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Yazışma Adresi
Doç. Dr. Yavuz Yeğin
Ankara Üniversitesi,
Dil ve Tarih – Coğrafya Fakültesi, Diller Binası,
Oda no: Z7
Arkeoloji Bölümü No:45-45/A
06100 – Sıhhiye / Ankara – Türkiye
Tel: 0 312 310 32 80 / 1498
E – posta: ozyildirimmurat@gmail.com -
yavuzyegin002@gmail.com
aemelerten@gmail.com

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Selanik 2 Cad. 64/13, Karadeniz İşhanı 3. Kat
Kızılay - Ankara
Tel: 0312 419 85 67
Sertifika no: 20193
www.bilginyayinevi.com
E - posta: bilginkultursanat@gmail.com

Baskı
Dijitol Baskı Merkezi (Osman Sami Solak)
İvedikköy Mh. 1492. Cd. Yenimahalle /
ANKARA
Tel: 0533 577 6514
Matbaa Sertifika No: 70810

Teknik Düzenleme
Arş. Gör. Dr. Burak Erdem

Dağıtım
Selanik 2 Cad. 64/13, Karadeniz İşhanı 3. Kat
Kızılay - Ankara
Tel: 0312 419 85 67

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PRAEFATIO

SELEVCIA'nın 2025 sayısı bu yıl da zengin bir içerikle okurlarına ulaşıyor. Bu sayı ile aynı zamanda dergimizin on beşinci yılını da kutlama mutluluğu içindeyiz. Bu yıl aynı zamanda Olba kazıları da on beşinci yılını kutluyor. Bundan yirmi dört yıl önce, Olba akropolisinin eteklerinde mütevazı bir yüzey araştırması biçiminde başlayan çalışmamızın gelişerek, bir kazı haline gelmesinde on beş yılı geride bıraktık. Şimdi Olba'nın yerleşim tarihi, kentteki yaşam tarzı konusunda çok daha fazla bilgi sahibi olmanın sevincini ve gururunu taşıyoruz.

Olba kazısı ekibinin özveri ve gayretleri ile on beş yıldır aralıksız olarak yayınlanan SELEVCIA'nın bu sayısında, Anadolu arkeolojisini, sanat tarihini, epigrafisini, nümizmatiğini, mimarlık tarihini aydınlatan, yepyeni bulguları ve fikirleri içeren toplam yirmi bir bilimsel metin yer almakta. Bu çalışmaları yaparken emeklerini, deneyimlerini bizlerle, dergimizle paylaşan yazarlarımıza şükranlarımızı sunuyoruz.

Editörler:
Prof. Dr. Emel Erten
Prof. Dr. Diane Favro
Prof. Dr. Fikret Yegül
Dr. Murat Özyıldırım (Baş Editör)
Doç. Dr. Yavuz Yeğin

PREFACE

SELEVCIA's 2025 issue reaches its readers with a rich content this year as well. With this issue, we are also happy to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of our journal. This year, the Olba excavation project is also celebrating its fifteenth anniversary. Twenty-four years ago, we started our work as a modest surface survey on the lower slopes of the Olba acropolis and it has been fifteen years since it turned into a full-scale excavation. Now, we are happy and proud to have much more information about Olba's settlement history and the lifestyle in the city.

This issue of SELEVCIA, which has been published continuously for fifteen years thanks to the dedication and efforts of the Olba excavation team, includes a total of twenty-one scientific texts that shed light on Anatolian archaeology, art history, epigraphy, numismatics, and architectural history, and include brand new findings and ideas. We would like to express our gratitude to our authors who shared their efforts and experiences with us in our journal.

Editors:
Prof. Dr. Emel Erten
Prof. Dr. Diane Favro
Prof. Dr. Fikret Yegül
Dr. Murat Özyıldırım (Editor in Chief)
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yavuz Yeğin

Olba Kazısı Serisi

Seleucia

Makale Başvuru Kuralları

Seleucia, Olba Kazısı yayını olarak yılda bir sayı yayınlanır. Yayınlanması istenen makalelerin en geç Şubat ayında gönderilmiş olması gerekmektedir. Seleucia, arkeoloji, eski çağ dilleri ve kültürleri, eski çağ tarihi, sanat tarihi konularında yazılan, daha önce yayınlanmayan yalnızca Türkçe, İngilizce çalışmaları ve kitap tanıtımlarını yayınlar.

Yazım Kuralları

Makaleler, Times New Roman yazı karakterinde, word dosyasında, başlık 12 punto baş harfleri büyük harf, metin ve kaynakça 10 punto, dipnotlar 9 punto ile yazılmalıdır. Sayfa sayısı, kaynakça dâhil en çok on sayfa olmalıdır. Müze, kazı, yüzey araştırması malzemelerinin yayın izinleri, makale ile birlikte yollanmalıdır. Kitap tanıtımları, üç sayfayı geçmemelidir. Çalışmada ara başlık varsa bold ve küçük harflerle yazılmalıdır. Türkçe ve İngilizce özetler, makale adının altında, 9 punto, iki yüz sözcüğü geçmemelidir. Özetlerin altında İngilizce ve Türkçe beşer anahtar sözcük, 9 punto olarak "anahtar sözcükler" ve "keywords" başlığının yanında verilmelidir. Doktora ve yüksek lisans tezlerinden oluşturulan makaleler, yayına kabul edilmemektedir.

- Dipnotlar, her sayfanın altında verilmelidir. Dipnotta yazar soyadı, yayın yılı ve sayfa numarası sıralaması aşağıdaki gibi olmalıdır. Demiriş 2006, 59.

- Kaynakça, çalışmanın sonunda yer almalı ve dipnottaki kısaltmayı açıklamalıdır.

  Kitap için:
  Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., Istanbul.

  Makale için:
  Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., "Arius: Bir 'Sapkın'ın Kısa Hikayesi", Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, İstanbul.

- Makalede kullanılan fotoğraf, resim, harita, çizim, şekil vs. metin içinde yalnızca (**Lev. 1**), (**Lev. 2**) kısaltmaları biçiminde "Levha" olarak yazılmalı, makale sonunda "Levhalar" başlığı altında sıralı olarak yazılmalıdır. Bütün levhalar, jpeg ya da tift formatında 300 dpi olmalıdır. Alıntı yapılan levha varsa sorumluluğu yazara aittir ve mutlaka alıntı yeri belirtilmelidir.

- Levha sayısı her makalede 10 adet ile kısıtlıdır.

- Latince - Yunanca sözcüklerin yazımında özel isimlerde; varsa Türkçe ek virgülle ayrılmalı, örneğin; Augustus'un, cins isimler italik yazılmalı, varsa Türkçe ek, italik yapılmadan sözcüğe bitişik yazılmalıdır, örneğin; *cavea*nın.

- Tarih belirtilirken MÖ ve MS nokta kullanılmadan, makale başlıkları ile yazar ad ve soyadlarında sadece baş harfler büyük harf olarak yazılmalıdır.

Olba Excavations Series

Seleucia

Scope

Seleucia is annually published by the Olba Excavations Series. Deadline for sending papers is February of each year. Seleucia features previously unpublished studies and book reviews on archaeology, ancient languages and cultures, ancient history and history of art written only in Turkish or English.

Publishing Principles

Articles should be submitted as word documents, with font type Times New Roman, font sizes 12 points for headings (first letters should be capitalized), 10 points for text, and 9 points for footnotes and references. The number of pages of each article should not be longer than ten pages, including the bibliography. If the study is on some material/materials from a museum or an excavation, the permission for publication should be submitted together with the article. The book reviews should not be longer than three pages. If there are sub-titles, the headings should be written bold with small letters. Abstracts written in both Turkish and English should appear below the heading of the article, should be size of 9 points and minimum count of words should be 200. Below the abstracts, a minimum of 5 keywords for both languages should be included (of size 9 points) below the headings "anahtar sözcükler" and "keywords". The articles produced out of master's theses or doctoral dissertations will not be accepted for publication.

- Footnotes should be given under each page. The ordering of author surname, year of publication and page number should be as follows: Demiriş 2006, 59.

- The reference list should appear at the end of the study and should explain the abbreviation given in the footnote.

  Book format:
  Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., Istanbul.

  Article format:
  Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., "Arius: Bir 'Sapkın'ın Kısa Hikayesi", Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, Istanbul.

- Photographs, pictures, maps, drawings, figures etc. used in the article should be referred to in the text as (**Fig. 1**), (**Fig. 2**) as abbreviations, and an ordered list of these items should appear at the end of the article under the heading "Figures". All figures should be in JPEG or TIFF format with 300 dpi. If there are figures cited, the responsibility lies with the author and citation should be explicitly given. The number of figures for each article is limited to 10.

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Juliana Anicia: "A Building Loving Woman" Gender and Construction in Constantinople

Diane Favro*

Abstract

In the early sixth century, the imperial princess Juliana Anicia, was the wealthiest woman in Constantinople. Daughter and granddaughter of emperors she followed the example of her female imperial ancestresses, building churches across the empire as an act of faith and familial promotion. One congregation in the capital showed their gratitude with the gift of a luxurious medical manuscript, the *Vienna Dioscurides Codex.* The frontispiece depicts Juliana enthroned, giving coins attended by personifications of Magnanimity, Prudence, and Gratitude of the Arts. No completed church appears. Instead, the surrounding illustrations relate to the act of building, including eight scenes of putti busy sawing, cutting stones, and performing other construction tasks. Making architecture had meaning. Early Christian texts and images had long venerated women who created churches, portraying them as participating not only by donating funds, but also by providing designs, overseeing labor, and even lifting stones. Juliana erected several churches in Constantinople. The largest and most magnificent was that of St. Polyeuctos which had a lengthy inscription touting her hard work, design acumen, and management of work crews. In acknowledgment of her involvement in the making of the church the Codex labels Juliana "a building loving woman."

Keywords: Juliana Anicia, Patronage, Women in Construction, St. Polyeuctos Church, Early Byzantine Constantinople, *Vienna Dioscurides Codex.*

Juliana Anicia: "Yapı İşlerini Seven bir Kadın": Constantinopolis'te Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İnşaat Faaliyetleri

Öz

Altıncı yüzyıl başlarında Bizans prensesi Juliana Anicia, Constantinopolis'in en varlıklı kadınıydı. Juliana Anicia, bir imparator kızı ve torunu olarak ve inancının göstergesi, ailesini yüceltme faaliyeti niteliğinde imparatorluk genelinde birçok kilise inşa ettirerek kadın atalarının izinden

* Prof. Dr. Diane Favro, Distinguished Research Professor Architecture and Urban Design School of the Arts and Architecture,UCLA, Fellow, Society of Architectural Historians, Samuel H. Kress Professor, CASVA, National Gallery. E-mail: dgfavro@gmail.com, Orcid no: 0000-0003-2694-0255

gitmişti. Başkentteki bir cemaat de prensese minnettarlıklarını göstermek için ona lüks, el yazması bir tıbbi eser olan "Viyana Dioscurides Kodeksini" armağan etmişti. Kitabın ön sayfasında Juliana, "cömertlik", "basiret" ve "sanata şükran" personifikasyonları eşliğinde tahtta oturmuş, para dağıtırken betimlenmişti. Buna karşılık, resimde inşaatı tamamlanmış bir kilise görülmemekteydi. Ancak, bu resmi çevreleyen sekiz ayrı sahnede testere ile kesme, taş yontma ve başka inşaat işleri yapan putti'ler yapı faaliyeti ile ilgili işlerle meşgul olurken tasvir edilmekteydiler. Elbette ki bir mimari oluşturmanın anlamı vardı ve Erken Hıristiyan metinlerinde ve resimlerinde kilise inşa eden kadınlara hep saygı gösterilmekte; onlar yalnızca bağışta bulunarak değil, aynı zamanda tasarımlar yapan, çalışmayı denetleyen ve hatta taş kaldırarak da katkıda bulunan kişiler olarak tasvir edilmekteydiler. Juliana da Constantinopolis'te birçok kilise inşa etmişti. Bunların en büyüğü ve görkemlisi Aziz Polyeuctus Kilisesi'ydi. Kiliseyi çevreleyen uzun bir yazıt, Juliana'nin çalışkanlığı, tasarım yeteneği ve işçi ekiplerini yönetmedeki başarısını övmekteydi. Kilisenin yapımındaki katkılarını takdir eden Codex ise Juliana'yi "inşaatı seven bir kadın" olarak tanımlıyordu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Juliana Anicia, Himaye, İnşaatçı Kadınlar, Aziz Polyeuctos Kilisesi, Erken Bizans Dönemi'nde Constantinopolis, *Vienna Dioscurides Codex.*

Women rarely appeared as important actors in ancient architecture until the advent of gender studies programs in the 20th century. Numerous excellent publications now document and analyze the rich history of female patronage throughout the Roman Empire, and later centuries. These are inspiring explorations of how and why women became involved with construction and the ways these changed during the transition from the ancient to medieval periods. The depiction of Juliana Anicia provides a provocative case study of a patron who both actively participated in project design and exploited the metaphorical associations of the construction process.

In the early sixth century Juliana Anicia was the most wealthy, powerful woman in Constantinople. Mother and wife of aspirants to the throne, daughter and granddaughter of emperors, she proudly traced her imperial Roman heritage back to Helena and Constantine. An ardent Christian, Juliana applied her mental and financial resources to promote both her faith and family prestige. She appears in a frontispiece of the *Vienna Dioscurides Codex,* a lavishly illustrated Byzantine copy of a first-century medical treatise presented to her by the people of Honoratae in thanks for funding their church[1] **(Fig. 1)**. In the central octagonal section Juliana stares out at the viewer with cool authority. She sits on a *sella curialis*, attired in in rich garments and flanked by attendants representing personified traits, Magnanimity (left) and Prudence (right). At her feet kneels a personification representing Gratitude of the

1 Cod. *Vind.med. gr*. 1, fol. 6v. The Codex measures 38 x 33 cm with over 450 pages including De materia medica, a copy of Diocscurides' scientific text, and illustrated front matter. Folio vi depicting Juliana is not well preserved, but details are recorded on early reconstructions such as that by Labarte of 1864. Honoratae is assumed to be a region in Constantinople, though the location is uncertain; Pera and the Asiatic side are among suggested locales.

Arts. With her left-hand Juliana casually drops coins onto a book offered up by a winged putto; above him is written *Pothos tes philoktistou*, "the Desire of the building loving woman."[2]

Juliana Anicia was indeed enamored with architecture. She erected churches in the great Byzantine capital and across the empire.[3] Like other patrons, her motives were numerous and complex. Scholars have explored how religious architectural projects affirmed her faith, promoted her political aspirations, celebrated her Roman ancestry, and ensured enduring remembrance.[4] Why, then, did the people of Honoratae who gifted the Codex not include an image of their church or any explicit Christian symbols? The label of "building loving" suggests another possibility. The frontispiece is notable for both explicit and subtle references to a woman creating architecture.

Evolving Research Trends

The act of building, as well as the final structure, holds meaning for individuals and collectives, a reality currently being explored in modern research. Roman architectural studies have seen a notable broadening of approaches and issues in recent decades. Today an "archaeology of construction" is expanding investigations to document and assess the complex and diverse evidence relating to how a building is made, including such issues as the acquisition and delivery of materials, the sequencing of activities, ownership of tools, responsibility for temporary supports, reuse of materials, seasonal labor, and many other factors. In addition to enriching the understanding of an architectural work's final form, such data draws attention to the entire process.[5] Often encompassing years, building activities demand notice, impact physical and human surroundings and, like other fugitive events, shape collective memory. Construction underway has meaning. Statius described the fast erection of a villa as "rapid piety" that amazed even Time itself (Stat. *Silv.12-18*). Other reactions can be inferred. For example, at Roman sites impressive machinery lifting heavy stones could evoke thoughts about fighting-towers and military prowess, while the coordination of diverse complex tasks by numerous workers could reinforce collective pride in Roman organizational skill.

Over the last fifty years scholars have profitably explored the engagement of women with architecture across the Roman world.[6] A rich body of research documents and assesses the types, regional distribution, and impact of female patronage (matronage). Based largely on epigraphic sources such studies initially centered on information about completed

2 The phrase ΠΟΘΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ (*pothos tes philoktistou*) is variously translated as, "the Desire of the building-loving woman," "yearning of the creation-lover," or "the love of building;" Kiilerich 2001, 172; Buberl 1937, 29.

3 *Anth Gr* 1.10 Nathan 2024, 214.

4 For explorations of the political, symbolic, and religious aspects of Juliana's representation on the Codex frontispiece see: Kiilerich 2001, Nathan 2006, 2024.

5 Dessales 2017.

6 Among the rich bibliography of studies on women architectural patronage see Woodhull 1999, Hemelrijk 2004, 2015, Becker 2016, and Wescoat 2015.

architectural works and wealthy donors. Today, investigations are expanding, drawing upon diverse sources to reveal that ancient females did more than passively bestow approval or give money for structures; many actively participated in building creation. Direct engagement is found at all levels of building creation. Roman women entered contracts stipulating materials, workers' wages, design approval and on-going maintenance. Female business owners provided materials and tools, as well as services at construction sites. At Pietrabbondante two teenage slave girls left their footprints and inscribed names on a large terracotta tile.[7] Analysis of genealogies and building lifespans shows that generations of women in the same family restored or rebuilt the same project, affirming awareness of building conditions as well as familial fealty.

Inspiration for further explorations is provided by recent in-depth studies of women in medieval construction. Though building technologies did not change significantly over time, record keeping did. The detailed institutional documentation by monasteries, guilds, townships, and other medieval institutions includes lists of laborers, tasks, personal names, pay levels, material costs, and work hours. Such data indirectly reveal social environments and absences such as "off the books" tasks by women. Inclusion is also telling. The proliferation of medieval illustrations showing female workers and patrons at construction sites underscores the potency of symbolic associations. Such evidence and the questions they raise, provide possible avenues for research in the Greco-Roman world.

Women and Church Building in Late Antiquity

By the third century CE, increasing numbers of Roman women controlled their own finances. Those with disposable wealth and ambition funded architectural projects to garner attention and enhance their stature, usually in urban contexts. In many cases such female patronage continued over generations with a daughter, grand-daughter, and great-grand-daughter maintaining, enlarging, or rebuilding their ancestor's project. Women erected notable structures of all types – from private villas to temples, porticos, theaters, fountains, and tombs. Some received the title of city patroness (*patrona*) for notable civic projects.[8] Though not allowed to be members of most guilds, other women were co-opted as *patronae* of guilds, including the *Collegium Fabrum* for builders.[9] Such titles appear to have been awarded primarily to ensure financial or political support from the female recipients and their families. Inspired by completed projects, these honorifics do not mention the women's roles in the buildings' creation. However, documented examples of engaged matronage -- as with the extensive architectural interventions at Perge by Planica Magna, herself awarded the title of "daughter of the city," imply some women were directly involved in the erection

7 Becker 2016, 920-922.

8 Hemelrijk 2004.

9 Hemelrijk 2008.

of the structures they funded.[10] A third century coin depicting Dido holding a measuring rod overseeing the construction of Carthage provides further support for such an assumption **(Fig. 2)**.

Interest in the act of building percolated within Christian communities. Following precedents in the Old Testament the faithful freely exploited architectural metaphors.[11] In the Gospels Christ referred to himself as the cornerstone of the church (*Mark 12.10*); in *Corinthians* Paul proclaimed, "as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation, though another builds upon it" (*Corinthians* 3.9-17). Women were included as active participants in metaphorical building. In the second century text *The Shepherd* (books 1 and 3) Hermas equated the building of Christian faith with an architectural description of erecting a tower.[12] He included women as personified virtues and as workers performing various physical activities including the lifting of stones for the tower as depicted on a painting from the Catacombs of San Gennaro, Naples **(Fig. 3)**. Once Christianity was embraced by the emperor and legitimized in 313, it needed congregational space. The form, appearance and literal fashioning of churches drew attention. The emperor Constantine funded new congregational churches at Rome, Jerusalem, Constantinople and beyond; the simultaneity and impressive scale of these projects brought construction into daily conversations. Questions about the symbolism of the ideal church form (e.g. cross shaped or centralized) of necessity raised questions about how to build them.

Championing an expansive church building program to promote the accepted religion, as well as unify and control his empire, Constantine encouraged the involvement of women. His mother Helena established the model for female engagement. After converting to Christianity, she engaged with her new faith by traveling from Rome to the Holy Land when in her 80s (326–328). Anxious to locate sites important in the life of Christ, she ordered the demolition of pagan buildings, gathered relics associated with His life, and oversaw the building of numerous churches.[13] Given unlimited access, Paulinus of Nola tells us Helena drained the imperial purses.[14] She returned to Rome with a piece of the True Cross and soil from Jerusalem in order to keep the relic and her new church "on" holy land. Proliferating stories repeatedly celebrated Helena's actions far more than the form or appearance of the finished churches and martyria she erected. Attention shifted from a building's final appearance to the narrative and construction process behind it, as echoed in a ninth-century

10 Boatwright 1991, 250.

11 Rudolph 2022, 382-84.

12 Osiek 1999.

13 Brubaker 2013; Schulenburg 2012, 249-250. As stories about Helena circulated, many structures became known as "Helena churches" even without the involvement of the queen mother.

14 Paulinus of Nola, 1966, letter 31. In the early period of Christian church building most documented female donors had high status and the wealth to fund new buildings. In the west, less well-situated women like Geneviève of Paris (d. 502), relied on miracles to facilitate construction work and inspire donations; Schulenberg 2012, 250-252.

depiction of Helena overseeing a laborer excavating a holy site **(Fig. 4)**. In the image Helena, like Dido on the coin, supervised work underway demonstrating both her high status and her direct engagement with building creation.

The descendants of Helena constructed churches as both a religious and an imperial responsibility. Those unable to visit the Holy Land and participate firsthand in construction demonstrated their agency by tapping Imperial funds, resources, and staff. Early in the fifth century the pregnant Empress Eudoxia, a direct descendent of Helena, promised to help the Bishop Porphyry eliminate pagan worship in Gaza if he prayed for her child to be male (Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry*, 75-78, 92-93). After the birth of a son, she used her money, power and various ruses to issue an official order for the removal of a pagan temple in Gaza, and the erection of a church in its place. As the site was being cleared, an imperial official arrived with a missive from Augusta Eudoxia containing an architectural plan (*skariphos*) for a cross-shaped structure and a letter in which she committed to shipping precious marbles for the project, presumably drawn from a state-owned quarry.[15] According to Mark the Deacon, local women participated in both digging the church foundations and carrying the stones (including 32 columns of Carystian marble) from the harbor to the building site. At completion the church was named Eudoxiané. These recorded events affirm that the Empress Eudoxia had the knowledge, power, and desire to engage directly in the planning and realization of the Gaza church. At the same time, the involvement of women in the heavy lifting of actual construction reinforces female participation at all levels of building creation.

Juliana Anicia: Celebrating Architectural Agency

Constantinople in the early sixth century was a swirling vortex of conflicting factions—political, theological, regional, monastic, and social. Competition was fierce. As heir to the two preceding imperial dynasties (Valentinian and Theodosian) Juliana Anicia boasted a distinguished heritage, extensive family connections, elite learning, and great wealth. She attempted to position her husband and son on the throne but was unsuccessful. Some thought she herself aspired to rule.[16] After all, Juliana stood far above the emperor Justin I (ruled 518-527) and his adopted heir and nephew Justinian, both peasant born. Juliana navigated male-dominated Byzantine politics, but did not become empress. She instead ensured remembrance by building.

By the sixth century Constantinople a number of early churches called out for restoration or replacement. To build was a challenge in the densely occupied urban environment (Zos.

15 Inclusion of a plan in her letter affirms Eudoxia was able to read and understand technical drawings. She probably acquired the design from the nascent imperial office of building works. The local bishop implemented and supervised construction. At Gaza, Bishop Porphyry called in the architect Rufinus from Antioch, perhaps reacting to the project's complexity and Empress's involvement; Ousterhout 2008, 39-44; 62.

16 Nathan 2024.

2.35). Construction activities disrupted the surroundings as wagonloads of materials and debris blocked streets, workers raised noise and dust levels, and straining cranes attracted idle spectators. At same time, large projects stimulated the local economy, increasing jobs and promoting regional recognition.[17] Visits by elite donors brought further attention. Conscientious funders did not rely solely on intermediaries to determine if a project was being well-managed; they periodically made firsthand assessments.[18] Engagement with the physical act of creating a church had political and practical as well as religious value for women donors. Their physical presence ensured personal association with a project at a time when male credit was the immediate default position. One can imagine Juliana, accompanied with a showy imperial entourage, made frequent site visits to her church projects in Constantinople, perhaps praying and distributing handouts to spectators. Such familiarity may have inspired the people of Honoratae to put her image at the front of the *Vienna Dioscurides Codex*. Juliana's image dominates the central octagon (touted today as the earliest surviving donor portrait), with surrounding scenes, iconography, and text celebrating the making of architecture.

Association of the image with Honoratae is not obvious. An acrostic poem (possibly added somewhat later) runs around the black band edging the central panel; here the people of Honoratae praised Juliana for magnanimously funding the church of Mary Theotokos (Mary Mother of God).[19] There is no information about the building's appearance, associations, or even its location, possibly an indication the church stood in a remote or unfavorable part of the city.[20] Instead, the people of Honoratae celebrated the act of constructing, not differentiating the actual project underway. A heavy-looking rope - twists throughout the scene, recalling the heavy cords in constant use at contemporary construction sites where they were used to lay out plans, measure, lift stones, and many other tasks.[21] Around the edges of the central octagon eight scenes show putti busy at work.[22] While Roman wall-paintings from Pompeii show similar figures performing light tasks (eg. making perfume and

17 Dark 2004, 85.

18 Angelova 2015, 232-233. A fourth century mosaic (now lost) documents a female patron flaunting her largess while overseeing construction; Olszewski and Saad 2017.

19 Close analysis of the texts on the frontispiece and a related passage in Theophanes has called into question the dating of the church at Honoratae and the Vienna Codex to 512, but do not distract from the references to construction which are the focus of the present study; Gastgeber 2014; Nathan 2006.

20 The name Honoratae implies the location was associated in some way with the emperor Honorius.

21 On the use of ropes see Ousterhout 2008, 58-60. On the Codex image the rope forms two interlocking squares creating an eight-point star, a form associated with Mary in later periods. The two round containers below the throne cannot be securely identified. They may represent buckets for carrying scrolls (or even architectural drawings), or *modii* used by Romans to measure dry materials for mortar; Cato, *Agr*.15.

22 Suggestions that the putti scenes represent guilds, and Juliana's gold coins represent payment for commissioned guild work are not convincing given contemporary donor traditions; Gastgeber 2014, 24.

garlands), none depict them as construction workers[23] **(Fig. 1)**. On the Vienna Codex putti saw beams, hew stones, paint walls, and turn capstans to move heavy blocks, all under the eyes of the magnanimous, informed Juliana in the central panel who oversees the activities (and possibly calculates the expenses) from her superior position. A gilt-glass rondel (19 cm diameter) from a burial outside Rome dated to the fourth century provides an interesting comparison[24] **(Fig. 5)**. The scene shows eight men laboring at various tasks involved in the building of a ship. One vignette includes Minerva, goddess of wisdom and crafts, yet a large central male figure is clearly in control of the work. Variously identified as the construction supervisor, architect, or business owner, he is not isolated from the actual construction as is Juliana on the Codex. Rather he occupies the same ground plane as the workers of the lower level, with his arm and staff projecting into their workspaces.

Juliana demonstrated her own central position in the construction of two other church projects in Constantinople. Though these have limited physical remains, both reveal familial matronage associations and reverberations of the donor's voice in preserved inscriptions. Juliana's grandmother Licinia Eudoxia created the church of St. Euphemia at the site of a confiscated palace; her mother Galla Placidia followed up with restoration work (*AnthGr* 1.12).[25] In this third phase, Juliana lavishly and extensively reworked the structure, elevating its splendor so high it rivaled the stars, or so the church tells readers in a first-person inscription (*AnthGr* 1.15). Others record that Juliana had the help of the blessed martyr Euphemia "to inspire and help the builders," but that it was "her [own] work that surpassed the skilled design of her ancestors" (*AnthGr* 1.16). The church stood in the Olybrius district (probably named for Juliana's father) near the Forum of Constantine, the Hippodrome, and the imperial palace. Rising at the beginning of the *Mese,* the city's major processional street, the on-going work drew attention, underscoring the escalating architectural enhancement by each generation of imperial women.

The church of St. Polyeuctos was the grandest of all Juliana's projects. Originally created by her great grandmother it stood in the Anicii family enclave where Juliana resided.[26] This proximity allowed the imperial princess to watch and regularly visit work in progress. Far more than a restoration, the project was a complete rebuilding that transformed St. Polyeuctos into the largest and most sumptuous church in the capital city measuring 52 meters on a side.[27] Rising northwest of St. Euphemia the structure reenforced a Julianaian

23 I know of only one other example of putti during construction work: a red jasper gem in the Getty Museum dated to the second century; 85.AN.370.53.

24 Kisa 1908, 853-855, 871; Vatican Museum 60788. On-site building supervisors (usually holding measuring staffs) managed day-to-day work at construction sites; see also the scene of constructing Carthage in the *Vatican Rl;* MS Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 13r.

25 Nathan 2006, 437-439.

26 Stroth 2024; Gregory of Tours, *Vit. Mart*.102.

27 Harrison proposed Juliana's church of St. Polyeuctos had a dome and thus inspired the design of Justinian's Haghia Sophia; Harrison 1989. This theory, based primarily on the fragmentary foundations of Juliana's church, is no longer widely accepted; see Bardill 2006, Stroth 2024.

presence along the *Mese* running from the great imperial palace, past the churches of St. Euphemia and St. Polyeuctos, to the pilgrimage church of the Holy Apostles associated with Juliana's illustrious ancestor Constantine. Only the foundations and a few carved fragments remain of the structure. Fortunately, copies of the lengthy inscriptions from the building were preserved in tenth-century copies (*AnthGr* 1.10). These eloquently reveal Juliana's architectural vision and supervision **(Fig. 6)**. The epigrams celebrate her hard work ("all alone by her righteous toil"), design acumen ("fair-fashioned works"), management of large workers crews ("countless swarm of labors"), and efficiency (completed "in a few years").[28] Never humble, Juliana boasted to have outdone her ancestors as well as the great builder Solomon.[29] She drew upon Biblical descriptions as inspiration for the structure's decorative details and possibly the seven-hand cubit metric system.[30] The building attracted much attention and envy, as evident in a passage from Gregory of Tours (c. 585). Aware of Julian's great wealth, Justinian approached the elderly princess late in her life and suggested she donate part of her vast wealth to the state treasury.[31] Juliana stalled, saying she had to gather her funds from her properties. Instead, she secretly gave her gold to *artifices* (building supervisors) with orders to make plates (*tegula*) and attach these to the beams (*tegna*) of St. Polyeuctos. She invited Justinian into the church and told him, "Look up… and know that my poverty is contained in this work. But you, do whatever you wish from there, I do not oppose it." Realizing he could not remove the gold without desecrating the church, the emperor accepted defeat.[32]

Defeat was not unfamiliar to Juliana. Thwarted in her imperial aspirations, she exploited and enhanced the architectural activities of her ancestresses by pushing beyond faith and funding, to emphasize agency.[33] Armed with position, education, status, and wealth she exerted her power through control of the architectural process. Juliana's interaction with Justinian and other stories present her confidently engaging with craftsmen and using architectural terminology. References to Biblical structures, decorations, and earlier church forms as well as measurements affirm her knowledge of architectural history. The scenes of putti at work on the Codex demonstrate familiarity with building tasks and equipment. While the church projects of Juliana cannot be securely dated, they appear to have been efficiently run, perhaps with overlapping schedules facilitating completion in a timely

28 Regarding the placement, sequencing, and legibility of the texts on the exterior and high up along the interior entablature of St. Polyeuctos see Stroth 2024, 29-24.

29 *AnthGr* 1.10.49-50. Justinian later famously claimed to have surpassed Solomon when he first entered his church of Haghia Sophia; *Diegesis* 27, ed. Preger 1901, 10.

30 The association of the Biblical cubit with S. Polyceutos was probably symbolic rather than comprehensive, as local work crews would balk at adopting a completely different metric system, a disruptive change necessitating innumerable recalculations; Stroth 2024, 58-59; see also Bardill 2006.

31 Bardill 349; Gregory of Tours, *GM,* 102.

32 Rotman 2021, 82-83.

33 In contrast to the women depicted in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Juliana directed work rather than doing hands-on labor.

manner.[34] Juliana alone garnered credit. Though imperial architects, mathematicians, and scientists were available in the capital city, she avoided their mention.[35] Juliana inscribed her achievements on St. Polyeuctos, touting not only the glorious structure but her acts, providing enduring an example for future generations, hoping that long after her churches were altered or destroyed, her actions would be remembered. She stated simply, "oblivion doth not quench the labors of beneficent virtue."[36]

Conclusion

While the *De materia medica* text of the Vienna Codex would have been useful for any female heading a large household, this lush, highly illustrated manuscript was a presentation piece brought out to impress a small number of special guests. The first folio depicts a peacock, favored symbol of women, royalty, and rebirth Juliana proudly displayed throughout the Church of St. Polycleutos **(Fig. 6)**. The next two have scenes of famous medical experts sharing their knowledge and authority, possibly the earliest surviving manuscript portraits of scientists or physicians. Folio iv shows the seated Dioscurides with the personification of Discovery; on the following page personified Intelligence watches as Dioscurides directs a worker drawing a plant specimen. Taken as a totality the scenes portray a process of learning and implementing medical knowledge. The image of Juliana in Folio vi likewise emphasizes the importance of sequential activities rather than a single product. The depictions of benevolence, wisdom, and judgment, as well as the putti at work, valorize the agency of the imperial princess, presenting her engagement with construction as an act of both praying and self-promoting.

Coda: Juliana died in 527. The same year Justinian became emperor. He consolidated the design and approval of church building under imperial offices at Constantinople and relegated implementation to the clergy (Procop. *Aed.* 1.8.5). Depictions of construction scenes gave way to ones of male religious figures offering small church models as finished, imperial objects. Images of women overseeing the process of church building did not reappear for several centuries.

34 Juliana's great wealth ensured access to materials and workers, as boldly stated on the St. Polyceutos inscription: "what doth a queen lack?" *AnthGr* 10.3-5. Her many properties in the capital may have been used as staging areas during construction.

35 Juliana was a contemporary of the learned men credited with the design of Justinian's Haghia Sophia: Isidoros of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles. One can speculate that the latter, as the member of a prominent medical family, may have been familiar with the Vienna Codex. On architects available in Rome in this period see Cassiod. *Var.* 7.5.

36 *AnthGr* 1.10.25-26. The emphasis on agency and creation of structures rather than on finished buildings presages developments in the medieval period.

Figure 1: Reconstruction of the frontispiece VI of the Vienna Codex, Labarte 1864, pl. LXXVII.

Figure 2: Coin showing Dido with measuring staff supervising the building of Carthage, coin of Philip 1, Tyre c. 245 (*RPC Online,* https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk)

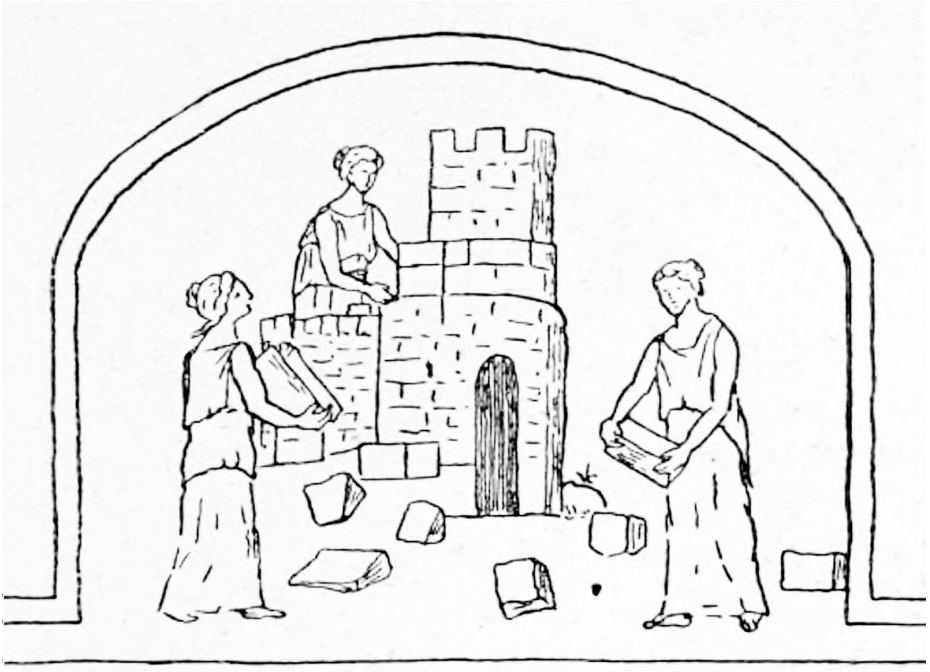

Figure 3: Drawing of scene of women building based on Hamas the Sheperd, fresco, Catacombs S. Gennaro; Dibelius 1923, drawing p. 29

Figure 4: Helena oversees a worker digging to uncover the True Cross at the site of a future church; MS CLXV ca. 825, Biblioteca Capitolare, Vercelli (public domain via Wikimedia Commons)

Figure 5: Gold glass rondel showing men at work building a ship; drawing after Kisa 1908, 871; Vatican Musem 60788.2.1.

Figure 6: Fragments of interior entablature with inscription from the church of St. Polyeuctos, Constantinople (Francesco Bini, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons)

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