St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, but that is one of very few references to the elite woman.

[131] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 2, Chapter 16, trans. E. Walford (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1847), https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/evagrius_2_book2.htm.

[132.] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 167.

[133.] Frank M. Clover, "The Family and Early Career of Anicius Olybrius," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 27, no. 1 (1978): 174, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4435589. *PLRE* II, 887.

The Anikii

Juliana's father, Anikios Olybrios, descended from an illustrious line, too. He was briefly emperor in the West and he died of natural causes.[134] According to Theophanes, Olybrios was sent to serve as the emperor in the West by Leo I, the progenitor of a new dynasty, but died soon afterward.[135] Evagrius indicates, however, that Olybrios was appointed emperor by Ricimer (died 472 AC), an important general in the Italian peninsula at the time.[136]

Evidence indicates that the Anikii were important members of the Roman elite from at least as early as the fourth century AC.[137] They may have been some of the first patrician families to convert to Christianity[138] likely encouraging the practice of Christianity among the upper class. Indeed, it was not only the Theodosian women who participated in important religious and theological debates of their time. Demetrias, another Anikiian woman, received letters from Jerome and other theologians of the early 5th century.[139] This tradition of corresponding with important

134. *PLRE* II, 796-797.

135. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 184.

136. Cameron, "Anician Myths," 165. Brian Croke, "Ricimer" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-4047. Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 2, Chapter 16, trans. E. Walford.

137 David Natal, "Anicii," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-272.

138 Hagith Sivan, "Anician Women, the Cento of Proba, and Aristocratic Conversion in the Fourth Century," *Vigiliae Christianae* 47, no. 2 (1993): 151, https://doi.org/10.1163/157007293X00105.

139 Lucy Grig, "Demetrias," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-1460. *PLRE* II, 351-352.

theologians and voicing support for specific religious beliefs was not lost on Juliana. Demetrias took vows of chastity and remained a virgin. She was one of the richest women in Rome during her lifetime.[140]

A somewhat obscure Proba, also an Anikiian, is the purported author of a cento, a type of text that borrows from another, especially Virgil, to create a new one.[141] The cento ascribed to Proba carries a strong evangelizing tone.[142] As the member of a dynasty closely associated with conversion to Christianity, it is not entirely surprising Anikia Proba wrote in such a tone. The dedication to the promotion of Christianity sponsored by the Anikiian side of her family was not lost in Juliana, as I will show, especially through her pro-Chalcedonian leanings.[143]

Juliana

Juliana was born after the Theodosians had lost control of the imperial seat to the Leonid dynasty. Emperor Zeno attempted to marry Juliana to Theoderic, a Goth

[140] *PLRE* II, 351.

[141] Stephen Harrison, "cento, Latin," *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 7 Mar. 2016, accessed 21 Oct. 2023, https://oxfordre-com.oca.ucsc.edu/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-7177. Sivan, "Aniciian Women," 141.

[142] Harrison, "cento, Latin."

[143] The later members of the Theodosian dynasty, including Juliana, adhered to the theological conclusions drawn at the Fourth Ecumenical Council held in Chalcedon in 451 AC. See Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London: Routledge, 1994), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203036174, and Aristeides Papadakis, "Chalcedon, Council of," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-0963.

educated in Constantinople,[144] but the marriage did not take place for unknown reasons.[145] Juliana ultimately married Flavius Areobindos Dagalaiphos, an Alan by descent,[146] who was consul around 506 AC.[147] Areobindos served in the military in the East and fought in Persia.[148] The match was fairly standard for a woman of Juliana's social station and a man of Areobindos' military background. Further, it was fairly common among the Theodosian women, like her ancestresses before her, to be married to non-Romans, that is to say Visigoths and Vandals.[149] Areobindos descended from an illustrious and influential line of military leaders; his grandfather was Aspar, an Alan and commander in chief of the imperial armies, who was murdered at the request of the emperor Leo I in 471 AC.[150]

[144] Jonathan Arnold, "Theoderic," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-4667.

[145] Jonathan J. Arnold, *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 156 n. 46, accessed January 9, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central. Cameron, "Anician Myths," 161.

[146] The Alans were a group of nomads from southeastern Russia. Timothy Darvill, "Alans," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199534043.001.0001/acref-9780199534043-e-77. See also Bernard S. Bachrach, *History of the Alans in the West: From Their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), accessed March 7, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[147] Antony Eastmond, "Consular Diptychs, Rhetoric and the Languages of Art in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *Art History* 33, no. 5 (2010): 743, doi:10.1111/j.1467-8365.2010.00780.x. Fiona Haarer, "Areobindus Dagalaiphus, Areobindus, Fl.," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20180, https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-406. *PLRE* II, 143. Hanna-Riitta Toivanen, "The Church of St. Polyeuktos: Archaeology and Texts," *Acta Byzantina Fennica* (2005): 131.

[148] *PLRE* II, 143.

[149] Augusta Galla Placidia was married to a Visigoth, Athaulf, and Noble Eudokia was married to a Vandal, Geiseric.

[150] Brian Croke, "Aspar," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-504. See also Meaghan McEvoy, "Becoming Roman?: The Not-So-Curious Case of Aspar and the Ardaburi," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 9, no. 2 (2016): 483-511. https://doi.org/10.1353/jla.2016.0021.

An ivory diptych illustrates Areobindos (Fig. 4) upon his appointment as consul. The panels illustrate the many events that would have taken place the week of his appointment. According to Antony Eastmond, the celebratory events included, "a procession on the inauguration of the consul, a day of horse racing, a day of theatrical entertainments, a day of animal combats, a second theatrical day, a second day of racing, and finally a solemn ceremony to end the week."[151] The figures surrounding the seated Areobindos suggest the excitement of the events that would have cost a fabulous amount of money.



Figure 4. Ivory consular diptych of Areobindus, 506. Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich, Switzerland.

[151] Eastmond, "Consular Diptychs," 743.

Juliana gave birth to one son, Olybrios Minor, and Juliana was grandmother to his two daughters.[152] After Juliana's death, Olybrios Minor was exiled, purportedly because of his participation in the Nika Revolt.[153] Once Olybrios Minor was permitted to return to Constantinople, there is no more information about him or his children.[154] It is possible his daughters died or married into other illustrious families into which their identities were subsumed.

Scholars have called attention to Juliana's possible attempt to regain control of the imperial seat for her son Olybrios Minor. Notably, Olybrios Minor was married to Anastasios I's niece, Irene.[155] The *lex Iulia et Papia* made specific limitations for marriages among the elite.[156] As such, it would have been important for both families to identify a suitable partner for children and the two were well matched socially. Therefore, the marriage might have been an attempt to regain some imperial control, but it may also have simply been the most suitable match for the two families.

Carmelo Capizzi, who has researched Juliana's life,[157] notes the recent trauma Juliana's female ancestors experienced at the hands of the Vandals while deeply

[152] *PLRE* II, 795. R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane: The Excavations, Structures, Architectural Decoration, Small Finds, Coins, Bones, and Mulluscs* (Princeton: Princetone University Press, 1986), 4. There is no evidence Juliana had more children.

[153] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 5. *PLRE* II, 793.

[154] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 5.

[155] *PLRE* II, 795.

[156] Thomas A. J. McGinn, "The Lex Iulia et Papia," in *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (New York, 2003; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 Sept. 2007), https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195161328.003.0003, accessed 30 Dec. 2023.

[157] See Carmelo Capizzi, *Anicia Giuliana La Committente (c. 463-C. 528),* 1 ed. (Milano: Jaca Book, 1997), ibid., "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca – 530 ca): Ricerches sulla sua Famiglia e la Sua Vita," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 1 (1964), ibid., "L'attivita' edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 204 (1977): 119-146, and ibid., "L'interventio di Anicia Giuliana nell'unione ecclesiastica del 519," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sulle relazioni fra le due sponde adriatiche: 15-18 ottobre 1971* (1973): 49-86.

ensconced in the Late Antique Roman court.[158] Capizzi states that, "it seems that Giuliana did not have strong talents or ambitions for politics."[159] It seems to me that, though this statement, Capizzi perpetuates the stereotypes of women being incapable and not of sound mind, a notion established in the ancient world. I argue that Juliana had a strong talent for politics and the maneuvering it required, but perhaps her ambitions were hardened by the tumult she witnessed during her lifetime and the traumatic experiences of her ancestresses described to her by her mother, other relatives and friends.

Juliana vis a vis Contemporary Elite Women

The dearth of anecdotes or narratives around Juliana imply that she was, in fact, an exemplary woman of her milieu. A well-known text from the period, *The Secret History* by Prokopios, provides a contrasting case study. Writing before 558 AC, Prokopios served as the secretary for General Belisarios and kept numerous records.[160] Prokopios notes a number of important historical figures, but his scathing report of the imperial couple, Justinian and Theodora, demonstrates just how some were viewed by a portion of the public.[161] His treatment of Theodora and the wife of

[158] Capizzi, "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca – 530 ca)," 50.

[159] Capizzi, "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca – 530 ca)," 50..

[160] Procopius, *The Anecdota* or *Secret History*, trans. H. B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library 290 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), https://www-loebclassics-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/LCL290/1935/volume.xml. L. Michael Whitby, "Belisarius," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-1079.

[161] Of course, Prokopios had unusual access to imperial circles and unique knowledge of the court to which very few others had. Still, his record in *The Secret History* shows an important slice of both public perception and how authors treated significant public figures.

Belisarios, Antonina, remains shocking but also allows us to appreciate the stark difference with Juliana's impeccable reputation.

Prokopios' characterizations of Theodora and Antonina falls into a category of literature illustrating contempt for their male counterparts.[162] In a reversal of Pliny's questioning the intellectual abilities of Pompeius Saturninus' wife,[163] in *The Secret History*, Prokopios defames the wives of noble men to defame those same men; just as a woman's intelligence could be ascribed to their male counterparts, a woman's bad behavior could be projected onto her husband.[164]

Prokopios describes Antonina and Theodora in terms of their sexual depravity. About Antonina, he writes,

> [Antonina], having in her early years lived a lewd sort of a life and having become dissolute in character, not only having consorted much with the cheap sorcerers who surrounded her parents, but also having thus acquired the knowledge of what she needed to know, later became the wedded wife of Belisarius, after having already been the mother of many children. Straightway, therefore, she decided upon being an adulteress from the very start, but she was very careful to conceal this business, not because she was ashamed of her own practices, nor because she entertained any fear so far as her husband was concerned (for she never experienced the slightest feeling of shame for any action whatsoever and she had gained complete control of her husband by means of many tricks of magic) . . . [165]

[162] de la Bédoyère, "Virtue, Honour and Chastity," 20.

[163] Pliny, *Letters*, Book 1.16.6, trans. John B. Firth, accessed 29 December 2023, https://pages.pomona.edu/~cmc24747/sources/plin_1-5.htm.

[164] As Tracy Chapman Hamilton pointed out in a personal correspondence, the opposite can happen, too. That is to say, the bad behavior of a man could be projected onto his wife, diminishing her intelligence.

[165] Procopius, *The Anecdota* or *Secret History*, trans. H. B. Dewing, 9.

Prokopios describes Antonina's disreputable and supposedly immodest past to demonstrate the flaws in Belisarios. In describing Antonina misleading Belisarios about her indiscretions and adultery, Prokopios shows that the general is a poor judge of character and, by extension, a flawed military leader.

Likewise, Prokopios portrays Theodora to discredit her husband, the emperor Justinian. Similarly to his treatment of Antonina, Prokopios defames Theodora from her youth by ascribing immodest behavior to her. He writes,

> . . . as soon as [Theodora] came of age and was at last mature, she joined the women of the stage and straightway became a courtesan, of the sort whom men of ancient times used to call "infantry." For she was neither a flute-player nor a harpist, nay, she had not even acquired skill in the dance, but she sold her youthful beauty to those who chanced to come along, plying her trade with practically her whole body. Later on she was associated with the actors in all the work of the theatre, and she shared their performances with them, playing up to their buffoonish acts intended to raise a laugh. For she was unusually clever and full of gibes, and she immediately became admired for this sort of thing. For the girl had not a particle of modesty, nor did any man ever see her embarrassed, but she undertook shameless services without the least hesitation . . .[166]

By defaming Theodora, Prokopios defames Justinian who got married to an immodest woman capable of maiming his reputation through her sexual history.

The literary treatment of Theodora and Antonina contrasts sharply with the evidence describing Juliana. From this lack of information about Juliana, we can infer

[166] Procopius, *The Anecdota* or *Secret History*, trans. H. B. Dewing, 105, 107.

a few things. It is possible that Prokopios was not fully aware of Juliana because her death may have occurred early in his career. It is also plausible that Juliana was of such good standing, despite the attempt to elevate Areobindus to the imperial seat in 512 AC, that there was no way to defame her good character. On the other hand, since Juliana was not the center of imperial power, authors of her time, such as Prokopios, did not have a reason to defame her while following their own political agendas.

Section III

Names and Titles of Theodosian Women

Notably, many Theodosian women shared similar names, but Juliana's name comes from her Anician ancestry rather than her Theodosian. Two fifth-century AC Anician women were named Juliana: the wife of Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and also the daughter of Anicius Probus.[167] It is unlikely that they were ever in contact with Juliana in Constantinople; they lived about a century before Juliana of Constantinople died.[168] It is also possible, however, that in naming their child Juliana, her parents linked their daughter to the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the progenitors of the Roman Empire, in addition to her prestigious Anikiian lineage.

[167] *PLRE*, 635.
[168] See Cameron, "Anician Myths," 137.

Epiphanestate and Nobilissima

In early-sixth century AC Constantinople, Juliana was one of the wealthiest women in the city. Her parentage allowed her a unique social standing among the elite; she was ostensibly the last well-known member of the imperial, Theodosian dynasty. She held the title *epiphanestate (*ἐπιφανεστάτη), which means most-well-known in Greek, or *nobilissima* a Latin title also bestowed on her mother, Noble Placidia,[169] before her.[170] Both titles could be bestowed on the woman or girl by a relative. For example, Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia was given the title *nobilissima puella* (noble girl) by her father;[171] she also had the title patricia (πατρικία).[172] She inherited the title and it was not conferred upon her by her husband because the titles related to her genealogy. That is to say, she was a patricia because of her own noble parentage.

Juliana's titles further infer her somewhat unusual independence from the

[169] *PLRE* II, 887.

[170] Lynda Garland notes that before the Komnenoi, the male form of the title was reserved for members of the imperial family and was one of the three highest titles. See Lynda Garlands, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527-120*4 (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1999), 243, accessed January 9, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central. See also Geoffrey Nathan, "The *Vienna Dioscorides*' dedicatio to Anicia Juliana: A Usurpation of Imperial Patronage?," in *Basileia: Essays on Imperium and Culture: In Honour of E.M. and M.J. Jeffreys*, Geoffrey Nathan and Lynda Garland, eds., 95-102 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[171] Joyce E. Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress: Galla Placidia Rules at the Twilight of the Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 17, accessed January 9, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[172] *PLRE* II, 636. Walter Emil Kaegi, "Anicia Juliana," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-0281.

guardianship of men; as if her birthright was her independence. Diliana Angelova, professor of art history at the University of California, Berkeley, notes that, according to Roman understanding, "lineage implicitly bestowed qualities"[173] and this reflected on Juliana, likely to her benefit. Because of her pedigree, Juliana was able to hold a singular social standing in Constantinople.



Figure 5. Dioscoridies de Materia Medica Cod. Med. Gr. 1 Fol. 6r, Anikia Juliana escorted by Magnanimity & Prudence, 512 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13721389.

The miniature in the *Vienna Dioskorides* of Juliana (Fig. 5) discussed in more detail below provides us with a unique glimpse of how the public perceived Juliana because the manuscript was a gift from the people of Honoratae, a Constantinopolitan neighborhood across either the Golden Horn or Bosporos. It was in Honoratae that

[173] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 71.

Juliana funded a church dedicated to the Theotokos, the Mother of God. In the manuscript, she is clearly illustrated as noble and demonstrates her high social status through visual symbols. The image presents the viewer with an obviously elite figure, enthroned and finely dressed, and the accompanying epigram further elucidates the public perception of Juliana. It states:

> Hail, oh princess, Honoratae extols and glorifies you with all fine praises; for Magnanimity allows you to be mentioned over the entire world. You belong to the family of the Anicii, and you have built a temple of the Lord, raised high and beautiful.[174]

This panegyric epigram, coupled with the idealized miniature, presents Juliana as a matron of the highest caliber so it is fairly clear how at least one community, however small, viewed Juliana during her lifetime.

Augusta

Other titles had to be conferred on imperial women by the emperor. Many Theodosian women were elevated to augustae by their fathers, husbands, or sons. Their titles were displayed publicly on coins (Figs. 6, 7, and 8). The images on the coins bear similarities to one another, perhaps as a means to further connect them to each other and their imperial male relatives. According to Diliana Angelova, "Augusta . . . was a title/name that associated Livia with Augustus, the founder and

[174] Bente Kiilerich, "The Image of Anicia Juliana in the Vienna Diosurides: Flattery or Appropriation of Imperial Imagery?," *Symbolae Osloenses: Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies* 76 (2001): 171.

savior of the state."[175] In bestowing the exalted title on the women close to them, the emperors singled them out and overtly elevated them above other women in the empire.[176]



Figure 6. Gold solidus of Pulcheria (414-453), 414-419, Constantinople. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.



Figure 7. Gold solidus of Galla Placidia (421-450), 426-430, Ravenna. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.

[175] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 71.

[176] Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress*, 9. Here, Salisbury suggests that the title elevated the women to equal status of their male counterparts, but I would argue that, as women, they could never have shared fully in equal status. See also Garland, *Byzantine Empresses*, 2-3. Garland explains that the title furnished the bearer with merely ceremonial duties rather than any specific political duties.



Figure 8. Gold solidus of Eudocia (423-460), 430, Constantinople. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.

Although the women were singled out, and celebrated, according to Ulpian, an early-third-century AC jurist states that,[177]

> princeps legibus solutus est: Augusta autem licet legibus soluta non est, principes eadem illi privilegia tribuunt, quae ipsi habent
>
> The prince is freed by the laws: but although Augusta is not freed by the laws, the princes give her the same privileges that they have themselves.[178]

Alan Cameron, Jacqueline Long, and Lee Francis Sherry note that during the Theodosian reigns,

> The status of Augusta was ill defined. On a strict definition, Augustae were not members of the imperial college, since their names did not appear in the headings to imperial laws. But their names and images appeared on the coinage, and (by ca. 400 at least) they were entitled to their own household, or rather bedchamber (*cubiculum*), with a staff and treasury of their own. The mere fact that they could dispense sums beyond the reach of private citizens

[177] "Domitius Ulpiānus," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-741.

[178] See Cameron, et al, *Barbarians and Politics*, 401, n. 17. It seems likely Ulpian references only the privileges of wealth rather than any other privileges men enjoyed.

must have encouraged obedience [to the augusta].[179]

The authors also suggest that, "Theodosius's purpose in establishing the practice [of granting the title of augusta] was presumably no more than glorification of the dynasty.[180]" Thus the title was more honorific than a title with political power, although the augusta did have control of her own purse. Of course, control over finances could furnish women with significant sway in addition to the ability to fund a variety of matronage projects.

Neither Juliana nor her mother, Placidia, were ever elevated to augusta although they were closely related to emperors. Placidia was the daughter of emperor Valentinian III, who died in 455 AC,[181] and her husband, Anikios Olybrios Major, was emperor in the West in 472 AC.[182] As the daughter of Emperor Anikios Olybrios, Juliana may have been elevated to augusta at some point in her life, had her father lived long enough, as emperor to bestow the title. Both Valentinian III and Anikios Olybrios Major died before titles could be given to Juliana or her mother, Placidia. It is also possible that because both women had significant financial freedom without the title, neither Valentinian III nor Anikios Olybrios Major bestowed it on them. The former possibility seems more plausible, though.

Section IV

[179] See Cameron, et al, *Barbarians and Politics,* 401-402.
[180] See Cameron, et al, *Barbarians and Politics*, 402.
[181] Timothy E. Gregory, "Valentinian III," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5681.
[182] *PLRE* II, 796.

Theodosian and Anikiian Matronage

Among the monuments we know were funded or renewed by Theodosian and Anikiian women, churches were common. As Ann Patrice Schnakenberg mentions, by Juliana's lifetime, "Philanthropy was no longer a mere action arising from superior privilege, or to be bestowed within one's own social group. Instead, it had become a divinely inspired act of worship."[183] Churches thus served a broader public while extolling the piety of the matron or patron. We know that Augusta Aelia Galla



Figure 9. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, c.425, Ravenna, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13900072.

Placidia funded at least two churches in Ravenna, Santa Croce, a domed building now mostly in ruins, and the Church of St. John the Evangelist.[184] Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia supposedly constructed the church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist to fulfill a vow made to the saint during a frightening sea voyage.[185] This church was damaged significantly during World War II.[186] The eponymous mausoleum of Galla

[183] Ann Patrice Schnakenberg, "The Epigram of the Great Entablature of St. Polyeuktos and the Legacy of Anicia Juliana," (Master's thesis, Montclair State University, 2017), 17.
[184] Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress*, 119-120, 150.
[185] Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress*, 150. Sivan, *Galla Placidia,* 94.
[186] Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress*, 150.

Placidia (Fig. 9) in Ravenna is also linked to Augusta Aelia Galla Placidia[187] and decorated with mosaics identified as St. Lawrence or St. Vincent.[188] It is well known that the augusta was not buried at the mausoleum associated with her name.[189]

Gregory T. Armstrong notes that Augusta Aelia Eudoxia sent thirty-two emerald-colored marble columns to help construct a church in Gaza after a temple was destroyed.[190] Beyond this gift, Armstrong notes that she may have also advised on the plan of the church,[191] but any additional building construction or renewal conducted by Augusta Aelia Eudoxia is unknown. She, like her daughter Pulcheria, did participate in the translation of relics to Constantinople, as discussed above.

Augusta Aelia Eudokia was quite prolific in her matronage, especially in the Holy Land. Armstrong traces a number of monuments funded by the augusta, including a spacious church constructed on the site where St. Stephen the Protomartyr was stoned in Jerusalem. Evagrius Scholasticus noted that,

> After having conversed with many persons of this description, and founded, as I have already said, many such seats of contemplation, and, besides, restored the walls of Jerusalem, the consort of Theodosius [II, Augusta Aelia Eudokia,] also erected a very large sanctuary, conspicuous for elevation and beauty, in honour of Stephen, the first of deacons and martyrs, distant less than a

[187] Gillian Mackie, "The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia: A Possible Occupant," *Byzantion* 65, no. 2 (1995): 397, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44172233.

[188] Gillian Mackie convincingly argues that the mosaic often identified as St. Lawrence could actually represent St. Vincent, who has a similar martyrdom. See Gillian Mackie, "New Light on the So-Called Saint Lawrence Panel at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna," *Gesta* 29, no. 1 (1990): 54–60, https://doi.org/10.2307/767100.

[189] For a robust discussion of the individuals interred see Gillian Mackie, "The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia," *Byzantion* 65, no. 2 (1995): 396-404, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44172233.

[190] Gregory T. Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings in the Holy Land," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1970): 17.

[191] Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings,"17-18.

> stadium from Jerusalem. Here her own remains were deposited, when she had departed to the unfading life.[192]

She also funded a church at the Pool of Siloam.[193] The pool is associated with a site where Jesus performed the miracle of giving a blind person sight.[194] It is not clear where the church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos was, whether in Jerusalem or Constantinople, a topic discussed in more detail in chapter four.

Augusta Aelia Pulcheria funded construction or renewal in Constantinople, but she is more well known for the translation of relics to the capital.[195] As discussed in chapter three, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria was elated by the translation of St. Stephen the Protomartyr's relics from Jerusalem to Constantinople.[196] Augusta Aelia Pulcheria paid for the construction of churches to house the relics of St. Lawrence and the Prophet Isaiah, near the imperial complex on the Bosporos.[197] Of course, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria's influence at the Third Ecumenical Council held in Ephesos and the Fourth Ecumenical Council held in Chalcedon are memorable, too:[198] Augusta Aelia Pulcheria was famously at vicious odds with Nestorios, an intrepid opponent of the epithet "Theotokos."[199]

[192] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 1, Chapter 12, trans. E. Walford.
[193] Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings," 18-19.
[194] John 9: 1-6 (NIV).
[195] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 57.
[196] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 56.
[197] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 56.
[198] Timothy E. Gregory and Anthony Cutler "Pulcheria," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-4581.
[199] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 57-63.

It seems likely Augusta Aelia Pulcheria participated in a more spiritual variety of matronage, by cultivating a cult of relics in Constantinople, and working with ecumenical councils, rather than the religio-cultural matronage of building construction and renewal. Augusta Aelia Pulcheria has been associated with the churches of the Hodegetria, Chalkoprateia, and the Blachernae, but her association is most likely legendary.[200] Juliana did participate in religious debates during her lifetime, but augmented her spiritual or pious matronage with the funding and renewal of monuments.

Augusta Licinia Eudoxia and Noble Placidia are connected to St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, but any other funding of construction or renewal of monuments in or around Constantinople is unclear. Their connection to St. Euphemia is equally unclear aside from the saint's relationship to the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesos, which will be explored more carefully in chapter three.

Alan Cameron also notes that many Anikiian women lavished money on church buildings.[201] As wealthy and prominent Christians, it is clear that Anikiian women responded to a call to matronage just as other imperial women did. It is not clear if Juliana intended to mimic her Anikiian ancestress, but Anikia Demetrias also founded a church dedicated to St. Stephen.[202] Jerome, however, discouraged Demetrias from spending lavishly on churches. He wrote,

[200] Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 120.

[201] Alan Cameron, "Anician Myths," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 169.

[202] *PLRE* II, 351. A website suggests the church was dedicated to St. Stephen Protomartyr, but the source is dubious. See "The Church of San Stefano Protomartire", Roma Non Per Tutti, accessed 21 October 2023, https://roma-nonpertutti.com/en/article/200/church-of-san-stefano-protomartire-

> Others may build churches, may adorn their walls when built with marbles, may procure massive columns, may deck the unconscious capitals with gold and precious ornaments, may cover church doors with silver and adorn the altars with gold and gems. I do not blame those who do these things; I do not repudiate them. Everyone must follow his own judgment. And it is better to spend one's money thus than to hoard it up and brood over it. However, your duty is of a different kind.[203]

So, Jerome does not fully object to renewing or paying for the construction of church monuments, but he does urge Demetrias to spend her money and time in other ways. He closes his letter by having written,

> Love the holy scriptures, and wisdom will love you. Love wisdom, and it will keep you safe. Honour wisdom, and it will embrace you round about. Let the jewels on your breast and in your ears be the gems of wisdom. Let your tongue know no theme but Christ, let no sound pass your lips that is not holy, and let your words always reproduce that sweetness of which your grandmother and your mother set you the example. Imitate them, for they are models of virtue.[204]

Thus Jerome encourages Demetrias to spend her time focusing on spiritual pursuits, rather than the pursuits of civic and imperial piety. Perhaps he considered the renewal and construction of monuments more political than spiritual.

following-in-the-footsteps-of-the-cult-of-st-stephen-in-rome. Other sources simply mention a church dedicated to St. Stephen, of which there are at least two figures known as St. Stephen.

[203] Jerome quoted by Gregory T. Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings," 18. Jerome, "Letter 130," trans. W. H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley, from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, Vol. 6, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001130.htm.

[204] Jerome, "Letter 130," trans. W. H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley.

Juliana's Matronage

Juliana's matronage suggests she was deeply supportive of her family and took religious debates seriously. She perpetuated the work of her noble female family members by carefully contributing to the profile of Constantinople as Christian and imperial. Her monuments celebrate her female forebears in unique ways. While other Roman matrons used their connections to men to celebrate their philanthropy and memory, Juliana recalled her Theodosian ancestresses more clearly than her imperial male relatives.

The extant epigrams from the churches renewed by Juliana mention Augusta Aelia Eudokia, Augusta Licinia Eudoxia, and Noble Placidia. Constantine I and Theodosios I are also mentioned by name in the epigram at St. Polyeuktos but Anikios Olybrios Major, Juliana's father, and Anikios Olybrios Minor, Juliana's son, are not mentioned by name in the epigram at St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou.

Further, as I will show, her generous renewal and foundation of monuments suggests that Juliana was in full control of her wealth; she did not rely on a male guardian to manage her finances and spending. The management of her own fortune illustrates the level of her wealth, too, since she was not granted the title of augusta which would have provided her with a treasury, as mentioned above. The epigrams associated with her renewed monuments reference her male relatives only obliquely, so it is possible her economic status and higher social standing than her husband freed her from the reins of male guardianship.

Here it may be helpful to compare Juliana's matronage to that of Theodora, again. The epigrammatic language describing Juliana contrasts with the language describing Theodora,[205] wife of Justinian I, in an epigram decorating SS. Sergios and Bakchos. The epigram states,

> Other sovereigns have honored dead men whose labor was unprofitable, but our sceptered Justinian, fostering piety, honors with a splendid abode the Servant of Christ, Begetter of all things, Sergius; whom not the burning breath of fire, nor the sword, nor any other constraint of torments disturbed; but who endured to be slain for the sake of Christ, the God, gaining by his blood heaven as his home. May he in all things guard the rule of the sleepless sovereign and increase the power of the God-crowned Theodora whose mind is adorned with piety, whose constant toil lies in unsparing efforts to nourish the destitute.[206]

The epigram of SS. Sergios and Bakchos rhymes with many of the other inscriptions of donors of the time, especially in the Roman East.[207] It references the male donor first and the female donor as a secondary element to the foundation of the church.

As such, the comparison with one of Juliana's epigrams is striking: Juliana and the women in her family are centered in the text. In the church dedicated to St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, renewed by Juliana, the epigram states, ". . . if perchance my beauty was at all deficient in splendor, munificent Juliana invested me with it in

[205] Theodora is an interesting figure within this historical period. She supposedly was a working-class woman and later gained social status through marriage and the status of her husband. Her social position while like Juliana's is also at odds with Juliana's. Unfortunately, this analysis is slightly beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[206] Cyril Mango, "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *Jarhbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972): 190.

[207] Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, 34.

memory of her parents . . .” and “. . . by their art they did not leave a fame so great as is the glory of wise Juliana, who by her work surpassed the skilled design of her ancestors.”[208] Juliana, in these brief snippets, seems in full control of her wealth, unlike Theodora whose generosity is clearly connected with her husband and ostensibly his management of her wealth. The comparison with descriptions like “. . . Juliana invested . . .” and “. . . Juliana, who by her work . . .” insinuate Juliana’s autonomous control of her wealth, without the need of a male guardian or title. Juliana highlights her financial independence while proclaiming her illustrious pedigree without clearly identifying a guardian.



Figure 10. Detail, *Dioscoridies de Materia Medica* Cod. Med. Gr. 1 Fol. 6r, Anikia Juliana escorted by Magnanimity & Prudence, 512 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13721389.

[208] *Greek Anthology,* trans. Paton, 13, 15.

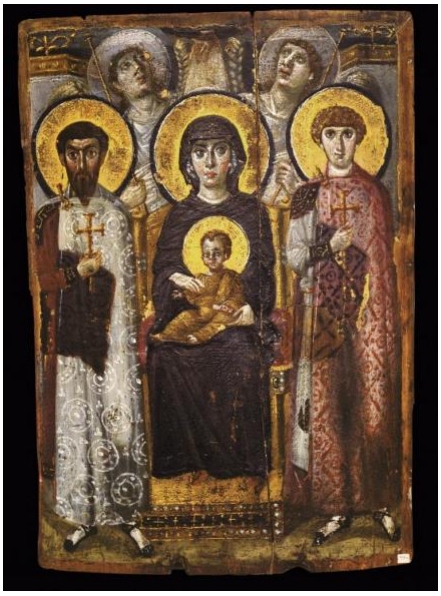


Figure 11. Virgin and Child with Two Saints. second half of the 6th century. St. Catherine Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt. https://jstor.org/stable/community.18129960.

The portrait of Juliana (Fig. 5) in the so-called *Vienna Dioskorides* also illustrates Juliana's control and management of her finances. She is depicted extending her right hand to offer coints to a small putto who collects them on a small codex (Fig. 10). [209] Juliana is flanked by the personifications of Magnanimity on the viewer's left and Prudence on the viewer's right. In comparison to an icon of the Virgin and Child from St. Catherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai (Fig. 11), who is flanked by soldier-saint guardians, it is as if the personifications in either side of Juliana replace the male guards. As I will discuss further in chapter three, while this is clearly a common arrangement of figures, the miniature implies that it is Juliana who manages her own finances, driven by her own innate sense of benevolence and

[209] Although the image has suffered the vicissitudes of time, the putto does appear to proffer a codex onto which Juliana deposits the coins. As Maria Evangelatou has pointed out, this could be a reference to the relationship between the codex itself and the money Juliana provided to construct the church in Honoratae.

caution. Though the textual record might lead readers to believe elite women could not control their wealth for a variety of reasons, the images and epigrams related to Juliana infer that some women could operate outside the ideal boundaries.[210]

Several metaphorical threads connect Juliana's renewed and new foundations. Foremost among these was a strong connection to her Theodosian ancestresses. Juliana could trace her genealogy to the most illustrious families in Constantinople and the city of Rome: the Theodosians and the Anikii, as discussed above. Although she descended from two wealthy and politically prominent families, it was her female, Theodosian family members Juliana recalled to the public with her Christian monuments in Constantinople. The Anikii were one of the first noble families to convert to Christianity and this may have been a well-known fact to the public, so much so that Juliana felt it unnecessary to promote their piety.[211]

Although entirely speculative, it seems likely that Juliana chose the family members she educed in her building campaign carefully. From the available evidence, Juliana ostensibly favored memorializing imperial women with prominent roles in construction and renewal. The higher social status of her Theodosian ancesters in comparison to the Anikii could also explain why she predominantly referenced the form rather than the latter in her dedications.

[210] See Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law*, 35.
[211] Cameron, "Anician Myths," 136.

Likewise, I present Juliana here not as an anomaly or entirely revolutionary within her socio-cultural sphere. Instead, I suggest Juliana adhered to the socio-cultural norms of her station. Indeed, her immediate family was never far from the imperial throne. It is likely that her proximity to the throne at all times in her life could have developed into a thirst for power, but her father, husband, and son all had close links to the imperial seat on their own, without her help or interference.

The tradition of imperial, female matronage began with Livia, the wife of Augustus. Diliana Angelova notes that, "[Livia's] construction projects in Rome seem to have been associated broadly with women's interests, roles, and virtues."[212] She actively bestowed her wealth on public edifices and religious institutions. She especially funded a temple to Concordia, a divine female related to marital harmony.[213] "Livia's shrine was a gesture of magnanimity toward the city of Rome, aiming at beautifying the city, delighting its citizens, and glorifying its patron. The dedication to Concordia, the goddess of marital and social harmony, drew attention to Livia, and women more broadly, as guardians of both."[214] Livia purposefully engaged

[212] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 72. See also Catherine Gines Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Annunciate Spinning: Allotting the Scarlet and the Purple* (Boston: BRILL, 2018), 130-181, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/lib/ucsc/detail.action?docID=5331647, Margaret Woodhull, "Matidia Minor and the Rebuilding of Suessa Aurunca," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 63/64 (2018): 203–236, and ibid., "Matronly Patrons in the Early Roman Empire: The Case of Salvia Postuma," in *Women's Influence on Classical Civilization*, eds. Fiona McHardy and Eireann Marshall, 87–103 (London: Routledge, 2004), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203209653-10.

[213] Cheryl L. Golden, "Concordia," in *Conflict in Ancient Greece and Rome: The Definitive Political, Social, and Military Encyclopedia*, eds. Iain Spence et al (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2016), 825-826, accessed October 22, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[214] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 73.

in shoring up her own identity as the wife of the emperor and the symbolic mother of the empire.

Later, Helena, the mother of Constantine I, strategically fashioned herself as a kind of new, Christian Livia. She paid for the construction of numerous monuments, especially churches, across the empire. The imperial women who came after Helena played a significant role in cultivating the city of Constantinople with imperial prestige and importance. Augusti used statues depicting their illustrious wives to symbolize imperial and civic piety. Perhaps the most famous example of this is Theodosios I's promotion of his wife, Augusta Aelia Flavia Flaccilla (Fig. 12), as a paramount exemplum of female, imperial piety.[215] Indeed, Gregory of Nyssa referred to Augusta Aelia Flavia Flaccilla as, "a column of the church, an ornament of the altars…."[216] Other Theodosian women especially cultivated the empire's Christianization. Augusta Aelia Eudokia paid for the construction of numerous monuments in Jerusalem. Augusta Galla Placidia paid for the construction of Christian monuments in Ravenna.

[215] Meaghan McEvoy, "Flaccilla, Aelia Flavia, wife of the eastern emperor Theodosius I," in *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 7 Mar. 2016, accessed 10 Apr. 2024, https://oxfordre-com.oca.ucsc.edu/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-8040, and Gines Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Annunciate*, 135.

[216] Gregory of Nyssa quoted in Julia Hillner, "New Model Empress," in *Helena Augusta: Mother of the Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1093/oso/9780190875299.003.0012, accessed 10 Apr. 2024.



Figure 12. Marble head, possibly of Empress Flaccilla, ca. 380–390 AC. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Public domain.

In many of the inscriptions and epigrams extolling the virtues of imperial and wealthy women, Roman matrons are linked to their illustrious fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons, as mentioned briefly above. Juliana's epigrams sometimes connect her with illustrious men in her family, but more often, she connects herself to her illustrious ancestresses. As will be discussed in the following chapters, Juliana specifically references her great grandmother by name, grandmother by name, and mother by name in prominent epigrams decorating churches she renewed in the tenth and eleventh regions of Constantinople. These epigrams also mention her father, though not by name. The epigram at St. Euphemia states,

> I am the House of the Trinity, and three generations built me. First Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius [II], having escaped from war and the barbarians, erected and dedicated me to God in acknowledgement of her rescue from distress. Next her daughter Placidia with her most blessed husband adorned

> me. Thirdly, if perchance my beauty was at all deficient in splendour, munificent Juliana invested me with it in memory of her parents, and bestowed the height of glory on her mother and father and her mother's illustrious mother by augmenting my former adornment. Thus was I made.[217]

Juliana mentions more distant male relatives by name, specifically Theodosios I and Constantine I in the exterior epigram at St. Polyeuktos which states, "What quire is sufficient to chant the works of Juliana, who after Constantine, the adorner of his Rome, and after the holy golden light of Theodosius, and after so many royal ancestors, in a few years accomplished a work worthy of her race, yea, more than worthy?"[218] The interior epigram makes reference to her son, a consul in the late-fifth century,[219] not by name, and also mentions her granddaughters, but not by name. The epigram states, "Therefore, all ye servants of the Heavenly King to whom she gave gifts or built temples, preserve [Juliana] gladly with her son and his daughters, and may the immeasurable glory of the most beneficent family survive as long as the Sun drives his burning chariot."[220]

Conclusion

While these social conventions and legal regulations discussed in Section I might have restricted some women, others found ways to move within the boundaries set for them. Juliana is one such case. Her extreme wealth and aristocratic lineage

[217] *Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton, 13.
[218] *Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton, 7.
[219] *PLRE* II, 795.
[220] *Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton, 9.

placed her under significant public and political scrutiny but she was able to memorialize her family and celebrate them through her extensive generosity while in control of her own wealth. She was clearly perceived as modest, magnanimous, and prudent, as shown in the *Vienna Dioskorides*. Juliana was also able to avoid public ridicule by authors like Prokopios, demonstrating her standing as a female paragon of the time.

It is through matronage that students and scholars today can get clearer views of how elite women viewed themselves and how the public viewed them; to, metaphorically, hear their voices.[221] Juliana's building campaign of renewal confirmed and gave lasting physical shape to her genealogy, social identity, and religious beliefs, as did the foundation and renewal of buildings by her forebears. Juliana memorialized her female ancestresses through her building campaign and amplified their accomplishments to the people of Constantinople.

The philanthropic building practices of women indicate that although they founded and renewed buildings and monuments related to their social sphere–that is the family, the home, and religious institutions–they maintained control of their own wealth and made obviously conscious decisions to give to foundations that supported their unique beliefs and convictions.

This patriarchal ideal of women remaining childlike and in the control of a male guardian, remaining enclosed in the home, and perpetually chaste, reframed

[221] Beryl Rawson, "Finding Roman Women," in *A Companion to the Roman Republic,* eds. Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2006), 324, Accessed September 5, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

through a gynocentric lens, reveals the importance of women to the social sphere and the integral role they played within their social milieux. The refocused view clarifies Juliana's unique social station, the power she held, and the inroads she made during her lifetime to promote herself and her family. Juliana stands as a unique case of a matron who moved within her sphere and pushed its boundaries without making too many proverbial waves. She was able to challenge the men in power in ways that I explore further in chapters three and four.

Chapter 3

"The inhabitants of the whole world sing thy works"[1]: Exploring Juliana's matronage

Introduction

The Roman and Late Antique imperial elite often paid for construction of monuments connected to their family members but also funded edifices that would benefit the community or local populace. This practice of female matronage amongst the late antique imperial female elite is well documented by Diliana Angelova, Leslie Brubaker, and Liz James.[2] As my own contribution to their oeuvre of documentation, I will argue here, that, like her many ancestresses, Juliana used cultural matronage to associate herself closely with her deceased family members, connect with saints directly related to religious debates, and foster Constantinople's imperial atmosphere and religious renown to demonstrate the important legacy of her imperial ancestors and memorialize them as a way to contrast the tumultuous religio-political milieu under the members of Leonid dynasty during whose reigns she lived.[3]

[1] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 13.

[2] See especially Diliana Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantine* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014) https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520959682, Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena," in *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997), and Liz James, "Making a Name: Reputation and Imperial Founding and Refounding in Constantinople," in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart, et al, 63-72 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013).

[3] James, "Making a Name," 64. See also Timothy E. Gregory, "Zeno," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-

In many instances, the specific location of architectural philanthropy mattered immensely. Juliana displayed her social and imperial status at St. Polyeuktos in the eleventh region of the city where Constantine I's Church of the Holy Apostles was located, in addition to connecting herself visually and spatially to her great grandmother Augusta Aelia Eudokia, the original foundress of the churche, as was appropriate and expected by her social standing. Juliana's church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos was erected among other monuments and buildings constructed at the behest of her other family members, such as churches and their private palaces and mansions. Other sites that benefitted from Juliana's magnanimity included the church of St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, in a neighborhood associated with Juliana's female family members. Further afield, the church of the Theotokos in Honoratae (Theotokos/Θεοτόκος meaning God-bearer/-birther), and St. Stephen in Zeugma, also funded by Juliana, were constructed along major waterways around the city.

These churches, the saints for whom they were dedicated, and the relics they enshrined connected Juliana to her illustrious lineage. Juliana's renowned ancestresses were purportedly responsible for translating the relics of St. Polyeuktos and St. Stephen to Constantinople. St. Euphemia was closely associated with pro-Chalcedonian orthodoxy, a theology to which her female ancestresses were involved in promoting. Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, Juliana's great-great-great aunt, was famously involved in the debate surrounding the Theotokos title. By renewing and founding

com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5884 and Timothy E. Gregory and Anthony Cutler, "Leo I," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3073.

sites not only associated with righteous saints and holy figures but also with her ancestors, Juliana helped to cultivate Constantinople as a bastion of an imperial elite dedicated to Christian orthodoxy.

The church of St. Polyeuktos–discussed in more detail in chapter four–was probably Juliana's greatest philanthropic achievement, but it is integral to consider the refurbishment or reconstruction of St. Polyeuktos in conjunction with her other monumental projects and in the context of the matronage of other imperial women, especially her blood relations. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, Juliana's cultural and religious contribution of St. Polyeuktos was not isolated but rather one segment of a larger campaign of building and renewal in Constantinople funded by Juliana and in connection to her Theodosian and, to a lesser extent, her Anikiian relatives. Through her cultural matronage in Constantinople, she engaged in a long-standing tradition among Roman imperial women to construct and renew religious monuments for the beauty and Christianization of the city, to project herself and her imperial forebears as pious by marking important sites in the city, and demonstrate her illustrious heritage to the public through decorative epigrams.

In this chapter, I will briefly reiterate the role of matronage among imperial Roman women, since Juliana engaged in this tradition carefully. A short sketch of the layout of Constantinople follows with references to important sites related to Juliana and her ancestresses. In order to understand the religio-political climate of the time, I then summarize the Acacian Schism. The majority of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of three of Juliana's renewed and newly constructed monuments: the church

of St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, the church of St. Stephen in Zeugma, and the church of the Theotokos in Honoratae. Most importantly, all three churches had implicit and explicit connections to her Theodosian ancestors, especially her female family members. My analysis will demonstrate that Juliana paid for the renewal and construction of Christian monuments to settle herself and her family among the noble and stable orthodox leaders, in strong contrast with chaotic heterodox leaders of the late-fifth and early-sixth centuries AC.

Matronage and Renewal

Art historian of Late Antiquity Diliana Angelova discusses the importance of the renewal of monuments and urban spaces for imperial leaders and other nobles.[4] Starting with Augustus in the first century BC and the first century AC, this practice for renewing and founding was conveyed as an inherited trait.[5] While Augustus claimed descent from and protection by the gods Mars and Venus, along with the mythical progenitors Romulus, and Aeneas,[6] the Christian emperors from Constantine I onwards could claim an appointment from the Christian God.[7] By founding Christian monuments in honor of that new God and his saints, Constantine I and his mother Helena refashioned the imperial prerogative to save, found, augment, and renew monuments. Thus, a tradition that was first established by Augustus and his

[4] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 23.
[5] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 24.
[6] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 24.
[7] Constantine also linked himself to Sol Invictus. See Jan Willem Drijvers, "Panegyricus Latinus 12(9): Constantine's Religious Ideology," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 14, no. 1 (2021): 50–74. https://doi.org/10.1353/jla.2021.0004.

wife Livia[8] was Christianized and handed down to future, imperial generations. This Christianized practice was especially important for the first Christian emperors after Constantine I, who needed to disentangle themselves from a pagan past. This reimagined form of imperial building campaign of construction and renewal quickly transformed into the new norm among the Christian imperial elite who wished to exercise magnanimity, demonstrate benevolent power, and display their Christian piety and God-given approval to rule.

After Augusta Helena, who rather famously paid for the construction of Christian monuments across the Roman empire, imperial women often paid for the construction of churches across the empire.[9] Females of the Theodosian dynasty were especially dedicated to matronage. For instance, Augusta Aelia Eudokia was particularly prodigious in her matronage. She is associated with several monuments Juliana renewed, such as the church of St. Polyeuktos, along with several monuments funded at Augusta Aelia Eudokia's request in Palestine.[10] Juliana continued to carry on Augusta Aelia Eudokia's legacy across Constantinople.

Since imperial women often played a significant role in investing and undergirding the imperial power of men through marriage(s), the wives, daughters, and sisters of emperors maintained an important place in society and the imperial

[8] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 23.

[9] Diliana Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantine* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014) https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520959682

[10] Brubaker, "Memories of Helena," 56. Gregory T. Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings in the Holy Land," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1970): 18.

mythos.[11] Of course, as the bearers of future emperors, women had a vital role in securing the stability of the empire and its leadership. As such, imperial women, from Livia onwards, seriously cultivated the empire through their matronage, especially via public works and religious monuments.[12] By founding and renewing monuments, these women asserted their role in maintaining the health and stability of the empire to ensure positive public opinion for their dynasty.

Alan Cameron discusses the Anikiian contributions to politics in the city of Rome in the fourth and fifth centuries AC. He also references the ways in which these individuals were memorialized epigraphically. He especially notes that one Anikiian woman was memorialized as "'consulis uxori, consulis filiae, consulum matri'"[13]. This Anikiian woman, Anicia Faltonia Proba, who lived during the late fourth century AC,[14] was connected epigraphically by her sons to her illustrious male family members as wife, daughter, and mother of consuls. It is interesting that Juliana connected herself similarly to prominent relatives, but chose to highlight female family members in particular.

An imperial or wealthy woman's unique social position in the Late Antique and Byzantine world meant that she often funded or renewed monuments related to her social purview.[15] The limitations of a woman's social sphere meant that her

[11] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 69-70.

[12] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 84. See also Margaret Louise Woodhull, *Building Power: Women as Architectural Patrons During the Early Roman Empire, 30 BCE-54 CE* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1999).

[13] "Wife of a consul, daughter of a consul, mother of consuls." Alan Cameron, "Anician Myths," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 139.

[14] Alan Cameron, "Anician Myths," 137.

[15] Brubaker, "Memories of Helena," 53. Taliaferro Boatwright, "Plancia Magna of Perge," 249.

matronage was often deeply rooted in public edifices related to these spheres: the home, the church/religion, and the family.[16] Take, for instance, Livia, wife of Augustus, who restored a temple to Bona Dea, a Roman, female divinity who oversaw fertility and medicine, both linked closely to women and the female sphere.[17]

Other women endowed public works, like monumental gates and public baths, to both beautify their communities, particularly those in the Roman provinces, and care for the public similarly to the ways a mother cares for her household.[18] Indeed, these benefactresses were sometimes portrayed to the public via sculpture and inscriptions as mothers.[19] One noble woman in North Africa, for example, purportedly funded numerous monuments and charities judging by an inscription that states,

> For Seia Potitia Consortiana, in memory of this senatorial woman, mother of Roscius Potitius Memmianus, a man of senatorial rank, patroness by decree of the city council, because of her extraordinary and innumerable acts of generosity, by which she enhanced the city council and her home town by her gift . . .[20]

[16] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 72.

[17] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 72. See also Francois P. Retief and Louise Cilliers, "The Healing Hand: the Role of Women in Ancient Medicine: The Graeco-Roman World," *Acta Theologica* 26, no. 2 (2006, supplementum 7): 167.

[18] Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, "Plancia Magna of Perge," in *History and Ancient History,* Sarah B. Pomeroy, ed., 249-272 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991). See especially page 250. Emily A. Hemelrijk, *Women and Society in the Roman World: A Sourcebook of Inscriptions from the Roman West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 266, doi:10.1017/9781316536087.009.

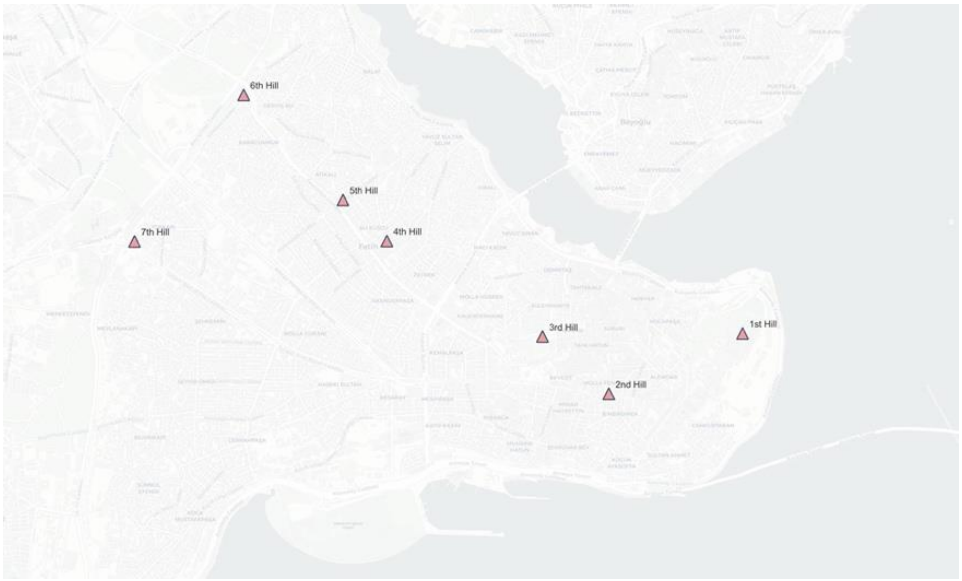
[19] Emily A. Hemelrijk, "Public Life," in *Women and Society in the Roman World: A Sourcebook of Inscriptions from the Roman West*, 277 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), doi:10.1017/9781316536087.009.

[20] Hemelrijk, "Public Life," 278-279.

Like Anicia Faltonia Proba, Seia Potitia Consortiana is also linked to her male progeny as a means to substantiate her social position and overall magnanimity.

Juliana's matronage was both similar and different to other examples of matronage. Similar to Seia Potitia Consortiana, Juliana funded projects to beautify her home town, but unlike the noble North African woman, Juliana closely linked herself to her matrilineage and the neighborhood in which she lived and in which her female family members historically lived. That is to say, Juliana endowed and renewed monuments in her own neighborhood in the tradition of innumerable wealthy and imperial women before her; yet, recalling her illustrious ancestresses, more emphatically than her male ancestors was significant.[21] Although entirely speculative, perhaps Juliana was more proud of her Theodosian matrilineage and perceived them as more powerful in the religio-political landscape of the fifth century AC. It's also possible that the men immediately related to her, her Anikiian father and her husband–an Alan–had a lower social standing and it might have been perceived as less prestigious to promote their memory. That is to say, Juliana's public endorsement of her matrilineage was strategic and a way for her to maintain her social standing.[22]

[21] Emily A. Hemelrijk, "Public Life," 277.
[22] I am grateful to Maria Evangelatou for drawing my attention to this interpretation.



Map 1. The seven hills of Constantinople.

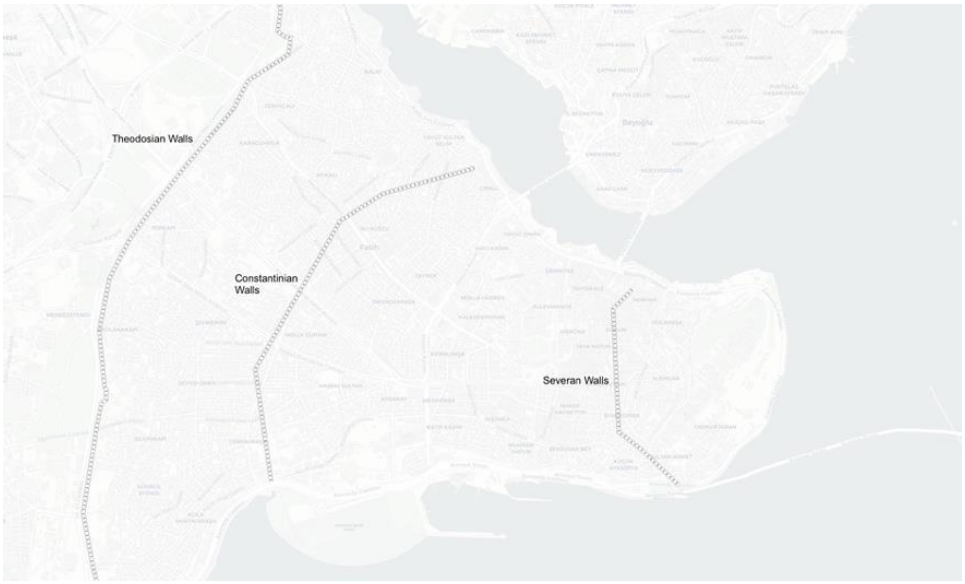
The Organization of Constantinople

In Juliana's lifetime, the city of Constantinople was already established as a central entrepôt of commerce, religion, and imperial politics. Her ancestresses had built up the city and established residency in precise neighborhoods, located between major monuments and along roadways that connected the spaces of imperial authority and religious note.

The city called Constantinople from the early-fourth century AC on was first called Byzantium, after Byzas of Megara when it was settled by Greeks from Megara between 667 and 660 BC.[23] It was a well-defensible site because it was protected on

[23] Sarah Bassett, *Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 19. Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 1. éd. (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1964), 16-17. Giles Morgan, *Byzantium: Capital of an Ancient Empire* (Harpenden: Oldcastle Books, 2011), 11, accessed August 17, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and*

three sides by bodies of water: an estuary called the Golden Horn on the northern side, the Bosporos strait on the east, and the Sea of Marmara on the southern side. The land itself, similar to the city of Rome, was composed of seven hills (Map 1). This geographic similarity to Rome and the excellent natural defenses made it a suitable new capital for the Roman emperor, Constantine I, which he named and founded in 330 AC.[24]



Map 2. The walls of Constantinople.

By the end the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century AC, the urban layout of Constantinople had developed considerably (Map 2); the city had undergone three phases framed by fortified walls, each extending the boundaries of the city further west. The first set of walls, the so-called Severan Wall, were

the Making of Christian Constantinople (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1994), 19, accessed August 24, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[24] Giles Morgan, *Byzantium: Capital of an Ancient Empire*, (Harpenden: Oldcastle Books, 2011), 11, accessed August 17, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

supposedly constructed at the behest of the third-century Roman emperor Septimius Severus after he laid siege to the city at the end of the second century AC.[25] Constantine I eventually moved the imperial Roman capital to the area and expanded the boundaries further by constructing an additional fortified wall completed by his son, Constantius II, sometime in the first half of the fourth century AC.[26] The land between the Bosporos and the Constantinian Walls developed quite quickly. Despite pushing the perimeter of the city even further west with the construction of the Theodosian Walls in 413 AC,[27] the land between the Constantinian Walls and the Bosporos remained the area in which important monuments were founded and renewed; the land between the Constantinian Walls and the Theodosian Walls remained underdeveloped.[28]

From the lifetime of Constantine I in the early-fourth century AC onward, a street called the Mese–because it wended its way through the middle of the city–served as the main artery of public movement from east to west (Map 3). The street

[25] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 19. Albrecht Berger indicates the so-called Severan Wall may have been constructed much later. See Albrecht Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 165. https://doi.org/10.2307/1291837.

[26] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Constantinople*, 22-23. Deborah Deliyannis, Hendrik Dey, and Paolo Squatriti, *Fifty Early Medieval Things*, 55 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.7591/j.ctt22p7hpc.11.

[27] Timothy E. Gregory and Anthony Cutler,"Theodosios II," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5412. Cyril Mango, Katherine M. Kiefer, and William Loerke, "Monuments of Constantinople," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-1228.

[28] Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces," 171-172.

ran from the Milion, near the Bosporos and the imperial complex, west and then turned slightly northwest.[29] As the main traffic way, the Mese played an important role especially for imperial processions by at least the tenth century AC. The *Book of Ceremonies*, written by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in the mid-tenth century, indicates that many processions followed the street between major monuments across the city, including the imperial complex on the Bosporos, and the church of the Holy Apostles at the top of the fourth hill of the city.[30] Other major routes, mentioned in the *Patria of Constantinople*, a collection of textual descriptions of the city written by the tenth century, likely included the roads along the Sea of Marmara and the road along the Golden Horn.[31] Many of the roads leading from the Mese north, towards the Golden Horn, ended in gateways.

[29] Franz Alto Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity," *Acta Ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 15, no. 1 N.S. (2020): 32. https://doi.org/10.5617/acta.5664. Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," 162. Andriani Georgiou, "Helena: The Subversive Persona of an Ideal Christian Empress in Early Byzantium," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 21, no. 4 (2013): 599, https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.2013.0051. Georgiou mentions that the Milion was a site for imperial propaganda, but it was also the site from which distance from Constantinople was calculated. See Liz James, ed., *Constantine of Rhodes, on Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles: With a New Edition of the Greek Text by Ioannis Vassis* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), 109 n. 79, accessed August 16, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central, and Alexander Kazhdan, "Mese," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3483.

[30] Michael McCormick, "De Ceremoniis," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-1386.

[31] Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces," 162, n. 7. Alexander Kazhdan, "Patria of Constantinople," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-4141.



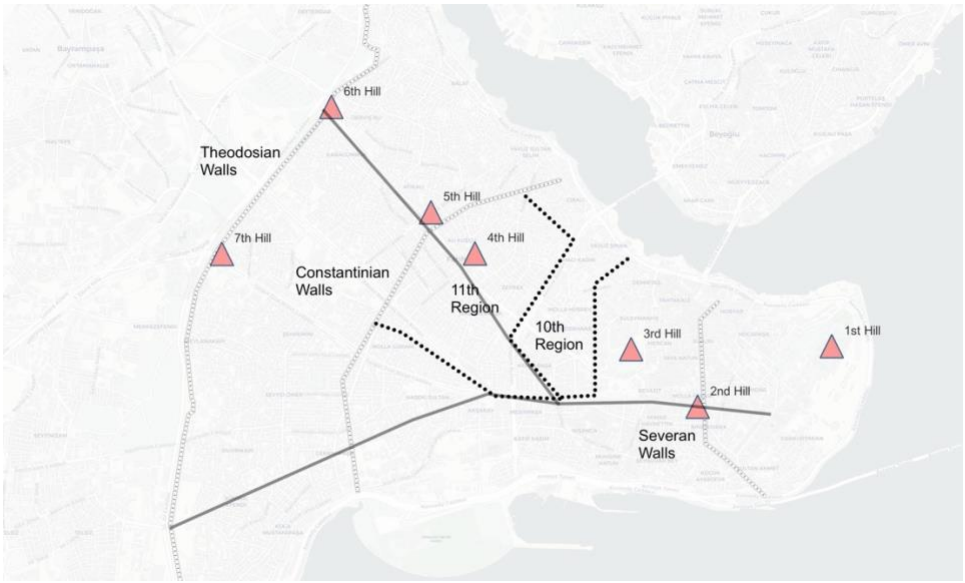
Map 3. The Mese and surrounding waterways.

The Tenth and Eleventh Regions

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, written by the early-fifth century AC and ostensibly dedicated to Theodosios II, indicates that the city was divided into fourteen regions.[32] It references many of the streets and other structures throughout Constantinople just one hundred years prior to the construction of many of Juliana's monuments.[33] From this document, it is clear that Juliana's female family members resided in the southern areas of the tenth and eleventh regions (Map 4), along the Mese. According to the *Notitia*, in the tenth region were located Baths of Constantine,

[32] John Matthews, "The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Lucy Grig, and Gavin Kelly, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2012), 84 and 85, accessed 10 Apr. 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.003.0004.

[33] Alexander Kazhdan, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," In T*he Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3862.



Map 4. The 10th and 11th regions in Constantinople.

the House of Augusta Galla Placidia, the House of Augusta Aelia Eudokia, and the House of the Most Noble Arkadia,[34] the houses of two of Juliana's great grandmothers, and great-great aunt respectively.[35] Similarly, in the eleventh region were located the Church of the Holy Apostles, the Palace of Aelia Flavia Flaccilla, and the House of Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, Juliana's great-great-great grandmother and great-great aunt respectively.[36] Her monuments were located near her home or neighborhoods related to her family; they marked sites important to her family's success, supported and promoted her blood relations, and conveyed her religious convictions.

[34] Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 2nd ed., 55. Matthews, "*Notitia*," 93.

[35] Juliana's family tree is somewhat difficult to describe since there was some intermarriage. Juliana's grandmother, Augusta Licina Eudoxia, married her cousin, Valentinian III. Thus, Juliana traced her lineage back to Theodosios I on two sides of her family. See family tree for more information.

[36] Matthews, "*Notitia*," 94.



Map 5. Monuments funded by Juliana.

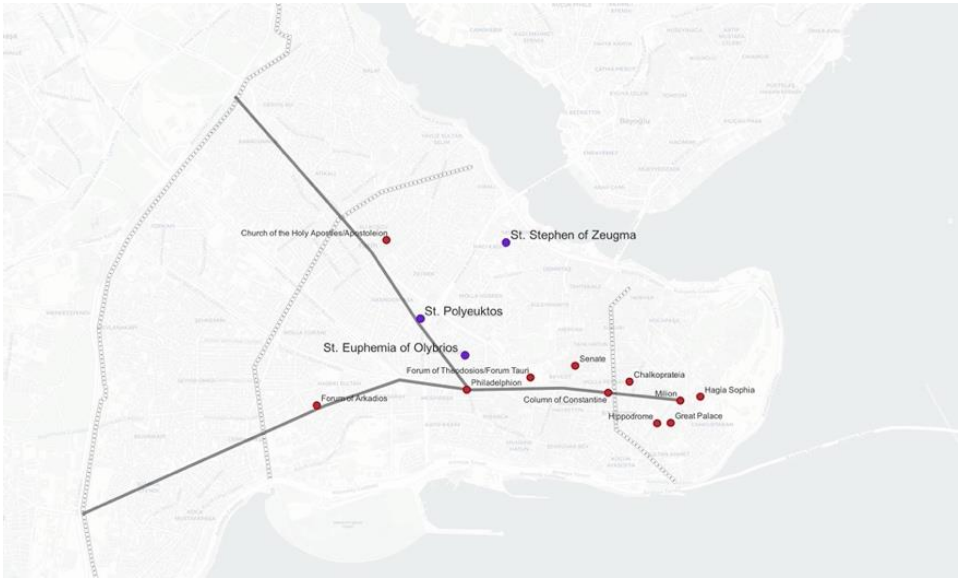
The *Book of Ceremonies* indicates that St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, in the tenth region, was close to St. Polyeuktos, in the eleventh region, and the likely location of Juliana's palace (Map 5).[37] As such, the tenth and eleventh regions may have been considered Juliana's home neighborhood. This area is situated between the third and fourth hills of Constantinople, just southeast of the Church of the Holy Apostles, one of the most important churches in the city because it housed the remains of Constantine I as well as relics of some of Jesus Christ's apostles and other early saints.[38]

[37] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *The Book of Ceremonies: With the Greek Edition of the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1829)*, trans. Ann. Moffatt, Maxeme Tall, and Johann Jacob Reiske (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012), 50.

[38] Mark J. Johnson, "Constantine's Apostoleion: A Reappraisal," in *The Holy Apostles: A Lost Monument, a Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past*, Margaret Mullet and Robert G. Ousterhout, eds., 79-81 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, 2020). Johnson notes that by the end of the 4th century, the relics of Sts. Luke and Andrew were housed in the Apostoleion.

While both the churches dedicated to St. Polyeuktos and St. Euphemia played a significant role in imperial processions by at least the tenth century AC, it is also important to consider their placement vis a vis the ways in which the early-sixth-century Constantinopolitan populace moved about the city. During a procession or travel through the city on an ordinary day, both of Juliana's churches were like imperial, monumental links between the church of Holy Apostles and the imperial complex further southeast on the Bosporos. When moving west/northwest from the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia, travelers would pass the Forum of Constantine, the Tetrapylon, the Forum of Theodosios, the Philadelphion, the church of St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, the church of St. Polyeuktos, and end the journey at the church of the Holy Apostles (Map 6).[39] Each structure served as monumental links in a metaphorical chain across roughly three kilometers of the city, reminding both ordinary and noble citizens of the power and piety of the matrons and patrons and linking them spatially and genealogically.

[39] For an erudite and exhaustive discussion of the monuments of Constantinople, see Bassett, *The Urban Image of Constantinople* (2004).



Map 6. Juliana's monuments and imperial monuments.

The Golden Horn and Bosporos

Both St. Stephen in Zeugma and the Theotokos in Honoratae share significant proximity to the Golden Horn and Bosporos straits, which were waterways integral to the life of Constantinople. The waterways connected the city to regions beyond, by way of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea to other important urban locales across the empire, from Alexandria to Antioch to Ravenna, and beyond. Situating churches along the Bosporos and Golden Horn meant that travelers passing along would have become aware of the churches, either from their visibility from the water or from knowledge of the area after docking.

As visitors approached the city, first via the Bosporos, and then along the Golden Horn, they would have been struck and impressed by the visible churches, including those funded and renewed by Juliana, such as St. Stephen in Zeugma.

Churches visible from these waterways likely served an apotropaic and defensive function themselves;[40] the body of water was a defensive mechanism, but so were the churches along their shores. The Christian edifices stood like sentinels along the waterways, silently invoking the saints to whom they were dedicated to protect the city and people within as well as the sailors traveling away.

Imperial Processions through the City

Within the city, processions along the Mese were overt public displays of victory, religious piety, or political might. The backdrop for the ceremonial processions, the monuments and sculptures adorning the city reified the piety, power and prestige of the emperor and the legacy of previous emperors. Few primary sources offer an exact reflection of processional practices during Juliana's lifetime, but evidence from before and after can elucidate a few likely aspects.

Historically, Roman leaders used processions in cunning ways to promote themselves, the state religion, the power of the emperor, and the status of the empire. As such, processions played an important part of civic and religious life in Constantinople after Constantine I moved the capital in the early-fourth century. Religious historian Vasiliki Limberis notes that Constantine I built up monumental elements of Constantinople carefully to connect his forum with the Hippodrome and the Great Palace (Map 6) and "[imbue] the traditional ancestral civic religion with new symbols."[41] Processions allowed Constantine I and later emperors and empresses

[40] I am grateful to Maria Evangelatou for pointing out this significant aspect of at least one of Juliana's Christian monuments.

[41] Limberis, *Divine Heiress,* 25, 28.

to concatenate monuments across time and space as a means to substantiate their power and control the social order.

The earliest ceremonies for the emperor in Constantinople bore strong similarity to the pagan processions of non-Christian, Roman emperors. According to Philostorgios in the early-fifth century AC, via Photios' Epitome from the mid-ninth century AC, the people of Constantinople, "[offered] sacrifices to an image of Constantine [I] placed upon a column of porphyry, and of honouring it with lighted lamps and incense, and of offering vows to it as to God, and making supplications to it to ward off calamities."[42] Limberis indicates that inhabitants of Constantinople viewing Constantine I's processions would not have been able to identify obvious Christian elements at all.[43] As the ceremonies and processions were Christianized, though, many of the traditional Roman symbols of power remained embedded within them, and these symbols were undoubtedly a comfort to the citizens of the city.[44] Franz Alto Bauer wrote that, "[for] the Byzantines, these ceremonies reflected the existing order . . . and functioned as a ritual demonstration and reaffirmation of existing social, political, and religious conditions. . . . all found their place in the various ceremonies . . ." [45] Thus, the ceremonies and processions throughout Constantinople represented order and symbolized the health and stability of the empire at large.

[42] Limberis, *Divine Heiress,* 25-26. Photius, *Epitome of the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius*, chapter 17, epitome of book 2, trans. Edward Walford (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855), https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/philostorgius.htm

[43] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 29.

[44] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 36, 37.

[45] Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 28.

The Translation of Relics Ivory (Fig. 13) now housed in Trier at the Domschatz illustrates a similar, ceremonial procession well.[46] The fifth-century ivory, roughly five inches by ten inches in size, is small, but utterly filled with figures and highly decorative architecture.[47] The narrative reads from left to right. At the left, two male



Figure 13. Translation of Relics, Ivory. Cathedral Treasury, Trier, Germany. https://www.en.dominformation.de/the-structure/cathedral-treasury/relic-procession.

figures in ecclesiastical dress riding in a mule-drawn cart, hold a lidded box, presumably containing relics.[48] At the right, two figures, one male and one female attired in ornate dress–indicating their imperial status–stand at the entry of a church, presumably awaiting the arrival of the relics. The inclusion of the imperial female figure is remarkable: it makes clear the central focus of imperial women in

[46] Arguably, the ceremonies and processions accompanying the translation of relics to Constantinople mirrored and mimicked the adventus of the emperor. See Kenneth G. Holum and Gary Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, 'Adventus' Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 113, 115-133.

[47] Wolfgang Schmidt, "Reliquary procession," Trier Dom, accessed 25 August 2023, https://www.dominformation.de/bauwerk/domschatz/reliquienprozession. Though the date of the ivory is unclear and still debated, the ivory illustrates an important procession that clearly involved numerous spectators, so I use it here to demonstrate the public response to ritualized processions in Constantinople.

[48] Schmidt, "Reliquary procession."

ceremonies and processions like the one illustrated on the ivory.[49] Numerous figures appear in the background, observing the procession from every vantage point; some small figures even cling to the sides and roof of the church at the far right.

The Trier ivory elucidates the ways in which processions brought order to Constantinople. The social hierarchy is clearly illustrated by the garments of each figure at the bottom of the ivory. Further, the architectural elements, though somewhat ambiguous, allude to the importance of city monuments as the backdrop for significant ceremonial processions. Monuments like Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, the Hippodrome, Senate, Column of Constantine, and the statues decorating the Mese were constructed and laid out carefully by the imperial elite and their appearance could easily be identified by citizens of or visitors to Constantinople.



Figure 14. Tetrarchs, c. 305 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.14667290.

[49] Tracy Chapman Hamilton pointed out this significant element in a personal correspondence.

Many Constantinopolitan monuments were strategically laid out along the Mese (Map 5), which served an integral role in processions because it ran through the middle of the city. The Mese, which split at the Philadelphion, a name meaning brotherly love and named after the porphyry statues of four male figures embracing (Fig. 14),[50] connected the Great Palace on the Bosporos with the church of the Holy Apostles on the top of the fourth hill of the city along the northwest branch, and the so-called Golden Gate along the southwest branch. Constantine I actively built monuments and erected statues along roughly half a kilometer of the Mese between the imperial complex and the Forum of Constantine.[51] The Theodosians continued to adorn and build up the Mese between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosios, just under a kilometer west.[52]

The *Book of Ceremonies* discusses the adventus of Leo I which included a procession from Hebdomon, about seven miles from the imperial complex, along the Via Egnatia and through the Golden Gate.[53] The Via Egnatia becomes the Mese at the Philadelphion (Map 5). As I have argued above, by renewing significant monuments between the Philadelphion and the Church of the Holy Apostles, although not the route followed in Leo I's adventus, Juliana ensured the monuments she renewed, specifically St. Polyeuktos and St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, deepened the religious and ceremonial importance of the Mese between the Philadelphion and the Church of

[50] Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 31.
[51] Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 28-37.
[52] Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 37-40.
[53] Bauer, "Urban Space and Rituals," 40-43.

the Holy Apostles: imperial processions passed by both monuments, further imbuing them with imperial importance.[54]

Christology and Heterodoxy in the Early-Sixth Century AC

During Juliana's lifetime, the religio-political scene changed dramatically from the pro-Chalcedonian court of the Theodosians. Establishing a cohesive and ubiquitous Christian theology had long challenged early Church leaders and oftentimes imperial players caused turmoil.[55] In order to define orthodox doctrines and to overcome heterodox beliefs and movements, political and Church leaders gathered at councils and the women of Juliana's family were often involved in these gatherings.[56] The First Ecumenical Council held in Nicaea,[57] was convened in 325 AC at the behest of Constantine I.[58] During these meetings, Church leaders anathematized dissentients spreading radical theological ideas, such as Arius, Nestorius, and Eutyches.[59] In the fourth and fifth centuries, the nonconformist ideas

[54] Franz Alto Bauer points out that founding monuments along processional routes deepened the need to process along such routes. See Bauer, "Urban Spaces and Rituals," 28.

[55] Juliana the Apostate is one dramatic example. See G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,1978.)

[56] See Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London: Routledge, 1994), https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203036174.

[57] David Gwynn, "Council of Nicaea," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3343.

[58] David Gwynn, "Council of Nicaea," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3343.

[59] See Timothy E. Gregory and Alexander Kazhdan, "Arius," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) https://www-oxfordreference-

of these dissidents related to the nature and person of Jesus Christ, the Trinity, and the Virgin Mary, among other principles.

During Juliana's lifetime, the Christian realm was troubled by what was called the Acacian Schism, brought on by the Emperor Zeno, who ruled from Constantinople from 474 to 475 AC and then again from 476 to 491 AC.[60] The schism was caused by disputes regarding the doctrines debated during the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held in Chalcedon, famously convened by Augusta Aelia Pulcheria and her husband, the Emperor Marcian, in 451 AC.[61] At the Fourth Ecumenical Council, the nature and person of Jesus Christ took up much of the discussion. Leading up to the council meeting, an archimandrite, Eutyches, from a monastery outside of Constantinople disputed the nature and person of Jesus Christ defined first in the Formula of Reunion, written in 433 AC, and then clarified further at the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held in Chalcedon.[62] The Formula of Reunion states that,

com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-046, Susan Wessel, "Nestorius," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3338, and ibid., "Eutyches," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-1768.

[60] Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, "List of Rulers of Byzantium," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/byru/hd_byru.htm (October 2003). Matthew T. Herbst, "Zeno (r. 474-491," in *The Byzantine Empire: a Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, James Francis LePree and Ludmila Djukic, eds. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2019), accessed August 10, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[61] Andrew Louth, "Council of Chalcedon," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-967.

[62] Graham Gould, "Cyril of Alexandria and the Formula of Reunion," *The Downside Review* 106, no. 365 (1988): 235, https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1177/001258068810636501. Susan Wessel,

> We confess then our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man, of a rational soul and body; before the ages begotten of the Father according to his divinity, the same for us and for our salvation in the last days begotten of Mary the virgin according to his humanity; the same consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity, and consubstantial with us according to his humanity. For there has been a union of two natures.[63]

It was the concept of the two natures of Jesus Christ, human and divine, that Eutyches and later emperors in Constantinople contested. Eutyches, "confessed that Christ was from two natures before the union of God and Man, but of one nature after that union." This view directly contrasted with that of the dictates of the Church, so Eutyches was excommunicated and deposed in 448 AC.[64] In his capacity as archimandrite, though, Eutyches encouraged the population of his monastery, about three hundred monks, to rebel.[65] The Second Council of Ephesus, sometimes called the Robber Council,[66] held in 449 AC, briefly overturned Eutyches' excommunication and deposition, but the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held in Chalcedon, in 451 AC, reinstated them.[67]

"Eutyches," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-1768.

[63] Gould, "Cyril of Alexandria and the Formula of Reunion," 235–236.

[64] Wessel, "Eutyches."

[65] Wessel, "Eutyches."

[66] Kenneth G. Holum, "Pulcheria," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3908.

[67] Theresia Hainthaler, "Theological Doctrines and Debates Within Syriac Christianity," in *The Syriac World*, 1st ed., David King, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 382, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315708195-23. Wessel, "Eutyches."

The Fourth Ecumenical Council, held in Chalcedon, however, did not restore stability in the Church. After Eutyches' disruption, the Emperor Zeno, along with Acacius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, composed a document called the Henoticon.[68] In the Henoticon, or Edict of Union, Zeno and Acacius sought unification among the various factions, stating,

> . . . petitions have been offered to us from pious archimandrites and hermits, and other venerable persons, imploring us with tears that unity should be procured for the churches, and the limbs should be knit together, which the enemy of all good has of old time been eagerly bent upon severing . . . [69]

Despite this spirit of unification, Zeno and Acacius ignored the Fourth Ecumenical Council in the document, essentially negating it. [70] According to Evagrios in his *Ecclesiastical History*, written in the mid- to late-sixth century AC,[71] the emperor and patriarch wrote:

> For this reason, we were anxious that you should be informed, that we and the churches in every quarter neither have held, nor do we or shall we hold, nor are we aware of persons who hold, any other symbol or lesson or definition of

[68] "Henoticon," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-2660. Andrew Louth, "Acacian Schism," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-34. P. Marone, "Henoticon," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 10, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[69] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. E. Walford (London: Samuel Bagster and sons, 1847), https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/evagrius_2_book2.htm.

[70] Lawrence I. Conrad, "Zeno, the Epileptic Emperor: Historiography and Polemics as Sources of Realia," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 24 (2000): 76, https://doi.org/10.1179/byz.2000.24.1.61.

[71] Roger Scott, "Evagrius Scholasticus," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-1772.

> faith or creed than the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers [at the Council of Nicaea in 325 AC], which the aforesaid hundred and fifty holy fathers confirmed [at the First Council of Constantinople in 381 AC]; and if any person does hold such, we deem him an alien: for we are confident that this symbol alone is, as we said, the preserver of our sovereignty, and on their reception of this alone are all the people baptised when desirous of the saving illumination: which symbol all the holy fathers assembled at Ephesus [in 431 AC] also followed . . .[72]

Thus, Zeno's attempt to unite the Church through the Henoticon resulted in a disastrous spilt with Rome, called the Acacian Schism.[73] The military responded to Zeno's edict by rebelling.[74]

Zeno, a member of the third emperor of the Leonid dynasty, died in 491 AC, leaving his widow, Ariadne, the daughter of emperor Leo I, to marry the next emperor; she decided to marry Anastasios I.[75] While Zeno had attempted to reunite

[72] "Council of Ephesus," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-1945. Evagrius Scholasticus, Book III, Chapter 14, *Ecclesiastical History* (AD431-594), translated by E. Walford (1846). "First Council of Nicaea," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-4037. "First Council of Constantinople," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-1417.

[73] Matthew T. Herbst, "Zeno (r. 474-491," in T*he Byzantine Empire: a Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, eds. James Francis LePree and Ludmila Djukic (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2019), accessed August 10, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. Andrew Louth, "Acacian Schism," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-34.

[74] Herbst, "Zeno."

[75] Kazimierz Ginter, "The Trisagion Riots (512) as an Example of Interaction Between Politics and Liturgy," *Studia Ceranea* 7, 7 (2017): 49, https://doi.org/10.18778/2084-140X.07.03. Timothy E. Gregory and Anthony Cutler, "Ariadne," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-0448. This event is very interesting and worthy of elaboration, but would be tangential to the chapter here.

the Church during his reign, Anastasios I deepened the rift between Constantinople and Rome during his reign from 491 to 518 AC.[76] The bishop of Constantinople, Euphemios, asked Anastasios I to reject the Henoticon, but Anastasios I failed to do so.[77]

Anastasios I's theological leanings and his continued rejection of the Roman pope led to rebellions and riots across the city of Constantinople and elsewhere in the empire, like Thrace.[78] The unrest began in earnest towards the end of Anastasios I's reign[79], as a result of the monk Severus, a Miaphysite, who encouraged the singing of the *Trisagion of Peter the Fuller*.[80] The Miaphysites, similarly to Eutyches a few years before, believed in just one nature of Jesus Christ, as the name suggests: one (mia/μία), nature (physis/φύσις).[81]

The *Trisagion* hymn was written by Peter the Fuller, the Miaphysite patriarch of Antioch, and Anastasios I declared the hymn acceptable in early November 512

[76] Matthew T. Herbst, "Flavius Anastasius (r. 491-518)," in T*he Byzantine Empire: a Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, James Francis LePree and Ludmila Djukic, eds. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2019), accessed August 10, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[77] Herbst, "Flavius Anastasius.

[78] Herbst, "Flavius Anastasius.

[79] Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens At Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 130, https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb02930.0001.001, PDF. Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius: the Charioteer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 239, Internet Archive.

[80.] Ginter, "The Trisagion Riots," 50.

[81] Jeff W. Childers, "Miaphysites," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3159. Brian Matz, "monophysites," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199642465.001.0001/acref-9780199642465-e-4833.

AC.[82] When the hymn was sung in Hagia Sophia a riot ensued.[83] In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Evagrios reported that,

> A very great sedition occurred at Byzantium, arising from a wish of the emperor to add to the Trisagion the clause, "Who was crucified for our sakes:" which was regarded as subversive of the Christian religion. . .. Amid the uncontrollable excitement of the populace which followed, persons of rank and station were brought into extreme danger, and many principal parts of the city were set on fire. The populace, having found in the house of Marinus the Syrian, a monk from the country, cut off his head, saying that the clause had been added at his instigation; and having fixed it upon a pole, jeeringly exclaimed: "See the plotter against the Trinity!"
>
> Such was the violence of the tumult, filling every quarter with devastation, and surpassing every means of control, that the emperor was driven to appear at the Hippodrome in pitiable guise, without his crown, and despatched heralds to proclaim to the assembled people, that he was most ready to resign his sovereignty; at the same time reminding them, that it was impossible that all should be elevated to that dignity, which admitted not of a plurality of occupants, and that one individual only could be his successor.[84]

During the riot, the populace actually wanted Juliana's husband, Aereobindos Dagalaiphos, a notable military leader, to become emperor and replace Anastasios I.[85] Juliana's involvement in these events is unclear. Aereobindos fled the city, though, and he is never mentioned again in the extant textual record.[86] Evagrios continues,

[82] Ginter, "The Trisagion Riots," 51. Susan Wessel, "Peter the Fuller," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3675.

[83] Ginter, "The Trisagion Riots," 51.

[84] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, Chapter 44, trans. E. Walford.

[85] Ginter, "The Trisagion Riots," 52.

[86] *PLRE* II, 143-144.

"At this the temper of the people was suddenly changed, as by some divine impulse; and they begged Anastasius I to resume his crown; with a promise of peaceable conduct in future."[87] The change of mind is thus unclear, as is the end of Aereobindos' life.

So, there was significant religio-political unrest in the city during Juliana's lifetime and this unrest, at times, directly affected her family. By renewing and erecting churches directly recalling the less tumultuous reigns of her ancestors, Theodosios I, Theodosios II, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, and Marcian, and dedicating them to saints aligned with orthodox beliefs and important Church Councils, as I will discuss in more detail below, Juliana highlighted the stability provided by her family and their religious persuasions.

Juliana's Building Campaign

By the late-fifth and early-sixth century AC in Constantinople, the political atmosphere was steeped in Christian heterodoxy, yet Juliana remained stalwart in displaying her familial roots in Christian orthodoxy through her building campaign of foundation and renewal. Both emperor Zeno and Anastasios I perpetuated a period of heterodox unrest that contrasted with the roughly seventy-eight years of orthodox reigns across the Theodosian dynasty. The Theodosians saw the outlaw of pagan worship under Theodosios I,[88] and the convention of three ecumenical councils.

[87] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, Chapter 44, trans. E. Walford.
[88] Timothy E. Gregory and Anthony Cutler, "Theodosios I," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-

Apart from religious calamities and disagreements, the empire also faced increased military challenges brought on by the so-called barbarians.[89] Court life was far from easy. Given her own family's background, as discussed in chapter two, Juliana knew well the dangers that could possibly threaten the emperor and his family, as well as other members of the court. Her mother, the Noble Placidia, witnessed the violence and tumult of imperial life acutely: she experienced the murder of her father's, Valentinian III, and she was taken as a captive to Northern Africa by the Vandal Geiseric in 455 AC.[90] Surrounded by a Constantinopolitan populace so easily incited to violence, Juliana also needed a way to safeguard herself and her vulnerable family members. By embarking on a campaign of building renewal and foundation, Juliana solidified her orthodox beliefs and those of her family in the public memory. This could serve as a safeguard in keeping riotous crowds away from her home and the safe spaces she created for herself and her family. The neighborhoods previously endowed by her ancestresses in the tenth and eleventh regions could remain safe, if they were locations construed with steadfast Christian piety.

Through her cultural and religious matronage across Constantinople, Juliana could have been antagonizing the emperor, Anastasios I. This could have resulted in serious consequences for Juliana. By couching her matronage in filial piety, that antagonism may have been softened. The long tradition of matronage and religious

com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5411.
Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 40-41.

[89] Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 38.

[90] *PLRE* II, 887.

piety among Juliana's ancestresses may also have lessened any antagonistic aspects of her philanthropy, too. It's also possible Juliana was memorializing the legacy of her Theodosian forebears as a kind of mirror

The relationship between Juliana and Anastasios I was genial enough that a marriage between Olybrios the Younger (ο μικρός),[91] Juliana's son, and Irene, the niece of Anastasios I, was arranged.[92] At the time, the match between Olybrios the Younger and Irene was the most appropriate, given their social standing; laws instituted by Constantine I made marriage between elite men and women of lower birth punishable.[93] The match also made sense religiously, since Irene's mother, Magna, was an orthodox Chalcedonian.[94] Their marital union, thus, could have resulted in the transfer of imperial power, through Irene, to Olybrios the Younger.[95] Ultimately, Anastasios I chose Justin I (died 527 AC),[96] who also had orthodox religious leanings,[97] as his successor. With so many pro-Chalcedonian individuals surrounding him, it is possible Anastasios I was willing to relinquish the fight for heterodoxy in the end. Juliana's building campaign and orthodox messaging that I

[91] *PLRE* II, 795.

[92] *PLRE* II, 626, 795.

[93] Judith Evans Grubb, "Constantine and Imperial Legislation on the Family," in *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, Jill Harries and Ian Wood, ed. (London: Duckworth: 1993), 131-132. Evans Grubb points out that this law was likely instituted to prohibit the inheritance of elite property to an individual of low birth.

[94] *PLRE* II, 700.

[95] The transfer of power to Anastasios I from his imperial wife Ariadne set a precedent for similar transfers of power. See *PLRE* II, 79, and Timothy E. Gregory, and Anthony Cutler, "Ariadne," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-0448.

[96] *PLRE* II, 648.

[97] *PLRE* II, 650.

will discuss below certainly would have made a visual and spatial impact as he moved about the city, impressions that may have incited him to change.

St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou

One such impactful monument was Juliana's renewed church dedicated to St. Euphemia in the tenth region of the city. St. Euphemia was an early martyr of the Christian church. Hagiographical texts indicate she was brutalized and finally killed for her faith in Chalcedon, a city near Constantinople, during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian.[98] Euphemia was likely killed in the very early fourth century CE and later venerated as virgin and martyr.[99] She was also venerated as patroness of the church where the Council of Chalcedon, the Fourth Ecumenical Council, called by Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, Juliana's great-great aunt, met in 451 AC.[100] Augusta Aelia

[98] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 567-569, accessed August 2, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. V. Novembri, "Euphemia," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*,eds. Angelo Di Berardino, Thomas C. Oden, and Joel C. Elowsky (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 3, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[99] "St. Euphemia," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, E. A. Livingstone, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-2013. Her feast day is assigned to various dates according to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See Marijana Vukovic, *Cult of Saints*, E04774, E04870, E04878, E04922, E04940, E04958, E04959, E04960, E04961, and E05033.

[100] Elizabeth A. Castelli, "Asterius of Amasea Ekphrasis on the Holy Martyr Euphemia" in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, Richard Valantasis, ed., 464 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691188164-043. J. Irmscher, "Pulcheria (Aelia Pulcheria Augusta)," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, Angelo Di Berardino, Thomas C. Oden, , and Joel C. Elowsky, eds. (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 4, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. "St. Euphemia," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, E. A. Livingstone, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-2013.

Pulcheria was a famous avowed virgin and may have identified closely with St. Euphemia; this affinity for the saint may have been good reason to assign the councilmen to gather at Euphemia's martyrium.[101] A martyrium is a building which marked the site where a saint died or a building in which the bones or relics of a saint were housed. Those gathered at the council, according to legend, called on the saint to help them understand if their doctrine against Monophysitism was correct.[102] When the document was placed on her body overnight, St. Euphemia miraculously held the orthodox document in her hands the next morning, giving it authority.[103]

The Fourth Ecumenical Council was convened at St. Euphemia's martyrium to define theological debates surrounding the nature of Jesus Christ.[104] Monophysitism, a heterodox understanding of the nature of Jesus Christ promulgated by Eutyches, mentioned above, among others, taught that Jesus Christ was one person

[101] I am grateful to Maria Evangelatou for pointing out this significant and likely connection.

[102] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 336. See also *ibid*. n. 1, and François Halikin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine: Légendes Byzantines Publiées*, 93-95, and 95 n. 1. V. Novembri, "Euphemia," in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, Angelo Di Berardino, Thomas C. Oden, , and Joel C. Elowsky, eds. (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 3, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[103] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 336. See also *ibid*. n. 1, and François Halikin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine: Légendes Byzantines Publiées*, 93-95, and 95 n. 1. Elizabeth A. Castelli, "Asterius of Amasea Ekphrasis on the Holy Martyr Euphemia," in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, Richard Valantasis, ed., 464–465. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691188164-043. Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Euphemia of Chalcedon," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-1800. V. Novembri, "Euphemia," in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, Angelo Di Berardino, Thomas C. Oden, , and Joel C. Elowsky, eds. (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), Accessed August 3, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[104] Francis Schaefer, "Council of Chalcedon," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), accessed on 2 August 2023, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03555a.htm.

with one nature, not consubstantial with ordinary humans.[105] Ultimately, the men gathered in Chalcedon decided that, "We confess one sole and the same Jesus Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, whom we acknowledge to be in two natures, without any confusion, or change or division, or separation between them; for the difference of the two natures is in no way suppressed by their union."[106] That is to say, Jesus Christ was both human and divine and the human and divine aspects were united in one person remaining distinct from each other.[107] In a letter to Pope Leo I (died 461 AC),[108] the councilmen wrote,

> 'For it was God who worked, and the triumphant [St.] Euphemia who crowned the meeting as for a bridal, and who, taking our definition of the Faith as her own confession, presented it to her Bridegroom by our most religious Emperor [Marcian] and Christ-loving Empress [Pulcheria], appeasing all the tumult of opponents and establishing our confession of the Truth as acceptable to Him, and with hand and tongue setting her seal to the votes of us all in

[105] "Council of Chalcedon," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-1094. Francis Schaefer, "Council of Chalcedon," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), accessed on 2 August 2023, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03555a.htm. "Eutyches," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-2031. "Monophysitism," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-3888. Francis X. Murphy, "The Dogmatic Definition at Chalcedon," *Theological Studies* 12, (1951): 505. https://www-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/scholarly-journals/dogmatic-definition-at-chalcedon/docview/1297089529/se-2.

[106] Francis X. Murphy, "The Dogmatic Definition at Chalcedon," 505.

[107] "Christology," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-1179.

[108] Thomas F. X. Noble, "Pope Leo I," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662624.001.0001/acref-9780198662624-e-4719.

proclamation thereof.'[109]

Thus, St. Euphemia's role in the outcome of the Fourth Ecumenical Council was well known and much of the council's success was credited to her.

It was particularly important for Juliana's church that the Council of Chalcedon was held inside the martyrium of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon, just east of Constantinople, on the Asiatic side of the Bosporos.[110] Since St. Euphemia was closely associated with pro-Chalcedonian orthodoxy, due to the location of that council gathering, Juliana's renewal of the a building dedicated to the same saint in Constantinople placed Juliana's piety in stark contrast with her heterodox imperial contemporaries, the emperors Leo I, Leo II, Zeno and Anastasios I.[111] While Juliana purportedly wrote to Pope Hormisdas to discuss her pro-Chalcedonian beliefs, Anastasios I, the Roman emperor in the early-sixth century AC ascribed to the miaphysite belief.[112] Anastasios I's reign was also plagued by riots and conflicts, such as the riot involving Aereobindos, so I suggest that Juliana's renewal of the church of St. Euphemia in the tenth region of Constantinople reminded the populace of the piety

[109] Frances Trzeciak, *Cult of Saints*, E05484, http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E05484.

[110] M. Simonetti, "Chalcedon, II. Council," in the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, eds. Angelo Di Berardino, Thomas C. Oden, , and Joel C. Elowsky, (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), Accessed August 3, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[111] Alfred J. Andrea, *Medieval Record: Sources of Medieval History* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Incorporated, 2020), 98-99, accessed August 3, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. Bardill, "New Temple," 340-341. A. de Nicola, "Anastasius, emperor," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 3, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. *PLRE* II, 636.

[112] Peter Neville Bell, *Social Conflict in the Age of Justinian: Its Nature, Management, and Mediation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199567331.001.0001. De Nicola, "Anastasius, emperor." Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 242, n. 9. *PLRE* II, 636. I have not been able to track down a copy of Juliana's letter to the pope.

of her ancestors and the stability their religiously orthodox practices created in the capital.

Theophanes Confessor gestures towards Juliana's pro-Chalcedonian orthodoxy through the construction of the church of the Theotokos in Honoratae but the link seems even more prominent in her renewing of the church of St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou.[113] Jonathan Bardill alludes to Juliana's convictions as an impetus for renewing or building St. Polyeuktos, but again the pro-Chalcedonian leanings of Juliana seem most clear through her work at St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou.[114] The building was initially constructed by Juliana's grandmother, Augusta Licina Eudoxia, and later renewed by her parents.

According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou was presumably located in the tenth region, on the Mese between the Philadelphion, just west of the Forum of Theodosios, and a forked point in the Mese[115] with statues of Constans I (died 350 AC)[116] and Constantios II (died 361 AC),[117] and the church of St. Polyeuktos (Map 5). It was a site visited after a reception at St. Polyeuktos during the imperial procession on the Monday of Renewal Week, the week following Easter

[113] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 239.
[114] Bardill, "New Temple for Byzantium," 341.
[115] Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 2nd ed., 410.
[116] Timothy E. Gregory, "Constans I," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-1197.
[117] Timothy E. Gregory, "Constantius II," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-1231.Alexander Kazhdan, "Mese," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3483.

Sunday, by at least the 10th century AC.[118] Unfortunately, the only primary sources describing processions in Constantinople, the B*ook of Ceremonies* and *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia, date to the tenth century AC.[119] Paul Magdalino also locates the church in this area, very close to the Philadelphion.[120] This area had, historically, been heavily populated by Juliana's family members; the *Notitia* indicates that Juliana's paternal great grandmother and great-great-great aunt, three of Juliana's distinguished female relatives had homes or palaces in the vicinity.[121]

The epigrams located in St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou celebrate Juliana's genealogical connections. Notably, the church had another familial link to Juliana in that it was located in a neighborhood named after Juliana's father, Anikios Olybrios,[122] one of the epigrams especially calls out her female ancestresses. According to W.R. Paton's *Greek Anthology*, the epigrams state:

> Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Εὐφημίαν τὴν Ὀλυβρίου
> Εἰμὶ δόμος Τριάδος, τρισσὴ δέ με τεῦξε γενέθλη·

[118] Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. Moffatt and Tall, 50. Robert F. Taft, "Easter," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-1594.

[119] Albrecht Berger, "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001), 74.

[120] Alexander Kazhdan, "Mese," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3483.Paul Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoglu (London: Brill, 2001), 55.

[121] Matthews, "*Notitia*," 93. See also Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi*," 55.

[122] Janin indicates that the house of Juliana's mother, Placidia, may have been located in the neighborhood and that house may have passed to Anikios Olybrios in her dowry. Alternatively, Janin indicates Olybrios may have built a house there after fleeing the Vandals around 455 CE. In either case, the neighborhood was named after Anikia Juliana's father, Anikos Olybrios, emperor of the West in 472 CE. See Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 2nd ed., 398-399.

πρώτη μὲν πολέμους καὶ βάρβαρα φῦλα φυγοῦσα
τεύξατο καί μ᾽ ἀνέθηκε θεῷ ζωάγρια μόχθων
Θευδοσίου θυγάτηρ Εὐδοξία· ἐκ δέ με κείνης
Πλακιδίη κόσμησε σὺν ὀλβίστῳ παρακοίτῃ·
εἰ δέ που ἀγλαΐης ἐπεδεύετο κάλλος ἐμεῖο,
τὴν δέ μοι ὀλβιόδωρος ὑπὲρ μνήμης γενετήρων
δῶκεν Ἰουλιανή, καὶ ὑπέρτατον ὤπασε κῦδος
μητέρι καὶ γενέτῃ καὶ ἀγακλέϊ μητρὶ τεκούσης,
κόσμον ἀεξήσασα παλαίτερον. ὦδ᾽ ἐμὸν ἔργον.
Εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ναὸν ἔνδοθεν τοῦ περιδρόμου
Κάλλος ἔχον καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπήρατον· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ μορφῇ
τῇ πρὶν ἀρειοτέρην νῦν λάχον ἀγλαΐην.

Ἄλλο

Οὕτω γῆρας ἐμὸν μετὰ μητέρα καὶ μετὰ τηθὴν
ξῦσεν Ἰουλιανή, καὶ νέον ἄνθος ἔχω.

Ἄλλο

Ἦν ἄρα καὶ κάλλους ἔτι κάλλιον· εὖτ᾽ ἐμὸν ἔργον,
καὶ πρὶν ἐον περίπυστον, ἀοίδιμον ἐς χθόνα πᾶσαν,
ἀγλαΐης προτέρης ἐς ὑπέρτερον ἤγαγε κάλλος
τόσσον Ἰουλιανή, ὅσον ἄστρασιν ἀντιφερίζειν.

Ἄλλο

Αὐτὴν ἐργοπόνοισιν ἐπιπνείουσαν ἀρωγὴν
εἶχεν Ἰουλιανὴ μάρτυρα νηοπόλον·
οὔποτε γὰρ τοῖόν τε τόσον τ᾽ εὐδαίδαλον ἔργον
ἤνυσεν, οὐρανίης ἔμπλεον ἀγλαΐης.

Ἄλλο

Οὐκέτι θαυμάζεις προτέρων κλέος· οὐ διὰ τέχνης
εὖχος ἐν ὀψιγόνοις λίπον ἄσπετον, ὁσσάτιόν περ
κῦδος Ἰουλιανῆς πινυτόφρονος, ἣ χάριν ἔργων

ἀρχεγόνων νίκησε νοήματα πάνσοφα φωτῶν.

On St. Euphemia of Olybrius

I am the House of the Trinity, and three generations built me. First Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius, having escaped from war and the barbarians, erected and dedicated me to God in acknowledgement of her rescue from distress. Next her daughter Placidia with her most blessed husband adorned me. Thirdly, if perchance my beauty was at all deficient in splendour, munificent Juliana invested me with it in memory of her parents, and bestowed the height of glory on her mother and father and her mother's illustrious mother by augmenting my former adornment. Thus was I made.

In the Same Church, inside the Gallery

I had loveliness before, but now in addition to my former beauty I have acquired greater splendour.

Another

Thus did Juliana, after her mother and grandmother, scrape off my coat of old age, and I have new bloom.

Another

There was then something more beautiful than beauty, since my fabric, even formerly of world-wide celebrity, was advanced to a beauty greater than its former splendour by Juliana, so that now it rivals the stars.

Another

Juliana had the Martyr herself, the Patroness of the church, to inspire and help the artificers. For never would she have accomplished otherwise so vast and beautiful a work, full of heavenly splendour.

Another

No longer dost thou marvel at the glory of them who are passed away: by their art they did not leave a fame so great as is the glory of wise Juliana, who by her work surpassed the skilled design of her ancestors.

Indeed, it is likely that St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou was originally constructed at the behest of Juliana's grandmother, Augusta Licinia Eudoxia: the only truly reliable primary source is the epigram itself.[123] In renewing this church in an area named after Anikios Olybrios, Juliana paid homage not only to her Theodosian mother and grandmother, but also her Anikiian father. And yet, the connection between St. Euphemia and Juliana may have been even deeper and more personal. Not only was the neighborhood and numerous monuments therein connected to her immediate relatives, but St. Euphemia, like Juliana, was also the daughter of a noble man and a pious mother.[124] It is possible, then, that Juliana wanted to project herself similarly to that of St. Euphemia: noble and pious.

The epigrams are the only evidence left of St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou. Unlike the epigram at St. Polyeuktos, there is no specific ekphrastic information in the epigram from St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou to help us imagine the interior space; it is not clear if there was a dome, for example. Any reconstruction of the space might be speculative, though the reader of the epigram is encouraged to imagine a space of splendor and opulence that rivals the beauty of the heavens. Indeed, the domes of many monuments were likened to the heavens, so there was already a precedent to which St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou could easily fit.[125]

[123] See *PLRE* II, 410-412.

[124] Jacobus de Voragine suggests she was the daughter of a senator in *The Golden Legend*. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints,* trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 567, Accessed August 19, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[125] Quite famously, the Pantheon in the city of Rome was described in terms of a heavenly dome often. For a robust discussion of this common allusion, see Eugenio La Rocca, "Two Agrippa's Pantheon and Its Origin," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, 49-78 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

There were several churches dedicated to St. Euphemia in Constantinople.[126] Most notable among them were the one adjacent to the Hippodrome, in the third region of Constantinople, called St. Euphemia of Antiochos, and Juliana's in the tenth region of Constantinople. The church closer to the Hippodrome is well documented and was uncovered and excavated in the mid 20th century.[127] Antiochos, the patron of St. Euphemia in the third region, was a praepositus under Theodosios II[128] and likely constructed the church in the early 5th century AC. Fascinatingly, the excavated material from Antiochos' church (Fig. 15), discovered during excavation in the very late 1930s, bears some similarities to the interior decoration of St. Polyeuktos, especially in the inlaid columns (Fig. 16). [129]

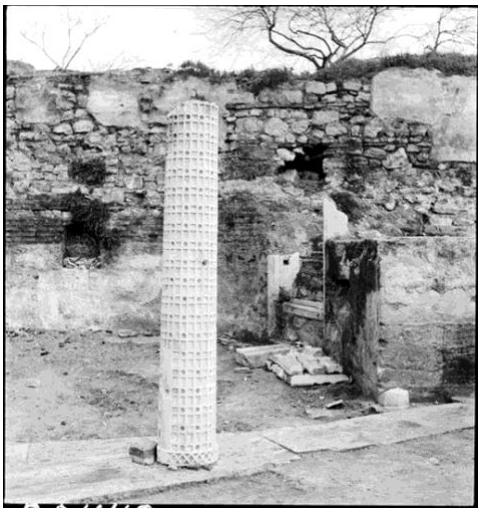


Figure 15. Inlaid column of the chancel screen in situ from the site of St. Euphemia of Antiochos. Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.

[126] Capizzi, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," 132. Capizzi suggests there were at least seven churches dedicated to St. Euphemia in the city.

[127] Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 61.

[128] Mathews, *Early Churches*, 61.

[129] Mathews, *Early Churches*, 61 and plate 49.

The epigrams and other textual evidence, importantly, does not indicate Juliana's church housed any relics of the martyr. Instead, the monument is merely dedicated to St. Euphemia. This should not detract from the importance of the site, though. As evidenced by the epigrams, the significance of the building and its renewal lay in its connection to Juliana's parents and grandmother and in the grandeur of the building itself. Connecting herself and her predecessors, most particularly her noble ancestresses, to St. Euphemia solidified their relationship with orthodoxy in strong contrast to the riotous reign of Anastasios I. It also promoted Juliana's public persona as an elite figure who built up the city rather than instigate events that resulted in destruction.



Figure 16. Column inlaid with glass and stones, from St. Polyeuktos church in Constantinople, ca. 524-527. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, Turkey. Wikimedia Commons.

The Church of St. Stephen in Zeugma

St. Stephen was purportedly the first Christian martyr. His martyrdom is discussed in the Book of Acts. Chapter six states that "the Twelve gathered all the disciples together and said 'Brothers and sisters, choose seven men from among you who are known to be full of the Spirit and wisdom.' . . . They chose Stephen, a man full of faith and the Holy Spirit . . .".[130] He was put in charge of the widows of his Jewish community, and although Stephen was well liked among the disciples, his actions sparked outrage among the traditional Jewish groups.[131] He was charged with blasphemy and false witnesses testified against him.[132] Stephen responded to the charges but to no avail.

> When the members of the Sanhedrin heard [Stephen's response], they were furious and gnashed their teeth at him. But Stephen, full of the Holy Spirit, looked up to heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God. 'Look,' he said, 'I see heaven open and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God'. At this they covered their ears and, yelling at the top of their voices, they all rushed at him, dragged him out of the city and began to stone him. . . . While they were stoning him, Stephen prayed, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' Then he fell on his knees and cried out, 'Lord, do not hold this sin against them.' When he had said this, he fell asleep.[133]

[130] Acts 6: 2, 3, 5, NIV
[131] Acts 6: 8-9, NIV.
[132] Acts 6: 11, 13, NIV.
[133] Acts 7: 54-60, NIV.

Although the whereabouts of St. Stephen's grave were initially unknown, a priest called Lucian supposedly discovered them around 415 AC.[134] His relics were later translated to Jerusalem and then dispersed elsewhere, including Constantinople.[135]

The primary sources are a little unclear about who ushered the relics of St. Stephen the protomartyr to Constantinople. According to one account, Augusta Aelia Eudokia brought the relics to Constantinople.[136] Marcellinus Komes, a 6th-century AC author,[137] states that, "Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius, returned from Jerusalem to the imperial city, bringing with her the relics of most blessed Stephen, first martyr, which were placed in the basilica of St. Laurence where they are venerated."[138] Theophanes Confessor, writing in the late-eighth or early-ninth century, however, indicates that, in an exchange of gifts of largesse with Theodosios II, "The archbishop [of Jerusalem] sent as a return gift the relics of the right hand of the first martyr Stephen, by means of Passarion, one of the holy men."[139] It is likely that Augusta Aelia Pulcheria placed this relic in a church near the imperial complex. According to Theophanes Confessor,

> In the very night that [the relics] reached Chalcedon the blessed Pulcheria saw St Stephen saying to her in a vision, 'Behold, your prayer has been heard,

[134] Marcellinus, *The Chronicle*, trans. Brian Croke, (Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1995), 11. V. Saxer, "Stephen, the first martyr," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 4, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 135, n. 2.

[135] V. Saxer, "Stephen, the first martyr."

[136] Sowers, *In Her Own Words*, 19-20.

[137] Barry Baldwin, "Marcellinus Comes," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3336.

[138] Marcellinus, *The Chronicle*, trans. Brian Croke, (Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1995), 17.

[139] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 136.

> your request is fulfilled, and I have come to Chalcedon.' She arose and, taking her brother, went out to meet the holy relics and, taking them into the palace, she built a wonderful church for the holy First Martyr and deposited his holy relics there.[140]

Theophanes Confessor's account is somewhat instructive, but Marcellinus Komes' near contemporary account is more helpful because it sets a precedent for Augusta Aelia Eudokia's role in bringing the relics of St. Stephen to the imperial capital.[141] Furthermore and most importantly, both accounts assign the translation of the relics to Theodosian women.

The exact location of the church that benefitted from Juliana's philanthropy and dedicated to St. Stephen in Zeugma is more difficult to identify; at this time no archaeological material has been discovered. Juliana's church dedicated to St. Stephen is relatively obscure. Capizzi refers to Raymond Janin, a priest and French Byzantinist, who seems to explain a connection to Juliana, but the historical evidence remains hazy.[142] According to Raymond Janin, Zeugma was along the Golden Horn,[143] near the Platea Gate (Unkapanı Kapı) (Map 3). Janin indicates Zeugma was the site where the relics of St. Stephen were first brought to Constantinople via the Golden Horn. Janin identifies a church dedicated to St. Stephen in the area, in his exhaustive description of Constantinople, *Constantinople Byzantine*, but the exact

[140] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 136.

[141] The primary sources can be misleading at times, or entirely incorrect. The unreliable sources can still provide a sliver of evidence about the reputation of individuals and the ways in which the reputations were perpetuated across time. Theophanes' account, for example, preserves the reputation of Augusta Aelia Pulcheria as a most pious woman.

[142] Capizzi, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," 134-135.

[143] Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 404.

location of the monument remains unclear.[144] As such, Zeugma was located in the tenth region of Constantinople, in the northern side, a little less than a kilometer and a half from the church of St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou and about a kilometer away from the church of St. Polyeuktos. Albrecht Berger suggests a road, originating just east of the Forum of the Ox, reached northeast between the third and fourth hills, crossed the Mese and continued under the Aqueduct of Valens, ending at the Platea Gate (Unkapanı Kapı).[145] It was along this street that Juliana's church dedicated to St. Stephen was located and it must have been erected after the early 5th century CE, since the *Notitia* does not mention it.[146]

Like Juliana's church dedicated to St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, it is not clear if a relic of the protomartyr was housed in the church of St. Stephen in Zeugma. Instead, it seems more likely that the relic first arrived in Constantinople in the Zeugma region, whether sent by Augusta Aelia Eudokia or Archbishop Cyril, and Juliana's church served as a kind of monument to memorialize that event and her family's connection to it. Whether Augusta Aelia Eudokia, Juliana's great grandmother, or Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, Juliana's great-great aunt, played a more vital role in the arrival of the relic may have been less important to Juliana; she was related to both women.

Having the relics of St. Stephen in Constantinople certainly imbued the city with religious importance that even the founder of the city, Constantine I, wanted to

[144] Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 403-404, Internet Archive.
[145] Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces," Map 4.
[146] Matthews, "*Notitia*," 93-94.

establish. Constantine I wanted to have relics from all of Jesus' apostles housed at the eponymous church of the Holy Apostles, where he was buried.[147] In the early 4th century AC,[148] Eusebios wrote that,

> All these things the Emperor dedicated to perpetuate for all mankind the memory of our Saviour's Apostles. But he had another object also in mind when he built [the Apostoleion], which though secret at first was towards the end surmised by everybody. He had prepared the place there for the time when it would be needed on his decease, intending with supreme eagerness of faith that his own remains should after death partake in the invocation of the Apostles, so that even after his decease he might benefit from the worship which would to be conducted there in honour of the Apostles.[149]

Indeed, some suggest Constantine I fancied himself the thirteenth apostle, and Eusebios seems to corroborate this. By aligning himself with the apostles, Constantine I fortified his Christian reign by creating a connection between himself and Jesus Christ's closest followers. In turn, by having a relic of the protomartyr and churches dedicated to him in the city, Constantinople was fortified as an important religious site.

Although St. Stephen was not an apostle himself, his relic, as the first martyr for the Christian faith, would have represented important Christian ideals. By marking the site at which the relics first reached Constantinople, Juliana memorialized the role Theodosian women, her ancestresses, played in bringing such a

[147] Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83, no. 1 (1990): 52, https://doi.org/10.1515/byzs.1990.83.1.51.

[148] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Cameron and Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 1.

[149] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Cameron and Hall, 176. Johnson, "Constantine's Apostoleion," 90-91.

renowned object to the city–an object that enhanced the sacred aura of the capital. It also connected Juliana to a tradition of orthodox stability during the reigns of her familial predecessors.

Further, the association with St. Stephen's strong Christian convictions, resulting in martyrdom, may have amplified the conviction and dedication to orthodoxy of Juliana's ancestresses and, by extension, herself. Although neither Juliana nor her ancestresses, perhaps identifying closely with martyrs like St. Euphemia, died for their Christian faith, they did act carefully in promoting orthodoxy across the empire. Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, again, played a vital part in the Third Ecumenical Council in 431 AC, at Ephesos, and the Fourth Ecumenical Council in 451 AC, at Chalcedon, councils which hammered out important orthodox doctrines.[150] Although not as involved in council gatherings, Augusta Aelia Eudokia contributed to the Christianization of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople by building churches, as discussed in chapter two. The Constantinopolitan public, therefore, could easily identify and recall the reigns of the Theodosians in Constantinople through Juliana's building campaign.

In addition to this, in a more personal way, Juliana may have intended to mimic the generosity and piety of her esteemed great-grandmother Augusta Aelia Eudokia in funding a church dedicated to the protomartyr. Augusta Aelia Eudokia constructed a church dedicated to St. Stephen on the site of his martyrdom outside the

[150] "The 21 Ecumenical Councils," *New Advent*, accessed 21 August 2023, https://www.newadvent.org/library/almanac_14388a.htm

Damascus Gate at Jerusalem and she was later buried there.[151] The so-called Piacenza Pilgrim (c. 570 AC),[152] an anonymous pilgrim who recorded their visit to the holy sites in Jerusalem, states that Augusta Aelia Eudokia "'. . . also built a basilica and tomb of St. Stephen, and her own tomb is next to St. Stephen's, with six paces between the two.'"[153] In specifically recalling the acts of her ancestress through the matronage of St. Stephen in Zeugma, Juliana also importantly recalled the long tradition of matronage across the empire by imperial and other elite women and connected herself to that long tradition.

The church dedicated to St. Stephen in Zeugma was also likely near the Platea Gate (Unkapanı Kapı). Gateways were vulnerable spaces, so marking one with a church dedicated to a figure so deeply revered for their Christian convictions likely served not only the purpose of providing a space for the community members to practice their Christian religion, but also a protective function invoking the saint, the protomartyr, to protect and preserve the immediate vicinity and the capital city at large. Its position along the Golden Horn further invoked the saint as a protective

[151] Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Buildings," 19. Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), 96, accessed February 22, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central. Hugues Vincent, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 2 (France: J. Gabalda, 1912-26), 909.

[152] Rina Avner, "The Account of Caesarea by the Piacenza Pilgrim and the Recent Archaeological Discovery of the Octagonal Church in Caesarea Maritima," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 140, no. 3 (2008): 207, doi:10.1179/174313008x341492. Georgia Frank, "Piacenza Pilgrim," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3724. Gary Vikan, "Piacenza Pilgrim," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-4349.

[153] See F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eye of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 169.

figure and the monument served to mark the first place where his relics alighted in the city. Further, Juliana may have wanted to mirror the location of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church in Jerusalem, outside a city gate where the Christian was martyred.[154]

The Church of the Theotokos in Honoratae

The exact location of Juliana's church dedicated to the Theotokos in Honoratae[155] is largely unknown. Janin, Mango, and Ševčenko suggest Honoratae was located on the Asiatic side of the Bosporos.[156] Janin indicates the site on the Asiatic side was named after a Honoratus; there were two prefects of the city called Honoratus, one of whom served as prefect around 359 AC, but Janin does not indicate after which the Asiatic site might have been named.[157] If Janin is correct, it is possible that Juliana's family had ties to land on the Asiatic side of the Bosporos, perhaps an estate. Perhaps it was a location where those traveling from the European side of the Bosporos across to the Asiatic side first landed on a journey to Chalcedon. An obvious connection to Chalcedon would make great sense in relation to Juliana's motives for her matronage.

[154] Maria Evangelatou eruditely pointed out this parallel in a personal correspondence.

[155] The location is spelled variously using Latin or Greek transcriptions. In the anagram in the *Vienna Dioskorides*, as transcribed by Kiilerich, the place name is spelled ONΩPATAI. Kiilerich transliterates this as Honoratae. See Kiilerich, "The Image of Anicia Juliana," 171. Janin records various spellings: τὰ Ὀνωράτου, αἱ Ἀνωράται, αἱ Ἀναράται. See Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 1st ed., 442.

[156] Mango and Ševčenko suggest it was located on the Asiatic side of the Bosporos. See Mango and Ševčenko, "Remains of St. Polyeuktos," 244. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 442-443.

[157] Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (1964), 442.

In contrast, Leslie Brubaker opines that Honoratae was located in what is now Pera.[158] If so, the church was located across the Golden Horn, in the thirteenth region of Constantinople. According to the *Notitia*, by the early 5th century AC, this is where an unnamed church, the Baths of Honorius, and the Forum of Honorius were located.[159] Given Juliana's genealogical link to the emperor Honorius (died 423 AC)[160]–her great-great-great uncle–founding a church in the vicinity of these other monuments would make sense, because of Juliana's practice of founding or renewing buildings in neighborhoods already associated with her family.

Theophanes Confessor (died c. 818 AC)[161] confirms a link between Juliana and her foundation of a church dedicated to the Theotokos in Honoratae.[162] Sadly, he does not provide any insight into the geographic location, but he wrote,

> The most noble Juliana, who founded the sacred church of the Mother of God at Honoratoi, was so firm in her support of the Synod of Chalcedon that even the emperor [Anastasios I], who devised many traps for her, was unable to persuade her to be in communion with Timothy[, the bishop of Constantinople].[163]

[158] Brubaker, "The *Vienna Dioskorides* and Anicia Juliana," in *Byzantine Garden Culture*, eds. Antony Robert Littlewood, Henry Maguire, and Joachim. Wolschke-Bulmahn, 211. It is not clear what brought Brubaker to this conclusion.

[159] Matthews, "*Notitia*," 95.

[160] D. Natal, "Flavius Honorius," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), retrieved 22 Aug. 2023, from https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-2304.

[161] Roger Scott, "Theophanes Confessor." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-4708.

[162] J. Irmscher, "Pulcheria (Aelia Pulcheria Augusta)," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 4, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 239.

[163] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, trans. Mango, 239.

Theophanes, in this passage, also affirms Juliana's dedication to Chalcedonian orthodoxy, which she also celebrated at some of her other monuments discussed above.

The theological debate around the title Theotokos, though, had even deeper connections to Juliana's aunt, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, and the Third Ecumenical Council, the Council of Ephesos held in 431 AC.[164] Augusta Aelia Pulcheria was an ardent supporter of the Theotokos title for the Virgin Mary and played a key role in advocating for the title during the Council of Ephesos, called by her brother, Theodosios II.[165] It was at the Third Ecumenical Council that the use of the term Theotokos was approved and a definition established.[166] The Formula of Reunion, which was drafted in response to the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesos,[167] it states, "we confess the Holy Virgin to be Theotokos, because God the Word was incarnate and became man, and from his very conception united to himself the temple which he took from her."[168] Augusta Aelia Pulcheria was instrumental in initiating the codification of the theological concept of the Mother of God and the application

[164] "The 21 Ecumenical Councils," *New Advent*, accessed 21 August 2023, https://www.newadvent.org/library/almanac_14388a.htm. Lucian Farcaşiu, "The Veneration of the Theotokos in the Christian Church: The History and Evolution of Theotokos' Feasts" *Teologia* 84, no. 3 (2020): 105. Oliver Nicholson, "Theotokos," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-4719. M. Simonetti, "Ephesus, II. Councils," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014), accessed August 5, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[165] Simonetti, "Ephesus, II. Councils."

[166] E. Peretto, "Theotokos," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 20140, accessed August 5, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[167] Graham Gould, "Cyril of Alexandria and the Formula of Reunion," *The Downside Review* 106, no. 365 (1988): 236, https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1177/001258068810636501.

[168] Gould, "Cyril of Alexandria and the Formula of Reunion," 236.

of the term Theotokos,[169] which the Formula of Reunion expresses well. Juliana may have been connecting herself to Augusta Aelia Pulcheria by constructing a church dedicated to the Theotokos, in addition to endowing the community with a church.

By reasserting her connection to her great-great aunt Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, Juliana recalled the staunch orthodoxy during the reigns of her forebears. Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, married to the emperor Marcian (died 457 AC),[170] was extolled for her extreme piety and avowed virginity;[171] she and Marcian shared a chaste marriage.[172] During their joint reign and after Augusta Aelia Pulcheria's death in 453 AC,[173] Marcian maintained orthodoxy from the capital at Constantinople: he called the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon in 451AC.[174] Marcian's council, therefore, had a major impact on Juliana's messaging through matronage.

Juliana connected with a community outside the central location of her other monuments by funding the construction of a church dedicated to the Theotokos in Honoratae. This connected Honoratae and its church of the Theotokos to other churches in Constantinople dedicated to the Theotokos, such as the Chalkoprateia, the

[169] Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 205-228, accessed January 23, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[170] Brian Croke, "The Date and Circumstances of Marcian's Decease, A.D. 457," *Byzantion* 48, no. 1 (1978): 5–9. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44170550.

[171] Holum, "Pulcheria." Doug Lee, "Marcian," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-2979.

[172] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History (AD431-594)*, Book 2, Chapter 2, trans. E. Walford. *PLRE* II, 929.

[173] Holum, "Pulcheria."

[174] Hagit Amirav, *Authority and Performance : Sociological Perspectives on the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 37-38. Patrick T. R. Gray, "The Legacy of Chalcedon: Christological Problems and Their Significance," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Michael Maas, ed., 221 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Blachernai and the Hodegon Monastery. These churches were also connected to Augusta Aelia Pulcheria who legendarily funded them.[175] Further, monuments dedicated to the Theotokos activated the protective power of the Mother of God to keep the community safe, like the neighborhood of Honoratae or the city of Constantinople. Each church activated the intercessory and apotropaic power of the Theotokos and Juliana contributed to this activation by founding a church dedicated to the Virgin beyond Constantinople, in Honoratae, further extending the growing cult of the Virgin across the Eastern Roman Empire.[176]

Juliana also reasserted her own devotion and the devotion of her Theodosian matrilineage to the Virgin Mother of God. Since orthodoxy was challenged during the reign of Anastasios I, it must have been important for Juliana to contrast the reign of her ancestress, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, and her husband, Marcian, with that of the heterodox Anastasios I of the time. This could remind the public of the stability of the Theodosian dynasty and encourage the support of orthodoxy on an imperial level. Though speculative, it is possible Juliana hoped this reminder of the stability of the

[175] Liz James, "The Empress and the Virgin in Early Byzantium: Piety, Authority, and Devotion," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 145, accessed January 23, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central. Bissera Pentcheva disputes the attribution of Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, and Hodegon Monastery to Augusta Aelia Pulcheria. See Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 120-121. Pentcheva notes there is no evidence for the presence of a Hodegon monastery or a Hodegetria icon in Constantinople before Iconoclasm, well after the death of Augusta Aelia Pulcheria and therefore impossible for her to have funded.

[176] For a robust discussion of the development and spread of the cult of the Virgin in the Eastern Roman Empire, see Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), accessed January 23, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central, and Maria Vassilaki, ed., *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), accessed January 23, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

Theodosians would instigate the installation of her son, Olybrios Minor, on the imperial throne. On the other hand, it is possible Juliana merely wanted to reiterate good rulership to the emperor and hold up the Theodosians as a mirror for good, orthodox leadership.

The *Vienna Dioskorides*: A Case Study of the Public Perception of Juliana

Juliana renewed and paid for the construction of monuments as a way to assert the orthodox stability during the reigns of her ancestors. The community of Honoratae benefitted greatly from the construction of the church of the Theotokos. In response, the people of Honoratae thanked Juliana for her generosity by gifting her with a manuscript now housed in Vienna, Austria. This codex, or book, serves as an excellent case study for the inquiry into how the public perceived Juliana.[177] The epigrams help students and scholars today understand how Juliana wanted to project herself, but the codex uniquely illuminates the ways in which the public saw the wealthiest woman in the city.

The codex, now called the *Vienna Dioskorides* (Codex Vindobonensis Med. gr. 1), is made up of four-hundred-ninety-two parchment folios and measures nearly

[177] Nicholas Sparks, "*Vienna Dioscorides*," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-4986.

fifteen inches by a little over twelve inches.[178] The manuscript is richly illuminated with three-hundred-ninety-two full page miniatures, mostly of plants (Fig. 17) and



Figure 17. Dioscoridies de Materia Medica Cod. Med. Gr. 1 Fol. 148v, Violet, 512 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13725749.

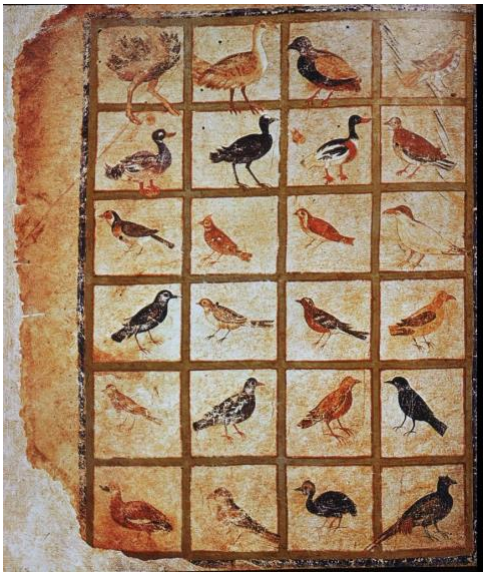


Figure 18. Dioscoridies de Materia Medica Cod. Med. Gr. 1 Fol. 483v, Birds, 512 AC. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13718115.

[178] Ingo F. Walther and Norbert Wolf, *Codices Illustres: The World's Most Famous Illuminated Manuscripts, 400 to 1600* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2005), 54.

some corals, along with sixty-six smaller–about half a page–paintings of venomous animals, and forty-seven pictures of birds (Fig. 18).[179] The text, written in Greek uncial, describes the uses of plants for medicinal purposes.[180]

The manuscript opens with an image of Juliana in a star-framed octagon on a deep blue background (Fig. 10). By illustrating Juliana enthroned between significant personifications, the givers acknowledged Juliana's status in the broader community of Constantinople at the time. Indeed, imperial women were historically assimilated with important personifications to convey concepts of their piety and philanthropy.[181] By framing Juliana between Magnanimity/Μεγαλοψυχία and Prudence/Φρόνησις, the gift-givers engage in this assimilation of a noble woman with concepts of generosity and sagacity.

This rhymes closely with the ways imperial women, especially empresses, had been historically memorialized. As Angelova states, "The empress occupied a niche in the public with her images and honors, and . . . the qualities celebrated in her public persona construed her as a powerful sacred maternal founder who deserved divine honors . . .".[182] Juliana is placed between symbolic figures in such a way that advances the visual tropes of the ancient past within a Christianized background.

Comparative Portraits

[179] Walther and Wolf, *Codices Illustres,* 54.
[180] Walther and Wolf, *Codices Illustres,* 54.
[181] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 93. Angelova specifically discusses the assimilation of imperial women with the concept Fortuna/Tyche (Τύχη).
[182] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 67.

Perhaps the most important aspect of this portrait is that it was not chosen or guided by Juliana, though her social and economic standing, along with her generosity and matronage certainly could have informed the image's format. Instead, it shows how a community perceived its benefactress. The people of Honoratae chose to illustrate Juliana in a way common for imperial men and women and major religious figures: enthroned and flanked by distinctive symbolic figures. The image is worth comparing to other relevant images.

Among political figures, the portrait miniature of Juliana borrows from the similar arrangement to the Missorium of Theodosios I (Fig. 19). The Missorium of Theodosios I was created in either Constantinople or Thessaloniki,[183] and excavated in Mérida, Spain in 1847 AC.[184] The gold-plated silver object is a little over twenty-nine inches in diameter and is now housed in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.[185] The arrangement of figures on the missorium–a large dish made of precious material associated with imperial largesse[186]–follows a well-established formula for depicting powerful or important central figures in Late Antique visual production.[187] The rather large silver dish illustrates the emperor Theodosios I in the

[183] Kiilerich, "Representing an Emperor," in *The Theodosian Age (A.D. 379-455) : Power, Place, Belief and Learning at the End of the Western Empire*, eds. Rosa García-Gasco, Sergio González Sánchez, and David A. Hernández de la Fuente, 274 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013).

[184] Jonathan Bardill, "Missorium of Theodosius" on *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-3205.

[185] "Disk of Theodosius," Real Academia de la Historia, accessed 9 March 2024, https://www.rah.es/disco-de-teodosio/.

[186] "Missorium," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662624.001.0001/acref-9780198662624-e-4020.

[187] For a full discussion of the object and its imagery, see Saúl Martín González, "The *missorium* of Theodosius: Imperial Elites and the Lusitanian Countryside in the Later Roman Empire," in *The*

center. He is dressed in familiar imperial regalia and Theodosios I even appears in a pose similar to that of Juliana. The central figure stretches out his right hand towards a smaller figure who presents him with a document. The two smaller, enthroned figures depict Valentinian II on the right and Theodosios I's son, Arkadios, on the left. Two additional figures appear on each side of the group–armed guards with shields. Like Juliana's portrait, the Missorium of Theodosios I celebrates the central figure; the object was likely created to celebrate his imperial anniversary. Theodosios I is the largest, depicted according to hierarchy of scale often used to define the most important figure.



Figure 19. Gilded silver Missorium of Theodosios, late 4th to early 5th century AC. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. https://www.rah.es/disco-de-teodosio/.

Theodosian Age (A.D. 379-455) : Power, Place, Belief and Learning at the End of the Western Empire, eds. Rosa García-Gasco, Sergio González Sánchez, and David A. Hernández de la Fuente, 91-98 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013).



Figure 20. Gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.

Another excellent comparison appears on another silver gilt object, the Projecta Casket (Fig. 20) from about 380 AC, measuring about 11 ¼ inches high and now housed in the British Museum.[188] It was part of the Esquiline Treasure discovered in 1793 AC.[189] A luxury object created for an elite Roman woman, similarly to the *Vienna Dioskorides* portrait, a central, female figure appears on one side of the casket and on top, the a female figure appears with a male companion in a roundel (Fig. 21). The casket was most likely used to hold or store bath items for the

[188] "Casket," *The British Museum*, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.

[189] Alan Cameron, "The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure," A*merican Journal of Archaeology* 89, no. 1 (1985): 135, https://doi.org/10.2307/504776.

owner-matron and includes an inscription indicating that Projecta and her husband,



Figure 21. Top detail of the gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.



Figure 22. Inscription detail of the gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.

Secundus, were Christians (Fig. 22).[190] Christian women often appeared in products of material and visual culture with symbols of their learnedness, as the female figure in the roundel appears: note the rotulus she holds, symbolizing her scholarly interests. Projecta appears on the viewer's left within the roundel supported by putti, attired

[190] According to the British Museum's website, the inscription reads, "SECVNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHRISTO" translating to "Secundus and Projecta, live in Christ." Schenk translates the inscription as, "Secundus and Projecta, may you live in Christ." See Christine Schenk, CSJ, *Crispina and Her Sisters: Women and Authority in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2017), 299.

modestly but fashionably. The rotulus or scroll often appears as a symbol of



Figure 23. Front detail of the gold and silver Projecta Casket, c. 380 AC. The British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1866-1229-1.

learnedness in visual culture of the Late Antique Mediterranean and since many Christian teachings were transmitted by written word on scrolls, this scroll hints at Projecta's ability to read, especially Christian texts.[191] Likewise, the putto presenting a codex to Juliana in the manuscript portrait, while somewhat self-referential to the manuscript itself, gestures also to Juliana's educated background in addition to her generosity.

The lower front panel of the Projecta casket illustrates a matonrly female figure enthroned below an elegant arch and flanked by female attendants (Fig. 23). The arrangement strongly mirrors that of the Missorium of Theodosios I, conveying the importance of the central figure, though in a much more mundane setting: the bath or the domus. The female attendants assist the central female figure with her toilette; the figure on the viewer's right holds a mirror for the central female and the figure on the viewer's left carries a casket, a self-referential element.

[191] Schenk, CSJ, *Crispina and Her Sisters*, 148.

Finally, Juliana's portrait echoes the icon of Mary Enthroned with Saints and Angels from St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai from the sixth or early-seventh century (Fig. 11).[192] The arrangement of the figures centers the Virgin and Christ child. The artist overlapped the figures to create a sense of depth. On the far left and far right, soldier saints flank the holy mother and child. Just as the Theotokos herself could cast a sense of protection, with the soldier saints, this sense of protection and safety is enhanced. In addition to the four figures at the front, two angelic figures stand behind the enthroned Virgin and Child and gaze up towards the heavens. Further behind them, two columns evoke a lavish interior with multicolored stones.

The arrangement of figures was therefore common and enduring because it made the importance of the central figure(s) plain and legible and through the addition of the lateral figures provided more information about the central sitter. In the case of the *Vienna Dioskorides* portrait, an acrostic near the dedicatory image offers additional information:

> ΙΟΥ ΔΟΞΑΙCΙ(Ν ΑΝΑCCΑ?)
> (ΟΝ)ΩΡΑΤ(ΑΙ C') Α(ΓΑ)Θ(ΑΙ)C Π(Α)C(ΑΙC)
> ΥΜΝΟΥCΙΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΔΟ(ΞΑΖΟΥCΙΝ)
> ΛΑΛΙCΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΙC ΠΑΣΑ(Ν) ΓΗΝ
> (Ι)ΗC'Η ΜΕΓΑΛΟ(Ψ)ΥΧΙΑ
> ΑΝΙΚΗΩΡΩΝ ΓΕΝΟ(C) ΠΑΛΕΙC
> ΝΑΟΝ (ΔΕ) Κ(ΥΡ)ΙΟΥ ΗΓΙΡΑC
> ΑΝΩ (ΠΡΟΕΚΒ)ΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΩC
>
> Hail, oh princess, Honoratae extols and glorifies you with all fine praises; for Magnanimity (Megalopsychia) allows you to be mentioned over the entire

[192] William Allen, "Virgin (Theotokos) and Child between Saints Theodore and George," in *Smarthistory,* December 12, 2023, accessed January 22, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/virgin-theotokos-and-child-between-saints-theodore-and-george/.

world. You belong to the family of the Anicii, and you have built a temple of the Lord, raised high and beautiful.[193]

Certainly the acrostic itself is also a part of the gift. The panegyric tone further extols Juliana's virtues and the gratitude of the community for her generosity.[194]

The exchange between Juliana and the people of Honoratae demonstrates the kinds of interactions discussed by Marcel Mauss, the eminent sociologist and anthropologist, in *The Gift*. In his seminal text, Mauss describes the process of gift exchange through an analysis of the social practices among Melanesians. Mauss observed that by engaging in gift exchange, the givers and recipients create a cycle of giving and receiving that is also evident in the exchange between Juliana and the people of Honoratae.[195]

As mentioned in chapter two, matronage from the first century AC onward created a reciprocal relationship between the matron and the public. Extending Mauss' observations for application to the matronage of Late Antique Rome and Early Byzantine Constantinople, a matron cultivated a relationship between herself and the public through her philanthropy. Diana E. E. Kleiner notes that Livia and Octavia, the wife and sister of Augustus respectively, founded public spaces purely

[193] Bente Kiilerich, "The Image of Anicia Juliana in the Vienna Dioscurides: Flattery or Appropriation of Imperial Imagery?" *Symbolae Osloenses: Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studie*, 76:1, 169-190, DOI: 10.1080/003976701753388012. Kiilerich spells the family name Anicii and I maintain the same spelling in the quoted translation here.

[194] In a personal conversation, Tracy Chapman Hamilton suggested that the same poet of the epigrams that decorated Juliana's churches may have also been responsible for the panegyric acrostic, and as such, Juliana may have played a more prominent role in the production of the manuscript. I am grateful to her for bringing this to my attention. It creates an interesting line of inquiry that I look forward to pursuing in the future.

[195] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. W.D. Halls (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 26.

for the benefit of the public. Kleiner indicates that, "The idea behind [the Porticus Liviae] was to return to the Roman people property that had been occupied in the Republic by the extravagant villas of self-promoting aristocrats."[196] Certainly, there was a political agenda behind Livia's motives, but that does not negate the public benefit of her matronage which ideally resulted in a sense of allegiance to the matron on the part of the public. Instead of an exchange of material goods between gift giver and gift recipient in the Maussian description, the gift recipient reciprocates the gift given by the matron with loyalty to and admiration of her. During times of political unrest, public fidelity was a significant comfort and asset to the matron and, by extension, her imperial family. The turmoil that often erupted in Constantinople, evidenced by the riots and unrest discussed above, would prompt a matron or patron, especially someone like Juliana, to foster public allegiance and the historical record illustrates that allegiance when the Constantinopolitan public attempted to elevate Aereobindos to the imperial seat.

In the case of Juliana and Honoratae, both parties displayed their wealth and their gratitude while honoring one another with gifts that bespeak their allegiance. It

[196] Diana E. E. Kleiner, "Imperial Women as Patrons of the Arts in the Early Empire," in *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, eds. Diana E. E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), accessed March 9, 2024, https://aaeportal-com.oca.ucsc.edu/?id=-31693. See also See also Margaret Louise Woodhull, *Building Power: Women as Architectural Patrons During the Early Roman Empire, 30 BCE-54 CE* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1999).

is likely that this reciprocity was understood during Juliana's lifetime, too. The sixth-century author and historian Prokopios of Caesarea (died after 542 AC)[197] wrote that,

> . . . subjects who have received benefits have proved themselves grateful toward their benefactors, and that they have repaid them with thank-offerings in generous measure, seeing that, while they have profited, it may be, for the moment only by the beneficence of their rulers, they nevertheless preserve their sovereigns' virtue imperishable in the memory of those who are to come after them.[198]

The gift exchange in Honoratae was initiated by Juliana and reciprocated by the people of Honoratae through the gift of a codex, but the gift-giving cycle ostensibly continued through prayer and spiritual protection. The people of Honoratae would presumably pray for their noble benefactress and the power of the Theotokos, invoked by Juliana and the monument she funded, would protect the community of Honoratae in theoretical perpetuity.

The choice of text, an herbal, a manuscript describing various plants and their medicinal or other uses, is also interesting though slightly enigmatic.[199] It is not entirely clear why the community of Honoratae chose this particular manuscript to gift Juliana. If Juliana had a special interest in plants or healing, that information has not been preserved, but women were known to have an interest in medicine and

[197] Barry Baldwin, "Prokopios of Caesarea," In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-4507.

[198] Prokopios, *Buildings*, 3, 5

[199] Alison Hudson, "An illustrated Old English Herbal," *Medieval Manuscripts Blog*, The British Library, 5 April 2017, https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2017/04/an-illustrated-old-english-herbal.html.

health since this was sometimes a part of their domestic practice: to care for the health of the household. In *The Economist* by Xenophon (died c. 354 BC),[200] the author indicates that good and virtuous women were responsible for the healthcare of their household. In his narrative, Xenophon wrote,

> "There is just one of all these occupations which devolve upon you," I added, "you may not find so altogether pleasing. Should any one of our household fall sick, it will be your care to see and tend them to the recovery of their health." "Nay,"" she answered, "that will be my pleasantest of tasks, if careful nursing may touch the springs of gratitude and leave them friendlier than before."[201]

The duty of care was also observed by noble women. A notable example is when Livia restored the Temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana on the Aventine Hill in the city of Rome due to her interest in plants and their use in medicine.[202] Like the imperial female paragon of the first century AC, it is possible Juliana was also interested in maintaining the health and wellbeing of her household and could use the codex for such purpose.

Of course, the vegetal and floral motifs that likely decorated the interiors of Juliana's churches could have also inspired the gift of an herbal manuscript.[203] As I will discuss in the next chapter, the decoration of St. Polyeuktos, with rich and ornate

[200] Vivienne Gray, "Xenophon," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-1344.

[201] Xenophon, *The Economist*, trans. H. G. Dakyns, Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1173/1173-h/1173-h.htm.

[202] Angelova, *Sacred Founders*, 72.

[203] I am very grateful to Albert Narath for drawing my attention to this important link in a personal conversation.

marble carvings of vines, fruiting trees, and intricate flowers, along with the mosaic imagery that likely adorned the walls, would have recalled symbolic plants from the Old Testament. Although speculative, Juliana's attention to and interest in Biblical flora would have made an herbal an obvious gift.

The extreme luxury of this beautiful manuscript should not be disregarded. The pages of vellum, the careful craftspersonship, and minutely detailed paintings would have been extremely costly to the people of Honoratae.[204] The significant cost could demonstrate the overall wealth of the community, or it could demonstrate the inordinate gratitude of the community members to Juliana. Regardless, this luxury object must have been comparable to the luxury of the church which is sadly now lost.

Conclusion

Juliana gave lavishly to the city of Constantinople and its environs as a means of honoring her ancestresses, engaging in the religious dialogue of the time and supporting her orthodox views, and adding to the spiritual importance of the city

[204] Though from several centuries later, Nigel Wilson indicates that the cost of a manuscript could range between three and one-hundred fifty nomismata during the tenth through twelfth centuries. Wilson indicates a low-level civil servant earned about seventy-two nomismata year. A numismata was worth its weight in gold. See J. Jarrett, "Middle Byzantine Numismatics in the Light of Franz Füeg's Corpora of Nomismata," *Numismatic Chronicle* 177 (2018): 514-535, Nigel G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, ed. Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, 1-16 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Research Collection, 1975), and "Lasting Impressions: People, Power, Piety," Online Exhibition, Dumbarton Oaks, https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/lasting-impressions, accessed 4 April 2024.

through church construction.[205] Her gifts of religious monuments connected her to her family and conveyed her orthodox religious convictions to the public as a means of reminding the population of good rulership and the prosperity that comes with it. Juliana's orthodox beliefs and monuments likely reminded the public of the political and religious stability of the Theodosian dynasty which contrasted with the riots during the reign of Anastasios I and the violence that swept the city and territories further afield.

Undoubtedly, the social capital of Juliana's matronage was significant and vital to her safety and the safety of her family. The public had a certain level of power that could boil over into unrest, as I have mentioned above. Juliana, while honoring her ancestresses, simultaneously sowed a continued public allegiance to her dynasty. The reciprocation between matron, who funded Christian monuments for the benefit of the community in Constantinople and its periphery, and the public at large, who accepted her philanthropy with their support, thus safeguarded her and those dear to her. In the case of Juliana, the relationship paid off, as it were, and she and her property were kept from violence on at least one occasion.

She connected herself to this legacy of strength through the women of her family, who endured chaos in the personal lives, as discussed in chapter two, but remained stalwart supporters of the empire, Christianity, and their family. The Theodosian women especially experienced great tumult and it is interesting that

[205] Justinian I later decreed only the emperor could build churches after the construction of Juliana's monuments. This decree is interesting and may suggest the impact of Juliana's church construction across the city and beyond. See Kiilerich, "The Image," 185.

Juliana prioritizes those ancestresses over her Anikiian female forebears. I can only speculate that, to Juliana, the Theodosian women had a more public relationship with orthodoxy and good rulership than did her Anikiian relatives. In order to make an equally large impact on the people of Constantinople and Honoratae, Juliana invoked the memory and legacies of those imperial women to ensure that the messages articulated through her matronage were clear.

Chapter 4

"By her righteous toil she built a worthy house"[1]: St. Polyeuktos as case study of Juliana's matronage

Introduction

The church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos is the only church connected to Juliana of which there are any archaeological remains extant, thus it provides an excellent, if the only, case study for understanding the matron herself amidst the socio-cultural and religio-political landscape of early-sixth-century Constantinople. Through my close examination of the structure of the church ruins currently in situ along with a comparison to other coeval churches, I show that the presence of a domed ceiling at the church is possible and the most likely. An accompanying study of the epigram that decorated the interior of St. Polyeuktos, with a subtle ekphrasis of the superstructure, further suggests the presence of a dome.

In the following pages, I will describe the history of the site and discuss the possible superstructure over the basilica-style planned church. I suggest the church of St. Polyeuktos was most likely domed. A curved ceiling at the church of St. Polyeuktos would have connected Juliana's renewed church to other domed structures with significant imperial across the empire, connections to which she almost certainly

[1] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1928), 7.

wanted to link her church in order to project the orthodoxy of her dynasty, her substantial wealth, and her imperial matrilineage.

Some have questioned the importance of Juliana's renewed church on the basis of the relative obscurity of St. Polyeuktos to whom the church was dedicated.[2] I insist, however, that the importance of St. Polyeuktos and his cult mattered less to Juliana in comparison to the significance of connecting herself to Augusta Aelia Eudokia[3] and her long Theodosian – and by extension imperial Roman – genealogy through her cultural and religious matronage. Through the epigram once displayed in the church and the act of maintaining the edifice of St. Polyeuktos itself, Juliana made undeniable claims that may have less to do with the saint and his intercessory powers and more to do with her social standing in Constantinople and her significant efforts to contribute to the development of a Christian and imperial city and reassert the illustrious political and religiously orthodox legacy of the Theodosian dynasty. By paying for the construction of a Christian church, her church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos, located in a neighborhood where her ancestresses historically resided (Map 7), and along a central roadway marked by significant imperial monuments, Juliana promoted herself and her family as stable and ideal during a period of relative political and religious instability.

[2] Brian Croke, "Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006): 61.

[3] Here and throughout I will refer to Aelia Eudokia as Augusta Aelia Eudokia, not only because she took on the name Eudokia during her lifetime, but because she was bestowed the title augusta so it is fitting she is referenced with this title. Referencing her in this way will also avoid any confusion between women who were often called by the same or similar names within the Theodosian family.

Further, the building itself with a domednceiling spatially and visually linked Juliana and the church, her matronage, and the city of Constantinople to important



Map 7. Monuments funded by Juliana.

imperial sites and political figures in Rome, Jerusalem, and beyond. Such monuments included Hadrian's Pantheon in the city of Rome, and Constantine I's Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[4] In funding such a monument, Juliana contributed to cultivating Constantinople as a truly imperial and Roman capital.

In this chapter, I suggest that Juliana's architectural choices for the church of St. Polyeuktos influenced trends in architecture in ways that have long been unacknowledged. A curved ceiling crowning Juliana's sixth-century church of St.

[4] See especially Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), Robert G. Ousterhout, *Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighboring Lands* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), and R. A. Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). The links between the domed monuments served as both imperial and religious symbols and the power of the church and emperor.

Polyeuktos incidentally meant that the major architectural precedent of a domed, basilica-plan church more famously set by Justinian I's Hagia Sophia in 537 AC was established about a decade earlier than traditionally ascribed. The study of the church of St. Polyeuktos here serves to demonstrate the importance of the building to the development of Byzantine architecture, especially the impact of its opulence and luxury on the later construction and decoration of Hagia Sophia, which, in turn, later inspired Ottoman mosque construction. Even without a full understanding of the superstructure of the church of St. Polyeuktos, the size and scale of the architectural footprint, the position of the church on the Mese, and the surviving decorative elements, such as the marble niches and epigraphic fragments (Fig. 24-25), indicate that Juliana's church was a major landmark in the city that impacted a variety of religio-cultural practices, like imperial processions, and architectural decorative developments.



Figure 24. Peacock niche, St. Polyeuktos, Summer 2021. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul , Turkey. Author's photograph.



Figure 25. Architectural fragments with epigram from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.

Augusta Aelia Eudokia's Fifth-century Church

The epigram that adorned the interior sixth-century church renewed by Juliana references a structure built at the request of Augusta Aelia Eudokia, Juliana's maternal great grandmother, but relevant evidence beyond this text, such as fifth-century archaeological material, is inconclusive. The epigram states that Juliana, "raised this [Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church] from a small temple to its present size and beauty, increasing the glory of [Juliana's] many-sceptered ancestors . . .".[5] The language does not specify if Juliana added onto the previous construction for which Augusta Aelia Eudokia paid, if the previous, fifth-century church was totally razed and reconstructed by Juliana on the same site, or if Juliana chose a new site for a new construction.

[5] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 7.

In the event the site of Juliana's church was new, it is most likely it was still quite close to Augusta Aelia Eudokia's original church, which would fit more closely with the epigram's description of the site. In this case, it is possible that Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church was a small chapel attached to a palace, like the one where Juliana ostensibly lived in the tenth region of the city.[6] Juliana, then, may have planned to expand the church in an adjacent location near her home palace. The epigram seems to suggest the locations were the same, and it may be assumed, without any archaeological evidence to suggest otherwise, the the churches were on the same site or at least very nearby one another.

Harrison and Firatlı uncovered evidence of some activity at the site from before the mid-fifth century AC.[7] Remnants of a Roman cemetery, for example, in use prior to Constantine's move to the city were uncovered[8], and it is possible that unstamped and therefore undatable bricks were used to construct an earlier building at the site. Wherever it was located, the church constructed by Augusta Aelia Eudokia was likely completed between 423 AC, when she was elevated to augusta, and 443 AC, when she left the capital to live in Jerusalem.[9] Given the scant archaeological evidence, it is unclear if Juliana's sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos was a refurbishment or renewal of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's fifth-century church.[10]

[6] I speculate here.
[7] Harrison, *Excavations*, 5.
[8] Harrison, *Excavations*, 111.
[9] Harrison, *Excavations*, 111-112. *PLRE* II, 409.
[10] Capizzi, "L'attivita edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," 128.

It is probable that Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church was located in a region adjacent to where Juliana founded her church but the physical evidence is not available without additional excavation around the site. The monument may possibly have been a smaller chapel connected to what became Juliana's palace. It is likely that her fifth-century church dedicated to the soldier saint was somewhere in the vicinity of Juliana's building in the eleventh region, adjacent to the Mese. Paul Magdalino, after Albrecht Berger, identifies a number of imperial palaces and houses connected to Juliana's ancestresses in the tenth and eleventh regions of Constantinople, along the Mese, between the Forum of Marcian and the Philadelphion.[11] These houses and palaces are also mentioned in the *Notitia*, which I discussed in chapter three. The neighborhood was thus closely associated with Theodosian women from the lifetime of Augusta Aelia Eudokia so it would make the most sense to surmise that the augusta built a monument in the vicinity.

Harrison and Firatlı noted that there are no clear archaeological remains of an original, fifth-century church constructed at Augusta Aelia Eudokia's behest.[12] In his exhaustive survey of brick stamps, Jonathan Bardill acknowledges that the physical evidence is foggy, but that it is entirely possible Juliana's church rested on the foundations of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's.[13] He also suggests it was likely around the

[11] Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi*," 55.

[12] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 70.

[13] Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 125-126. Bardill also notes that Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos may have been located in the Holy Land, where she had retired after a scandal. However, the epigram of Juliana's church seems to refute that hypothesis since it links the previous with the new builder closely.

same time Augusta Aelia Eudokia brought the relics of St. Polyeuktos to Constantinople that she also paid for the construction of the eponymous church.[14]

Augusta Aelia Eudokia was a fairly active cultural matron. According to Jill Harries, she reinvented her public persona by modeling herself after Helena, mother of Constantine.[15] As a great and notable pilgrim and the purported finder of the True Cross, Augusta Helena left a strong legacy for imperial women to model and mimic. Thus, just as Helena identified and translated important relics to Roman cities, so did many imperial women thereafter. As such, Augusta Aelia Eudokia also translated relics and paid for the construction of churches, especially in and around Jerusalem[16] and Constantinople. As discussed in chapter three, she supposedly brought the relics of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, back to Constantinople around 439 AC.[17] As time passed, Augusta Aelia Eudokia's female descendants, most markedly Juliana, continued to contribute to developing Constantinople as a site of political and religious importance.

The Epigrams

The Exterior Epigram

[14] Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 126.

[15] Jill Harries, "Men without Women: Theodosius' Consistory and the Business of Government," in *Theodosius II: Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity*, ed. Christopher Kelly (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 71. See also Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997), 61-62.

[16] Gregory T. Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings," 18.

[17] Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings," 18. Bardill suggests that Pulcheria seized the relics brought by Augusta Aelia Eudokia and put them in a church dedicated to St. Lawrence. See Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 126.

Upon its initial discovery in the 1960s, the unknown monument uncovered during road construction was initially identified by Ihor Ševčenko from a marble, architectural fragment decorated with text. Ševčenko recognized the text as one recorded in the so-called *Greek Anthology*, a collection of epigrams by numerous collected over several centuries, from the first century BC through the fifteenth century AC.[18] The *Greek Anthology* records over 4,500 epigrams and the original record of Juliana's epigrams indicates that the church of St. Polyeuktos was decorated with two epigrams: one on the exterior and one on the interior.[19] Harrison and Firatlı, archaeologists who first excavated at St. Polyeuktos, did not uncover any architectural fragments on which the exterior epigram was carved. As translated by W.R. Paton, the exterior text reads as follows:[20]

> Ποῖος Ἰουλιανῆς χορὸς ἄρκιός ἐστιν ἀέθλοις,
> ἣ μετὰ Κωνσταντῖνον ἐῆς κοσμήτορα Ῥώμης,
> καὶ μετὰ Θευδοσίου παγχρύσεον ἱερὸν ὄμμα,
> καὶ μετὰ τοσσατίων προγόνων βασιληΐδα ῥίζαν,
> ἄξιον ἧς γενεῆς καὶ ὑπέρτερον ἤνυσεν ἔργον
> εἰν ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν; χρόνον ἤδ᾽ ἐβιήσατο μούνη,
> καὶ σοφίην παρέλασσεν ἀειδομένου Σολομῶνος,
> νηὸν ἀναστήσασα θεηδόχον, οὗ μέγας αἰὼν
> οὐ δύναται μέλψαι χαρίτων πολυδαίδαλον αἴγλην·
> οἷος μὲν προβέβηκε βαθυρρίζοισι θεμέθλοις,
> νέρθεν ἀναθρώσκων καὶ αἰθέρος ἄστρα διώκων·
> οἷος δ᾽ ἀντολίης μηκύνεται ἐς δύσιν ἕρπων,

[18] *The Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton and Michael A. Tueller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), https://www-loebclassics-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/LCL067/2014/volume.xml.

[19] *The Greek Anthology,* trans. W. R. Paton.

[20] Paton's translation records the epigrams in the order in which they appear in the original *Greek Anthology*. In contrast, I discuss the epigrams in the order in which a visitor would have encountered them: a visitor would first encounter the exterior epigram and then enter the naos to encounter the interior epigram. Admittedly, the epigrams could have been read in the order in which they appear in the *Greek Anthology*, that is the interior epigram first and the exterior epigram later. I speculate that Juliana intended for visitors to read the exterior epigram first.

ἀρρήτως Φαέθοντος ὑπαστράπτων ἀμαρυγαῖς,
τῇ καὶ τῇ πλευρῇσι· μέσης δ᾽ ἑκάτερθε πορείης
κίονες ἀρρήκτοις ἐπὶ κίοσιν ἑστηῶτες
χρυσορόφου ἀκτῖνας ἀερτάζουσι καλύπτρης.
κόλποι δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπ᾽ ἀψίδεσσι χυθέντες
φέγγος ἀειδίνητον ἐμαιώσαντο σελήνης·
τοῖχοι δ᾽ ἀντιπέρηθεν ἀμετρήτοισι κελεύθοις
θεσπεσίους λειμῶνας ἀνεζώσαντο μετάλλων,
οὓς φύσις ἀνθήσασα μέσοις ἐνὶ βένθεσι πέτρης
ἀγλαΐην ἔκλεπτε, θεοῦ δ᾽ ἐφύλασσε μελάθροις,
δῶρον Ἰουλιανῆς, ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα τελέσσῃ
ἀχράντοις κραδίης ὑπὸ νεύμασι ταῦτα καμοῦσα.
τίς δὲ φέρων θοὸν ἴχνος ἐπὶ ζεφυρηΐδας αὔρας
ὑμνοπόλος σοφίης, ἑκατὸν βλεφάροισι πεποιθώς,
τοξεύσει ἑκάτερθε πολύτροπα δήνεα τέχνης,
οἶκον ἰδὼν λάμποντα, περίδρομον, ἄλλον ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ,
ἔνθ᾽ ἵνα καὶ γραφίδων ἱερῶν ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος αὐλῆς
ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μέγα θαῦμα, πολύφρονα Κωνσταντῖνον,
πῶς προφυγὼν εἴδωλα θεημάχον ἔσβεσε λύσσην,
καὶ Τριάδος φάος εὗρεν ἐν ὕδασι γυῖα καθήρας.
τοῖον Ἰουλιανή, μετὰ μυρίον ἐσμὸν ἀέθλων,
ἤνυσε τοῦτον ἄεθλον ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς γενετήρων,
καὶ σφετέρου βιότοιο, καὶ ἐσσομένων καὶ ἐόντων.

What quire is sufficient to chant the works of Juliana, who after Constantine, the adorner of his Rome, and after the holy golden light of Theodosius, and after so many royal ancestors, in a few years accomplished a work worthy of her race, yea, more than worthy? She alone did violence to Time and surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon by raising a habitation for God, whose glittering and elaborate beauty the ages cannot celebrate–how it rises from its deep-rooted foundations, running up from the ground and aspiring to the stars of heaven, and how from east to west it extends itself glittering with unspeakable brightness in the sunlight on both sides! On either side of its aisle[,] columns standing on firm columns support the rays of the golden dome, while on each side arched recesses scattered on the dome reproduce the ever-revolving light of the moon. The opposite walls in innumerable paths are

> clothed in marvelous metallic veins of color, like flowery meadows which Nature made to flower in the depth of the rock, and hid their glory, keeping them for the House of God, to be the gift of Juliana, so that she might produce a divine work, following in her toil the stainless dictates of her heart. What singer of skilful works shall now hasten to the west, armed with a hundred eyes, and read aright the various devices on the walls, gazing on the circle of the shining house, one story set on another? There you may see a marvelous creation of the holy pencils above the centre of the porch, the wise Constantine, how escaping from the idols he quenched the impious fury of the heathen and found the light of the Trinity by cleansing his limbs in water. Such is the labour that Juliana, after a countless swarm of labours, accomplished for the souls of her parents, and for her own life, and for that of those who are and shall be.[21]

According to notes recorded in an early version of the *Greek Anthology*, it is supposed that the epigram was broken into six parts.[22] Each of the six parts was organized across the western facade of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos.[23]

The exterior epigram invokes some literary tropes in describing the dome. Dio Cassius, for example, described the vaulted ceiling of the Pantheon, a building which is discussed in more detail below, as resembling the heavens.[24] Eugenio La Rocca discusses the ubiquity of descriptions of domed and vaulted ceilings in celestial

[21] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 7, 9.

[22] R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane: The Excavations, Structures, Architectural Decoration, Small Finds, Coins, Bones, and Mulluscs* (Princeton: Princetone University Press, 1986), 7. Cyril Mango, and Ihor Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961): 245-246, https://doi.org/10.2307/1291183.

[23] Mango and Ševčenko "Remains of St. Polyeuktos," 245-246.

[24] Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Roman History*, Volume VI, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), 263. "προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὂν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν."

terms.[25] This interpretation also extends to Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos in which the exterior epigram states that the church, ". . . running up from the ground and aspiring to the stars of heaven . . ." and ". . . on each side arched recesses scattered on the dome reproduce the ever-revolving light of the moon."[26] By recalling this rhetoric related to domes, Juliana and the poet of the epigram connected the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos to not only the Pantheon, but other illustrious domes in addition to the dome of Heaven, presumably the consummate dome.[27]

Likewise, the dome of Hagia Sophia was likened to the heavenly sphere. In the later sixth century, in his ekphrastic account of Hagia Sophia, Paul the Silentiary wrote: "Rising above this into the immeasurable air is a helmet rounded on all sides like a sphere and, radiant as the heavens, it bestrides the roof of the church."[28] Later in the ekphrasis he also wrote: "You might say you were gazing on the effulgent stars of the heavenly Corona close to Arcturus and the head of Draco."[29] The comparison between architectural domes and the heavens was, therefore, a long literary tradition.

[25] Eugenio La Rocca, "Agrippa's Pantheon and its origin," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, eds., 66 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[26] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 11.

[27] In a personal correspondence, Tracy Chapman Hamilton also noted that Jerusalem, the holiest city in Christendom, was also often depicted domed.

[28] ἐγρομένη δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐς ἄπλετον ἠέρα πήληξ πάντοθι μὲν σφαιρηδὸν ἐλίσσεται, οἷα δὲ φαιδρὸς. O. Veh, *Prokop. Werke* [*Die Bauten*], vol. 5, Munich: Heimeran, 1977: 306-358. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?4039:001:25241. Translation from https://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/medieval-architecture/htm/or/ma_or_gloss_essay_paul.htm. Frustratingly, Bell does not include a direct translation of this passage. See P. N. Bell, *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian Agapetus, 'Advice to the Emperor': Dialogue on Political Science : Paul the Silentiary, "Description of Hagia Sophia,"* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009).

[29] ἦ τάχα φαίης ἐγγύθεν ἀρκτούροιο δρακοντείων τε γενείων οὐρανίου στεφάνοιο λελαμπότα τείρεα λεύσσειν. O. Veh, *Prokop. Werke* [*Die Bauten*], vol. 5, Munich: Heimeran, 1977: 306-358. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?4039:001:43530Translation from https://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/medieval-architecture/htm/or/ma_or_gloss_essay_paul.htm.



Map 8. Juliana's monuments between the Church of the Holy Apostles and the imperial complex.

Interestingly, Juliana tapped into her imperial heritage and her genealogical patrilineage along with the patronage of those men in the exterior epigram. Again, the epigram states, "What quire is sufficient to chant the works of Juliana, who after Constantine, the adorner of his Rome, and after the holy golden light of Theodosius, and after so many royal ancestors, in a few years accomplished a work worthy of her race, yea, more than worthy?"[30] The proximity of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos to the Forum of Theodosios, supported from funding by Theodosios I,[31] and the church of the Holy Apostles, first funded by Constantine I, certainly linked her to the patronage of these two emperors. Indeed, Juliana's church lies between these two significant sites, on the Mese (Map 8), one of the most important streets in the sixth-

[30] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 7.
[31] Sarah Bassett, *Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 93.

century city.[32] Juliana bound herself and her memory to the memories of these two important emperors, one who founded Constantinople and the other who significantly developed the city, by placing her monument in such a specific location.

It is not clear which Theodosios Juliana references in the exterior epigram, Theodosios I or Theodosios II, but either would likely create meaningful connections between Juliana and her ancestor. As the progenitor of the dynasty, it might make the greatest sense for Juliana to make a connection to Theodosios I. A reference to Theodosios I would also reflect the spatial links between Juliana's monument and the Forum of Theodosios, remodeled by Theodosios I after the Forum of Trajan in the city of Rome.[33] However, a link to Theodosios II would also make sense since he was the spouse of Augusta Aelia Eudokia, whose church Juliana remade. Of course, it is also possible she wanted to recall both ancestors.[34]

The Term Καλύπτρης

In the epigram decorating the exterior of the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos, the original poet uses the term *kalyptres* (καλύπτρης) to describe the interior ceiling of Juliana's church. Paton, who translated the *Greek Anthology* before the discovery of the ruins of Juliana's church and before any debate of a dome at the site developed, translated *kalyptres* as "dome."[35] The term *kalyptres*, though not

[32] See earlier discussion of the Mese in Chapter 3.

[33] "Theodosios I," in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Classical Art and Architecture*, Gordon Campbell, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195300826.001.0001/acref-9780195300826-e-0997.

[34] Tracy Chapman Hamilton pointed out this connection in a personal correspondence.

[35] See *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 7.

entirely specific, easily indicates the presence of a dome crowning the naos inside the church. Paul the Silentiary also uses this same term in lines 775 and 814 to describe the dome of Hagia Sophia in the *Descriptio Sanctae Sophia*.[36] According to Liddell-Scott-Jones, the term implies a veil[37], and in Paul the Silentiary's use, it implies the curve of a helmet.[38] J. Diggle also indicates the term relates to an armored covering.[39] As such, it seems appropriate to apply the same denotation of the curve of a veil covering a head or a curved helmet to the use in the sixth-century epigram at St. Polyeuktos. The denotation of a curved helmet would make sense in an epigram ekphrastically and poetically describing a structure dedicated to a soldier saint like St. Polyeuktos, especially since this church purportedly housed his skull.[40]

[36] Mary Whitby advised me about this during a virtual conference held in 2021. O. Veh, *Prokop. Werke* [*Die Bauten*], vol. 5, Munich: Heimeran, 1977: 306-358. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?4039:001:40297 Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. http://www.tlg.uci.edu (accessed Jul. 7, 2023).

Line 775

"χρυσοφαὲς δ' ἀμάρυγμα βολαῖς ῥοδοπήχεος ἠοῦς

ἁπλοΐς ἀντήστραψε θεοκράντων ἐπὶ γυίων, καὶ Τυρίηι πόρφυρε χιτὼν ἁλιανθέϊ κόχλωι, δεξιὸν εὐτύκτοις ὑπὸ νήμασιν ὦμον ἐρέπτων· κεῖθι γὰρ ἀμπεχόνης μὲν ἀπωλίσθησε καλύπτρη, καλὰ δ' ἀνερπύζουσα διὰ πλευρῆς ὑπὲρ ὤμου ἀγκέχυται λαιοῖο· γεγύμνωται δὲ καλύπτρης

πῆχυς καὶ θέναρ ἄκρον."

Line 814

"καὶ γὰρ ἐμῶν πολύμητις ἐπιφροσύνη βασιλήων ἀντιπόροις ἑλίκεσσι πολυγνάμπτοισι δεθείσας

πλεκτὰς χαλκελάτους δολιχὰς ἐτανύσσατο σειρὰς λαϊνέης προβλῆτος ἀπ' ἄντυγος, ἧς ἐπὶ νώτωι νηὸς ἀερσικάρηνος ἐρείσατο ταρσὰ καλύπτρης."

[37] *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*® Digital Library. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. http://www.tlg.uci.edu (accessed Jul. 7, 2023).

[38] In other lines of the poem (i.e., line 489), Paul the Silentiary refers to the dome directly as a helmet (πήληξ). See Emilie van Opstall, "The Works of the Emperor and the Works of the Poet: Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia," *Byzantion* 87 (2017): 390, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26768971.

[39] J. Diggle et al, eds., *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) s.v. "καλύπτω."

[40] Krijnie N. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *Revue des études byzantines* 34 (1976): 258. Ciggaar, as Harrison also points out, dates this text to the eleventh century, however, it remains a plausible source for the type of relic housed at the sixth-century church. According to the *Digbeianus lat.*, St. Polyeuktos' skull was housed at the eponymous church. See also Harrison, *Excavations*, 10.

It appears that *kalyptres* (καλύπτρης) was commonly understood to mean dome or curved covering at the time that both Paul the Silentiary and the poet of the St. Polyeuktos epigram were written. I suggest it is best to rely on contemporary and local descriptions and uses of Greek words rather than rely on later, distant descriptions with Latin terms (as discussed below) to understand the interior decoration and roof construction of the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos, however poetic the language of the epigram might be.

The church was also placed prominently on the Mese, between the third and fourth hills of the city, as mentioned above, thus it could be seen from various vantage points by passersby. As such, they could have seen the dome on their approach to the church from either direction along the Mese. Then reading or hearing the description of the ceiling and roof on the exterior of the church would accentuate the anticipated interior view. If the description of the ceiling recounted in the epigram appeared on the inside of the church, it might be plausible that the text could be interpreted metaphorically, given there was an apse at the eastern end. The apse, of course did not rest on two stories of columns. Since the relevant part of the epigram appeared on the exterior, it announces what the viewer/reader will see upon entry into the space.

The Interior Epigram

During excavation, Harrison and Firatlı uncovered at least seven large marble fragments on which the interior epigram had been carved (Figs. 24-25).[41] The interior epigram, as translated by W. R. Paton, reads as follows:

> Εὐδοκίη μὲν ἄνασσα θεὸν σπεύδουσα γεραίρειν,
> πρώτη νηὸν ἔτευξε θεοφραδέος Πολυεύκτου·
> ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῖον ἔτευξε καὶ οὐ τόσον· οὔ τινι φειδοῖ,
> οὐ κτεάτων χατέουσα—τίνος βασίλεια χατίζει;—ἀλλ᾽
> ὡς θυμὸν ἔχουσα θεοπρόπον, ὅττι γενέθλην
> καλλείψει δεδαυῖαν ἀμείνονα κόσμον ὀπάζειν.
> ἔνθεν Ἰουλιανή, ζαθέων ἀμάρυγμα τοκήων,
> τέτρατον ἐκ κείνων βασιλήϊον αἷμα λαχοῦσα,
> ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἔψευσεν ἀριστώδινος ἀνάσσης·
> ἀλλά μιν ἐκ βαιοῖο μέγαν καὶ τοῖον ἐγείρει,
> κῦδος ἀεξήσασα πολυσκήπτρων γενετήρων·
> πάντα γὰρ ὅσσα τέλεσσεν ὑπέρτερα τεῦξε τοκήων,
> ὀρθὴν πίστιν ἔχουσα φιλοχρίστοιο μενοινῆς.
> τίς γὰρ Ἰουλιανὴν οὐκ ἔκλυεν, ὅττι καὶ αὐτοὺς
> εὐκαμάτοις ἔργοισιν ἐοὺς φαίδρυνε τοκῆας,
> εὐσεβίης ἀλέγουσα; μόνη δ᾽ ἰδρῶτι δικαίῳ
> ἄξιον οἶκον ἔτευξεν ἀειζώῳ Πολυεύκτῳ.
> καὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ δεδάηκεν ἀμεμφέα δῶρα κομίζειν
> πᾶσιν ἀεθλητῆρσιν ἐπουρανίου βασιλῆος.
> πᾶσα χθὼν βοάᾳ, πᾶσα πτόλις, ὅττι τοκῆας
> φαιδροτέρους ποίησεν ἀρειοτέροισιν ἐπ᾽ ἔργοις.
> ποῦ γὰρ Ἰουλιανὴν ἁγίοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδέσθαι
> νηὸν ἀναστήσασαν ἀγακλέα; ποῦ σέο μούνης
> εὐσεβέων οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν σημήϊα χειρῶν;
> ποῖος δ᾽ ἔπλετο χῶρος, ὃς οὐ μάθε σεῖο μενοινὴν
> εὐσεβίης πλήθουσαν; ὅλης χθονὸς ἐνναετῆρες
> σοὺς καμάτους μέλπουσιν ἀειμνήστους γεγαῶτας.
> ἔργα γὰρ εὐσεβίης οὐ κρύπτεται· οὐ γὰρ ἀέθλους
> λήθη ἀποσβέννυσιν ἀριστοπόνων ἀρετάων.
> ὅσσα δὲ σὴ παλάμη θεοπείθεα δώματα τεύχει
> οὐδ᾽ αὐτὴ δεδάηκας· ἀμετρήτους γάρ, ὀΐω,
> μούνη σὺ ξύμπασαν ἀνὰ χθόνα δείμαο ναούς,
> οὐρανίου θεράποντας ἀεὶ τρομέουσα θεοῖο.
> ἴχνεσι δ᾽ εὐκαμάτοισιν ἐφεσπομένη γενετήρων

[41] Harrison, *Excavations*, 5.

πᾶσιν, ἀειζώουσαν ἐὴν τεκτήνατο φύτλην,
εὐσεβίης ξύμπασαν ἀεὶ πατέουσα πορείην.
τοὔνεκά μιν θεράποντες ἐπουρανίου βασιλῆος,
ὅσσοις δῶρα δίδωσιν, ὅσοις δωμήσατο νηούς,
προφρονέως ἐρύεσθε σὺν υἱέϊ, τοῖό τε κούραις·
μίμνοι δ᾽ ἄσπετον εὖχος ἀριστοπόνοιο γενέθλης,
εἰσόκεν ἠέλιος πυριλαμπέα δίφρον ἐλαύνει.

Eudocia the empress, eager to honor God, first built here a temple of Polyeuctus the servant of God. But she did not make it as great and beautiful as it is, not from any economy or lack of possessions–what doth a queen lack?–but because her prophetic soul told her that she should leave a family well knowing how better to adorn it. Whence Juliana, the glory of her blessed parents, inheriting their royal blood in the fourth generation, did not defeat the hopes of the Queen, the mother of a noble race, but raised this from a small temple to its present size and beauty, increasing the glory of her many-sceptered ancestors; for all that she made, she made more magnificent than they, holding the true faith of a mind devoted to Christ. Who hath not heard of Juliana, how in her pious care she glorified even her parents by fair-fashioned works? All alone, by her righteous toil she built a worthy house to immortal Polyeuctus, for she had ever studied to give blameless gifts to all athletes of the Heavenly King. Every country cries, every city, that she made her parents more glorious by better works. Where do we not find that Juliana hath raised splendid temples to the Saints? Where do we not see the signs of the pious hand of thee alone? What place hath not learnt that thy mind is full of piety? The inhabitants of the whole world sing thy works, which are eternally remembered. For the works of piety are not hidden; oblivion doth not quench the labors of beneficent virtue. Not even thyself knoweth how many houses dedicated to God thy hand hat made; for thou alone, I ween, didst build innumerable temples all over the world, ever fearing the servants of God in Heaven. Following by her good works all the footsteps of her parents she made the fame of her race immortal, always walking in the whole path of

> piety. Therefore, all ye servants of the Heavenly King to whom she gave gifts or built temples, preserve her gladly with her son and his daughters, and may the immeasurable glory of the most beneficent family survive as long as the Sun drives his burning chariot.[42]

The interior epigram specifically references the matrons of the site clearly and forcefully and even submits a call to action for Juliana's granddaughters. It seems Juliana expected female descendants to continue to cultivate the prestige of the city through philanthropy and cultural matronage.

The reference to prophecy in the interior epigram evokes a trope used since the time of Augustus in the first century BC and then renewed by Constantine I. Both emperors used prophetic moments to support their reign and characterize themselves as divinely selected.[43] The act of prophecy in both the Roman and Hellenic tradition was tied closely to Sibyls or Pythias, female seers. By recalling this prophetic trait in an ancestress, Juliana further connected the space, her family, and herself to a rich tradition of founding and renewing, discussed in more detail in the previous chapter. The prophetic trait also elevated Augusta Aelia Eudokia to the esteemed position of a Sibyl or Pythia and conferred on Juliana the position as the fulfillment of a prophecy.

[42] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 7, 9. My highlighting.

[43] Diliana Angelova discusses Augustus' manipulation of prophecy at the Temple of Apollo and the Ara Pacis. See Diliana Angelova, *Sacred Founders: Women, Men, and Gods in the Discourse of Imperial Founding, Rome through Early Byzantine* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 35-36, https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520959682. Constantine I's dream before the Battle at the Milvian Bridge is also legendary. See Raymond Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 3-4, accessed March 3, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central. Eusebius also described Constantine I as a fulfillment of a prophecy in the *Tricennial Oration*. See Christopher Bonura, "Eusebius of Caesarea, the Roman Empire, and the Fulfillment of Biblical Prophecy: Reassessing Byzantine Imperial Eschatology in the Age of Constantine," *Church History* 90, no. 3 (2021): 511, https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1017/S0009640721002158.

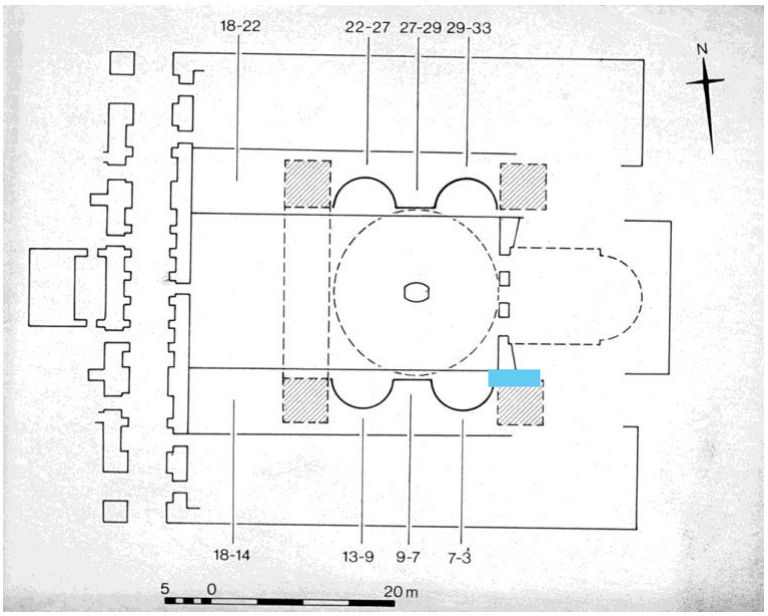


Figure 26. Harrison's plan with the position of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's name highlighted in blue. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12179149.

Interestingly, Augusta Aelia Eudokia is referenced immediately, "Eudokia the queen . . ." (Εὐδοκίη μὲν ἄνασσα). According to Harrison's and Bardill's estimation, her name would have appeared in the southeastern corner of the naos (Figs. 26-27).[44] As such, her name would have aligned with the bema and altar. The alignment with the altar is striking particularly since women had limited access to the altar and bema area. Perhaps this was a way to grant access to the holiest space of the church to an important–and pious–woman.

[44] Jonathan Bardill, "Église Saint-Polyeucte à Constantinople: Nouvelle Solution pour l'Enigme de sa Reconstitution," in *Architecture paléochrétienne*, Jean-Michel Spieser, ed., 84-88(Gollion: Infolio, 2011). Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul* (London: Harvey Miller, 1989), 127-130. The position of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's name is highlighted in blue in Figures 3 and 4.

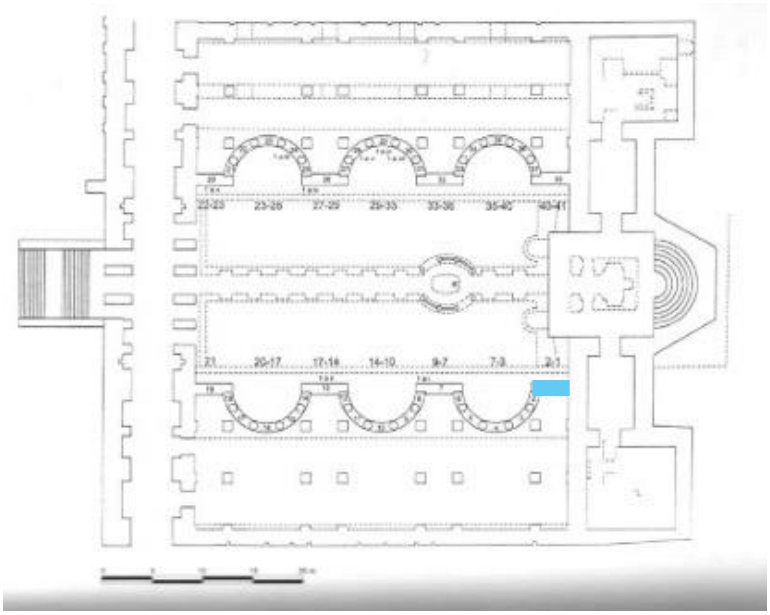


Figure 27. Bardill's plan with the position of Augusta Aelia Eudokia's name highlighted in blue. From Bardill.

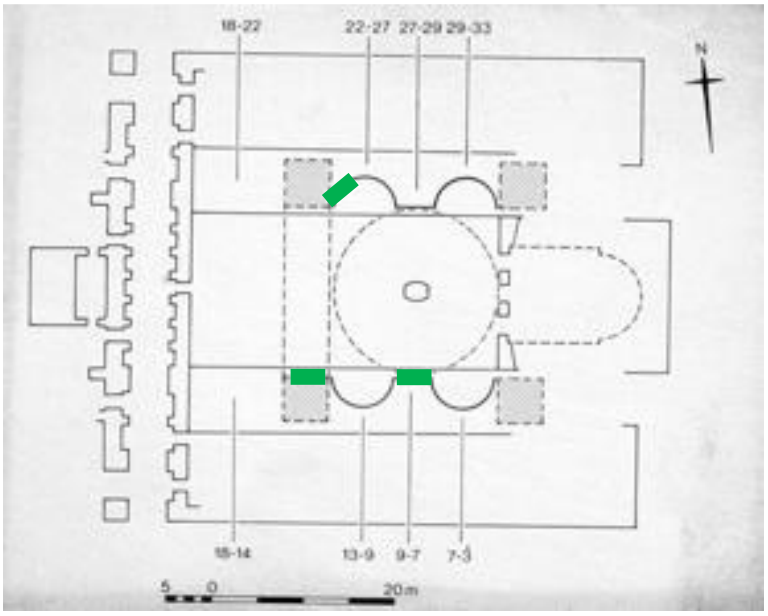


Figure 28. Harrison's plan with the position of Juliana's name highlighted in green. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12179149.

Juliana's name would have appeared on the south side of the naos, somewhat aligned with the ambo and again near the southwestern end, adjacent to the narthex

(Figs. 28-29).[45] Alignment with the ambo creates interesting links to the power of speech and by extension the epigram itself. Although not likely to ever speak from

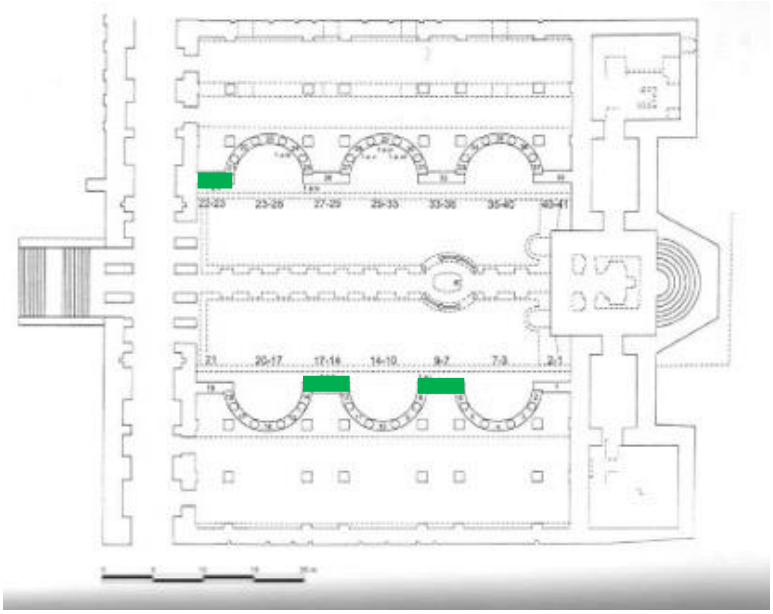


Figure 29. Bardill's plan with the position of Juliana's name highlighted in green. From Bardill.

the ambo herself, Juliana's name places her in the vicinity, allowing the epigram to "speak" on her behalf. On the north side, Juliana's name would have appeared only once, in the northwest corner, similarly adjacent to the narthex. Literate visitors would have likely noticed the repeated appearance of Juliana's name across the naos. The visitors may have understood Juliana's messaging reifying her social status, proclaiming her magnanimity, and extolling the orthodoxy of her distinguished dynasty.[46] In turn, this may have prompted them to consider her family members as leaders during times of imperial crisis.

[45] The positions of Juliana's name are highlighted in green in Figures 5 and 6.

[46] Thanks to Maria Evangelatou for leading me to this important conclusion in a personal correspondence.

Apart from the panegyric tenor, the epigram also pays homage to Augusta Aelia Eudokia, a poet herself.[47] Over three-thousand lines of her poetry on Christian themes, especially a Homeric cento, are still preserved today.[48] Thus the literary medium itself further celebrates Augusta Aelia Eudokia and connects Juliana to a firm legacy of cultural matronage and support of the arts.

Background of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos

The history of the church of St. Polyeuktos probably started in the fifth century AC when Augusta Aelia Eudokia, the wife of Theodosios II,[49] traveled extensively throughout the late antique Roman empire and reportedly returned to Constantinople with several relics, including the relic of St. Polyeuktos[50], likely his head. St. Polyeuktos was a pagan, Roman soldier supposedly martyred in what is now Turkey after converting to Christianity in about 251 AC.[51] Bringing relics of such saints back to Constantinople helped to imbue the city with religious prestige in an effort to rival Jerusalem and Rome. Since Polyeuktos was a soldier saint, it is possible Augusta Aelia Eudokia sought to activate the apotropaic militant power of the saint in

[47] Brian P. Sowers, *In Her Own Words: The Life and Poetry of Aelia Eudocia* (Washington, D.C: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2020), 2.

[48] Sowers, *In Her Own Words*, 2.

[49] *PLRE* II, 408.

[50] Mary Whitby, "The St. Polyeuktos Epigram (AP 1.10): A Literary Perspective," in *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, ed. by Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). https://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/3263.mary-whitby-the-st-polyeuktos-epigram-ap-1-10-a-literary-perspective and Harrison, *Excavations*, 4. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium,* 33.

[51] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 4. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 15, 33. See also B. Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire, étude sur le martyre de Polyeucte* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Companie, 1882), 73-104, retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?5289:001:0

order to protect the capital of the empire, or perhaps she was drawn to him because of her own pagan origins and later conversion, similar to that of Polyeuktos. The saint's name, Polyeuktos, connotes many (πολύ) blessings or prayers (from εὔχομαι), so it is possible Augusta Aelia Eudokia meant to activate these many blessings or prayers for the city or perhaps her family and dynasty.[52]

To house the relic of St. Polyeuktos, Augusta Aelia Eudokia purportedly paid for the construction of an eponymous church.[53] Juliana, Augusta Aelia Eudokia's great granddaughter, renewed the church of St. Polyeuktos by 527 AC and in doing so she participated in a philanthropic performance common among the Roman and Late Antique imperial elite – a performance in which Augusta Aelia Eudokia also dutifully participated, as discussed in chapters two and three. With this contribution of St. Polyeuktos, among the three other monuments discussed in the previous chapter, Juliana visually and spatially linked herself and her immediate family to an imperial genealogy that, at the time, was vulnerable to extinction; Juliana was, ostensibly, the last prominent member of the Theodosian dynasty.

Juliana's sixth-century church stood in the eleventh region on the Mese , one of the main streets of late-antique Constantinople, just southeast of the Church of the Holy Apostles, and northwest of the imperial complex which included Hagia Sophia. In the immediate vicinity of the church were also situated some of the palaces and other monuments of Juliana's noble and imperial ancestresses between the third and

[52] Maria Evangelatou rightly suggested this interpretation in a personal communication.
[53] *PLRE* II, 409.

fourth hills of the city. Like St. Euphemia in ta Olybrivou, the position of the church of St. Polyeuktos in the eleventh region, along the Mese (Map 3), between the imperial palace with the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, and the Church of the Holy Apostles[54] —where emperors like Constantine the Great were interred — made it a significant location, and one undoubtedly passed during imperial processions by at least as early as the tenth century: the *Book of Ceremonies* indicates that St. Polyeuktos was visited for a reception immediately after beginning the procession at Holy Apostles on the Monday of Renewal Week.[55] This prominent location visually and spatially linked Juliana to her noble and imperial forebears, echoing her social standing and memorializing her name and family.

Architectural Precedents

Upon its discovery in the 1960s, the remains of St. Polyeuktos presented a unique footprint that continues to puzzle scholars. The archaeological record of St. Polyeuktos suggests a basilica style footprint but the ekphrastic epigram recorded in the so-called *Greek Anthology*, as discussed above, suggests a vaulted ceiling. The earliest scholarly observations about the superstructure of St. Polyeuktos suggest its form and decoration were unprecedented for the time. In this section, I will discuss

[54] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 34. See also Jacob A. Latham, *Performance, Memory, and Processions in Ancient Rome: The Pompa Circensis from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) and Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[55] Moffatt and Tall, *The Book of Ceremonies,* 48. It is extremely likely that processions passed by the St. Polyeuktos well before the tenth century, but the tenth century is the earliest documented.

potential precedents in order to cast more light on the potential novelty of St. Polyeuktos' architectural plan.

Domed Monuments

Domed buildings were renowned constructions across the Roman Empire and the earliest vaulted structure using Roman concrete date to the first centuries BC and

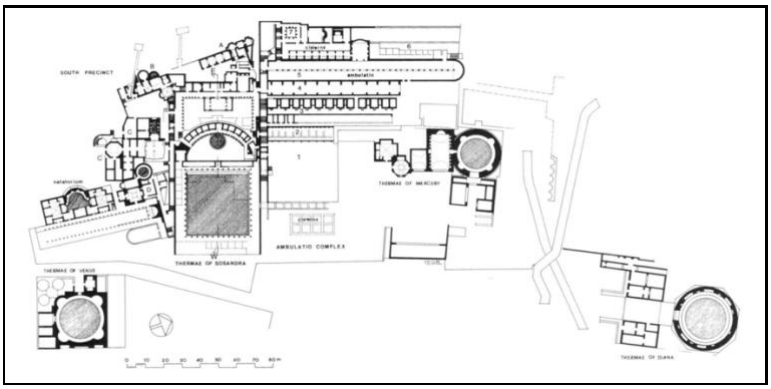


Figure 30. Baiae complex, from Fikret K. Yegül, "The Thermo-Mineral Complex at Baiae and De Balneis Puteolanis," *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (1996): 141. https://doi.org/10.2307/3046161.

AC.[56] One of the earliest domed structures is the dramatic Temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina, though the ancient domed monument is no longer fully extant.[57] Other early domed luxury buildings were also constructed in Pompeii and Herculaneum as the decorative roofs of lavish baths.[58] Two early domed structures appear at Baiae (Fig. 30) in the so-called Temple of Diana and the Temple of

[56] Mario Como, *Statics of Historic Masonry Constructions*, Springer Series in Solid and Structural Mechanics, vol. 9 (Cham: Springer, 2017), 196, https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1007/978-3-319-54738-1_4. Anna Sinpoli and Danila Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana in *Baiae*: *Opus Caementicium*, Geometry and Mechanics," 1152.

[57] Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1153.

[58] Rowland Mainstone, "Domes: A Structural Overview," 4. Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1153.

Mercury; the domed structures at Baiae also covered pools.[59] The ancient edifices firmly established the use of domed buildings for prominent religious monuments or luxury buildings. The dome over the Temple of Mercury (Fig. 31) at Baiae spans



Figure 31. Interior, Temple of Mercury of Baiae. From Wikipedia.

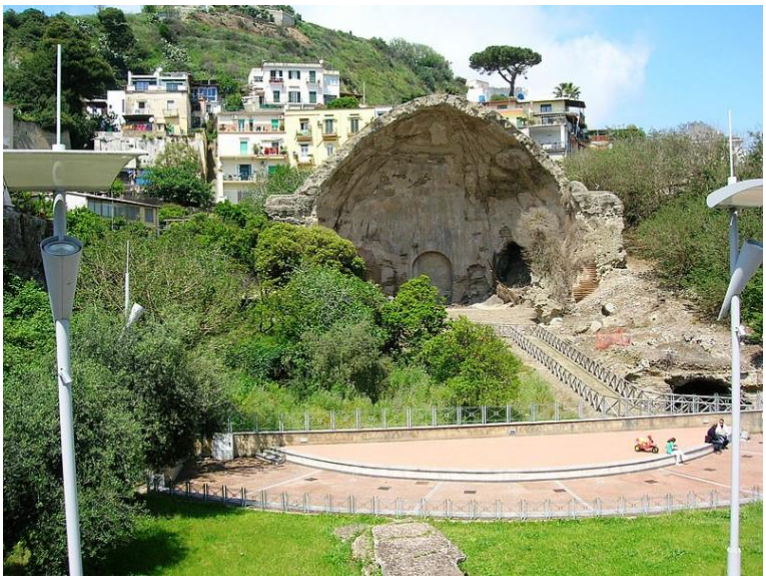


Figure 32. Temple of Diana of Baiae. From Wikipedia.

[59] Fikret K. Yegül, "The Thermo-Mineral Complex at Baiae and De Balneis Puteolanis," *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (1996): 140, 156. https://doi.org/10.2307/3046161.

21.4 meters with a height of roughly 10 meters.[60] The overall building spans roughly the same diameter. Slightly larger, the dome at the Temple or Thermal of Diana spanned 26.2 meters with a height of roughly 13 meters, and an overall span of equal size (Fig. 32).[61]

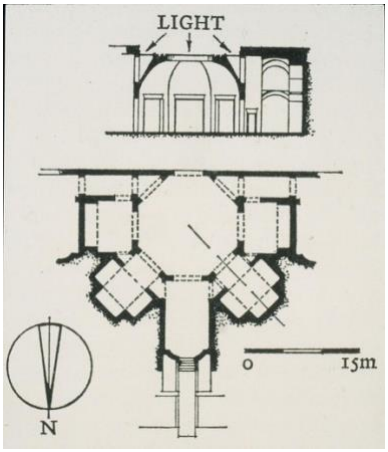


Figure 33. Octagonal hall, Domus Aurea, 64-68 AC, Rome, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13909579.

In addition to the use of domes to crown luxury or religious structures, the shape of the dome was linked closely with ideas about the heavenly dome. The slightly later but imminently prestigious dome at the Domus Aurea (Fig. 33) in Rome (constructed after 64 AC)[62] was somewhat smaller than the domes at Baiae and on an octagonal rather than circular plan (Fig. 34), spanning just 13.48 meters.[63] Here the dome was likened to the heavens by Suetonius who wrote that, "the chief banqueting room was

[60] Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1154.
[61] Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1155.
[62] "Domus Aurea," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-742.
[63] Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1155.

circular, and revolved perpetually, night and day, in imitation of the motion



Figure 34. Interior, Domus Aurea, from Robert Hannah, Giulio Magli, and Antonella Palmieri, "Nero's 'Solar' Kingship and the Architecture of the Domus Aurea." *Numen* 63, no. 5/6 (2016): 515, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44505307.

of the celestial bodies."[64] The link between Nero's domed building and the heavenly realm was undoubtedly meant to shore up the infamous emperor's public persona and the divine realm to which he aspired. From at least the time of Pythagoras (died c. 500 BC),[65] the heavenly realm was perceived as spherical,[66] so the spherical qualities of a constructed dome made it an obvious choice for allusions to the heavenly and divine realm. The link of a built dome to the heavenly dome created a long, textual

[64] Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*: *An English Translation, Augmented with the Biographies of Contemporary Statesmen, Orators, Poets, and Other Associates*, trans. Alexander Thomson (Philadelphia: Gebbie & Co., 1889), Perseus Digital Library, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1348.abo016.perseus-eng1:31 (Accessed 10 February 2024).

[65] "Pythagoras," in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Mathematics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198845355.001.0001/acref-9780198845355-e-2311.

[66] Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The Iconography of Sacred Space: A Suggested Reading of the Meaning of the Roman Pantheon," *Artibus et Historiae* 19, no. 38 (1998): 33, https://doi.org/10.2307/1483585.

and visual tradition from antiquity that translated almost seamlessly into the Christian architectural tradition.[67]

Most of the success of early domed structures using Roman concrete were based on trial-and-error[68], but the soundness of a domed monument required a sturdy foundation with ample support for the thrust of the dome. It is worthy to note we have fewer examples of failed domes simply because they failed. That is to say, for all the successful domed monuments, there were likely even more failed domes.

Strong evidence of this trial and error appears at the Temple of Fortuna Primiegenia at Palestrina. According to Lynne C. Lancaster, the resulting lateral push of the concrete vaults resulted in cracks "[suggesting] that the builders did not expect the concrete to push laterally . . . but, rather, to bear straight down."[69] As builders continued to experiment, they began to understand better that vaults, and thereby domes, required support not only from below the springing but also laterally, or from side to side.[70] As Lancaster notes on domes, "The critical issues is how the horizontal thrust at the impost is channeled down through the structure; therefore the most important relationship in this context is that of the dome span to the wall thickness . . .."[71] As builders continued to experiment with dome and vault construction, they

[67] See Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *The Art Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1945): 1–27, https://doi.org/10.2307/3046977.

[68] Giangiacomo Martines, "The Conception and Construction of Drum and Dome," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, eds., 118 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[69] Lynne C. Lancaster, *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome: Innovations in Context* (Cambridge, UK; Cambridge University Press, 2005), Kindle.

[70] Lancaster, *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome,* Kindle.

[71] Lancaster, *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome,* Kindle.

clearly became aware of the need to attend to the stability of the vault and also the lateral support.[72] This means that domes over centrally–circular, square, or octagonal–planned buildings were more successful than domes over basilica planned churches (rectangular).

The Pantheon

The Pantheon, originally constructed at the behest of Marcus Agrippa, a close friend of Caesar Augustus, between 27 and 25 BC,[73] and later refurbished between 125 and 128 AC after damage from a fire, was assuredly the most famous domed

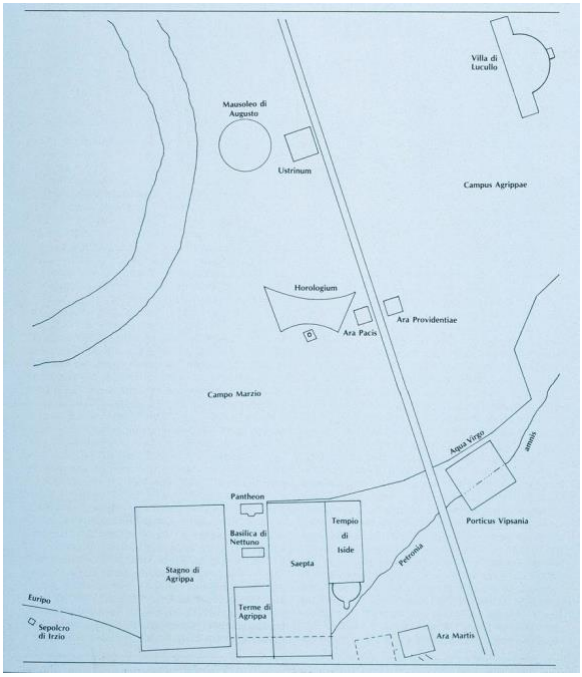


Figure 35. Campus Martius, 1st century AC, Rome, Italy. Visual Arts Legacy Collection. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13924471.

[72] Lancaster, *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome,* Kindle.

[73] Tod. A Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, "Introduction," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, eds., 4 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

structure of the Roman Empire.[74] When Agrippa paid for the construction of the original monument, it contributed to the building up of Caesar Augustus' public persona. The Pantheon was purposefully aligned with the mausoleum of Augustus (Fig. 35) and when Trajan or Hadrian[75] refurbished the monument, the patron reactivated this Augustan connection, effectively asserting his own association with the archetypical emperor.

The dome at the Pantheon was completed between 125 and 128 century AC.[76] The dome construction, often attributed to Apollodorus,[77] picked up and improved upon previous construction throughout the Italian peninsula, such as buildings at the religious complex at Baiae, at which some of the earliest concrete domes still stand.[78] The Roman Pantheon, as is well known, is made up of a drum capped by a massive, coffered dome spanning forty-four meters.[79] The dome, from what can be ascertained

[74] Marder and Wilson Jones, "Introduction," *The Pantheon*, 4, 6, and 7. Marder and Wilson Jones suggest that it's possible Trajan, rather than Hadrian, was the patron of the early 2nd-century refurbishment of the Pantheon. See Marder and Wilson Jones, "Introduction," *The Pantheon*, 8. See also Lise M. Hetland, "New Perspectives on the Dating of the Pantheon," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, eds., 79-98 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[75] There is good reason to suppose Trajan paid for the refurbishment of the Pantheon in the early second century CE, though it is widely understood Hadrian was responsible. Again, see Lise M. Hetland, "New Perspectives on the Dating of the Pantheon," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, eds., 79-98 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). See also Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor : Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments, from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[76] Marder and Wilson Jones, "Introduction," *The Pantheon*, 6.

[77] Martines, "The Conception and Construction of Drum and Dome," in *The Pantheon*, 122. Martines mentions that this attribution may be inaccurate.

[78] LaRocca, "Agrippa's Pantheon," in *The Pantheon*, 64-65. See also Anna Sinopoli & Danila Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana in Baiae: *Opus Caementicium*, Geometry and Mechanics," *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 16, no.8 (2022): 1152-1183, DOI: 10.1080/15583058.2020.1870777.

[79] Henry J. Cowan, "Domes: Ancient and Modern," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 131, no. 5320 (1983): 183, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41373544.

from repair work conducted in the past, was made up of relieving arches and rings of Roman concrete (Fig. 36).[80] Later domes further improved on this design, though the diameter of the later domes, including that of the church of St. Polyeuktos, were significantly smaller. In the case of St. Polyeuktos, further, the exact construction method is unknown, and the building itself was not centrally-planned, unlike Pantheon.

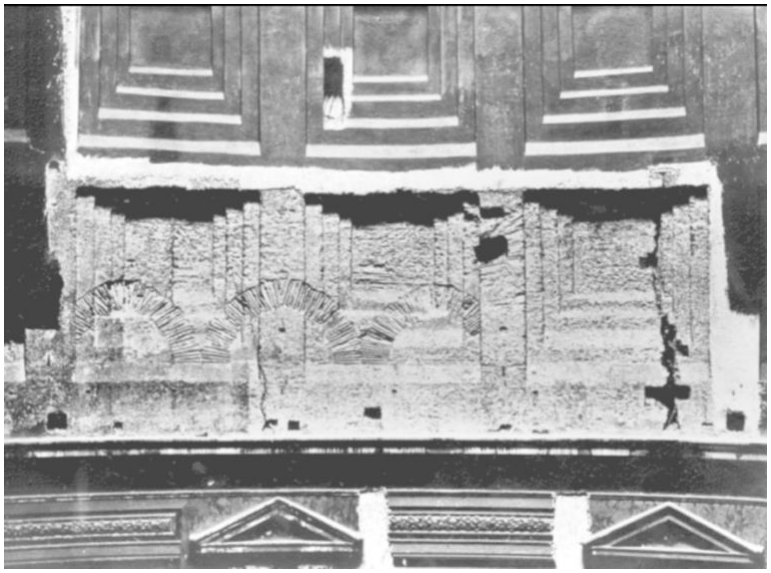


Figure 36. Detail of Pantheon dome intrados at the springing with plaster knocked off, 1892. From Martines.

The opulence and prestige of the Pantheon affected visitors to the city of Rome. Ammianus Marcellinus wrote, ". . . the Pantheon with its vast extent, its imposing height, and the solid magnificence of its arches, and the lofty niches rising one above another like stairs, adorned with the images of former emperors . . .".[81] Since Juliana's father served as emperor in Rome in 472 AC and her female family

[80] Martines, "The Conception and Construction of the Drum and Dome," in *The Pantheon*, 125.
[81] Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Roman History of Ammianus Marcellinus, During the Reign of the Emperors Constantius, Julian, Jovianus, Valentinian, and Valens.,*Trans. C.D. Yonge (England: G. Bell, 1902), 102.

members spent time in Rome, it is likely she was aware of the celebrity of the structure, its dome, and its general appearance.[82]

It is possible Juliana may have intended to link her sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos to the illustrious Pantheon in the city of Rome for a few reasons. A vaulted or domed roof at St. Polyeuktos settled Juliana's church in the realm of other important, imperial monuments dating to the earliest days of the empire, including the Parthenon, but also vaulted monuments like the Mausoleum of Augustus or the Mausoleum of Helena, discussed below. This Augustan edifice was connected to the Julio-Claudians, the first imperial family of the Roman empire that established models of ruling for future dynasties, but also an imperial family that Juliana's forename directly recalled. In addition, the Pantheon was also a refurbished monument (first built by Augustus and renewed by Trajan or Hadrian) that demonstrated the importance of maintaining the empire's religious heritage and indicated the prestige that came with such acts of imperial funding.

Basilicas and Centrally-Planned Monuments

[82] Clover, *The Family and Early Career of Anicius Olybrius*, 192.

Basilica

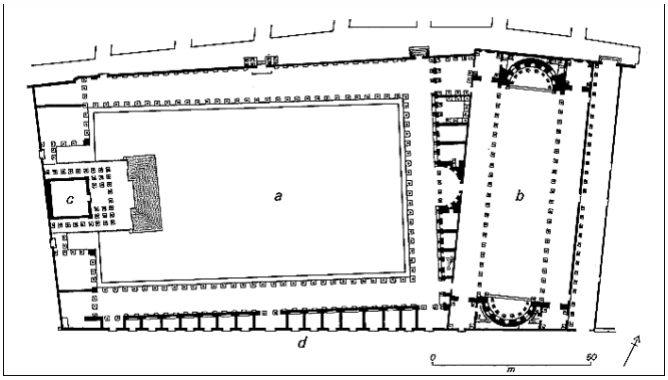


Figure 37. Basilica and forum, Leptis Magna, dedicated AD 216; plan: (a) forum; (b) Severan basilica; (c) temple to the Severan family; (d) colonnaded street. From Hazel Dodge, "Basilica" *Grove Art Online*, 2003, Accessed 11 Feb. 2024, https://www-oxfordartonline-com.oca.ucsc.edu/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000006715.

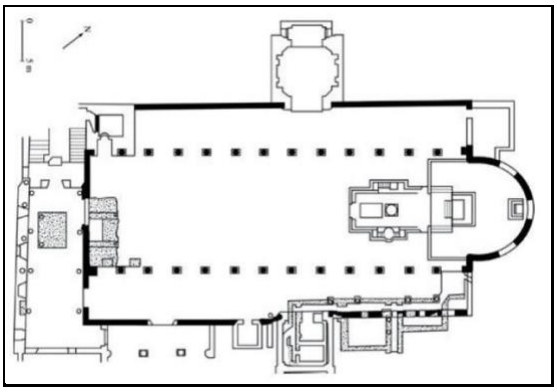


Figure 38. Plan of Santa Sabina, from https://jisforjourney.com/49-santa-sabina/.

The basilica plan had its roots in secular, imperial Roman architecture.[83] Early basilicas took on a rectangular plan, often with colonnades flanking the right and left sides of the building, as seen in the Severan basilica (constructed in the early third century AC)[84] from Leptis Magna (Fig. 37). Later, Christian churches adapted the plan because the building type allowed for large gatherings of people attending religious ceremonies or speeches.[85] Santa Sabina,[86] in Rome, for example, was laid out in a basilica plan (Fig. 38). Among Christian basilicas, the colonnades often appear on the north and south sides of the basilica, with an apse and altar at the eastern end of the building. At Santa Sabina, the colonnades on the north and south side of the nave support a clerestory (Fig. 39) which allows light to fill the central nave covered by a gabled roof (Fig. 40). The superstructure at Santa Sabina is modest in comparison to the superstructures of other monuments, but the plan provides an

[83] Livy wrote about the first recorded basilica in Rome. See Livy, *History of Rome by Titus Livius, books thirty-seven to the end, with the epitomes and fragments of the lost books*, trans. By William A. McDevitte (London: Henry G. Bohn. John Child and son, 1850), Perseus Digital Library, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0914.phi00139.perseus-eng2:44 (Accessed 10 February 2024). See also J. B. Ward Perkins, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 22 (1954): 69.

[84] J.B. Ward-Perkins, Barri Jones, Roger Ling, and R. Kronenburg. "The Basilica," In *The Severan Buildings of Lepcis Magna: An Architectural Survey*, edited by Philip Kenrick and Barri Tones, 57 (London: British Institute for Libyan and Northern African Studies, 1993), https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.4350571.8.

[85] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 20-21. Krautheimer notes that basilica-planned monuments were used for pagan religious purposes before Christians adapted the architectural model. See also Robert G. Ousterhout, "The origins of Byzantine architecture," in *Smarthistory*, June 8, 2020, accessed February 22, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/origins-of-byzantine-architecture/.

[86] I reference Santa Sabina because its basilica-style plan is well understood and it was constructed prior to the early-sixth century. Its early date of construction means, in my opinion, that it was with basilica-planned buildings like Santa Sabina that the builders at St. Polyeuktos would have been familiar.

interesting case with which to begin exploring the development of Christian architecture.



Figure 39. Interior looking northeast, Santa Sabina, 422-432 AC, Rome, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.14450038.



Figure 40. Exterior of Santa Sabina, facing southeast. From Paul Ellie, "The Sacred Shapes of Santa Sabina," Notre Dame Magazine (Summer 2021), https://magazine.nd.edu/stories/the-sacred-shapes-of-santa-sabina/.

Mausolea

In contrast to Roman basilicas, which were public gathering spaces, mausolea marked the graves of elite individuals and meant for only small gatherings.[87] Since the monuments were not meant for vastly large public gatherings, mausolea were sometimes small and had centrally-planned circular, octagonal, or square footprints.[88] The mausoleum of Augustus (Fig. 41), for example, was made up of a circular plan with a tumulus dome.[89] Augustus' mausoleum is comparatively large among mausolea but this was meant to accommodate the cult that developed after his death.[90] The dome, rather than an earth tumulus, became a common element of mausolea architecture.[91]

Later, Helena, the mother of Constantine I, funded the construction of an imperially traditional round mausoleum attached to a basilica (Fig. 42). Archaeological evidence suggest the interior of her mausoleum was luxuriously decorated with *opus sectile* and multicolored mosaics.[92] Similarly to the mausoleum of Augustus, the mausoleum of Helena was also domed, though now the monument is in ruins.[93] As with many domed monuments of the fourth century AC, the drum

[87] Krautheimer, *Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 41. Olga Spehar, "Private Piety or Collective Worship in Early Christian Martyria: Late Antique Naissus Case Study." *Zograf: Časopis Za Srednjovekovnu Umetnost* 2015 (39): 1, https://doi.org/10.2298/ZOG1539001S.

[88] Gillian Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West : Decoration, Function, and Patronage* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 54, accessed February 11, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[89] Jane Clark Reeder, "Typology and Ideology in the Mausoleum of Augustus: Tumulus and Tholos," *Classical Antiquity* 11, no. 2 (1992): 265, https://doi.org/10.2307/25010976.

[90] Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West,* 54.

[91] Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West,* 55.

[92] Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West,* 57.

[93] Johnson, "Constantine's Apostoleion", 84.

below the dome at monuments like the Mausoleum of Helena allowed for the drum itself to contain the thrust of the dome.[94]

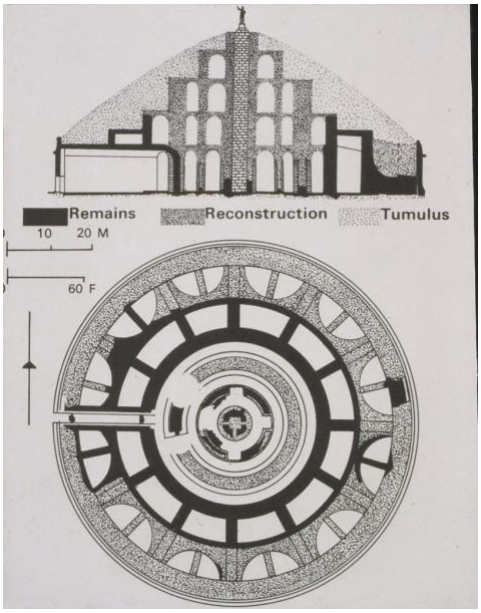


Figure 41. Mausoleum of Augustus, c.28-23 BC, Rome, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13929167.



Figure 42. Mausoleum of Helena, c. 326-330 AC, Rome, Italy. From Wikipedia.

[94] Mainstone, "Domes," 10.



Figure 43. Ivory casket with the Mary's at the tomb, c. 420-430 AC. British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1856-0623-5 (Accessed 10 February 2024).

Borrowing from imperial Roman mausolea plans and used similarly to mark graves or sites of the violent suffering of Christian saints,[95] martyria often took the form of a circular or square, centrally-planned building, sometimes with a dome or a conical roof. An ivory casket now housed in the British Museum illustrates a fictitious tomb monument similar to a mausoleum cum martyrium (Fig. 43). On the casket, a conically roofed drum rests atop a square-planned lower structure. A female figures appear on the right and left of the building in a pose of mourning, each above a figure of a sleeping soldier. The scene illustrates a moment recorded in the gospels in which two women, both called Mary, find the tomb of Jesus Christ empty after his crucifixion.[96] The sepulchre in the ivory carving serves to convey a grave monument to the viewer.

[95] Spehar, "Private Piety," 2.
[96] Matthew 28: 1-10, Mark 16: 1-8, Luke 24: 1-8, and John 20: 1-2, NIV.

Centrally-planned Churches

Unlike the imperial mausolea, large groups frequently gathered at martyria. As the cult of saints evolved across the increasingly Christianized Mediterranean and its periphery, basilicas and martyria were built close together, even attached to one another, to accommodate large gatherings of Christian pilgrims anxious to seek aid from the saint or martyr buried in or memorialized by the martyrium.

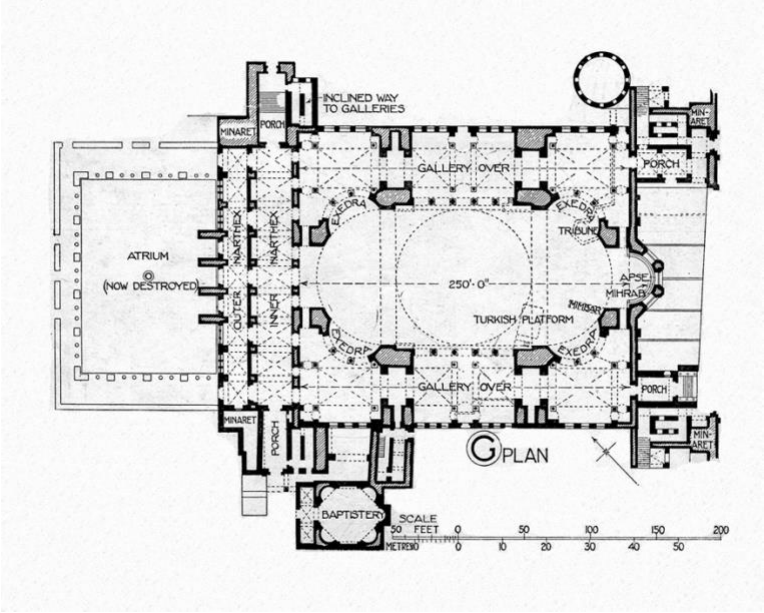


Figure 44. Plan of the Church of Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom), Anthemius of Tralles & Isidorus of Miletus, Constantinople, modern Istanbul, Turkey. 532-537. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12084479.

Hagia Sophia

The combination of the two plans–the basilica and the central-plan–with a dome meant careful planning by the builders to ensure proper support of the dome without the rotunda immediately beneath the dome as support (Fig. 44). The most

famous model of this method is, of course, Hagia Sophia,[97] as it was rebuilt by Justinian I after damage to the building was sustained during the Nika Revolt in 532 AC.[98]

Because a basilica plan does not inherently provide supportive elements at the center of the structure, builders had to experiment with supportive elements to support domed superstructures. Substantial piers were employed at Hagia Sophia to support the massive dome. Çakmak, Taylor, and Durukal have argued that the original dome at Hagia Sophia, built by Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletos,[99] originally rested on a fenestrated drum above the pendentives. After the edifice suffered damage following an earthquake in 553 AC,[100] the dome was rebuilt by Isidorus the Younger, the nephew of Isidore of Miletos.[101] Isidore's intervention resulted in the removal of the drum so that the dome rests immediately above the

[97] Ahmet Ş. Çakmak, Rabun M. Taylor, and Eser Durukal, "The Structural Configuration of the First Dome of Justinian's Hagia Sophia (A.D. 537–558): An Investigation Based on Structural and Literary Analysis," *Soil Dynamics and Earthquake Engineering (1984)* 29, no. 4 (2009): 693, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soildyn.2008.07.007.693.

[98] Walter Emil Kaegi, "Nika Revolt," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3797. Cyril Mango, and Timothy E. Gregory, "Hagia Sophia," in The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-2197.

[99] Çakmak, et al, "The Structural Configuration of Hagia Sophia," 693. Cyril Mango, and Timothy E. Gregory, "Hagia Sophia," in *The Oxford Dictionary of* Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-2197.

[100] Çakmak, et al, "The Structural Configuration of Hagia Sophia," 693. Rabun Taylor, "A Literary and Structural Analysis of the First Dome on Justinian's Hagia Sophia, Constantinople," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no. 1 (1996): 66. https://doi.org/10.2307/991056.

[101] Çakmak, et al, "The Structural Configuration of Hagia Sophia," 693.

pendentives for support.[102] Even later, buttresses were added in 1317 to further support the dome.[103]

Juliana's Sixth-Century Church

The sixth-century church probably abutted Juliana's palace, which Harrison and Firatlı suggest may have laid north of the church structure.[104] Juliana's palace and the church of St. Polyeuktos, like the palaces and homes of her ancestresses, was also situated in the eleventh region of Constantinople, between the third and fourth hills of the city, in the neighborhood of Konstantinai, immediately northwest of ta Olybriou. The Mese, according to Harrison, would have been accessible from the south side of the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos.[105]

The church's proximity to the Mese is further corroborated by the *Book of Ceremonies* which indicates that, on the Monday of Renewal Week, the week following Easter Sunday, the emperor, processing northwest from the imperial complex on the Bosporos, "turns to the right and goes through the district of Olybrios and the district of Konstantianai as far as the Church of St Polyeuktos. Having exchanged the candle there and taken another . . . he goes along the Mese as far as the Church as the Holy Apostles . . ." [106] This position would have placed the church in a

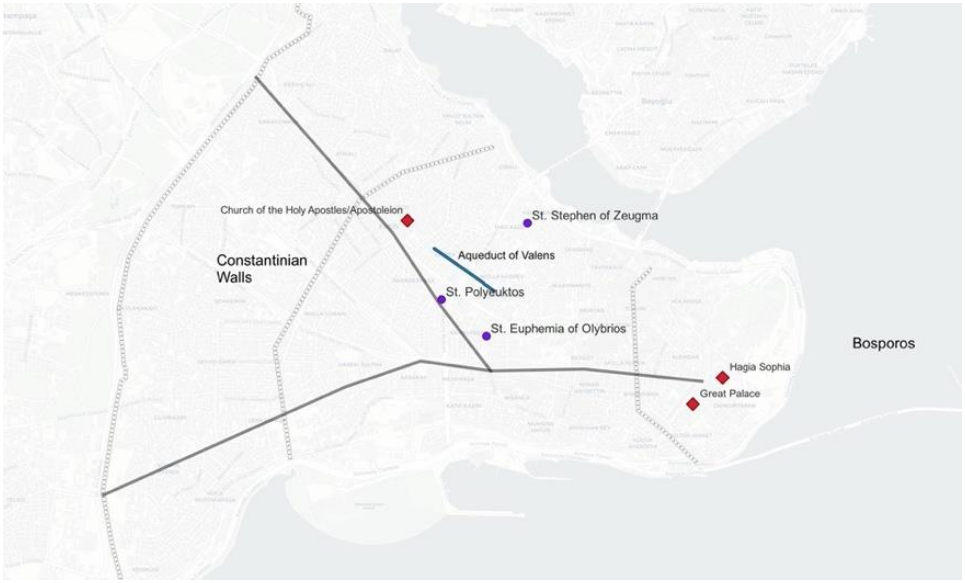
[102] Çakmak, et al, "The Structural Configuration of Hagia Sophia," 693.
[103] Mango and Gregory, "Hagia Sophia."
[104] Harrison, *Excavations*, 5. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 52.
[105] Harrison, *Excavations*, 5.
[106] Moffatt and Tall, *The Book of Ceremonies*, 75-76.

striking space for viewers. Situated between the third and fourth hills of the city, in the south of the eleventh region, between the imperial complex on the Bosporos and the church of the Holy Apostles. Through her work at the church of St. Polyeuktos, Juliana not only reified her connection to the Theodosians, especially through Augusta Aelia Eudokia, but also a longer imperial tradition, as considered below, that continued to be honored and memorialized through imperial processions. I suggest it was a significant focal point not only for processions, as indicated in the *Book of Ceremonies*, but also an important and central landmark between the significant waterways surrounding the city and main thoroughfares stretching across the landscape.

The only extant remains of the building uncovered in situ by Harrison et al were the foundations, crypt, and small fragments of the sanctuary floor and interior decoration.[107] Possible remains of a dome were, according to Harrison, impossible to decipher with any accuracy but he contended that the extant archaeological remains provide enough information to suggest the presence of a dome.[108] These substantial architectural foundations, including significantly thick walls, Harrison opined, would have easily supported a dome resting on piers located in the middle of the structure.[109]

Discovery and publication of the site

[107] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, xi.
[108] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 130.
[109] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 131.



Map 9. Location of St. Polyeuktos near the Aqueduct of Valens.

In the spring of 1960, construction workers tasked with grading roads in Sarçhane, an area between the Bosporos and the Constantinian Walls, adjacent to the Aqueduct of Valens (Map 8), uncovered decorative, marble blocks inscribed with Greek text.[110] Ihor Ševčenko identified the inscribed text from Book 1 of the *Greek Anthology*, a collection of epigrams gathered over time, as one originally belonging to the interior of the church of St. Polyeuktos.[111] Ševčenko and Cyril Mango published this identification of the site soon after.[112] Byzantinists quickly and excitedly moved to study and preserve the site[113].

[110] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 3.

[111] Carolyn L. Connor, "The Epigram in the Church of Haggis Polyeuktos in Constantinople and its Byzantine Response," *Byzantion* 69, no. 2 (1999): 480, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44172500. Harrison, *Excavations*, 3. Mango and Ševčenko, "Remains of St. Polyeuktos," 243. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople,* 52. *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 2.

[112] See Cyril Mango and Igor Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *DOP* 15 (1961), 243-247. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/1291183.

[113] Connor, "The Epigram of Hagios Polyeuktos," 480. Mango and Ševčenko, "Remains of St. Polyeuktos," 247. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 52.

In 1964, Martin Harrison, Nezih Firatlı, and their team were able to begin excavation of the site in the late summer of that year.[114] Street construction permitted access to the area.[115] Harrison and his team worked for six seasons and published reports for each season through the Dumbarton Oaks.[116] Some of the excavated material is now on display at the Archeological Museum in Istanbul and there were plans to open the site as an archaeological park, which have never come to fruition.[117] The plans for the park are available with Martin Harrison's archives at Oxford University.

After the initial discovery of the remnants of the church, scholars hypothesized about the original church construction and appearance. Even from the very scant remnants first uncovered, Mango and Ševčenko opined in their first discussion of the site, published in 1961, that the structure included a dome, writing that "it was not a conventional basilica."[118] Later on, Thomas F. Mathews was more ambiguous about his discussion of the ceiling over the naos but wrote that, ". . . the strength of the foundations seems to argue to a vaulted construction, and it would be surprising if a building of such rich and refined decoration were not roofed in the latest and most ambitious architectural fashion."[119] Harrison and Firatlı opined similarly, and I agree, as I will discuss in detail below.

[114] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 3.
[115] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 3.
[116] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 3.
[117] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 3.
[118] Mango and Ševčenko "Remains of St. Polyeuktos," 247.
[119] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople,* 53.

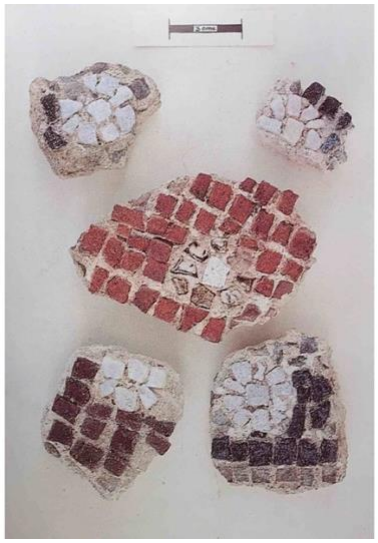


Figure 45. Mosaic fragment from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.



Figure 46. Inlaid column from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison

The excavated architectural elements unearthed by Harrison and Firatlı hint at the opulence and beauty of the interior decorated with mosaics (Fig. 45), marble reliefs (Fig. 25), inlaid columns (Fig. 46), basket column capitals (Fig. 47), and

peacock conchs (Fig. 24).[120] During excavation, Harrison also noticed similarities between columns at the site in modern Istanbul and some spoliated material across Europe, specifically some columns outside the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, Italy, and a column capital now housed in Barcelona, Spain.[121] The removal of elements from St. Polyeuktos to other parts of the Mediterranean speak to the grandeur and prestige of the monument.



Figure 47. Basket capital from St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.

Most important for the identification of the site and monument were the fragments of the epigram carved in Proconnesian marble.[122] Seven fragments with the epigram were excavated by Harrison, Firatlı, and their team.[123] Parts of lines 9, 16,

[120] With such obvious elegance and luxury of so many architectural and decorative elements, it does seem more likely that the church was constructed in four years, rather than two.

[121] R. Martin Harrison, "A Constantinopolitan Capital in Barcelona," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 297, https://doi.org/10.2307/1291345. Harrison, *A Temple*, 80.

[122] Harrison, "A Constantinopolitan Capital," 297. Harrison, *A Temple*, 80.

[123] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 127.

25, 27, 30, 31, and 32 (Fig. 48) of the epigram are recorded on the marble fragments

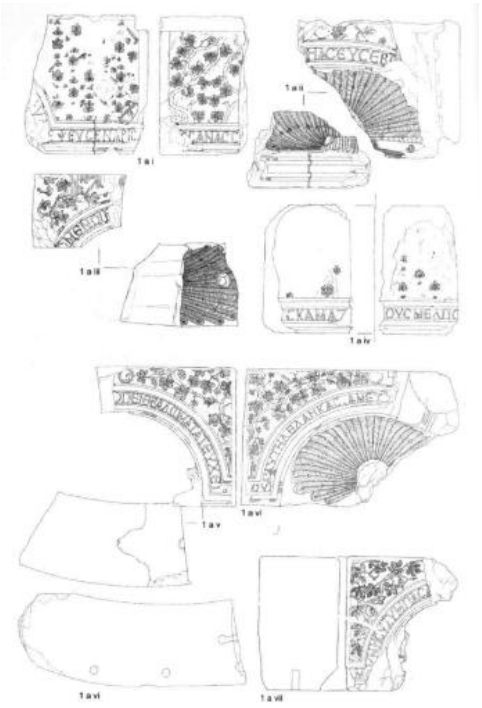


Figure 48. Marble fragments. From Bardill.

available.[124] The fragments with lines 9 and 16 would have originally appeared on the south side of the naos, and the other fragments would have decorated the north side of the naos. The fragments with lines 27 and 31 was one of the first discovered during the road construction in 1960, but the exact find-spot was not recorded.[125]

The line 31 fragment also demonstrates the rich carving of the marble architectural elements, especially the peacock decoration. Although the peacock's body, which would have extended from the conch, is now lost, the carved tail provides a great sense of the detail incorporated into each architectural element.

[124] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 128.
[125] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 43, 129.

Harrison indicates that traces of blue paint were still visible on the marble fragments with line 32 at the time of excavation.[126] Other fragments with the epigram suggest they were decorated with peacocks arranged to confront one another over an archway (Fig. 25). The peacock motif and its symbolic meaning will be discussed in more detail below.

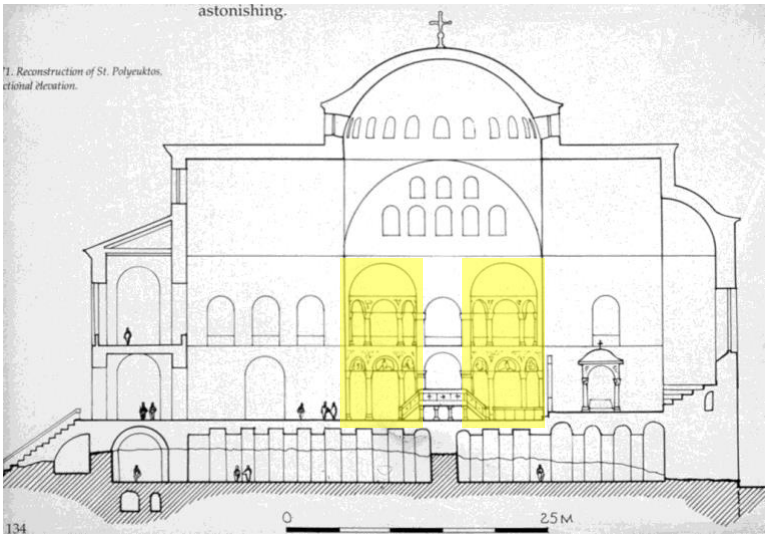


Figure 49. Sectional elevation by Harrison, Saint Polyeuktos, 524-527 AC, Constantinople, modern Istanbul, Turkey. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12207243. Author's highlights.

The peacock elements decorated the exedrae. Harrison hypothesized at least four, two-story exedrae–two on each side of the naos–in his plan of the monument (Fig. 49).[127] In the plan, Harrison includes two large piers on either side of the naos in order to accommodate a concrete dome. In contrast, Bardill suggests a plan with a total of six, two-story exedrae (Fig. 50). He suggests the six exedrae–three on either

[126] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 82, 84.
[127] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 407. Exedrae highlighted in yellow.

side of the naos–were supported by the substantial foundation walls and were topped by a gabled roof.[128]

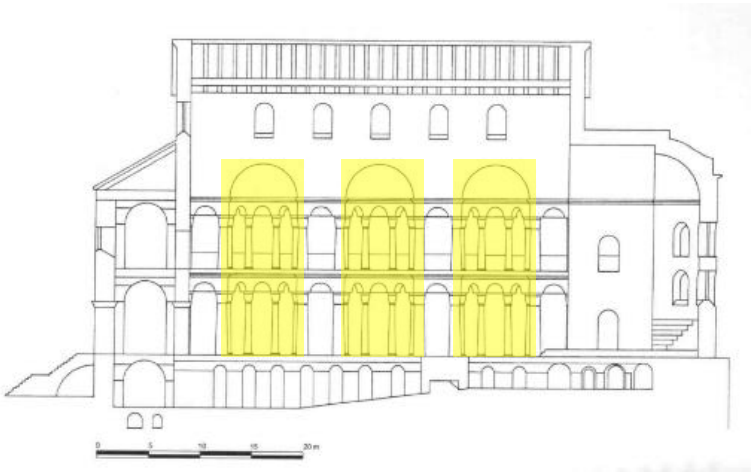


Figure 50. Bardill's sectional elevation. From Bardill. Author's highlights.

Both scholars base their plan on the layout of the epigram. Bardill opines the last few lines of the epigram, lines 34-41, continued along the northeastern side of the naos. However, it is possible that Harrison's arrangement is accurate and the epigram continued along a no-longer extant altar screen.

The mosaic fragments, most unearthed in the apse area, hint at beautiful artistry, although there is not enough evidence to hypothesize any narrative across the mosaic program. Still, the exterior epigram makes reference to at least one mosaic scene: the baptism of Constantine.[129] Sadly, the excavated sections of mosaic were

[128] Bardill, "Église," 88. Exedrae highlighted in yellow.

[129] Samuel N. C. Lieu, "Constantine in Legendary Literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski, 300 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Lieu notes the scene was likely based on a story by Sylvester about the event. For an abbreviated English version of the *Acts of Sylvester* see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 62-71, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400842056.

unearthed at the apse area, so it is unlikely any of the extant pieces illustrate the baptism scene.[130] The epigram states,

> What singer of skilful works shall now hasten to the west, armed with a hundred eyes, and read aright the various devices on the walls, gazing on the circle of the shining house, one story set on another? There you may see a marvelous creation of the holy pencils above the centre of the porch, the wise Constantine, how escaping from the idols he quenched the impious fury of the heathen and found the light of the Trinity by cleansing his limbs in water.[131]

Like Juliana's other monuments, the mosaic probably emphasized the importance of orthodoxy among the imperial elite at a time when heterodox beliefs were upheld by the emperor.[132] Along with the epigram extolling the virtues of Constantine I and Theodosios, Juliana aligned herself with prestigious orthodox leaders and the corresponding glory of their reigns.

Harrison and Firatlı uncovered architectural evidence of what they supposed was a baptistry adjacent to the church of St. Polyeuktos (Fig. 54).[133] A baptistry at St. Polyeuktos would have complemented the Constantine mosaic nicely. The baptistry would have also elevated the church to an important site of Christian initiation, where the bishop would have presided.[134] Presumably, this would have also settled Juliana's

[130] Christin Milner, "The Image of the Rightful Ruler: Anicia Juliana's Constantine Mosaic in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos," in *New Constantines: the rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries : papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews, March 1992*, ed. Paul Magdalino, (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 80.

[131] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 9.

[132] Milner, "The Image of the Rightful Ruler," 79.

[133] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 64. Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 412.

[134] Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops In Late Antiquity: the Nature of Christian Leadership In an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 92, https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb07961.0001.001, PDF.

Christian beliefs and those of her family within orthodoxy clearly. By extension, initiates baptized at St. Polyeuktos were ushered into the right belief.



Figure 51. Stavelot Triptych, ca. 1156-1158, 19 in x 26 in, Wood; copper-gilt frames, silver pearls and columns, gilt-brass capitals and bases, vernis brun domes, semi-precious stones, intaglio gems, beads, champlevé and cloisonné enamels. The Morgan Library and Museum. https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/93248



Figure 52. Detail, Stavelot Triptych, ca. 1156-1158, 19 in x 26 in, Wood; copper-gilt frames, silver pearls and columns, gilt-brass capitals and bases, vernis brun domes, semi-precious stones, intaglio gems, beads, champlevé and cloisonné enamels. The Morgan Library and Museum. https://www.themorgan.org/objects/item/93248

Christine Milner suggests the mosaic scene likely resembled a similar scene in a roundel on the Stavelot Triptych now housed at the Morgan Library (Figs. 51-

52).[135] The triptych roundel illustrates Constantine I in a hexagonal pool leaning towards the viewer's left. A figure on the viewer's left, the bishop Sylvester rests his hands on Constantine I's head. Beams of light and a disembodied hand extend from the top of the roundel, over Constantine. Although the triptych decorations were created several centuries after the construction of St. Polyeuktos, a similarity is plausible.

The inlaid columns uncovered during excavation would have undoubtedly been dazzling. Similar columns (Fig. 15) were unearthed from the church of St. Euphemia, close to the Hippodrome.[136] Another similar column (Fig. 53) was unearthed from Hagios Ioannes Prodromos in Hebdomon, the construction of which was funded by Justinian I.[137] The use of the column type demonstrates the popularity of the style and, by extension, the luxury of the interior and fashionable choices Juliana made for the decoration at St. Polyeuktos.



Figure 53. Inlaid column, Hagia Ioannes, Hebdomon. From the Byzantine Legacy, https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/hebdomon

[135] Milner, "The Image of the Rightful Ruler," 79.
[136] Mathews, *Early Churches*, 62.
[137] Mathews, *Early Churches,* 56.

Initial Interpretations

In both the excavation report and in Harrison's monograph on the site, the excavators strongly suggest the presence of a dome covering the church. In his monograph, Harrison states: "Although no recognizable fragments of a dome have survived, a number of facts suggest that the church was indeed domed."[138] He goes on to discuss "the square (rather than oblong) ground-plan [which] suggests a centralized (rather than oblong) roof-system" and also notes that the ambo likely stood at the center of the church and surmised that a dome directly above the ambo would have been aesthetically pleasing (Fig. 54).[139]

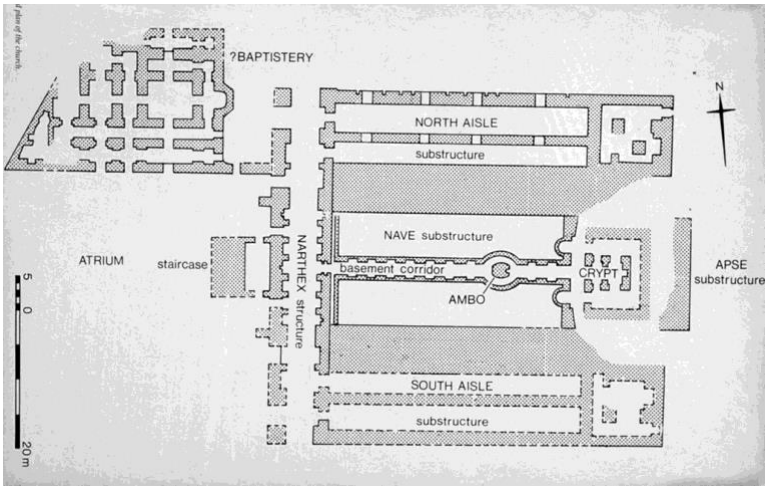


Figure 54. Harrison's plan of St. Polyeuktos' crypt with massive foundation walls (shaded) on the north and south sides of the naos. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12203491.

Martin Harrison, Nezih Firatlı, and their team were struck by the massive foundation walls on either side of the naos (Fig. 54) which rose five meters above the ancient ground level.[140] Given the foundations, Harrison hypothesized about the

[138] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 130.
[139] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 130-131.
[140] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, xi.

possible superstructure of the sixth-century church and the interior appearance. He adduced the likely appearance of a dome over a central ambo, west of the apse and bema area, which could have been supported by large piers resting on the eight-meter thick foundation walls (Fig. 26).[141] This architectural arrangement would certainly provide an obvious precursor to the plan at Hagia Sophia a few years later.

Based on the architectural elements uncovered, Harrison also compared the hypothetical interior with undulating exedrae to similar buildings and spaces, like the

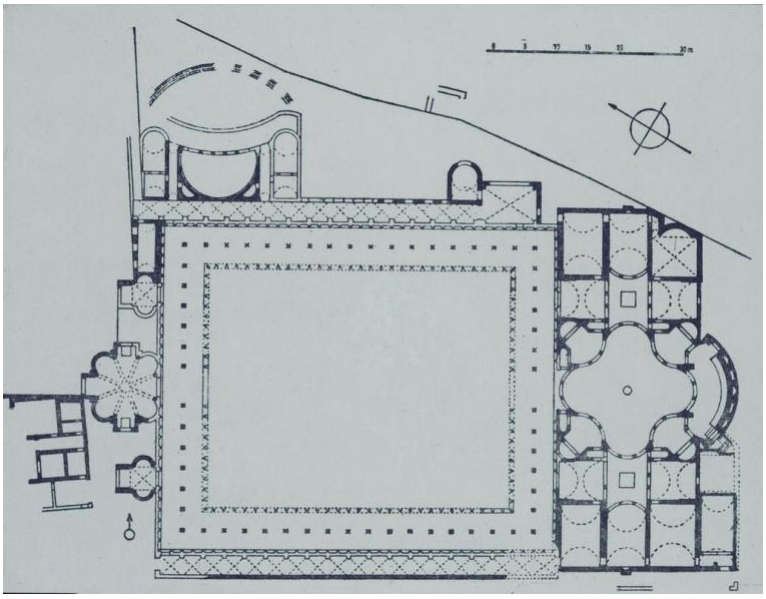


Figure 55. Plan of the Piazza d'Oro, Hadrian's Villa, 118-134 AC, Tivoli, Italy. https://jstor.org/stable/community.13917255.

centrally-planned components of the Piazza d'Oro (Fig. 55) at Hadrian's villa in Tivoli and a similarly constructed fifth-century martyrium on the Orontes in what is now Syria.[142] He explained that the archaeological remains of both the Piazza d'Oro

[141] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 130-132

[142] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 131. I have not been able to find any additional information about the Syrian martyrium.

and the Syrian monument include exedrae with centralized building plans,[143] which Harrison avers were likely similar to the plan at the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos (Fig. 26). At the Piazza d'Oro, two centrally-planned octagonal buildings with elaborate, interior exedrae were built at either end of a large open peristyle courtyard or piazza.[144] The octagonal building marking the entrance to the piazza spanned roughly thirteen meters in diameter and was crowned by a domical roof.[145]

Structural Evidence from St. Polyeuktos

The sixth-century church was organized on an east-west axis, as was traditional for Christian churches. The apse and bema area were laid out at the eastern end of the church, and the narthex was constructed on the western end. The northern and southern sides of the church were made up of aisles that flank the naos, with remarkably thick foundation walls at five- to eight-meters wide. These massive foundation walls, Harrison and Firatlı surmised, could have easily accommodated piers to support a dome on pendentives above the central ambo (Fig. 26).[146] This structure thus combined the basilica plan that was common for large churches at the time and the centrally domed plan often associated with martyria.[147]

[143] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 131.

[144] Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, Eugenia Salza Prina Ricotti, and John Foss, "Preliminary Excavations in the Gardens of Hadrian's Villa: The Canopus Area and the Piazza d'Oro," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, no. 4 (1992): 585, https://doi.org/10.2307/505186.

[145] Charles W. Moore, "Hadrian's Villa," *Perspecta* 6 (1960): 25-26, https://doi.org/10.2307/1566888.

[146] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 407-408.

[147] For more information on early church construction, see Richard Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 115–40, https://doi.org/10.2307/1291261;

Carolyn Connor wrote sometime later about the interpretation of the ekphrastic epigram decorating the interior of the church and extolling the virtues of its matron. She explains that the term *kalyptrees* (καλύπτρης) used to describe the superstructure, though moderately vague, implies a curved, convex surface which could suggests the presence of a dome.[148] Although unmentioned in Connor's essay, the term *kalyptrees* was later used by Paul the Silentiary, writing around 563 AC,[149] to describe the domed structure at Hagia Sophia, so the term was clearly used in the early-to-mid sixth century AC to refer to a domed ceiling or roof.[150] Connor suggests the church may have been decorated with a curved, wooden roof,[151] perhaps with a conical dome, but the physical evidence at the ruined site suggests a brick and concrete roof because there were very few wood fragments uncovered by Harrison and Firatlı.[152]

The heavy foundation walls uncovered by Harrison and Firatlı, Connor suggests, would have been necessary to accommodate the curved exedrae that likely

Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975); Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971); and J. B. Ward Perkins, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 22 (1954): 69–90., http://www.jstor.org/stable/40310515.

[148] Connor, "The Epigram of Hagios Polyeuktos," 491.

[149] "Paul the Silentiary," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art and Architecture*, Tom Devonshire Jones, Linda Murray, and Peter Murray, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199680276.001.0001/acref-9780199680276-e-1346.

[150] Mary Whitby mentioned this in a conversation after I delivered a conference paper in 2021. See also Connor, "The Epigram of Hagios Polyeuktos," 491.

[151] Connor, "The Epigram of Hagios Polyeuktos," 490. A wooden roof would not require any additional buttressing.

[152] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 412-414.

lined the central nave.[153] Harrison suggested that the sanctuary level rose at least eight meters above the crypt and supported a gallery above it. The weight of the two floors alone, with elegant exedrae capped by apses, would have required significant foundations.

In more recent analyses of the site and its architecture, Jonathan Bardill suggested the church had a wooden, gabled roof, despite the epigrammatic connotation of a curved ceiling and dearth of wood evidence recorded in Harrison and Firatlı's excavation records.[154] Both Carolyn Connor and Jonathan Bardill contend that the opulent exedrae that undulated along the naos would have required the support of substantial foundation walls. It is possible to conclude, though rarely executed at the time, that the exedrae also supported a dome, even a concrete one.[155] Bardill calls this into question because the archaeological evidence shows no trace of buttresses.

To lighten the load born by the exedrae, a wooden–perhaps conical–dome is a possibility. A wooden, conical dome may have been constructed at St. Polyeuktos, which rested on the highly decorative exedrae and did not require any buttressing. As mentioned above, Carolyn Connor suggested that the domed roof could have been wooden but there was very little wood evidence uncovered during excavation by Harrison and Firatlı in the 1960s, which I will discuss in more detail below.[156]

[153] Connor, "The Epigram of Hagios Polyeuktos," 491 n. 32. Bardill, as discussed later, also suggests that the formidable foundation walls accommodated the niches rather than a dome.

[154] Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 34, n. 108. Bardill, "A New Temple," 350.

[155] Harrison and Firatlı could not identify any evidence of concrete that would directly prove the presence of a concrete dome at St. Polyeuktos.

[156] Connor, "The Epigram," 1999, 502.

With the absence of buttresses in the archaeological remains, which would ordinarily support a concrete dome at the excavated sixth-century church, Jonathan Bardill suggests a wooden, trussed roof (Fig. 50).[157] However, even without buttresses, a concrete dome could have been accommodated at St. Polyeuktos under the right circumstances. It is important to note that the buttresses at Hagia Sophia were not added until the Middle Byzantine period,[158] likewise, the depth of the foundations of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is unknown. So, it is possible that the exedrae and foundations at St. Polyeuktos were strong enough to support a concrete-domed roof without buttresses until the earthquake that Bardill avers caused significant damage in the early thirteenth century AC.[159]

A concrete dome at St. Polyeuktos would have required support from the ground up. It is certainly likely that the earth underneath the church structure was sufficient to support a concrete domed structure at Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos. George Penelis and Gregory Penelis indicate that Roman and Byzantine builders often rested the foundations of large buildings on the bedrock in order to support heavy architectural superstructures.[160] Harrison and Firatlı did not excavate deeply enough during excavation at the sixth-century church to ascertain if St. Polyeuktos'

[157] Bardill, "A New Temple," 366.

[158] Ken Dark and Jan Kostenec, "New Light on Justinian's Hagia Sophia," in *Hagia Sophia in Context: An Archaeological Re-Examination of the Cathedral of Byzantine Constantinople*, 229 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjz829x.8. Cyril Mango and Timothy E. Gregory, "Hagia Sophia," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-2197.

[159] Bardill, "Église," 79.

[160] Penelis and Penelis, *Structural Restoration*, 37.

foundations rest on the bedrock level,[161] however, they indicated the presence of heavy clay around the site which could have helped to support a large and heavy architectural superstructure, such as a concrete dome.[162] Penelis and Penelis have noted that domed structures like the domed Galerian Palace from 300 AC and the domed Hagia Sophia from 620 AC, both in Thessaloniki, were built onto layers of strong clay which sufficiently supported domed superstructures.[163] Further, excavations of the Roman Pantheon in the 1800s conducted by Georges Chedanne and Pier Olinto Armanini indicate that massive structure also rested on a layer of clay.[164]

The ubiquitous presence of clay at the site of the church of St. Polyeuktos[165] makes it seem possible that the foundations were sufficiently supported by the clay to accommodate a concrete-and-brick or other dome over the naos, at the center of the building. It is also possible that the foundations are sufficiently supported by the bedrock, in addition to the clay noted by Harrison et al, which could easily accommodate a concrete-and-brick or other dome. Undoubtedly, understanding the appearance of the superstructure of St. Polyeuktos would greatly benefit from additional excavation.

Harrison and Firatlı point to the dearth of information about the foundations of other large, Constantinopolitan domed churches now available, such as Hagia Sophia

[161] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 21.
[162] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 408.
[163] Penelis and Penelis, *Structural Restoration*, 38, 41.
[164] La Rocca, "Agrippa's Pantheon," 54.
[165] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 36-110, 412-414.

or the Church of the Holy Apostles, so it is difficult to conduct a comparative analysis between them and St. Polyeuktos.[166] Other domed monuments in the city included the no longer extant Senate House, which Sarah Bassett calls, "a miniature version of the Roman Pantheon."[167] Constantine the Rhodian, a tenth-century poet, described this building as having , ". . . a vault rising up into the sky . . ."[168] The foundation of the Senate House are also unavailable for study and comparison with St. Polyeuktos.[169]

Harrison admits that there was no evidence of ties in the excavated architectural remains of the church.[170] Ties were sometimes used to help contain the thrust of concrete domes instead of buttresses.[171] The ties, made of either iron or wood, could be used to support a dome from cracking (Fig. 56)[172] by bracing the dome at its springing. It is possible, though, that ties were unnecessary at Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos. There is no evidence of ties used at Justinian I's Hagia Sophia.[173]

[166] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 409.

[167] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Constantinople*, 30. See also Liz James, ed., *Constantine of Rhodes, on Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles : With a New Edition of the Greek Text by Ioannis Vassis* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), 103, n. 38, accessed August 13, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central, and Bauer, "Urban Spaces and Ritual," 31.

[168] Liz James, Liz, ed., *Constantine of Rhodes, on Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles: With a New Edition of the Greek Text by Ioannis Vassis* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), 25, accessed August 13, 2023, ProQuest Ebook Central.

[169] Anthony Kaldelis, "The Forum of Constantine in Constantinople: What Do We Know About Its Original Architecture and Adornment?" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 56, 4 (2016): 714.

[170] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 409.

[171] Mainstone, "Domes," 10.

[172] Alemdar Bayraktar, Serap Bayraktar, and Emin Hökelekli, "Strengthening Techniques for Masonry Domes: A Review," *International Journal of Space Structures* 38, no.1 (2023): 33, https://doi.org/10.1177/09560599221126652. Federica Ottoni, "Dome Strengthening By Encircling Ties: A Monitored Experiment," *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 9, no. 1 (2105), 83, DOI: 10.1080/15583058.2013.793436

[173] Iron ties were installed in one western gallery by at least 1848. See R. J. Mainstone, "The Structural Conservation of Hagia Sophia," in *Structural Repair and Maintence of Historical Buildings III*, vol. 4, eds. C. A. Brebbia (Southampton: Computational Mechanics Publications, 1993), 9.

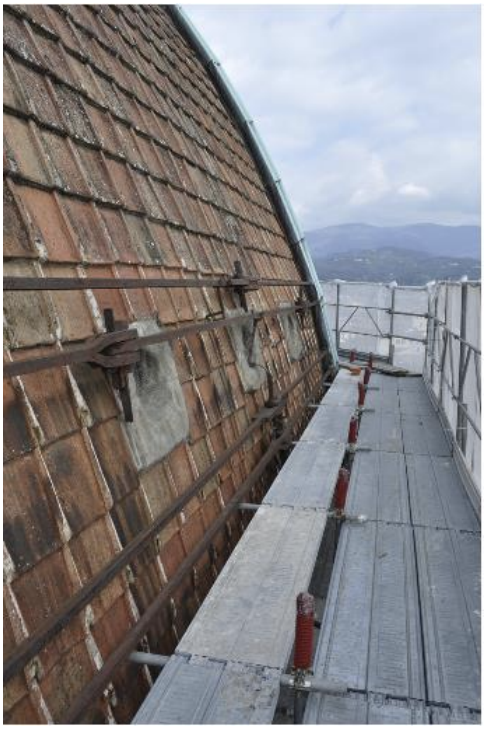


Figure 56. Iron ties in use at Madonna dell'Umiltà" (Our Lady of Humility) in Pistoia, Italy. From Luca Colloni et al.

Dating Juliana's Church

Judging from the indiction dates of brick stamps on the bricks excavated at the site, Harrison observed that Juliana's church was constructed in about two years.[174] This would, in turn, suggest a large crew to complete the building and further hints at the wealth over which Juliana had control; for such a large church, roughly fifty-two

[174] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 111.

meters square,[175] to be built so quickly would require easy access to funds to pay a large crew of laborers and for plentiful supplies and construction materials.[176]

The bricks excavated by Harrison and Firatlı were stamped with dates corresponding from 524-526 AC, when they, Mango, and Ševčenko, hypothesized the site was under construction at Juliana's behest.[177] Harrison and Firatlı also uncovered bricks stamped with dates corresponding to 518-520 AC, before the time period they estimated Juliana's intervention at the site took place.[178] Harrison and Firatlı suggest that the 518-520 AC bricks may have been taken from another site and reused to repair the ceiling after a collapse of a dome after Juliana's death.[179] Jonathan Bardill, more recently, conducted a close analysis of the brick evidence at the site in which he charted the many details of the bricks including the location from which they were excavated and indiction dates, and suggests the earlier stamped bricks prove an earlier date of construction for the church, from 518-520 AC.[180] Presumably, then, the bricks stamped with later dates were used for repairs, in a reverse interpretation from that of Harrison and Firatlı.

[175] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 52.

[176] The *Patria Constantinopoleos* erroneously indicates that Juliana was the daughter of Valentinian and the church was built in four years. Harrison explains the inaccuracy well. See Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane* 10. See also *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The* Patria, trans. Albrecht Berger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 171.

[177] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 111. Mango and Sevcenko, "The Church of St. Polyeuktos," 245. Jonathan Bardill does not agree with this date of construction. See Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 62-63, 111-116.

[178] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 112.

[179] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 112.

[180] See especially Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 111-116. Bardill uses this information to ascertain the original date of construction of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos.

As Maria Evangelatou pointed out in a personal correspondence, it is entirely possible that the site was under construction for more than the two years assigned by Mango and Sevcenko, Harrison and Firatlı, and others. Rather, it could have been under construction for four to six years–still building at a remarkable pace–using bricks dating from 518-520 AC and wrapping up the work by 526 AC using bricks with the latest stamps, and coinciding with the time of Juliana's death in 527 or 528 AC.[181] Indeed, the *Patria* indicates the church was constructed within four years, so it's perhaps most likely the bricks simply date from across the construction period.[182]

Concrete domes before St. Polyeuktos

Mario Como, and George and Gregory Penelis indicate that bricks and Roman concrete were used to create domes at churches from this period and before, so if there was a concrete dome at St. Polyeuktos, I suggest that this type of construction was used. Penelis and Penelis state that, "In the eastern part of the Empire and later, in Byzantine and Ottoman empires, domes were built with bricks and Roman mortar exclusively."[183] The dome at the Pantheon, for example, was constructed from a kind of net of bricks (Fig. 36) with Roman concrete poured as needed using a centering

[181] Mango and Sevcenko, "The Church of St. Polyeuktos," 245.

[182] Mango and Sevcenko, "The Church of St. Polyeuktos," 245. As Mango and Sevcenko mention, the *Patria* is a less-than-reliable source, but there are likely some bits of truth recorded therein. See *The* Patria, trans. Berger, 171.

[183] Penelis and Penelis, *Structural Restoration*, 33. Rowland Mainstone wrote the same thing about brickwork used in dome construction. See Mainstone, "Domes," 5.

device or similar.[184] Thus the significant quantity of brick evidence at St. Polyeuktos in Sarçhane implies a similar, brick-web-with-concrete dome construction.

The use of Roman concrete to construct domes developed in the Republican period in the Italian peninsula, as discussed above.[185] In these early, concrete dome constructions, a kind of net of brick was also used.[186] One of the earliest concrete domes at the so-called Temple of Mercury at Baiae spanned no more than 21.4 meters and was supported by wedge-shaped buttresses.[187] As a comparison, the diameter of the dome at St. Polyeuktos would have measured fewer than twenty meters, so it is likely that builders, masons, and architects could have devised a means to support a dome without prominent buttressing that Bardill can identify.

Jonathan Bardill notes that some of the bricks unearthed by Harrison and his team were associated with a pier that had collapsed on the western end of the building.[188] If the brick-web-concrete construction was used at St. Polyeuktos to create a dome over the center of the naos, above the ambo, it is possible that some of the bricks that ultimately collapsed with the pier of the western facade were part of this brick net. Regardless, clear evidence of a concrete dome is incredibly difficult to identify.

[184] Penelis and Penelis, *Structural Restoration*, 33. See also Giangiacomo Martines, "The Conception and Construction of Drum and Dome," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 99-131.

[185] Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1153.

[186] Mario Como, *Statics of Historic Masonry Constructions*, Springer Series in Solid and Structural Mechanics, vol. 9 (Cham: Springer, 2017), 196, https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1007/978-3-319-54738-1_4. Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1154.

[187] Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana," 1153-1154.

[188] Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 111-112.

Harrison and Firatlı did not uncover much evidence of wooden building materials in the stratigraphic levels correlating with Juliana's intervention at the site.[189] Harrison does admit the fast-paced nature of the excavation,[190] however, it seems likely he would have noted any large pieces of wooden evidence, especially large roof beams that may have survived in the archaeological record. Still it should be pointed out that the site was later used as a hamam, a Turkish steam bath, so any wood evidence surviving the ravages of the region's climate may have been destroyed through use as combustible material for the operation of the bath.

The superstructure vis a vis comparative monuments

When hypothesized with a dome, the structure of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos itself echoes significant monuments from its surrounding cultural and geographic milieu. The use of domes in Roman, Sassanian, and Late Antique architecture was not unusual since domed structures were usually associated with religious and political significance. Of course, the Pantheon, discussed above, funded by Marcus Agrippa and later improved upon by Hadrian, included the largest dome in antiquity. About two-hundred years later, Constantine funded the construction of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, called the Anastasis Rotunda,[191] adorned by a dome between 348 to 384 AC.[192] In paying for the construction of a domed church

[189] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 112-114.
[190] Harrison, *Excavations at Sarçhane*, 3.
[191] Kelley, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre,* 11.
[192] Kelley, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre,* 11.

dedicated to a soldier saint, Juliana linked herself and the church to illustrious matrons and patrons of other domed monuments and reified her place among the contemporary and historical imperial elite.

The allusion of vaulted or domed monuments to the heavenly realm was likely not lost on Juliana when she paid for the construction of St. Polyeuktos. Again, the epigram that decorated the exterior of Juliana's church stated that,

> aspiring to the stars of heaven, and how from east to west it extends itself glittering with unspeakable brightness in the sunlight on both sides! On either side of its aisle columns standing on firm columns support the rays of the golden dome, while on each side arched recesses scattered on the dome reproduce the ever-revolving light of the moon.[193]

Although the epigram does not directly align the ceiling of the church interior to the heavens, the language clearly connects the spherical celestial elements of the heavens with the decoration and architectural elements of the church.

The Church of the Holy Apostles

In some ways, a dome at the church of St. Polyeuktos may have mimicked the dome of the Church of the Holy Apostles erected by Constantine I as his mausoleum at the complex of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Since its destruction in the late-15th century AC,[194] the appearance of the Apostoleion has been extensively

[193] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 11.

[194] Cyril Mango, and Timothy E. Gregory, "Church of the Holy Apostles," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-2327.

hypothesized. Cyril Mango postulated, in contrast with Richard Krautheimer, that the structure took on the circular, domed form of traditional, Roman mausolea and many agree with this hypothesis.[195]

The proximity of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos to Constantine I's Church of the Holy Apostles would have created a visual echo between the two structures. Given the location of Juliana's church in a sort of valley between the third and fourth hills of the city, with the Church of the Holy Apostles rising above the monument at the apex of the fourth hill, the appearance of the two churches must have been striking to viewers as they walked or processed on the Mese from the church of St. Polyeuktos up to the church of the Holy Apostles and Constantine's mausoleum.

[195] Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83, no. 1 (1990): 51-62. https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1515/byzs.1990.83.1.51. Mark J. Johnson, "Constantine's Apostoleion: A Reappraisal," in *The Holy Apostles: A Lost Monument, a Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past*, 82-83. See also Mark J. Johnson and William Loerke, "Mausoleum," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3404.

The Anastasis Rotunda

The domed Anastasis Rotunda at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was a martyrium attached to a basilica, marking the holiest site in Christianity (Fig. 57). The

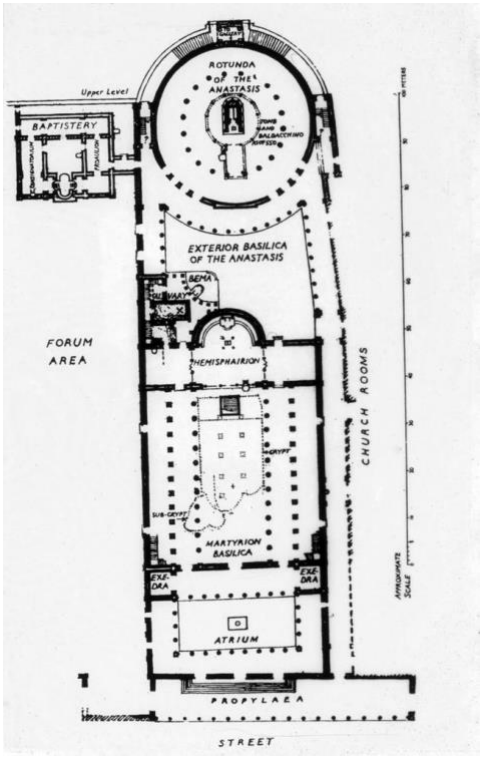


Figure 57. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. c.350. Reconstruction by Conant. https://jstor.org/stable/community.12194948.

Holy Sepulchre monuments, the complex marking the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem, were first funded by Constantine I and completed between 348 and 384 AC.[196] At the time of Constantine I's intervention, the tomb was covered by an almost circular building surmounted by a drum

[196] Kelley, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre,* 11. Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (2003): 5, https://doi.org/10.2307/3655081.

supporting a wooden roof.[197] Juliana recalled Constantine I in the exterior epigram at her church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos. The exterior epigram parallels the matronage of Juliana with the patronage of Constantine, Theodosios and her other ancestors. It states, "What quire is sufficient to chant the works of Juliana, who after Constantine, the adorner of his Rome, and after the holy golden light of Theodosius, and after so many royal ancestors, in a few years accomplished a work worthy of her race, yea, more than worthy?" In recalling the benefactor of the domed Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem, Juliana linked herself to a prestigious, Christian lineage of imperial matrons and patrons, specifically the archetypal Christian Roman emperor. In doing so, she also cultivated Constantinople as a pilgrimage destination to rival Jerusalem and Rome.

Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church at Siloam

By recalling the architecture of a site in Jerusalem, it is also possible Juliana paid further homage to her ancestress, Augusta Aelia Eudokia, who spent significant time in Jerusalem and paid for some churches there, including a church dedicated to St. Stephen the Protomartyr as discuss in the previous chapter. Another church she funded was a purportedly domed basilica at the Pool of Siloam (Fig. 58).[198] The pool

[197] John Wilkinson, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre," *Archaeology* 31, no. 4 (July/August 1978): 10.

[198] Armstrong, "Fifth and Sixth Century Church Buildings in the Holy Land," 18-19. Armstrong's has been the only source on which I have identified any reference to a dome at the church of the Pool of Siloam. Hugues Vincent, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 2 (France: J. Gabalda, 1912-26), 909.

of water at the site was connected to Jesus' healing of a blind man, according to the

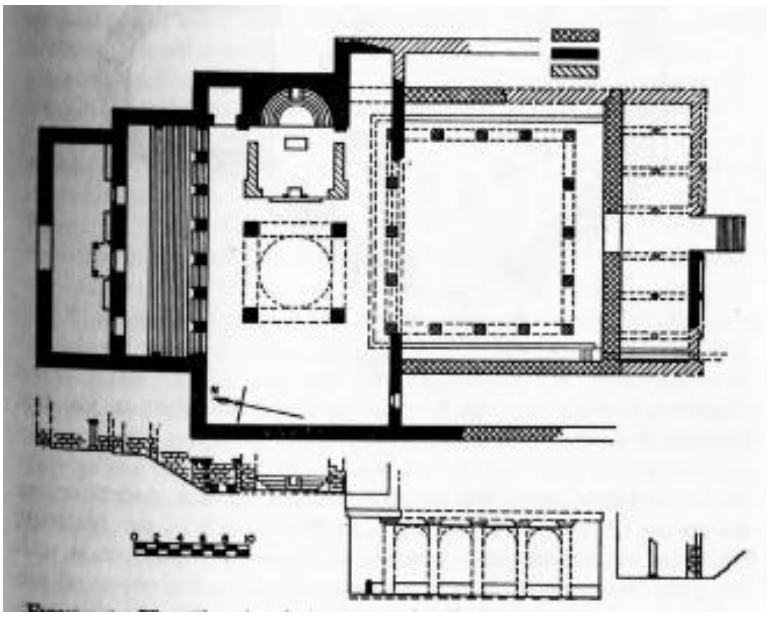


Figure 58. Plan of the Church of the Pool of Siloam. From Armstrong.

Gospel of John.[199] The so-called Piacenza Pilgrim described the monument as a round basilica.[200] They wrote, "'From that arch you descend many steps to the fountain of Siloam, and above Siloam is a round basilica beneath which the water of Siloam rises.'"[201] The use of the term basilica, a traditionally longitudinal structure, in application to a round building is certainly confusing because basilicas were rectangular and yet the Piacenza Pilgrim calls it round. Perhaps the round aspect reflected the appearance of the roof while the basilica plan was used for the walls and floor plan. The description of the monument alludes to a vaulted bath; it was not uncommon for Roman and Late Antique baths to have vaults or domes, and lending

[199] See John 9:7 NIV.

[200] F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eye of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 168.

[201] Quoted in Peters, *Jerusalem*, 168.

that architectural form would have been appropriate for a sacred pool, too.[202] The Piacenza Pilgrim's description does not indicate the material of the so-called round basilica. If it was a concrete dome or other vault is pure speculation, but a concrete or masonry dome would be plausible; the dampness caused by the water below the the structure may have adversely affected a dome or vault made of any other type of material, such as wood.

It is possible that Juliana was familiar with Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church plan at the pool of Siloam, either from her own eye-witness experience, or word of mouth. By incorporating an architectural plan used by her renowned ancestress, Juliana further distinguished herself and her church of St. Polyeuktos among her magnanimous forebears and their noteworthy monuments.

The cupola church at Meriamlik

One of the three major churches at Meriamlik may also have been a domed basilica, a form still novel in the early-sixth century. The religious complex at Meriamlik was associated with St. Thekla, a follower of St. Paul and first female

[202] The earliest concrete domes were made for baths in Baiae and in Pompeii. See Sinpoli and Aita, "The Dome of the Temple of Diana in *Baiae*," 1152-1183.

martyr.[203] Emperor Zeno funded a church at Meriamlik in modern Ayatekla in

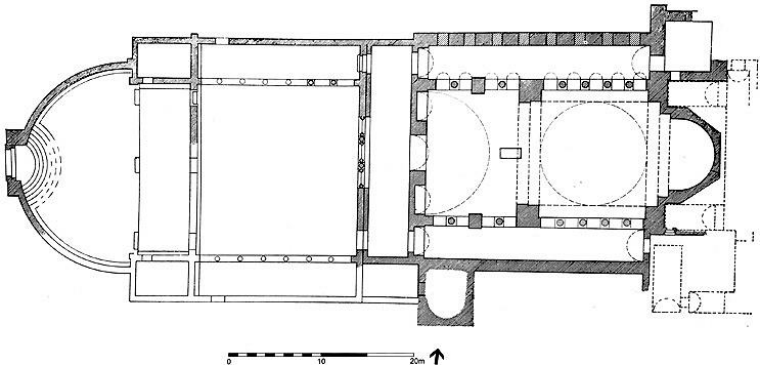


Figure 59. The so-called Domed Basilica, c. 471-494, Meriamlik (on the southern coast of Turkey) (after E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer, Meriamlik und Korykos).

southeastern Turkey, in the fifth century AC:[204] the so-called Cupola Church (Fig. 59), which was just one part of a larger complex of buildings dedicated to the cult of St. Thekla, a major pilgrimage site.[205]

Based on the architectural plan, Robert Ousterhout avers the monument was domed.[206] The appearance of the superstructure of the church is unknown, though.

[203] Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "Thekla," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, , 2005), accessed 25 Feb. 2024, https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5367. Troels Myrup Kristensen,"Excavating Meriamlik Sacred Space and Economy in Late Antique Pilgrimage," in *Excavating Pilgrimage Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*, eds. Wiebke Friese and Troels Myrup Kristensen, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315228488, Ebook.

[204] Clive F. W. Foss, "Meriamlik," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3476. Mariusz Gwiazda, "Modular Designs at the Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Site of Philoxenite, Egypt," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2023): 208, https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1017/S1047759423000120.

[205] Kristensen, "Landscape, Space, and Presence in the Cult of Thekla at Meriamlik," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 230.

[206] Robert G. Ousterhout, "Innovative architecture in the age of Justinian," in *Smarthistory*, June 8, 2020, accessed February 25, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/innovative-architecture-in-the-age-of-justinian/.

Troels Myrup Kristensen refers to the monument as a cupola church,[207] as does the original archaeologist of the site, Ernst Herzfeld.[208] By describing a cupola, Kristensen and Herzfeld infer that the roof at Meriamlik was different from a dome.[209] By definition, a cupola is considerably smaller than a dome and spans a much more narrow space. Similarly to St. Polyeuktos, there are no visible buttresses at the plan of the Cupola Church.

Like Augusta Aelia Eudokia's church at the Pool of Siloam, it's not clear what material made up the cupola in Meriamlik. Perhaps a brick drum with a wooden, conical roof, or perhaps a concrete dome. Without this information, drawing a comparison between Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos to the cupola church is entirely speculative.

The Meriamlik Cupola Church's association with the Emperor Zeno, with whom Juliana was sometimes at odds as described in chapter two, might have been a motivation to fund a similar, though more opulent, church in Constantinople. Juliana's domed St. Polyeuktos might also call the major pilgrimage site where St. Thekla was venerated to the minds of pious Constantinopolitans who had heard of or visited the shrine. Funding a monument that was more lavish and architecturally

[207] Troels Myrup Kristensen, "Excavating Meriamlik Sacred Space and Economy in Late Antique Pilgrimage," in *Excavating Pilgrimage Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*, eds. Wiebke Friese and Troels Myrup Kristensen, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315228488. Ebook.

[208] Ernst Herzfeld and Samuel Guyer, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua*, vol. 2 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1928), x.

[209] Kristensen mentions a common comparison of the cupola church at Meriamlik to a the East Church at Alahan. See Troels Myrup Kristensen,"Excavating Meriamlik Sacred Space and Economy in Late Antique Pilgrimage," in *Excavating Pilgrimage Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*, eds. Wiebke Friese and Troels Myrup Kristensen, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315228488, Ebook.

novel than Zeno's Cupola Church may have also been a demonstration of the superiority of Juliana's orthodoxy.

St. John Stoudios and Chalkoprateia

The churches of St. John Stoudios and the church of the Theotokos in Chalkoprateia are good churches to contrast with St. Polyeuktos as a means to support the theory of the presence of a dome at Juliana's church. Both churches use a basilica plan, as was common across the empire;[210] even Hagia Sophia, before its defacement in the Nika Riot in 532 AC,[211] had a basilica plan. The construction of St. John Stoudios, paid for by the senator Studios, was complete by around 463 AC.[212] The church of the Chalkoprateia was constructed at about the same time as St. John Stoudios, in the mid-fifth century,[213] though the matron or patron of the church of the Chalkoprateia is uncertain.[214] Legend indicates construction of the church of the Chalkoprateia was funded by Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, but, art historian Bissera Pentcheva contests this.[215]

210. Krautheimer, *Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 20.

211. James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora: Partner of Justinian* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 40, accessed April 11, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

212. Mathews, *Early Churches*, 19. Theophanes, *Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, trans. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 175.

213. Mathews, *Early Churches*, 28.

214. Mathews, *Early Churches*, 28.

215. Pentcheva disputes the attribution of Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, and Hodegon Monastery to Augusta Aelia Pulcheria. See Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power : The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 120.

The plan of St. John Stoudios (Fig. 610) is about thirty-five meters long and twenty-six meters wide. Like St. Polyeuktos, it is rectangular in plan with a curved

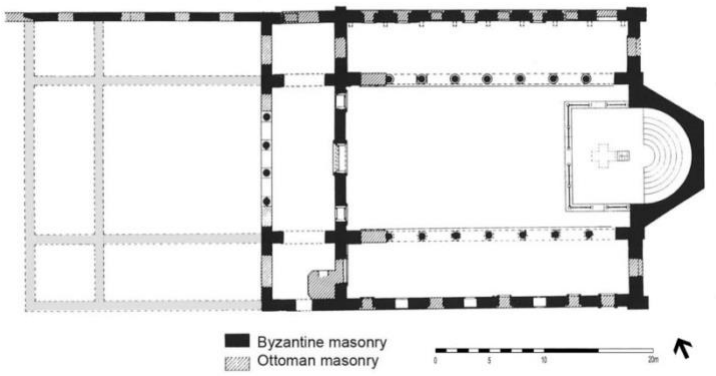


Figure 60. Plan of St. John Stoudios. From *Smarthistory.*

apse on the eastern end. Similarly to St. Polyeuktos, the naos of St. John Stoudios is divided into three sections: a five-meter-wide bay on the north and south sides with a roughly eleven-meter bay in the middle.

Unlike St. Polyeuktos, it is clear that a dome could not have been supported at St. John Stoudios because the bays are divided by columns. The lack of the large piers at St. John Stoudios demonstrate how wooden, gabled roofs were constructed sixty-four years prior to the construction of St. Polyeuktos. Thus, if Juliana paid to construct a wooden, gabled roof at her church of St. Polyeuktos, the builders could have employed a similar plan. Erecting such monumental, brick foundations at the church of St. Polyeuktos only to support a wooden, gabled roof makes very little practical sense.

The church of the Chalkoprateia (Fig. 61) is also organized with three bays. It bears strong similarity to the church of St. John Stoudios. A dome did not decorate

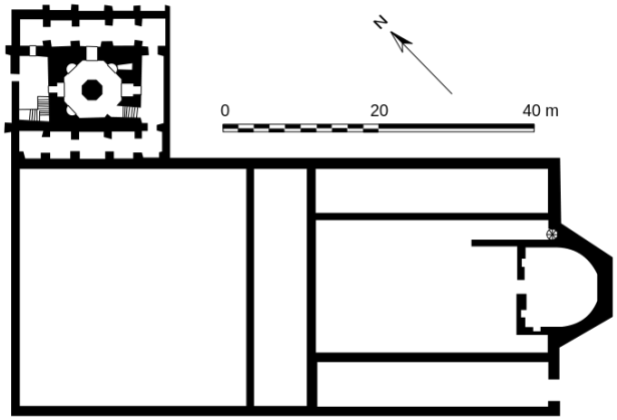


Figure 61. Plan of the church of the Chalkoprateia. From Wikipedia.

the church of the Chalkoprateia until the ninth century,[216] therefore if Juliana wished to pay for the construction of a church with a wooden, gabled roof, this monument would have served as an excellent model. It had links to one of Juliana's noble ancestresses, Augusta Aelia Pulcheria, so would have activated links Juliana sought to create between herself, her church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos, and her imperial, female predecessors.

The lack of a domes in the early-sixth century CE at these two significant church spaces helps to set St. Polyeuktos apart from other religious structures in Constantinople. In erecting a domed monument dedicated to St. Polyeuktos, Juliana effectively called attention to her lineage and endowed Constantinople with religious significance. She called to mind famous domed monuments at meaningful pilgrimage

[216] Mathews, *Early Churches*, 28.

sites in Jerusalem and Rome. Through her domed monument, she tapped into not only her imperial, Roman roots, but also highlighted her Christian piety and the piety of her predecessors as a means to promote her religious beliefs, her noble family, and her own public persona.

Later sixth-century Constantinopolitan churches

Hagia Eirene

Prokopios does not make any direct reference to the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos, but may do so more subtly, as Harrison suggests.[217] In *On Buildings*, Prokopios states that, "The church called after Eirenê, which was next to the Great Church and had been burned down together with it, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt on a large scale, so that it was scarcely second to any of the churches in Byzantium, save that of Sophia."[218] Harrison avers, and I agree, that Prokopios' discussion of Hagia Eirene as second to no other church save Hagia Sophia means that both Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia, after Justinian's intervention, superseded the splendor and magnificence of St. Polyeuktos. That is to say, if Hagia Eirene was second to Hagia Sophia, according to Prokopios, then the church of St. Polyeuktos ranked in third

[217] Harrison, *Excavations*, 8.

[218] Prokopios, *On Buildings*, Loeb, 37. Ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ ὅμορον οὖσαν καὶ συγκαταφλεχθεῖσαν αὐτῇ πρότερον τὴν τῆς Εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγέθη ἐδείματο, ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ σχεδόν τι ἁπάντων, μετά γε τῆς Σοφίας τὸν νεών, οὐδενὸς δεύτερον.

place (or lower) among the sumptuous churches of early- to mid-sixth-century Constantinople.

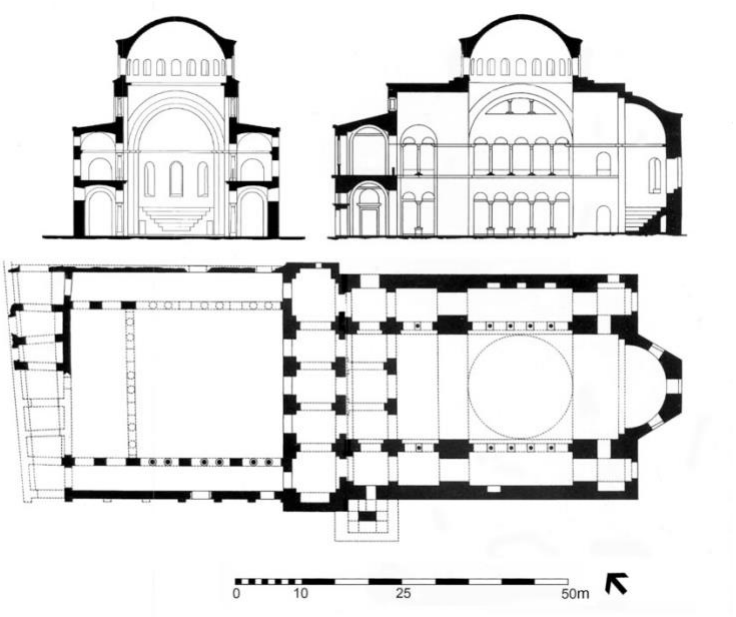


Figure 62. Hagia Eirene, Constantinople (Istanbul), plan and hypothetical sections of the sixth-century building (© Robert G. Ousterhout, adapted from S. Ćurčić, Architecture in the Balkans, 2010)

The plans of Hagia Eirene and St. Polyeuktos bear striking similarity (Fig. 62). The piers at Hagia Eirene measure roughly three meters by roughly five meters but we do not know the size of the foundation walls below. The dome spans roughly sixteen meters. The drum rises about a meter and a half above the gallery. I suggest that the domed structure of St. Polyeuktos may have been used as a model for Justinian's reconstruction of Hagia Eirene. Just as Justinian modeled the epigram at SS Sergios and Bakchos on that of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos–as discussed briefly below–so too did he model the plan of Hagia Eirene on that of Juliana's church.

Prokopios recorded important information about Justinian's patronage throughout the city of Constantinople and beyond. His words sometimes echo those of Juliana's St. Polyeuktos epigram: "All the other shrines which this Emperor dedicated to Christ are so numerous and so great in size, that it is impossible to write about them in detail. For neither the power of language, nor the whole span of eternity, would suffice us to make a catalogue and by name descant upon each one of these."[219] Interestingly, this rhymes closely with the rhetoric used in Juliana's epigram to describe her splendid cultural and architectural matronage across Constantinople. Of course, panegyric of this kind is fairly standard to glorify a ruler or prominent patron or matron. Whether Prokopios was inspired by Juliana's epigram specifically is speculative and it is just as plausible that he was inspired by other panegyric models.

SS Sergios and Bakchos[220]

Unlike the church of St. Polyeuktos, the church of SS Sergios and Bakchos does not have a basilica-style plan but rather an octagonal plan (Fig. 63). Like St. Polyeuktos, though, SS Sergios and Bakchos has an epigram that decorates the naos. This epigram was likely composed by the same poet who composed Juliana's epigram at the church of St. Polyeuktos.[221] The epigram states,

[219] Prokopios, *On Buildings*, 37, 39.

[220] This transliteration of the saints name (in Greek Βακχος) is used here and throughout as a more accurate transliteration than Bacchus.

[221] Bardill, "Dedication," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 91. See Bardill, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees," 4, in which the

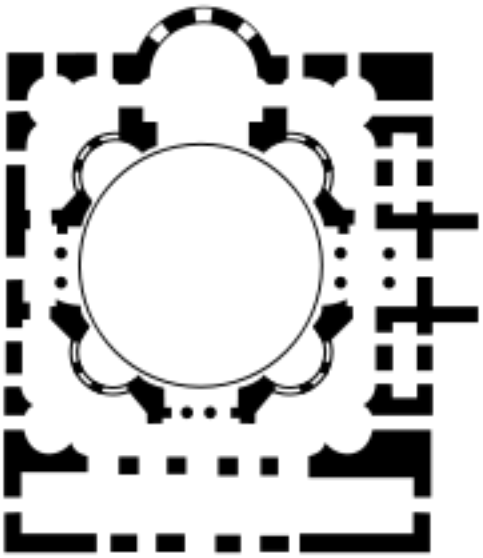


Figure 63. Plan of SS. Sergios and Bakchos. From Wikipedia.

> Other sovereigns have honored dead men whose labor was unprofitable, but our sceptered Justinian, fostering piety, honors with a splendid abode the Servant of Christ, Begetter of all things, Sergius; whom not the burning breath of fire, nor the sword, nor any other constraint of torments disturbed; but who endured to be slain for the sake of Christ, the God, gaining by his blood heaven as his home. May he in all things guard the rule of the sleepless sovereign and increase the power of the God-crowned Theodora whose mind is adorned with piety, whose constant toil lies in unsparing efforts to nourish the destitute.[222]

The reference to the "sceptered Justinian" rhymes closely with Juliana's "many-sceptered ancestors" and Theodora's "constant toil" bears strong similarity to Juliana's "righteous toil." It is not clear if Justinian employed this poet in order to

author also notes some similarities between the SS Segios and Bakchos epigram and that at St. Polyeuktos.

[222] Cyril A. Mango, "The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* Austria: Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1972. It is notable that the epigram at SS Sergios and Bakchos does not include any ekphrastic description of the monument. This may merely have to do with the space available for the epigram.

rival Juliana and her church of St. Polyeuktos, or if the poet was chosen for other reasons.[223]

Brian Croke opines that Justinian constructed the church of SS Sergios and Bakchos to challenge or overcome the cultural prestige of Juliana,[224] so it's possible that, if Croke is correct, Justinian purposefully chose the poet for their connection to Juliana and the church of St. Polyeuktos. If indeed Justinian wanted to rival the splendor and prestige of Juliana's St. Polyeuktos through the domed church of SS Sergios and Bakchos, it makes more sense to assume the former was also domed rather than simply gable-roofed.

Although it does not have a basilica-style plan, I take the plan of SS Sergios and Bakchos into consideration here because of the dome and the size of the piers used to support the dome. The piers at SS Sergios and Bakchos measure about two meters by four meters. This is considerably smaller than the piers at St. Polyeuktos, but there are eight piers at SS Sergios and Bakchos and the weight of the dome is dispersed among them. The weight of the dome at St. Polyeuktos was distributed across just the hypothetical four piers resting on substantial foundations, which further demonstrates the necessity of bearing the weight of a dome on those substantial foundation walls, rather than a gabled-wooden roof.

[223] The first line of the SS Sergios and Bakchos epigram references others honoring men whose labor was unprofitable. Though total speculation, is it possible this is a direct jab at Juliana's soldier saint, St. Polyeuktos.

[224] See Brian Croke, "Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006): 25-63.

A new hypothesis for the superstructure of St. Polyeuktos

The epigram at St. Polyeuktos describes a light-filled space. The exterior epigram states,

> [Juliana] alone did violence to Time and surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon by raising a habitation for God, whose glittering and elaborate beauty the ages cannot celebrate–how it rises from its deep-rooted foundations, running up from the ground and aspiring to the stars of heaven, and how from east to west it extends itself glittering with unspeakable brightness in the sunlight on both sides![225]

The text describes the interior of St. Polyeuktos filled with light. Regular fenestration throughout the building would certainly fill the space with some light, but windows on all sides of the church and in the gallery space would probably not fill the space "from east to west . . . with unspeakable brightness in the sunlight on both sides," especially since only the south side would receive direct sunlight for much of the day and the windows on the west side would be blocked by the narthex. A building corresponding with the epigrammatic ekphrasis would include either a clerestory, as Bardill suggests, or a fenestrated drum and dome, either wooden or concrete. A clerestory on the north and south sides of the structure would not allow for as much sunlight due to the rotation of the earth whereas a fenestrated drum would allow more sunlight as the sun moved across the sky from east to west.

[225] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton (1928), 9.

A fenestrated drum, supporting a dome seems the most likely option when considering the superstructure at St. Polyeuktos, to match the "unspeakable brightness in the sunlight on both sides." The light effect as the sun moved across the sky and filled the interior of the space would evoke the final line of the interior epigram which states, "Therefore, all ye servants of the Heavenly King to whom she gave gifts or built temples, preserve her gladly with her son and his daughters, and may the immeasurable glory of the most beneficent family survive as long as the Sun drives his burning chariot." The movement of light through a fenestrated drum around the space throughout the day and varied by season would elicit the image of the sun pulled across the sky by a mythical chariot.

Using SketchUp, I created two simulations of St. Polyeuktos based on Bardill's plan. The simulation allows for solar analysis, which recreates the appearance of the sun's light in a digitally constructed space. Using georeferencing, I also situated the simulation as if it was in the actual site of the monument, St. Polyeuktos, in what is now Istanbul, Turkey. The georeferenced site allows for an accurate solar analysis of the simulation's interior.

One of the simulations I developed includes a clerestory (Figs. 64-67). Using solar analysis, I observed that it is clear that the sun's light fills the interior, but not in the way evoked by the epigram. The solar analysis of the other simulation, which includes a fenestrated drum (Figs. 68-71), illustrates the light filtering into the space and revolving around the interior more dramatically, and rhyming closely with the epigrammatic text.



Figure 64. Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from southeast corner, 6:51 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.



Figure 65. Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from southeast corner, 11:34 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.



Figure 66. Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from northwest corner, 2:58 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.



Figure 67. Solar analysis, gabled interior with clerestory from northwest corner, 4:50 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.

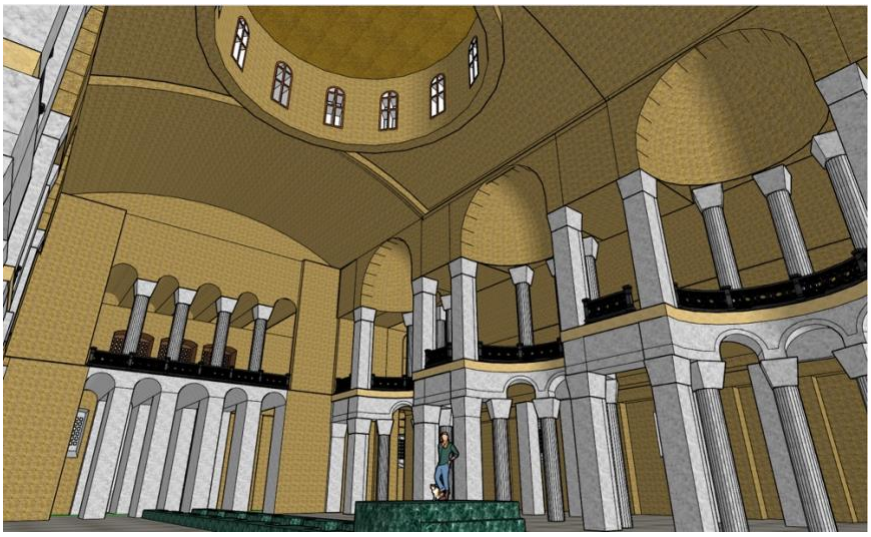


Figure 68. Solar analysis, domed interior from southeast corner, 6:51 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.



Figure 69. Solar analysis, domed interior from southeast corner, 11:34 am UTC+3, 1 April 2024.



Figure 70. Solar analysis, domed interior from northwest corner, 2:58 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.



Figure 71. Solar analysis, domed interior from northwest corner, 4:50 pm UTC+3, 1 April 2024.

The ekphrasis of the epigram and strong allusions to the heavenly dome, which are so often applied to domed monuments, firmly imply the presence of a dome. I suggest a brick, fenestrated drum supporting a dome rested above the central exedrae. There is not enough evidence to fully understand the material out of which the dome was constructed, perhaps a lighter wooden, conical roof, but a concrete

dome is not implausible; the foundations could have supported a concrete dome, even without buttresses or ties. It is possible that such additional supports may have prevented the ultimate destruction of the church by earthquake,[226] but it is plausible that the dome was sufficiently supported without them. The evidence at Hagia Sophia also suggests that buttresses were not always employed initially but sometimes added later. It is possible, therefore, that the masons and builders of Juliana's church did not include buttresses.

Jonathan Bardill rejects Harrison's dome hypothesis for several reasons.[227] He begins his refutation of Harrison's hypothesis by questioning the epigram description of the moon. Bardill wrote, " . . . I suppose a main dome would be rather compared to the sun, while references to the moon seem more appropriate for an allusion to secondary vaults."[228] As I have explained above, however, there are plentiful allusions to the movement of the sun across the sky that make appropriate solar metaphors for a dome.

Bardill then addresses the find spots of the marble fragments with the epigram inscription. Through a careful inspection of the blocks themselves, especially their subtle curvatures,[229] Bardill opines a different arrangement of the epigram from the layout proposed by Harrison; Bardill manages to fit all forty-one lines along the north and south sides of the naos (Fig. 27).[230] If Harrison's arrangement is correct, though,

[226] Bardill suggests Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos sustained damage in an earthquake in the early 1200s. See Bardill, "Église," 79.
[227] Bardill, "Église," 98.
[228] Bardill, "Église," 83.
[229] Bardill, "Église," 89-90.
[230] Bardill, "Église," 87-88.

that would leave room for lines thirty-four to forty-one of the epigram to appear along a chancel screen. These lines read as follows:

> Therefore, all ye servants of the Heavenly King to whom she gave gifts or built temples, preserve her gladly with her son and his daughters, and may the immeasurable glory of the most beneficent family survive as long as the Sun drives his burning chariot.[231]

Such a text would seem appropriate to appear in facing the congregation, extolling the virtues of the matron and wishing blessings upon her heirs.

After he explains his proposed arrangement of the epigram, Bardill then turns to the exedrae and their arrangement. He proposes a total of six exedrae–three on either side of the naos. Each exedrae, Bardill supposes, is made up of an arch-niche-arch arrangement. According to this suggestion, each arch was made up of marble blocks with confronting peacocks (Fig. 25), and each niche between the arches was decorated with a frontal peacock (Fig. 24).[232] Frustratingly, there are only a few extant blocks with which to draw conclusions about the arrangement.

Bardill then suggests that any piers Harrison included in his hypothetical elevation of the church did not exist.[233] He bases this claim on the lack of buttressing.[234] Bardill states, ". . . if the nave of Saint Polyeuktos had been covered by a dome, the architects would probably have included buttresses in their building plan."[235] While buttressing would have been the best way to support a dome, this

[231] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 9.
[232] I have a LiDAR record of only one of the peacock niches Bardill discusses.
[233] Bardill, "Église," 94
[234] Bardill, "Église," 95
[235] Bardill, "Église," 97.

method was not necessarily used at the time. Again, the buttresses at Hagia Sophia were not added until the Middle Byzantine period.[236] So, architects were not always including buttresses in their plans for domed buildings in the early-sixth century.

Turning again to the epigram blocks, Bardill then suggests that there is no evidence for large piers to support a dome. He draws this conclusion because at least one of the marble blocks shows no evidence of fitting into large piers. Bardill writes, ". . . upon examining [the block bearing lines 15-16–a niche with a frontal peacock] more closely, we discovered a molded soffit on its lower face, which indicates that the passage under this block was free."[237] So, if Bardill's arrangement is correct, then the block with lines 15-16 could not have rested on a pier. If using Harrison's arrangement of the epigram, however, the niche would have appeared in the southwest corner of the naos, likewise away from any proposed piers.[238]

The Account of Gregory of Tours

[236] Ken Dark and Jan Kostenec, "New Light on Justinian's Hagia Sophia," in *Hagia Sophia in Context: An Archaeological Re-Examination of the Cathedral of Byzantine Constantinople*, 229 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvjz829x.8. Cyril Mango, and Timothy E. Gregory, "Hagia Sophia," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-2197.

[237] Bardill, "Église," 97.

[238] The use LiDAR to capture the extant marble blocks from St. Polyeuktos along with a careful rendering of the church in SketchUp will certainly permit a better hypothesis for understanding the layout of the epigram and the placement of the blocks around the naos of the church.

Jonathan Bardill claims the roof at St. Polyeuktos was gabled and assembled out of wood based on a second-hand account describing the church:[239] Gregory of Tours, who wrote in the late-sixth century AC, toward the end of his life,[240] uses language that may suggest that the church of St. Polyeuktos possessed a gabled, wooden roof or ceiling that was gilded at some point. In his account, Gregory uses the Latin term *camera* to describe the ceiling of the church of St. Polyeuktos. Jonathan Bardill notes that, "The term camera . . . originally referred to a vaulted roof, [but] could be applied to a roof of any kind by the time Gregory was writing."[241] Importantly Gregory never visited Constantinople and, by extension, the church of St. Polyeuktos. In fact, there is no evidence Gregory ever left France; he relied completely on statements and narratives originally recorded by others or told to him by others, that is to say, second-hand accounts.[242] Indeed, Raymond van Dam, translator of numerous early Medieval and early Byzantine texts, states that, Gregory's "concern for simply preserving the stories took priority over any worries about their veracity."[243] As such, it is doubtful Gregory, though attempting to describe the elaborate and opulent ceiling of Juliana's church dedicated to St. Polyeuktos, fully understood the structure in order to describe it accurately.

[239] See Jonathan Bardill, "A New Temple for Byzantium: Anicia Juliana, King Solomon, and the Gilded Ceiling of the Church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople," in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, ed. Bowden, Gutteridge, and Machado (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

[240] Van Dam, *Glory*, 4.

[241] Bardill, "A New Temple," 346.

[242] Van Dam, *Glory*, 7, 10. Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. Raymond van Dam (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 7, 10.

[243] Gregory, *Glory*, trans. Van Dam, 7.

In his account of the life of St. Polyeuktos recorded in *Glory of the Martyrs*, Gregory focuses not so much on the life of the saint as on an interaction between Anikia Juliana and the emperor Justinian. In this interaction, Justinian's avarice compels him to request money from the notably affluent Juliana. In an effective attempt to thwart the emperor, Juliana asks builders to adorn the ceiling of the church of St. Polyeuktos with gold, using up any of her funds Justinian coveted. Raymond van Dam translates Gregory's words as follows:

> Juliana, a woman from Constantinople, covered the ceiling of [St. Polyeuktos] with pure gold . . .. When a report of her wealth was recounted by many people and reached the emperor Justinian, he did not hesitate to hurry swiftly to her. He said: 'O venerable mother, I think that you are not unaware how the public treasuries are empty of gold coins at a time when we wish you to be at peace . . .. Therefore, because the power of the divine majesty has given you much gold, I ask that you extend your hand to us and donate some money. . . .' But she saw through the deception of the emperor and wisely concealed what she had dedicated to God. . . . Juliana gathered some craftsmen and secretly gave them whatever gold she could find in her storerooms. She said: 'Go, construct plates to fit the measure of the beams, and decorate the ceiling [of the church] of the blessed martyr Polyeuctus with this gold, so that the hand of this greedy emperor cannot touch these things.'[244]

It is, perhaps, likely that Gregory, a native speaker of Vulgar Latin, used the Latin term *camera* as a means to describe a structure similar to Merovingian church architecture, with which he was more familiar, projecting his own experience of ecclesiastical architecture onto an imagined idea of the structure of St. Polyeuktos in

[244] Gregory, *Glory*, trans. Van Dam, 125.

Constantinople. Very few Merovingian monuments remain intact today, so it is difficult to say with certainty with what kind of a church architecture Gregory was most familiar. Gregory's use of the word *camera* does appear in a description of Merovingian church dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul in his *History of the Franks*.[245] Given his somewhat weak grasp of Classical Latin[246] and his inexperience with Constantinopolitan architecture, it seems most likely Gregory contrived his description of St. Polyeuktos out of what was most familiar to him in a written language the subtleties of which he did not fully grasp. Raymond van Dam also suggests that the writing of Gregory of Tours should not be taken as fact, since his sources varied widely and Gregory admitted that he was not a great student of Latin.[247]

Gregory's story becomes more questionable given the timing of Juliana's death and Justinian I's rise to the throne. Gregory clearly refers to Justinian I as the emperor, so the events related must, theoretically, have taken place after 527 AC, when Justinian I was elevated to augustus, undoubtedly an extremely busy time in his life which required a significant move into the imperial palace, a few months before Justin I's death.[248] Juliana died sometime between 527 and 528 AC.[249] If the reader takes Gregory's narrative as fact, there was a very small window between Justinian

[245] Patrologia Latina, Et quoniam camera cellulae illius prioris eleganti opere fuerat fabricata, indignum duxit sacerdos, ut opera ejus deperirent: sed in honore beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli aliam construxit basilicam, in qua cameram illam affixit.

[246] Henri Leclercq, "St. Gregory of Tours," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 7 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), 25 Jul7 2023, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07018b.htm.

[247] Gregory, *Glory*, trans. Van Dam, 7, 15.

[248] *PLRE* II, 647-648

[249] *PLRE* II, 636.

I's elevation and Juliana's death during which such an exchange could have taken place. Jonathan Bardill argues for an earlier completion date of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos,[250] widening the window of opportunity if the events took place before Justinian I's elevation, but, again, the title of augustus was not bestowed on him until the contended year of or year before Juliana's death. Would the new emperor have had time to attend a meeting with Juliana at all? Further, as Maria Evangelatou has rightly pointed out in a personal communication, it would have taken considerable time to create numerous golden plaques, as Bardill suggests, and then have workers attach them to the ceiling of the church. Juliana's speedy and cunning maneuver described by Gregory of Tours may simply add excitement and drama to the story rather than represent actual truth.

The second volume of *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* indicates that Justinian I was acting as emperor even before his elevation to augustus, so it is possible his request for funds from Juliana occurred within the decade before her death. It is not clear if Gregory would have understood the timing of Justinian's elevation or if he used the title anachronistically. Regardless, it sheds further doubt on the accuracy of Gregory's description and his use of proper terms therein.

Engaging with a Symbolic Legacy

As already mentioned, Juliana's church aligned with important monuments linked to Constantine I and Theodosios I, the church of the Holy Apostles and the

[250] Bardill, "New Temple for Byzantium," 340.

Form of Theodosios respectively. This alignment drew important links not only between the structures, but also between the political status of the matrons/patrons. Like Trajan or Hadrian at the Pantheon before her, Juliana reactivated and asserted her own links to Constantine I and Theodosios I. These links were further memorialized and reactived each Renewal Week when the emperor and his retinue visited or passed these monuments in the procession recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*.

What is important to note about a dome and other luxurious elements at the 6th-century church of St. Polyeuktos was the connection to other illustrious monuments, most notably those with Christian uses, most prominent among which was the Anastasis Rotunda, as discussed above. By employing a dome and other luxury architectural elements, Juliana linked the structure epigrammatically, architecturally, and symbolically to other illustrious monuments seen across the Mediterranean. In this section, I will discuss yet another meaningful connection with a building that was no longer standing in Juliana's time, but was still very prominently present in the Christian and Jewish imagination.

The Jewish Temple

Despite the dismantling and spoliation of the church of St. Polyeuktos by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 AC, Harrison uncovered tantalizing evidence of elaborate mosaics, colorful columns, and beautifully crafted marble conchs, briefly discussed above. As Harrison himself observed, the luxurious decor and the epigram reflect

Juliana's likely conscious decision to emulate Solomon's Temple which is directly mentioned in the epigram of St. Polyeuktos. It says, "[Juliana] alone . . . surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon by raising a habitation for God, whose glittering and elaborate beauty the ages cannot celebrate . . ."[251] Harrison especially observes that the measurements of St. Polyeuktos mimic the measurements of Solomon's Temple as recorded in the Old Testament,[252] and he observed a few other significant parallels between the two monuments.



Figure 72. Carved floral motif from the marble screen at St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.

According to the First Book of Kings, Solomon used only the finest materials to construct the Temple which was covered with numerous vegetal motifs similar to the ones used in the decoration of St. Polyeuktos. For example, some column capitals

[251] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 9, 11.

[252] R.M. Harrison, "The Church of St. Polyeuktos in Istanbul and the Temple of Solomon." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983): 276–279, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41036097. See also Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 137-144. Christine Milner suggests it was more likely Juliana wanted to emulate Ezekiel's temple in "The Image of the Rightful Ruler: Anicia Julaian's Constantine Mosaic in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos," in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 73-81.

unearthed during excavation include beautiful palm motifs and open-flower patterns undoubtedly meant to mimic the Temple decoration (Fig. 72). As recorded in First Kings, "The cedar in the interior of the temple was carved in the form of gourds and open flowers . . .", "[the] walls on all sides of both the inner and the outer rooms had carved figures of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers", and "[the] two doors were . . . carved with figures of cherubim, palm trees and open flowers. The doors were overlaid with gold which was also molded to the cherubim and the palm trees."[253] Another set of doors at the Temple also, ". . . had carved cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers, over which gold was evenly applied."[254] The description conveys sumptuousness and symbolic beauty.

The immense amount of gold mentioned in the First Book of Kings also rhymes with the legend about Juliana and Justinian recorded by Gregory of Tours. Gregory says that in order to outwit Justinian, who coveted her wealth, Juliana melted down her gold in order to create plaques to adorn the ceiling of St. Polyeuktos[255]. The legendary gold plaques echo the substantial use of gold in Solomon's Temple. The Bible indicates that, "The entire temple was overlaid with gold so that it was completely covered with it; the whole altar before the sanctuary was also overlaid with gold . . . "[256] Even without the legendary golden plaques mentioned by Gregory of Tours, the vegetal and floral carvings decorating the walls of the sanctuary probably also evoked the Temple decoration described in the Old Testament.

[253] 1 Kings 6:18, 29, and 32 NAB.
[254] 1 Kings 6:35 NAB.
[255] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 40.
[256] 1 Kings 6: 22 NAB.

The peacock motifs on the conchs that decorated the exedrae may have evoked the many-eyed cherubim mentioned in the First Book of Kings. The circular reliefs that dot the peacock's plumage (Fig. 73) certainly mimic eyes and may stand in for the cherubim.[257]



Figure 73. Detail of peacock plumes from conch at St. Polyeuktos. From Harrison.

As mentioned above, only small fragments of mosaics were unearthed during Harrison's excavation, but they hint at masterful artistry and beautiful embellishments throughout the interior decorative program. Similarly, the description of Solomon's Temple highlights the intricate decoration of the building, created to honor the house of God.

[257] Harrison does not mention this possible link, but rather notes that peacocks were associated with empresses. See Harrison, A *Temple*, 139. I am grateful to Maria Evangelatou for drawing this aspect to my attention in a personal correspondence.

It is unlikely Juliana wanted to replicate Solomon's temple, as Jonathan Bardill avers,[258] but rather to, "match the splendor of his building" as Harrison convincingly argues.[259] The differences between replicating a legendarily beautiful and religiously important building and matching or emulating such a building are important to observe. Further, it is possible Juliana intended to fund a building that syncretized prestigious Roman architecture, like the Pantheon, with a religiously significant monument, like the Jewish Temple; in this way, Juliana forged a path forward for uniquely Christian architecture that improved upon and superseded the religious monuments of the past, both pagan or Jewish.

Using the Biblical temple description and dimensions as models for Christian buildings was common in the Middle Ages and added to the religious prestige of a structure.[260] The Theodosian commitment to developing Constantinople as a center of politics, commerce, culture, and religion undoubtedly influenced Juliana to matronize a building deeply connected to her matrilineal dynasty; doing so would elevate the city to rival the importance of Jerusalem, the center of Christianity, through a monument, such as St. Polyeuktos, that superseded the Jewish Temple. By calling the Jewish Temple to mind in both the epigram and in the decorative program, Juliana actively engaged in establishing Constantinople as a new Jerusalem,[261] and aligned

[258] Bardill, "A New Temple," 345.
[259] Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 137.
[260] Ousterhout, "New Temples and New Solomons," 225, 233.
[261] Ousterhout, "New Temples and New Solomons," 248. Rene Pfeilschifter, "Always in Second Place: Constantinople as an Imperial and Religious Center in Late Antiquity," in *City of Caesar, City of God: Constantinople and Jerusalem in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Konstantin M. Klein and Johannes Wienand, 39-67 (Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2022), accessed March 18, 2024, ProQuest Ebook Central.

her matronage with the patronage of Constantine, who, as Robert Ousterhout has demonstrated, attempted to create a new Temple at sites like the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[262] Indeed, if St. Polyeuktos had a dome, it combined the most prominent element of the new Temple of Jerusalem, the domed Anastasis Rotunda, with elements of the old Jewish Temple, through the dimensions, decoration, and luxury materials, in a daring move that allowed Juliana to claim that she had, indeed, "surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon."[263]

The Church of St. Polyeuktos in Recent Literature

Until now, scholars have diminished the prestige and influence of Juliana's matronage, because it remains ensnared in scholarship which has traditionally elevated the work of men and depreciated the activities of women. Martin Harrison paved the way for approaching the church of St. Polyeuktos and its matron more equitably. So, instead of using terms with negative connotations, such as gaudy or an audacious anomaly,[264] I would like to encourage the use of more positive words, like unique, unparalleled or innovative in a further attempt to disentangle the work of matrons from patriarchal, even misogynist, trappings.

Juliana's important church belongs to the category of important Constantinopolitan monuments such as Hagia Sophia, and the Church of the Holy

[262] See Ousterhout, "New Temples and New Solomons," 223-253.
[263] *Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 9.
[264] Bardill calls the monument gaudy. See Bardill, "New Temple," 339. Ousterhout calls the monument an audacious anomaly. See Ousterhout, "New Temples and New Solomons," 252.

Apostles, yet it is rarely mentioned in current textbooks. *Gardner's Art Through the Ages*, a textbook adopted by many high school and college art history instructors references St. Polyeuktos in two sentences.[265] Arguably, Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos is as pivotal to the trajectory of architectural history as Old St. Peter's, which students know mainly from reconstructions as it is shown in *Gardner's Art Through the Ages*.[266]

A more recent source, "A Guide to Byzantine Art," hosted by *Smarthistory*, mentions St. Polyeuktos in passing, similar to Kleiner's textbook.[267] The columns taken from St. Polyeuktos and placed outside of the Basilica San Marco are illustrated and discussed in the ebook in some detail.[268] *Smarthistory* resources are increasingly accessed in art history classrooms, both in high schools and colleges, because they are free to use. Robert Ousterhout, author of sections of the ebook, includes maps of Constantinople that do not even include St. Polyeuktos even though it was an important monument along the Mese.[269] Ousterhout references and illustrates more obscure monuments, however, such as the church of Meriamlik, likely funded by

[265] Fred S. Kleiner, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages: A Global History*, 16th edition (Boston: Cengage, 2020), 266. Kleiner et al mention Juliana's portrait in the *Vienna Dioskorides,* but do not mention the broader and noteworthy impact Juliana had on Constantinople.

[266] Fred S. Kleiner, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages: A Global History*, 16th edition (Boston: Cengage, 2020), 249-251. The space created for Old St. Peter's, a no longer extant monument, is striking in comparison to the space for St. Polyeuktos.

[267] See Evan Freeman and Anne McClanan, eds., "Guide to Byzantine Art," in *Smarthistory*, September 2, 2021, accessed March 5, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/guide-to-byzantine-art/.

[268] Nicolette S. Trahoulia, Byzantine Art and the Fourth Crusade, "Guide to Byzantine Art," 349-351.

[269] Robert Ousterhout, The origins of Byzantine architecture, "Guide to Byzantine Art," in *Smarthistory,* eds. Evan Freeman and Anne McClanan, 71, September 2, 2021, accessed March 5, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/guide-to-byzantine-art/. Robert Ousterhout, Early Byzantine architecture after Constantine, "Guide to Byzantine Art," in *Smarthistory,* eds. Evan Freeman and Anne McClanan, 85, September 2, 2021, accessed March 5, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/guide-to-byzantine-art/.

Emperor Zeno, which he describes as domed although the remains of the church are inconclusive,[270] while he fully dismisses the possibility St. Polyeuktos was domed, writing that, "Although [Saint] Polyeuktos, built in Constantinople by Justinian's rival Juliana Anicia, is normally reconstructed as a domed basilica—and thus suggested to be the forerunner of [Hagia] Sophia—it was unlikely domed, although it was certainly [Hagia] Sophia's predecessor in lavishness."[271] The incongruous treatment of the two monuments is striking.

So many students remain unaware of the importance of Juliana's matronage and the significance of St. Polyeuktos in the development of Early Byzantine architecture. Consequently, they do not understand the full context of the time period and the nuances of Justinianic architecture. Excluding Juliana's matronage and monuments from literature geared toward a broad audience continues to erase women and their achievements from the historical record in ways detrimental to students today.

Conclusion

The archaeological evidence and the architectural trends of Juliana's cultural milieu convincingly suggest the early-sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos was

[270] Robert Ousterhout, Innovative architecture in the age of Justinian, "Guide to Byzantine Art," in *Smarthistory,* eds. Evan Freeman and Anne McClanan, 89, September 2, 2021, accessed March 5, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/guide-to-byzantine-art/. For a full discussion of the Meriamlik church, see Troels Myrup Kristensen, "Cult of Thekla at Meriamlik," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 24, no 2 (2016): 229–63, https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.2016.0019.

[271] Robert Ousterhout, The origins of Byzantine architecture, "Guide to Byzantine Art," in *Smarthistory,* eds. Evan Freeman and Anne McClanan, 71, September 2, 2021, accessed March 5, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/guide-to-byzantine-art/.

domed. By paying for a domed monument in the heart of the late ancient city, Juliana recalled important monuments linked to her Roman predecessors, her noble ancestresses, and the more recent protocol to construct Constantinople as a nexus of imperial, political and religious consequence to rival the cities of Rome and Jerusalem, among other reputable spiritually important cities across the Mediterranean.

Most scholars agree that, at the very least, the luxury and opulence of Juliana's St. Polyeuktos impacted the decoration and luxury of Justinian I's Hagia Sophia. If Juliana's team of builders and craftspeople were able to construct a concrete dome over a fenestrated, brick drum, this would mean that Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus were likely directly drawing on Juliana's monument; Anthemius and Isidore's Hagia Sophia was constructed with a drum and it was later modified, after an earthquake, with a dome resting directly on pendentives, as mentioned above. A dome at St. Polyeuktos pushes the development of domed basilica earlier, even if only by ten to twenty years. Of course, the impact of Hagia Sophia's architecture continued to echo across time; Ottoman architects were also inspired by the form at Hagia Sophia,[272] but if the Constantinopolitan cathedral was inspired by Juliana's church, then her visionary matronage lies at the root of the architectural genealogy.

[272] Elizabeth Macaulay and Steven Zucker, "Mimar Sinan, Şehzade Mosque, Istanbul," in *Smarthistory*, September 15, 2022, accessed March 17, 2024, https://smarthistory.org/mimar-sinan-sehzade-mosque-istanbul/.

Juliana's innovative building, dedicated to St. Polyeuktos, connected it and its matron to other original monuments, like the church at the Pool of Siloam, purportedly funded by her great-grandmother, Augusta Aelia Eudokia, and even more important, domed monuments like the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Pantheon in Rome. The idea that Juliana wanted to supersede the religious importance of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem with the church of St. Polyeuktos firmly links her monument with the idea of Constantinople as a new Jerusalem.[273]

The importance of Juliana's church of St. Polyeuktos deserves much more attention. It would be most beneficial to revisit the archaeological site with digital tools like LiDAR or photogrammetry. Digital tools might allow us to learn more information about the site that excavation might have missed.[274] They are also less invasive than other excavation techniques. With a deeper understanding of the site and the likely appearance of the superstructure, perhaps Juliana's monument will be more palatable for scholars to include in general surveys and guides to the history of Byzantine art and architecture.

[273] It might also be a way to supersede Rome, which ostensibly fell after the reign of Juliana's father, Anikios Olybrios in the 470s AC.

[274] In a recent presentation at the University of California, Santa Cruz, Mohammad Abdelaziz demonstrated the benefit of photogrammetry for understanding archaeological sites in more detail.

Chapter 5

"Oblivion does not quench the labors of industrious virtue"[1]: Final remarks on Juliana's matronage

Introduction

Although her name only appears now in a few paragraphs or even sentences in texts dedicated to Early Byzantine visual, architectural, and material culture, I have shown here that Juliana's matronage was important and deeply relevant to religion, politics, and culture in early-sixth century Constantinople. The churches she renewed, especially St. Polyeuktos and St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, continued to play a special and significant role in the imperial ceremonies for centuries later. The messaging she disseminated through her matronage likely made legible and powerful impressions on the Constantinopolitan public.

The importance of her matrilineage reveals an aspect of kin relationships that have often eluded clear understanding. Since there is little textual information about women-to-women kinship links from the period, Juliana's emphasis on her female lineage demonstrates the importance of these relationships quite clearly. Using the gynocentric lens applied in this study reveals the ways in which women may have viewed each other and the ways in which they celebrated one another. Juliana's celebration of her ancestresses through her cultural matronage across the city of

[1] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 13.

Constantinople makes more clear the reality of women's lives beyond the stereotypes recorded in many primary sources.

Areas for further study

Another important element, other than the description of the appearance of light within the interior of St. Polyeuktos, are the references to sound. The epigram at St. Polyeuktos states, "What quire is sufficient to chant the works of Juliana. . .,"[2] "What singer of skilful works shall now hasten to the west . . .,"[3] "Every country cries, every city . . ."[4] and "The inhabitants of the whole world sing thy works . . .". [5] The epigrams illustrate choirs and singers that may have actually sung within the hallowed walls renewed by Juliana.[6] So many references to sound and singing would certainly make an important impression on the reader or hearer of the epigrams. Would they have been able to hear music from atrium as they approached the church on the massive staircase?

Yes, an interesting area to explore with regard to Juliana's architectural achievement would mean understanding how was music used in sixth-century Constantinopolitan churches. This would require a good understanding of what

[2] *The Greek Anthology*, Paton, trans. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), 9.
[3] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 9.
[4] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 7.
[5] *The Greek Anthology*, trans. Paton, 9.
[6] Ruth Webb recently discussed the importance of ekphrasis on the embodied experience. Her work has interesting implications for future analysis of St. Polyeuktos. See Ruth Webb, "Spatiality, embodiment, and agency in ekphraseis of church buildings," in *Aural Architecture in Byzantium: Music, Acoustics, and Ritual*, Bissera V. Pentcheva, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2018), Kindle.

music, if known, was sung for certain rituals or ceremonies, like those performed on Easter Monday.

The imagery of baptism at St. Polyeuktos, especially that of Constantine I, is also an area deserving of further attention. Christina Maranci and Ivan Foletti have individually demonstrated some fascinating ways to explore architecture, sound, and liturgical practice at the church of St. Gregory in Ani, Armenia, and Santa Sabina in Rome respectively.[7] Was St. Polyeuktos an important site for Christian initiates during or around the time of their baptism? Of course, the importance of the site during Renewal Week, as described in the *Book of Ceremonies*, might hint at a link to baptism, since baptisms were often (and still are often) performed during the liturgical Easter season.

A better understanding of the care of Juliana's monuments after her death would clarify how buildings were maintained for posterity. The ultimate demise of the church of St. Polyeuktos might create a better understanding of the later Middle Ages, especially in Constantinople, as well. By when did the church start to fall into disrepair? As others and I have shown, the church must have been in a significant state of disrepair by 1204, perhaps mostly caused by the purported earthquake.[8] The

[7] Christina Maranci, "Sights and Sounds of the Armenian Night Office, as Performed at Ani: A Collation of the Archaeological, Historical, and Liturgical Evidence," in *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art*, Bissera V. Pentcheva, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2021), Kindle, and Ivan Foletti, "Singing Doors: Images, Space, and Sound in the Santa Sabina Narthex," in *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art*, Bissera V. Pentcheva, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2021), Kindle.

[8] Jonathan Bardill, "Église Saint-Polyeucte à Constantinople: Nouvelle solution pour l'énigme de sa reconstitution," in *Architecture Paléochrétienne*, Jean-Michel Spieler, ed. (Paris: Infolio, 2011), 79.

Book of Ceremonies, written in the tenth century AC,[9] however, indicates it was a stop during imperial processions during Renewal Week, as mentioned previously. As such, it is not likely imperial processions would have made stops at a crumbling structure. What was the life of St. Polyeuktos after Juliana?

The possibilities of digital tools

Medievalists, among others, are now engaging more with digital tools to simulate the Medieval past in order to expand the boundaries of inquiry and creatively hypothesize about lived experiences untraceable in the textual record, like women and members of the general populace. As Dennis Tenen wrote, "Tools are great when they save time, but not when they shield us from the complexity of thought."[10] Wonderfully, the digital tools available for scholars at present allow for sophisticated inquiry.

Role-playing games are being used by scholars like Lynn Ramey to understand culture and language exchange more clearly.[11] The ways in which virtual or simulated environments could expand the understanding of Juliana's matronage, especially the church of St. Polyeuktos are, in a word: exciting.

[9] Michael McCormick, "De Ceremoniis," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Alexander Kazhdan, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-1386.

[10] Dennis Tenen, "Blunt Instrumentalism: On Tools and Methods," in *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein, eds. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 89.

[11] See Lynn Ramey, et al, "Revisioning the Global Middle Ages: Immersive Environments for Teaching Medieval Languages and Culture," *Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures* 8, no. 1 (2019): 86-104, https://doi.org/10.1353/dph.2019.0016.

The use of digital tools to more clearly understand Juliana's St. Polyeuktos can augment the analysis of the sounds and music that may have been heard there discussed above. Bissera V. Pentcheva recently recorded the effects of sound in Hagia Sophia.[12] This effect has been captured digitally and was applied to the voices of Capella Romana to simulate hearing the choir in Hagia Sophia.[13] Especially since the 2020 reversion of Hagia Sophia into an active mosque, the soundscape of Hagia Sophia has changed dramatically.[14] As Richard Shusterman wrote, "The soma [body] is thus what enables us to appreciate not only the visual effects and structural design features that rely on perceiving distance and depth, but also the multi sensorial feelings of moving through space (with their kinesthetic, tactile, proprioceptive qualities) that are crucial to the experience of living with, in, and through architecture."[15] Pentcheva's recording thus allows listeners to viscerally understand the somatic, especially auditory, experience of Hagia Sophia and this simulated somatic experience could also extend to the likely experience of visitors to St. Polyeuktos. In turn, this might help us understand the experience of the Christian initiate if they were baptized at St. Polyeuktos.

The embodied experience of poorly preserved spaces is more attainable through digital tools. As Richard Shusterman wrote, "If architecture is the articulation

[12] Sam Harnett, "The Sound Of The Hagia Sophia, More Than 500 Years Ago," *NPR*, February 22, 2020, https://www.npr.org/2020/02/22/808404928/listen-the-sound-of-the-hagia-sophia-more-than-500-years-ago.

[13] Sam Harnett, "The Sound Of The Hagia Sophia."

[14] The plush and attractive carpeting that has been added has changed the acoustics of the space.

[15] Richard Shusterman, *Thinking through the Body: Essays in Somaesthetics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 224.

of space for the purpose of enhancing our living, dwelling, and experience, then the soma provides the most basic tool for all spatial articulation by constituting the point from which space can be experienced and articulated."[16] As an elite female living in Constantinople in the early-6th century, Juliana's plans and choices for St. Polyeuktos expressed her bodily experience and in turn impacted the bodily experiences of viewers of or visitors to the church. Shusterman also wrote that, "The soma provides that primordial point of view through its location both in physical and social space."[17] Using a simulated, digital version of St. Polyeuktos, it would be possible to analyze the movement around the space and better understand the relationship between the visitor/viewer and the ekphrastic epigram that decorated the naos. The simulation might even expand the understanding of Juliana's kinship with her female ancestors, specifically Augusta Aelia Eudokia.

The mode of disseminating the digital projects related to St. Polyeuktos are also important. Many schools and institutions are increasingly being equipped with the technology needed for students to engage with simulations and reconstructions. Sharing the digitized simulations with these institutions would finally supersede the paltry information in textbooks and other didactic about Juliana available to students now.

Many of the elements of this project, discussed in more detail below, are available to view on StoryMaps.[18] StoryMaps, part of the ArcGIS system, an online

[16] Shusterman, *Thinking through the Body,* 224.
[17] Shusterman, *Thinking through the Body,* 224.
[18] Please visit https://arcg.is/5Cemy to see more.

platform through which users can analyze geospatial data to make inferences and draw conclusions. Through StoryMaps, all the aspects of the project here can be put together to help students understand the information we know about Juliana, her matronage, and the urban landscape of Constantinople more clearly.

Digital simulation

The nature of the historical record means that it is very difficult to understand the lived experiences of women, even elite women, of Late Antiquity and Byzantium. A digital simulation of St. Polyeuktos will allow for a better understanding of this lived experience. Miriam Posner wrote, "To recover something of the lives of people long gone is to recover something about our shared human potential, vulnerability, and responsibility. To study a culture of the past with respect for its idiosyncrasies is a practice that teaches us to acknowledge diversity and be inclusive in the present. "[19] Along these lines, I have mentioned, Juliana obviously made choices for the decoration of the church of St. Polyeuktos that carefully inserted women into ecclesiastical spaces usually forbidden to women. The digital simulation of the church, coupled with a careful study of liturgy and ceremony recorded in texts like menalogia and typika, could reveal even more spaces within the church in which Juliana metaphorically inserted herself or her ancestress. As Maria Evangelatou wrote, ". . . since so little survives of female voices . . . the best we can often do is contemplate possible scenarios that could have un-folded in specific contexts (and

[19] Maria Evangelatou, "Looking Backward into the Future: Thoughts on the Study of the Past, Ritual, and Women's Eucharistic Experiences in Byzantium," *Refract* 5, no. 1 (2022): 3, https://doi.org/10.5070/R75159688

never lose sight of their hypothetical nature)."[20] It is with this critical approach that I hope to continue to understand Juliana and her matronage, and to create digital tools to educate others.

One provocative avenue for future research includes developing a virtual user experience[21] in which a student follows the routes described in the *Book of Ceremonies*. Such an experience would allow for some important observations about the rituals recorded in the text more clearly realized by virtually traveling the path. Because Constantinople was purposefully built in a hilly area, the exhaustion of the walk are less obvious to readers. Further, the movement from what might be a bright space outside a church, to a more dimly light space within would certainly have a potent effect on church visitors and this effect would be more easily understood using a virtual environment.

Using these tools to develop critical thinking and teasing out details about lived experiences will undoubtedly help students observe constructed spaces more critically and augment their visual literacy.[22] As Miriam Posner wrote, "One great value of rigorous critical inquiry is that you can help people see how this was all

[20] Evangelatou, "Looking Backward into the Future," 6.

[21] I use the phrase " virtual user experience" in lieu of role-playing-game to avoid any implications of triviality connoted by the noun "game."

[22] Miriam Posner, "What's Next: The Radical, Unrealized Potential of Digital Humanites," in *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein, eds. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 35.

constructed, and to what ideological ends."[23] Indeed, the benefits of digital simulation in the art and architectural history classroom are immense.[24]

Mapping

The use of mapping tools can lead to important hypothesizing. For this dissertation, I used QGIS or Quantum GIS, a Geographic Information System (GIS) software to identifying the sites in Constantinople associated with Juliana. QGIS, a free and open source software, allows me to use Global Positioning System (GPS) points to identify locations of monuments within a fair degree of accuracy. Visualizing the relationships between the monuments permits sophisticated inference making and a better understanding of Juliana's matronage. The maps I created illustrate the relationships between monuments and regions that may not be as clear when reading about them in primary sources like the *Notitia*.

For the dissertation, I wanted to document two different sets of data. One set would identify the locations of Juliana's foundations in Constantinople. I opined that these sites and their immediate vicinities would help in understanding Juliana's motivations for matronage in specific regions. The second set of information charts

[23] Posner, "What's Next," 35.

[24] For more information about exciting digital projects, see Christopher Johanson, "Visualizing History: Modeling in the Eternal City," *Visual Resources* 25, no. 4 (2009): 403–418, https://doi.org/10.1080/01973760903331924, Nicola Lercari and Gesualdo Busacca "A Glimpse through Time and Space: Visualizing Spatial Continuity and History Making at Çatalhöyük, Turkey," *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies* 8, no.2 (2020): 99–122, https://doi.org/10.5325/jeasmedarcherstu.8.2.0099, and Elaine A. Sullivan, *Constructing the Sacred: Visibility and Ritual Landscape at the Egyptian Necropolis of Saqqara* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020), https://doi.org/10.21627/2020cts.

monuments with significant imperial connotations and placed prominently across the city. I surmised that apart from Juliana's matrilineage, she had an eye for the placement of her churches in relation to other significant Christian and imperial monuments.

The first step in creating the maps using QGIS was to collect information about each site. Using Internet searches, I identified the GPS coordinates of some sites while, for others, I layered maps on top of one another within the software program. From this information, I was able to plot out the points of relevance to my study.

Other scholars and researchers have created maps that chart coastlines and other geographic features from earlier time periods. Consulting these maps allowed me to better understand the geographic makeup of early sixth-century Constantinople more clearly. For example, maps indicating elevation reveal that St. Polyeuktos and St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou, while prominently situated on the Mese, were also located between the third and fourth hill of Constantinople. As such, the processional stops between the Church of the Holy Apostles and the imperial complex on the Bosporos mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, would have been moving downhill from the Church of the Holy Apostles when they arrived at St. Polyeuktos and then St. Euphemia in ta Olybriou. After their visit to St. Euphemia, the procession would have then traveled uphill for the next stop. The observations I made using the maps and the primary sources explain the somatic experience of the procession walkers.

Areas for caution

The *Book of Ceremonies* provides detailed information about processions and rituals in Constantinople, but may do so in a biased or fantasized way.[25] That is to say, the rituals and processions may not be perfectly accurate but rather indicate the ideal. The purported author, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, relied on early sources that recorded ceremonies and rituals that may have become obsolete by the author's lifetime.[26] Although it is an important record, reliance on it should be tempered through the use of other sources such as the typika and menalogia mentioned above.

Digital tools should also be used with some caution. Although virtual simulations can elicit authentic responses,[27] it is important to note that the experience remains a simulation: nothing will recreate the sensations of a real space. The utility of digital tools, however, to explore visual and material culture are undeniable.

Final remarks

After Juliana's death, her legacy remained intact through her matronage. Her religious convictions were upheld during the more orthodox reigns of Justin I and Justinian I. Her churches remained important imperial monuments for centuries later. The treatment of her matronage and especially the church of St. Polyeuktos deserve

[25] McCormick, "De Ceremoniis."
[26] McCormick, "De Ceremoniis."
[27] Daniel A. Hackman, Stephanie A. Robert, Jascha Grübel, Raphael P. Weibel, Eirini Anagnostou, Christoph Hölscher, and Victor R Schinazi, "Neighborhood Environments Influence Emotion and Physiological Reactivity," *Scientific Reports* 9, no. 1 (2019): 9498–11, https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-019-45876-8.

more equitable attention within the history of Late Antique and Early Byzantine visual and material culture: referring to St. Polyeuktos as "gaudy" totally disregards the customary and opulent decorative treatment of church interiors.[28]

This dissertation is an attempt to shift the perspectives on Juliana and reframe the importance of the monuments she funded. The evidence indicates that the matron and her churches were important within the city and to the public at large. Certainly, Hagia Sophia was an important church and Justinian I an important patron, but the case study of Juliana illustrates the plurality of philanthropists in the Roman capital in the early-sixth century and sites that were important to the public.

The study of the tradition matronage has merely scratched the proverbial surface when it comes to what we can understand about people and the places and times they lived through scholarship. Approaching the material with equity in mind will reveal the vibrancy of any cultural milieux, . Exploring the ways in which people shared their largesse in their communities remains an important area of study.

[28] Jonathan Bardill, "A New Temple for Byzantium: Anicia Juliana, King Solomon, and the Gilded Ceiling of the Church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople," in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, William Bowden, Adam Gutteridge, and Carlos Machado, eds., 339 (Leiden ; Brill, 2006).

Appendix A

On the Church of the Holy Martyr Polyeuctus

Eudocia the empress, eager to honor God, first built here a temple of Polyeuctus the servant of God. But she did not make it as great and beautiful as it is, to from any economy or lack of possessions–what doth a queen lack?–but because her prophetic soul told her that she should leave a family well knowing how better to adorn it. Whence Juliana, the glory of her blessed parents, inheriting their royal blood in the fourth generation, did not defeat the hopes of the Queen, the mother of a noble race, but raised this from a small temple to its present size and beauty, increasing the glory of her many-sceptered ancestors; for all that she made, she made more magnificent than they, holding the true faith of a mind devoted to Christ. Who hath not heard of Juliana, how in her pious care she glorified even her parents by fair-fashioned works? All alone, by her righteous toil she built a worthy house to immortal Polyeuctus, for she had ever studied to give blameless gifts to all athletes of the Heavenly King. Every country cries, every city, that she made her parents more glorious by better works. Where do we not find that Juliana hath raised splendid temples to the Saints? Where do we not see the signs of the pious hand of thee alone? What place hath not learnt that thy mind is full of piety? The inhabitants of the whole world sing thy works, which are eternally remembered. For the works of piety are not hidden; oblivion doth not quench the labors of beneficent virtue. Not even thyself knoweth how many houses dedicated to God thy hand hat made; for thou alone, I ween, didst build innumerable temples all over the world, ever fearing the servants of God in Heaven. Following by her good works all the footsteps of her parents she made the fame of her race immortal, always walking in the whole path of piety. Therefore, all ye servants of the Heavenly King to whom she gave gifts or built temples, preserve her gladly with her son and his daughters, and may the immeasurable glory of the most beneficent family survive as long as the Sun drives his burning chariot.

At the Entrance of the same Church, outside the Narthex towards the Apse

What quire is sufficient to chant the works of Juliana, who after Constantine, the adorner of his Rome, and after the holy golden light of Theodosius, and after so many royal ancestors, in a few years accomplished a work worthy of her race, yea, more than worthy? She alone did violence to Time and surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon by raising a habitation for God, whose glittering and elaborate beauty the ages cannot celebrate–how it rises from its deep-rooted foundations, running up from the ground and aspiring to the stars of heaven, and how from east to west it extends itself glittering with unspeakable brightness in the sunlight on both sides! On either side of its aisle columns standing on firm columns support the rays of the golden dome, while on each side arched recesses scattered on the dome reproduce the ever-

revolving light of the moon. The opposite walls in innumerable paths are clothed in marvelous metallic veins of color, like flowery meadows which Nature made to flower in the depth of the rock, and hid their glory, keeping them for the House of God, to be the gift of Juliana, so that she might produce a divine work, following in her toil the stainless dictates of her heart. What singer of skilful works shall now hasten to the west, armed with a hundred eyes, and read aright the various devices on the walls, gazing on the circle of the shining house, one story set on another? There you may see a marvelous creation of the holy pencils above the centre of the porch, the wise Constantine, how escaping from the idols he quenched the impious fury of the heathen and found the light of the Trinity by cleansing his limbs in water. Such is the labour that Juliana, after a countless swarm of labours, accomplished for the souls of her parents, and for her own life, and for that of those who are and shall be.

On St. Euphemia of Olybrius
I am the House of the Trinity, and three generations built me. First Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius, having escaped from war and the barbarians, erected and dedicated me to God in acknowledgement of her rescue from distress. Next her daughter Placidia with her most blessed husband adorned me. Thirdly, if perchance my beauty was at all deficient in splendour, munificent Juliana invested me with it in memory of her parents, and bestowed the height of glory on her mother and father and her mother's illustrious mother by augmenting my former adornment. Thus was I made.

In the Same Church, inside the Gallery
I had loveliness before, but now in addition to my former beauty I have acquired greater splendour.

Another
Thus did Juliana, after her mother and grandmother, scrape off my coat of old age, and I have new bloom.

Another
There was then something more beautiful than beauty, since my fabric, even formerly of world-wide celebrity, was advanced to a beauty greater than its former splendour by Juliana, so that now it rivals the stars.

Another
Juliana had the Martyr herself, the Patroness of the church, to inspire and help the artificers. For never would she have accomplished otherwise so vast and beautiful a work, full of heavenly splendour.

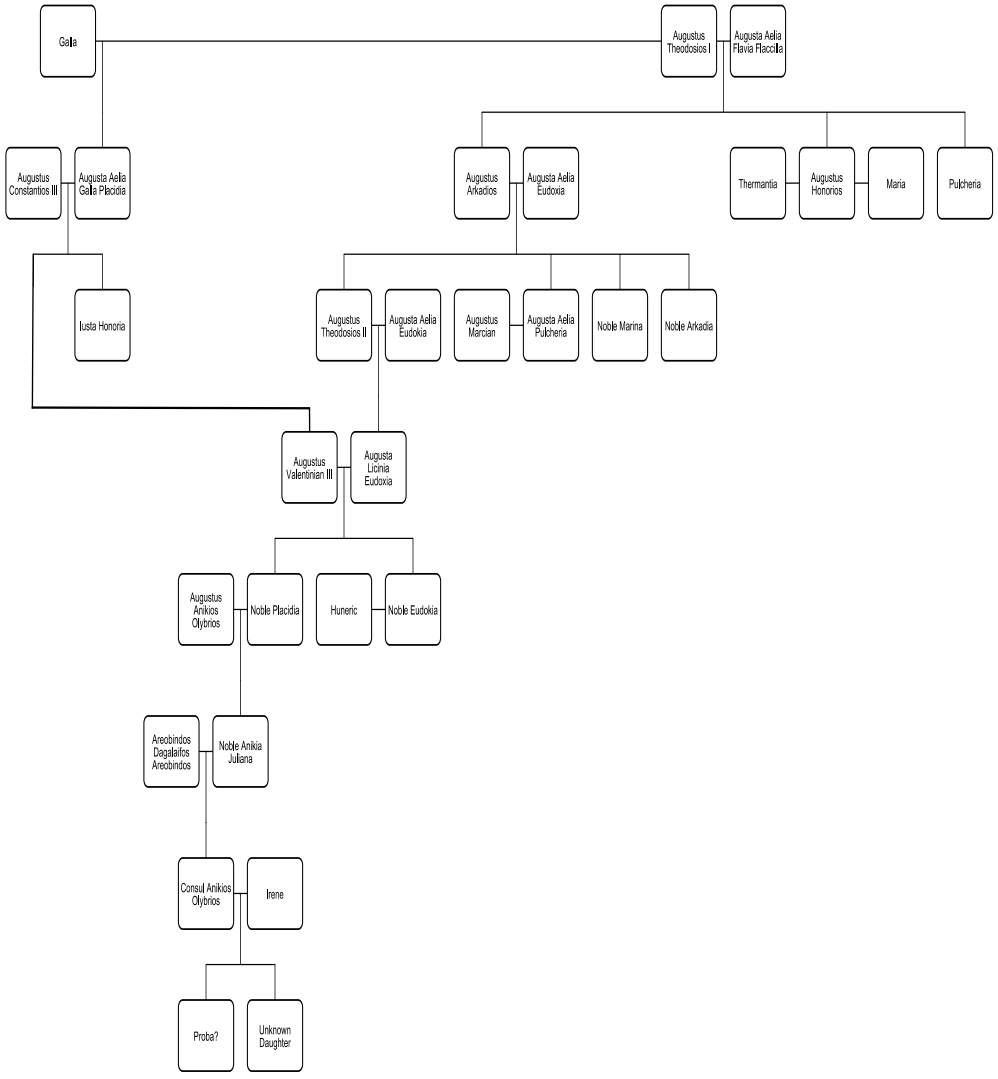
Another

No longer dost thou marvel at the glory of them who are passed away: by their art they did not leave a fame so great as is the glory of wise Juliana, who by her work surpassed the skilled design of her ancestors.[1]

[1] *The Greek Anthology*, W.R. Paton, trans. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), 7, 9, 11, 13 15.

Appendix B

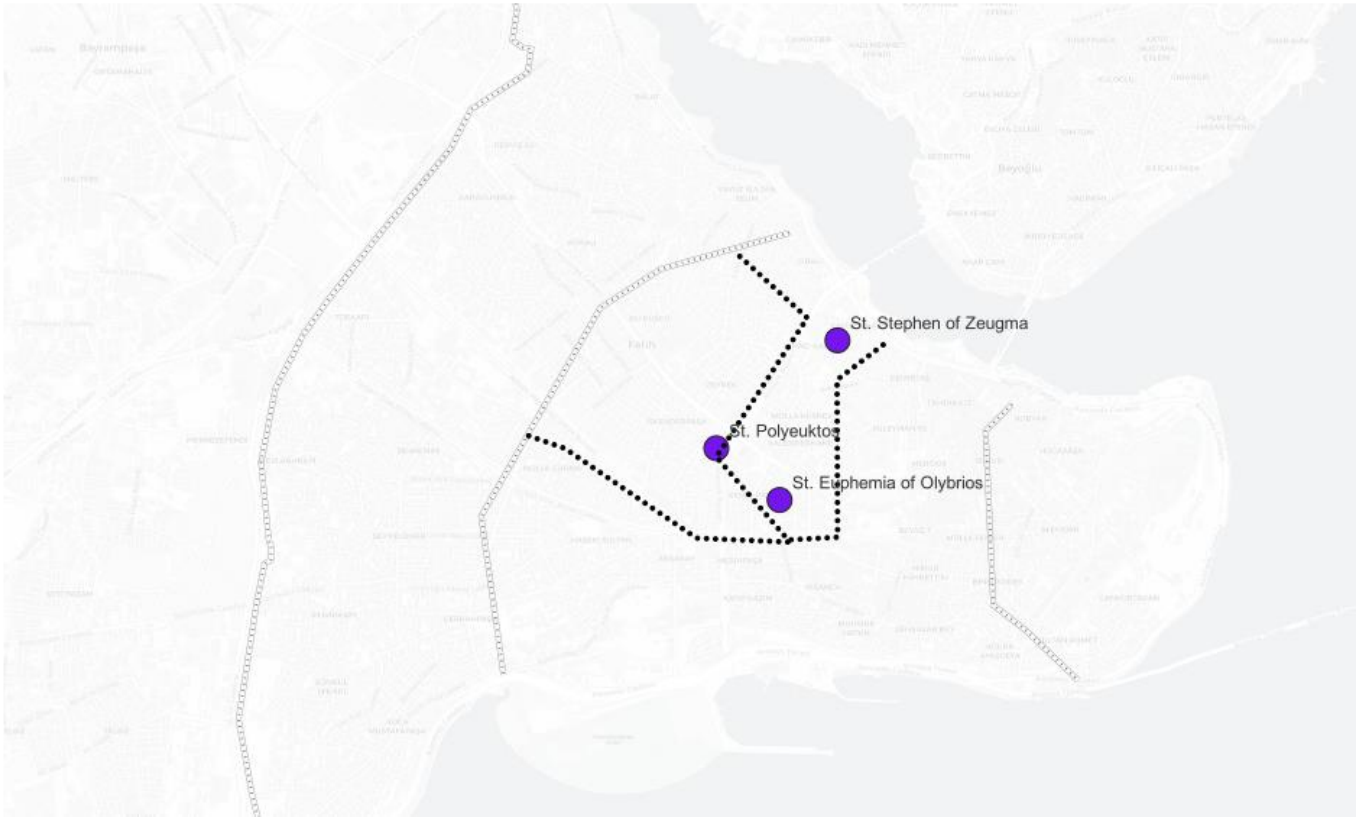
Juliana's Family Tree



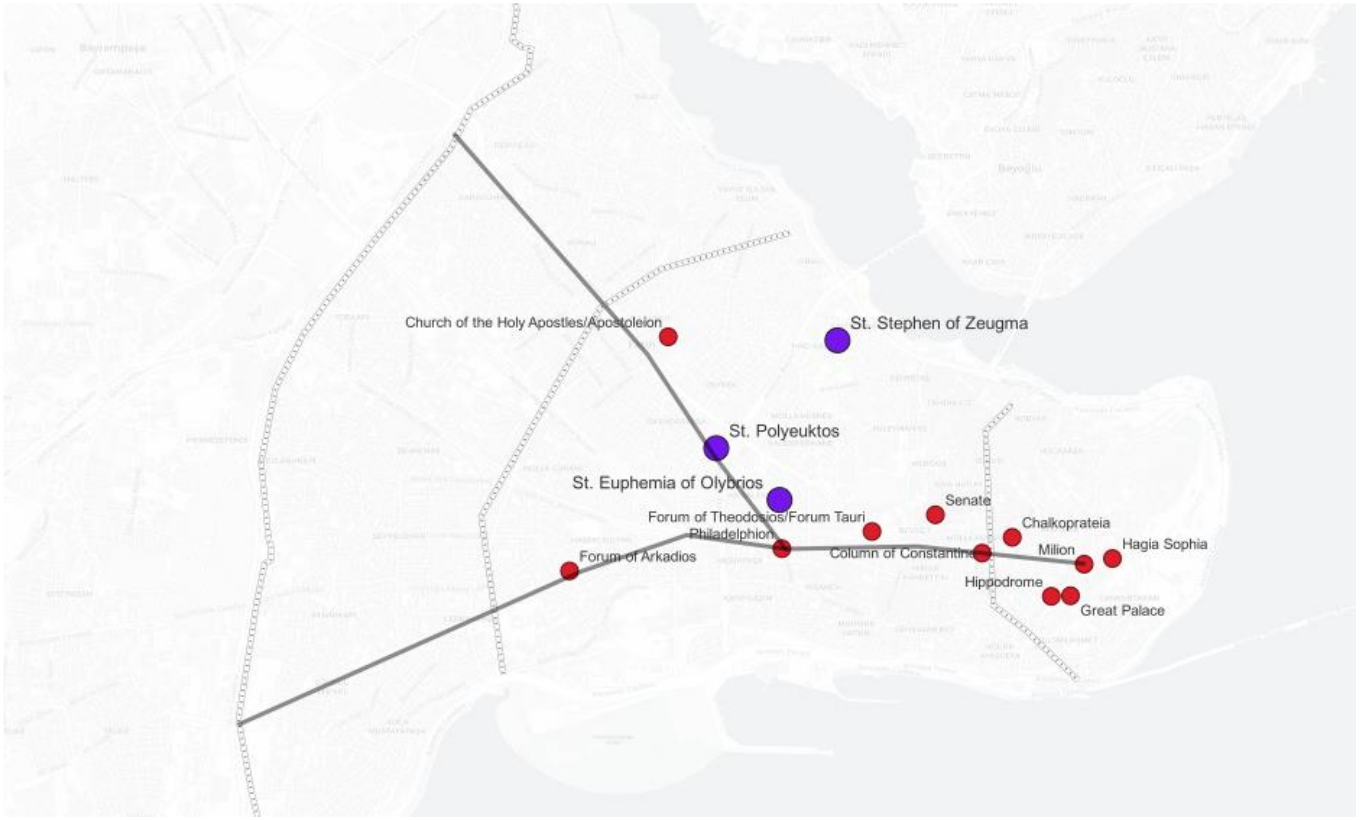
Appendix C



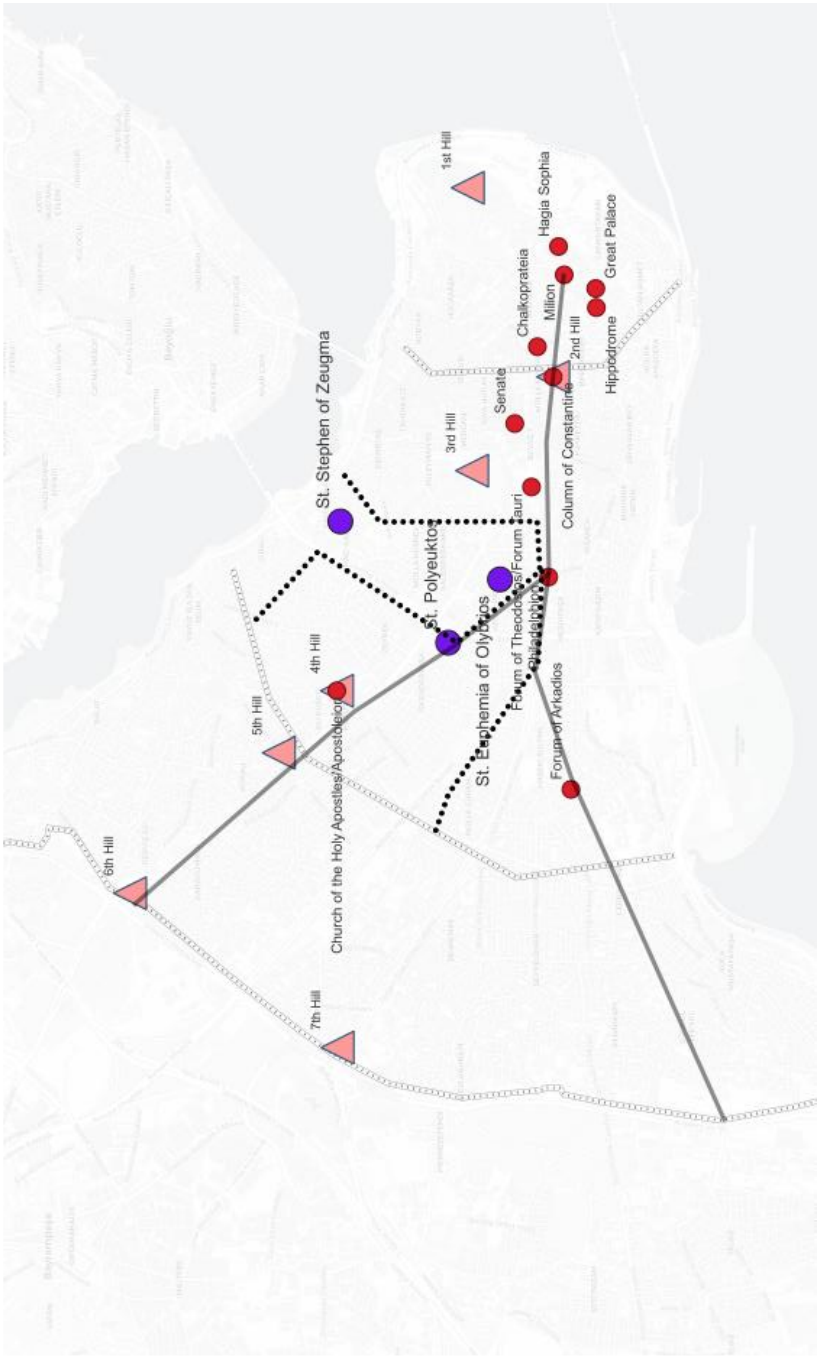
The hills and walls of Constantinople.



The tenth and eleventh regions of Constantinople.



Juliana's monuments and other imperial monuments in Constantinople



Fully annotated map of Constantinople.

Bibliography

Adams, J. N. "Latin Words for 'Woman' and 'Wife.'" *Glotta* 50, no. 3/4 (1972): 234–55. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40266240.

Anevlavi, V., C. Cenati, W. Prochaska, S. Ladstätter, S. Ganor, and R. Bar-Nathan. "The Marbles of the Basilica of Ascalon: Another Example of the Severan Building Projects." *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 14, no. 3 (2022). https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-022-01518-1.

Anghelescu, Gheorghe F. "The Holy Empress Pulcheria in Light of Recent Research." *International Journal of Theology, Philosophy and Science* 6, no. 10 (2022): 55–60. https://doi.org/10.26520/ijtps.2022.6.10.55-60.

"Anicia Juliana." *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2014. Accessed April 29, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Amunátegui Perelló, Carlos. "Twelve Tables." *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 7 Mar. 2016; Accessed 21 Oct. 2023. https://oxfordre-com.oca.ucsc.edu/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-6614.

Arjava, Antti. *Women and Law In Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb.04263. EPUB.

Armstrong, Gregory T. "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 1 (1974): 5–16. https://doi.org/10.2307/988835.

———. "Imperial Church Building and Church-State Relations, A. D. 313-363." *Church History* 36, no. 1 (1967): 3–17. https://doi.org/10.2307/3162340.

Ashkenazi, Jacob. "Eudocia, Pulcheria, and Juvenal." In *Essays on Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity in Honour of Oded Irshai*, edited by Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Martin Goodman. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2023. Accessed January 11, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Bacigalupo, A., A. Brencich, and L. Gambarotta. "A Simplified Assessment of the Dome and Drum of the Basilica of S. Maria Assunta in Carignano in Genoa." *Engineering Structures* 56 (2013): 749–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.engstruct.2013.05.006.

Balfour, Alan. *Solomon's Temple Myth, Conflict, and Faith*. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Bauman, Richard A. *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1994. Accessed July 20, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Bernabei, Mauro, Jarno Bontadi, Rosella Rea, Ulf Büntgen, and Willy Tegel. "Dendrochronological evidence for long-distance timber trading in the Roman Empire." *PloS One* 14, no. 12 (2019): e0224077. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0224077

Bell, Peter N. "Hagia Sophia: Ideology in Stone—A Case Study." In *Social Conflict in the Age of Justinian: Its Nature, Management, and Mediation*, by Peter N. Bell. Oxford, 2013; online edn, Oxford Academic, 23 May 2013), https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199567331.003.0007, accessed 24 Dec. 2023.

Bitton-Ashkelony, B., and Aryeh Kofsky, editors. *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*. Leiden: BRILL, 2004. Accessed August 6, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Boatwright, Mary T. *Imperial Women of Rome: Power, Gender, Context*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2021. doi: 10.1093/oso/9780190455897.001.0001.

Bonner, Stanley. E*ducation in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011. Accessed December 31, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Burgersdijk, Diederik P. W., and Alan J. Ross, editors. *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire*. Boston: BRILL, 2018. Accessed October 19, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Çakmak, Ahmet Ş., Rabun M. Taylor, and Eser Durukal. "The Structural Configuration of the First Dome of Justinian's Hagia Sophia (A.D. 537–558): An Investigation Based on Structural and Literary Analysis." *Soil Dynamics and Earthquake Engineering (1984)* 29, no. 4 (2009): 693–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soildyn.2008.07.007.

Caldwell, Lauren. *Roman Girlhood and the Fashioning of Femininity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Accessed October 10, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Cameron, Alan. “Anician Myths.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 133–71. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41724969.

———. *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens At Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976. https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb02930.0001.001. EPUB.

———. “The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, no. 1 (1985): 135–45. https://doi.org/10.2307/504776.

———. *The Last Pagans of Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

———. *Porphyrius: The Charioteer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

Capozzi, Renato, Adelina Picone, and Federica Visconti. “Archaeology, Architecture and City: The Enhancement Project of the Archaeological Park of the Baths of Baiae.” *ArchNet-IJAR* 10, no. 1 (2016): 113–30. https://doi.org/10.26687/archnet-ijar.v10i1.621.

Cartwright, Caroline R. “The principles, procedures and pitfalls in identifying archaeological and historical wood samples.” *Annals of Botany* 116 no. 1 (July 2015): 1–13. https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1093/aob/mcv056.

Castex, Jean. *Architecture of Italy*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2008. Accessed February 5, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Çelik, Mustafa Yavuz, and Murat Sert. “The Importance of ‘Pavonazzetto Marble’ (Docimium-Phrygia/Iscehisar-Turkey) Since Ancient Times and Its Properties as a Global Heritage Stone Resource.” *Environmental Earth Sciences* 79, no.9 (2020). https://doi.org/10.1007/s12665-020-08943-2.

Champion, Erik Malcolm. *Rethinking Virtual Places*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv21r3q81.

Chen, Doron. “A Note Pertaining to the Design of the Rotunda Anastasis in Jerusalem.” *Zeitschrift Des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1953-) 95, no. 2 (1979): 178–81. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27931111.

Chiavoni, Emanuela. “Rome and its Domes: Drawing, Art and Architecture.” *Periodica Polytechnica*. *Architecture* 49, no. 1 (2018): 72-76. doi:https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.3311/PPar.11826. https://www-proquest-

com.oca.ucsc.edu/scholarly-journals/rome-domes-drawing-art-architecture/docview/2063118360/se-2.

Choda, Kamil Cyprian, Maurits Sterk de Leeuw, and Fabian Schulz, editors. *Gaining and Losing Imperial Favour in Late Antiquity: Representation and Reality*. Boston: BRILL, 2019. Accessed April 13, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Cohen, Getzel M. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. Accessed February 5, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Cohen, Raymond. *Saving the Holy Sepulchre: How Rival Christians Came Together to Rescue Their Holiest Shrine*. Cary: Oxford University Press USA - OSO, 2008. Accessed July 19, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Collini, Luca, Ramona Fagiani, Rinaldo Garziera, Kseniia Riabova, and Marcello Vanali. "Load and Effectiveness of the Tie-Rods of an Ancient Dome: Technical and Historical Aspects." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 16, no. 4 (2015): 597–601. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2014.09.008.

Como, Mario. "Brunelleschi's Dome: A New Estimate of the Thrust and Stresses in the Underlying Piers." *Applied Sciences* 11, no. 9 (2021): 4268. https://doi.org/10.3390/app11094268

———. "Domes." In *Statics of Historic Masonry Constructions*. Springer Series in Solid and Structural Mechanics, vol 9. Cham: Springer, 2017. 195-299. https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1007/978-3-319-54738-1_4

Conrad, Lawrence I. "Zeno, the Epileptic Emperor: Historiography and Polemics as Sources of Realia." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 24 (2000): 61–81. https://doi.org/10.1179/byz.2000.24.1.61.

Constantinou, Stavroula, and Mati Meyer. "Empresses in Byzantine Society: Justifiably Angry or Simply Angry?" *In Emotions and Gender in Byzantine Culture*, 111–40. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96038-8_5.

Cox, Patricia. *Biography In Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb08392.0001.001. EPUB.

Cupcea, George, and Rada Varga, editors. S*ocial Interactions and Status Markers in the Roman World*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018. Accessed January 9, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Day, Juliette, Raimo Hakola, Maijastina Kahlos, and Ulla Tervahauta, editors. *Spaces in Late Antiquity: Cultural, Theological and Archaeological Perspectives*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2016. Accessed April 13, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

De La Bédoyère, Guy. *Domina: The Women Who Made Imperial Rome*. Yale University Press, 2018. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv5cg9pm.

Delgado, Antonio. *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre el Gran Disco de Teodosio, encontrado en Almendralejo*. Spain, 1849.

Diarte-Blasco, Pilar, and Neil Christie, editors. *Interpreting Transformations of People and Landscapes in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Archaeological Approaches and Issues*. Oxbow Books, 2018. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv13pk88m.

Duckworth, H. T. F. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922.

Eastmond, Antony. "Consular Diptychs, Rhetoric and the Languages of Art in Sixth-Century Constantinople." *Art History* 33, no. 5 (2010): 742–65. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8365.2010.00780.x.

Edmonds III, Radcliffe G. "Mysteries of the Heavenly Spheres: Astrology and Magic." In *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman World*, 236–68. Princeton University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv80ccvj.14.

Evans Grubbs, Judith. *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002. Accessed October 21, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Fantham, Elaine, Helene Peet Foley, Natalie Boymel Kampen, Sarah B. Pomeroy, and H. A. Shapiro. *Women in the Classical World : Image and Text*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1995. Accessed March 7, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Ferguson, Everett, editor. *Conversion, Catechumenate, and Baptism in the Early Church*. New York: Garland, 1992.

Fischer, Andreas, and Ian Wood, editors. *Western Perspectives on the Mediterranean Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 400-800 AD*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472555885. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Frantz, Alison. *Late Antiquity, A.D. 267-700*. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1988. https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb.02912. EPUB.

Galinsky, Karl. "Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*. Supplementary Volumes 10 (2014): iii–193. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44423154.

Galor, Katharina. "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre." In *Finding Jerusalem: Archaeology Between Science and Ideology*, 132–45. University of California Press, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pq349g.15.

Garland, Lynda. *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527-1204*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1999. Accessed July 26, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Garland, Lynda and Bronwen Neil. *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*. Farnham: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013. Accessed January 9, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

George, Michele, editor. *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy, and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2005. Accessed October 21, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Gold, Barbara K., editor. *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982. Accessed March 9, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Gough, Michael. "Some Recent Finds at Alahan (Koja Kalessi)." *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955): 115–23. https://doi.org/10.2307/3642326.

Grig, Lucy, and Gavin Kelly, editors. *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. Oxford University Press, 2012. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.001.0001.

Hägg, Tomas, and Philip Rousseau. *Greek Biography and Panegyric In Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb08317.0001.001. EPUB.

Hamilton, Annette. "Matrilocality and Patrilocality." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia Women in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195148909.001.0001/acref-9780195148909-e-667.

Hainthaler, Theresia. "Theological Doctrines and Debates Within Syriac Christianity." In *The Syriac World*, 1st edition, edited by David King, 377–90. New York: Routledge, 2019. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315708195-23.

Harris, Jonathan, and Oliver Nicholson. "Senate of Constantinople." In T*he Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198662778.001.0001/acref-9780198662778-e-4285.

Harrison, R. Martin. "A Constantinopolitan Capital in Barcelona." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 297-300.

Henderson, Jeffrey, editor. *Remains of Old Latin: Lucilius, The Twelve Tables,* Volume III, trans. E.H. Warmington. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Henriksén, Christer, ed. *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2019. Accessed August 6, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Hermanowicz, Erika T. "Textual Adventures: A Brief History of the Theodosian Code." *The Classical Outlook* 79, no. 3 (2002): 97–103. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43939545.

Herrin, Judith. *Unrivalled Influence Women and Empire in Byzantium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400845217.

Holum, Kenneth G. *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Hughes, Jabez. *An Epithalamium on the Marriage the Emperor Honorius with Maria, the Daughter of Stilicho from Claudian*. London: 1737.

https://www.proquest.com/books/epithalamium-on-marriage-emperor-honorius-with/docview/2147775082/se-2.

Jacobson, David M., and Mark Wilson Jones. "The Annexe of the 'Temple of Venus' at Baiae: An Exercise in Roman Geometrical Planning." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12, no. 1 (1999): 57–71. https://doi.org/10.1017/S104775940001792X.

Jensen, Robin M. "Baptismal Rites and Architecture." In A *People's History of Christianity: Late Ancient Christianity*, Vol. 2, edited by Virginia Burrus, 117-144. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005.

Jones, A.H.M, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Volume I. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Kaminsky, Petra. "Rome Opens Renovated Mausoleum of Augustus to Visitors." *DPA International* (English), Mar 01, 2021. https://www-proquest-com.oca.ucsc.edu/wire-feeds/rome-opens-renovated-mausoleum-augustus-visitors/docview/2494196961/se-2.

Kazhdan, Alexander. "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3862.

———. "Patria of Constantinople." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-4141.

Kelley, Justin L. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Text and Archaeology*. Archaeopress, 2019. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvndv5mm.

Kelly, Christopher, editor. *Theodosius II: Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Accessed August 6, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Kindt, Julia. "Oracular Shrines as Places of Religious Experience." In *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*, edited by Rubina Raja

and Jörg Rüpke, 268–78. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118886809.ch20.

Kleiner, Diana E. E. and Susan B. Matheson, editors. *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996. Accessed December 29, 2023. https://aaeportal-com.oca.ucsc.edu/?id=-31684.

Krautheimer, Richard. "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture." *The Art Bulletin*, 24, no. 1 (1942) : 1-38. DOI: 10.1080/00043079.1942.11408953.

———. *Three Christian Capitals*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520312845-004.

Kristensen, Troels Myrup. "Landscape, Space, and Presence in the Cult of Thekla at Meriamlik." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 24, no.2 (2016): 229–63. https://doi.org/10.1353/earl.2016.0019.

Kulikowski, Michael. *Tragedy of Empire: From Constantine to the Destruction of Roman Italy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2sp3dkv.15.

Lafontaine-Dosogne, Jaqueline. "Découverte à Istanbul des Substructure de l'Église Saint-Polyeuct." *Byzantion* 60 (1990): 565-568. https://www.jstory.org/stable/44171992.

Lamp, Kathleen S. *A City of Marble: The Rhetoric of Augustan Rome*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2013.

Lee Too, Lee, editor. *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Boston: BRILL, 2001. Accessed March 6, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Lehmann, Karl. "The Dome of Heaven." *The Art Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1945): 1–27. https://doi.org/10.2307/3046977.

LePree, James Francis, and Ljudmila Djukic. *The Byzantine Empire*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2019.

Lost, Elizabeth, Jacqueline Wernimont, Laura Wexler, and Hong-an Wu. "Putting the Human Back into the Digital Humanities: Feminism, Generosity, and Mess." In *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, edited by Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein, 92-103. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

Macrides, Ruth, and Paul Magdalino. “The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary’s Poem on Hagia Sophia.” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 47–82. https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1179/byz.1988.12.1.47.

Mango, Cyril. “Chalkoprateia.” In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-0972.

Marder, Tod A., and Mark Wilson Jones, editors. *The Pantheon : from Antiquity to the Present*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Marshall, Anthony J. “Roman Women and the Provinces.” *Ancient Society* 6 (1975): 109–27. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44080083.

Martindale, J.R. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Volume II. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Mathews, Thomas F. *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Matthews, John. “The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.” In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity, edited by Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, (2012; online edn, Oxford Academic, 24 May 2012), https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.003.0004, accessed 26 May 2023.

McKitterick, Rosamond, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story, editors. *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Accessed August 18, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

McGowan, Anne, and Paul F. Bradshaw. *The Pilgrimage of Egeria: A New Translation of the Itinerarium Egeriae with Introduction and Commentary*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2018. Accessed July 12, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Moffatt, Ann, and Maxeme Tall. “Book I.” In *Constantine Porphyrogennetos: The Book of Ceremonies*. Leiden: Brill, 2017. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004344921_003.

Moser, Muriel. *Emperor and Senators in the Reign of Constantius II: Maintaining Imperial Rule Between Rome and Constantinople in the Fourth Century AD*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Moss, Candida R., and Liane M. Feldman. "The New Jerusalem: Wealth, Ancient Building Projects and Revelation 21–22." *New Testament Studies* 66, no. 3 (2020): 351–66. https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1017/S0028688520000053.

Nathan, Geoffrey. *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1999. Accessed December 28, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Neville, Leonora. *Byzantine Gender*. Amsterdam: Arc Humanities Press, 2019. Accessed January 9, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Newsom, Lee A. *Wood in Archaeology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

O'Kane, Bernard. "Domes," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VIII/5, pp. 479-485; available online at domes [https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/domes] (accessed online at 19 May 2023).

Oost, Stewart Irvin. "Some Problems in the History of Galla Placidia." *Classical Philology* 60, no. 1 (1965): 1–10. http://www.jstor.org/stable/268409.

Paget, R. F. "The 'Great Antrum' at Baiae: A Preliminary Report." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 35 (1967): 102–12. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40232947.

Penelis, George G. "Structural Restoration of Historical Buildings in Seismic Areas." *Progress in Structural Engineering and Materials* 4 (1) 2002: 64–73. https://doi.org/10.1002/pse.104.

Penelis, George G., and Gregory G. Penelis. *Structural Restoration of Masonry Monuments: Arches, Domes and Walls*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020.

Petroski, Henry. "Engineering: Arches and Domes." *American Scientist* 99, no. 2 (2011): 111–15. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23019241.

Popkin, Maggie L. "*Decorum* and the Meanings of Materials in Triumphal Architecture of Republican Rome." *Journal of the Society of Architectural*

Historians 74, no. 3 (2015): 289–311. https://doi.org/10.1525/jsah.2015.74.3.289.

Procopius. *On Buildings*. Translated by H. B. Dewing. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954.

Ranogajec, Paul A. "The Pantheon (Rome)." In *Smarthistory*, December 11, 2015. Accessed March 4, 2024. https://smarthistory.org/the-pantheon/.

Rapp, Claudia. *Holy Bishops In Late Antiquity: the Nature of Christian Leadership In an Age of Transition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb07961.0001.001. PDF.

———. "Spiritual Guarantors at Penance, Baptism, and Ordination in the Late Antique East." In *A New History of Penance*, edited by Abigail Firey, 121-148. Boston: BRILL, 2008. Accessed March 16, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Rickard, Peter. *A History of the French Language*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1989. Accessed July 25, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Rosenstein, Nathan, and Robert Morstein-Marx, editors. *A Companion to the Roman Republic*. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2006. Accessed October 21, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Seager, Robin. *Tiberius*. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2005. Accessed October 21, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Sear, David. *Roman Coins and Their Values,* Volume 5. Havertown: Spink & Son Limited, 2014. Accessed January 7, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Shelton, Kathleen J. "The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence." *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, no. 1 (1985): 147–55. https://doi.org/10.2307/504777.

Sheppard, Carl D. "A Radiocarbon Date for the Wooden Tie Beams in the West Gallery of St. Sophia, Istanbul." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 237–40. https://doi.org/10.2307/1291233.

Skinner, Alexander. "The Early Development of the Senate of Constantinople." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32, no. 2 (2008): 128–48. https://doi.org/10.1179/174962508X322641.

Sogno, Cristiana, Bradley K. Storin, and Edward J. Watts, eds. *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016. Accessed January 3, 2024. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Stoner, Jo. *The Cultural Lives of Domestic Objects in Late Antiquity*. Boston: Brill, 2019. Accessed April 13, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Stover, Justin. "Olybrius and the 'Einsiedeln Eclogues.'" *The Journal of Roman Studies* 105 (2015): 288–321. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26346902.

Su, Zhan, Zhen Yan, Kazunori Nakashima, Chikara Takano, and Satoru Kawasaki. "Naturally Derived Cements Learned from the Wisdom of Ancestors: A Literature Review Based on the Experiences of Ancient China, India and Rome." *Materials (1996-1944)* 16, no. 2 (2023): 603. doi:10.3390/ma16020603.

Swain, Simon. *Themistius, Julian, and Greek Political Theory under Rome: Texts, Translations, and Studies of Four Key Works*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Accessed October 31, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Taliaferro Boatwright, Mary. "Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor." In *Women's History and Ancient History*, edited by Sarah B. Pomeroy, 249-272. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Tenen, Dennis. "Blunt Instrumentalism: On Tools and Methods." In *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, edited by Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.

Theophanes Confessor. *Chronographia*. Carl de Boor. Lipsiae: Teubneri, 1883.

Themistius. *The Private Orations of Themistius*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. https://hdl-handle-net.oca.ucsc.edu/2027/heb08320.0001.001. EPUB.

Vincent, Hugues. *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Planches, Vol. 2. France: J. Gabalda, 1926.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century,* Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of

Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978. New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 1979.

Welsch, Robert L. “Matrilineage.” *A Dictionary of Cultural Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Oxford Reference. Date Accessed 20 Jul. 2022 https://www-oxfordreference-com.oca.ucsc.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780191836688.001.0001/acref-9780191836688-e-226.

Wester, Jennifer Watson. “Iris Clert’s Modern Matronage.” *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 11, no.2 (2022): 134–54. doi:10.1386/jcs_00067_1.

Yasin, Ann Marie. “Architectural Restoration and the Sensory Experience of Time in Late Antiquity.” Yale Lectures in Late Antique and Byzantine Art and Architecture. 14 January 2022. Zoom.

Zonaras, Joannes. *The History of Zonaras: From Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great*. Translated by Eugene Lane. Milton Park: Routledge, 2009. Kindle.