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VOLUMES TWENTY-THREE & TWENTY-FOUR 1989-90

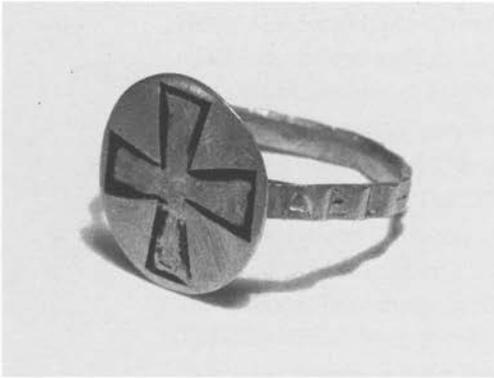


ANNUAL OF THE MUSEUM
OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA

A GOLD FINGER RING AND THE EMPRESS EUDOCIA

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Jewelry that can be associated with an illustrious historical personage is rare; thus, a gold finger ring (Figs. 1 and 2) inscribed with the name of Aelia Eudocia, wife of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius II, is of particular interest.¹ Apart from its inscription, however, there is nothing remarkable about the ring itself, which has a thin, flat, bezel decorated with an incised,

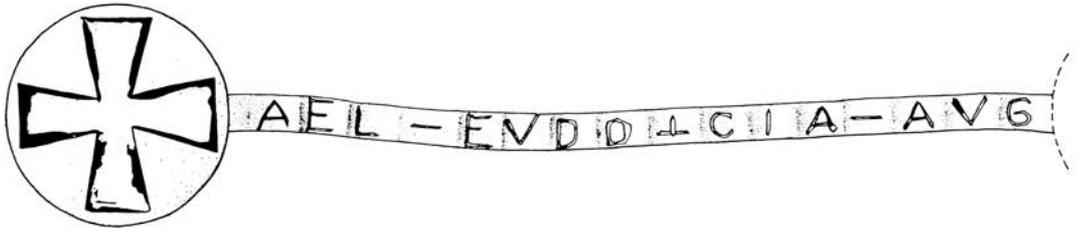


1. *Finger ring with inscription of Empress Eudocia, Byzantine, gold, and niello, Museum of Art and Archaeology (77.239).*

equal-armed cross once inlaid with niello, the black, silver/copper sulphide popular with Byzantine gold- and silversmiths for decorating jewelry and plate.² The niello has been partially and roughly removed from the cross, leaving an uneven border around the edge. The circular hoop is narrow and faceted on the exterior, and its two ends, covered by the bezel, have not been soldered together to form a complete ring; the ends are still visible beneath the bezel. The inscription on the

exterior of the hoop (Fig. 2) gives the name and title of the empress, AEL(IA) EVDOCIA AVG(VSTA), each letter being incised in a single facet and with some niello still remaining in the letters. A short horizontal stroke separates the three words, and between the O and C of EVDOCIA there is a third horizontal stroke combined with a vertical one, perhaps intended to be a small cross.

The identification of the person named on the ring is not open to question. The title Augusta was normally held only by the wife, sister, or mother of the emperor, and the use of Latin script indicates an early Byzantine date, although even when the Greek word *Basileus* had replaced Augustus as the usual title for the emperor, the Latin title Augusta continued to be preferred for the empress rather than the Greek Basilissa.³ Only one Byzantine empress bore the name Aelia Eudocia; she was the wife, and



later widow, of Theodosius II, ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire from 408 to 450.⁴

Although no ancient author wrote a biography of the empress, scattered references to her occur in a number of ancient sources, some more trustworthy than others.⁵ All accounts, ancient and modern, indicate that Aelia Eudocia was an interesting woman. She was born probably ca. 400 in Athens,⁶ where her father, Leontius, was a sophist.⁷ Her Greek name was Athenais,⁸ and she was reputed to be a great beauty.⁹ She was given an excellent education by her father and is also said to have been taught by two other scholars.¹⁰ After her father's death Eudocia was involved in litigation against her two brothers over her lack of an inheritance and went to Constantinople to try and settle her claim. This reason for her presence in Constantinople is not necessarily to be believed, since it occurs in sources that are not always trustworthy,¹¹ but it seems to be true that while in Constantinople she attracted the attention of Pulcheria, the emperor's influential sister, who promoted her to the emperor as a possible wife.¹² In 421 Eudocia married Theodosius II, after she had been baptized a Christian and had taken the name Aelia Eudocia.¹³ The bare facts about her life after her marriage are as follows: her eldest daughter, Licinia Eudoxia, was born in 422,¹⁴ and in 423 Eudocia was granted the title of Augusta,¹⁵ an event that provides a *terminus post quem* for the date of the gold ring. She bore two more children, both of whom died young. Her second daughter, Flacilla, died in 431;¹⁶ her son, Arcadius, is known only from an inscription and a dedication and must also have died young.¹⁷ The empress had made a vow to visit Jerusalem should she live to see her remaining daughter marry,¹⁸ and when in 437 Licinia Eudoxia was married to Valentinian III, emperor of the Western Roman Empire, Eudocia fulfilled her vow by making her first pilgrimage to Jerusalem,¹⁹ a city with which she would have a long associa-

2. Gold finger ring, drawing by John Huffstot. Surviving niello indicated in solid black.

tion. She arrived there after a triumphant royal progress during which she delivered a formal speech at Antioch.²⁰ During her pilgrimage she adorned many of the churches in Jerusalem and other cities and then returned to Constantinople, taking the bones of Saint Stephen with her.²¹ Probably in 441 or 442 she returned to Jerusalem where she spent the remainder of her life.²² During this period the empress became for a time a convert to Monophysitism, the most influential heresy of the time,²³ but she returned to Orthodoxy before her death, which occurred ca. 460 in Jerusalem.²⁴ She was buried there in the church of Saint Stephen.²⁵ The empress's exile or banishment to Jerusalem probably gave rise to the story of romantic involvement with Paulinus, the emperor's advisor and best friend, which was said to be the cause of her banishment, but since the story does not occur in fifth-century sources and is also chronologically unlikely, probably Eudocia lost her influence at court and left Constantinople for that reason.²⁶

It is easy to see why her life would inspire romantic stories, especially when her other accomplishments and achievements are added to the bare outline given above. She wrote poetry, little of which has survived. Preserved are 800 lines from books 1 and 2 of her life of the martyr Saint Cyprian and approximately 2,000 lines of the *Homercentones*, the Incarnation and the Life of Jesus put into Homeric verse.²⁷ A previously unknown poem was discovered in 1982 inscribed on a marble plaque in the Baths at Hammat Gader in the Yarmuk Valley, Israel.²⁸ Among her other works that have not survived were a panegyric in Greek hexameters to celebrate the victory of Theodosius over the Persian Sassanians in 421-422 and a verse paraphrase in eight books of part of the Old Testament.

The sources are not informative about her life in Constantinople between her marriage in 421 and her final departure. She is said to have founded a church of Saint Polyeuktos which was rebuilt in the early sixth century by Anicia Juliana, her great-granddaughter,²⁹ but almost nothing else is known. Dagron points out, in opposition to Kaegi, that it is wrong to assert that Eudocia was at the head of a pagan faction in Constantinople.³⁰ Cameron has also argued strongly against such an interpretation.³¹ Eudocia must, however, have asserted herself politically, as the positions held by her brother Valerius and her friend Cyrus attest. Her brother was consul in 432 and Master of the Offices in 435,³² and Cyrus, elected prefect of Constantinople in 435, was also praetorian prefect of the East in 439 and consul in 441 and

possibly 442.³³ From these facts, however, we learn very little about Eudocia's political power. It is, therefore, not for her achievements in Constantinople, nor for her poetry, that the empress is chiefly remembered today, but rather for her influence on Jerusalem; she is seen as one of that city's greatest benefactors.³⁴ It may have been due to her that Jews were once again allowed to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem and to reside there.³⁵ Better attested, however, is her effect on the defenses of the city and on its charitable and religious institutions. The sources record that she repaired the city wall and built a new one, enlarging the area enclosed on the southern side.³⁶ The new wall followed the line of an earlier, Hasmonean, or late Hellenistic, wall and served the city until the end of the ninth century, or even later. Parts of it were identified in early excavations at the end of the nineteenth century, and its early Byzantine date was confirmed in a more recent study.³⁷

The new wall was not all that Eudocia did for Jerusalem. She also played a major part in the tremendous amount of building activity that took place there in the fifth century. The Madaba mosaic map, which dates between 543 and 565, shows the city crowded with religious and charitable buildings.³⁸ A good many of them may have been erected by Eudocia or by members of her entourage. Indeed, one mid-sixth-century writer says that the empress built churches and so many monasteries and hospices for the poor and the old that he could not enumerate them.³⁹ Unfortunately, most of the sources are of little help in attributing specific buildings to the empress. Some, however, mention that the empress built a new church of Saint Stephen, in the northern part of the town outside the Damascus Gate, where she was buried.⁴⁰ This church was excavated in 1885-1893 by the Dominican Fathers, who built their church and monastery on the site, preserving much of the northern aisle of Eudocia's church.⁴¹ Except, however, for the information concerning this church and the city walls, very little specific knowledge can be gained from the sources about the locations and names of the buildings and institutions founded by her. Evagrius states that she built monasteries and *laurae* (groups of single cells for monks); John of Nikiu mentions a convent and a pilgrim hostel.⁴²

The most extensive list occurs only in a late and unreliable author, Nicephorus Callistus, who records that the empress built many sacred monasteries, founded *laurae* and *divine scholae*, an episcopal palace, a

pauper's house in Phordisii, and other poorhouses, hostels, and homes for the aged. In addition, she gave money to churches, hospitals, homes for the sick, sacred buildings, monasteries, and nunneries.⁴³ Thus, although Eudocia's reputation as an important benefactress of the Holy City is well attested, a correct estimation of the extent of her influence is extremely difficult and should take into account the literary record that shows that her contemporaries were also founding institutions.⁴⁴ She may have built a church at the Pool of Siloam, since the pool was enclosed within the new city wall. A church excavated there in 1896⁴⁵ is described in an account written ca. 560-570, and surviving Corinthian capitals indicate a mid-fifth-century construction date for the church.⁴⁶

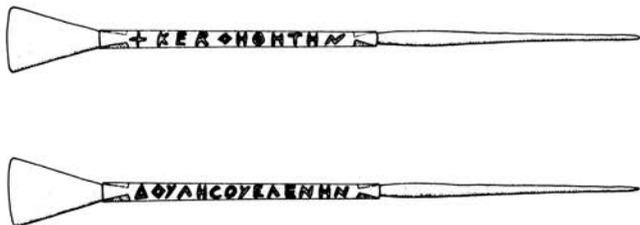
The church of Saint John the Baptist has also been tentatively attributed by some scholars to Eudocia.⁴⁷ No ancient source, however, connects her with it, although it is mentioned in an account written soon after 512 and appears to date to the middle or second half of the fifth century.⁴⁸ Part of the church still exists today as the crypt of the Prodomos.⁴⁹

One of the few geographical locations mentioned in the literature occurs in paragraph 4 of Cyril of Scythopolis' *Vita* of John Hesychastes. Eudocia is said to have built a home for the aged with a chapel of Saint George before the Holy City. A group of buildings excavated in 1949 in Giv'at Ram, West Jerusalem, was associated by the excavator with Eudocia.⁵⁰ A basilical church and several rooms, thought to be part of a monastery, were uncovered, including a chapel with mosaic floor that bears an inscription, "O Lord, God of St. George, remember the donor!"⁵¹ The text in Cyril of Scythopolis, however, mentions only a home for the aged and a chapel to Saint George. Firm attribution of this group of buildings to Eudocia does not seem justified.⁵²

Other buildings of fifth-century date are known in Jerusalem, one of which was founded by Bassa, a contemporary of Eudocia.⁵³ Another of probable fifth-century date⁵⁴ is a church in Beit Hanina on the Mount of Olives which lies beneath one probably to be dated to the sixth century. The church of the Probatica was ascribed by Vincent to the fifth century, a date confirmed by excavation in the '50s and '60s,⁵⁵ and the sources mention a church at this location in the fifth century.⁵⁶ Other buildings are also mentioned, for example, the Church of Pontius Pilate, a basilica of the Temptation of Jesus, and the Golden Gate.⁵⁷ These buildings were attributed to

Eudocia in Cabrol-Leclercq, but there is no evidence to support the attribution.⁵⁸ The impression gained from reading the sources is, however, that many buildings were constructed in Jerusalem during the fifth century, and the part played by Eudocia should not be minimized. Hunt emphasized her importance both to Jerusalem and to other areas of Palestine, not only because she founded institutions but also because she was able to endow them from her revenues. He also pointed out that the presence of a Byzantine empress in Jerusalem must have done much to further the development of Palestine as a "focus of devotion" for the Christian world.⁵⁹

Knowledge of the empress's life and achievements enhances the significance of the gold finger ring in the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Furthermore, since the ring is firmly dated by its inscription to between 423, the year when Eudocia became Augusta, and ca. 460, the year of her death, it can perhaps serve to date other rings.⁶⁰ A gold ring from the Stathatos Collection, now in the National Museum at Athens, has a very similar faceted hoop, also inscribed, but no bezel. It is dated in the publication to the ninth century but perhaps could be earlier.⁶¹



When an object from antiquity has a name on it, one might naturally assume that the object once belonged to that person and was worn or used by him or her. Certainly, there are objects from the ancient world that are rightly thought of as once having been the personal possessions of the individual named. A silver stylus (Fig. 3) in the Museum of Art and Archaeology bears an inscription that translates, "God help thy servant Helen."⁶² It is probably correct to assume that Helen once used the stylus. In the case of the gold finger ring, however, the name is that of an empress, and here one must exercise caution. It is known that emperors, and thus presumably also empresses, gave to individuals gifts of objects that had been made especially for that purpose.⁶³ The gold medallion shown in Figure 4 is an example of such a gift. It was struck probably about 340 by Constantius II to commemorate a special event.⁶⁴ More relevant,

3. *Inscribed stylus*, Byzantine, silver, Museum of Art and Archaeology (76.333).

4. Medallion of Constantius II, gold, Museum of Art and Archaeology (71.37).



however, to a discussion of the Eudocia ring is a number of gold finger rings inscribed with the word *fidem* or *fides* on the bezel and *Constantino* or *Constanti* on the hoop (Fig. 5). It has been accepted for many years that these rings were not the personal property of the emperor named but were made for him to give away, probably to officers in the army.⁶⁵ The evidence of a

passage in the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus is often cited.⁶⁶ There it is recorded that Constantine the Great presented gold rings to the leaders of the Chersonites, although those rings had a portrait of the emperor on them, probably an intaglio gem stone as Ross suggested,⁶⁷ and were, therefore, not the same type as the surviving gold rings.

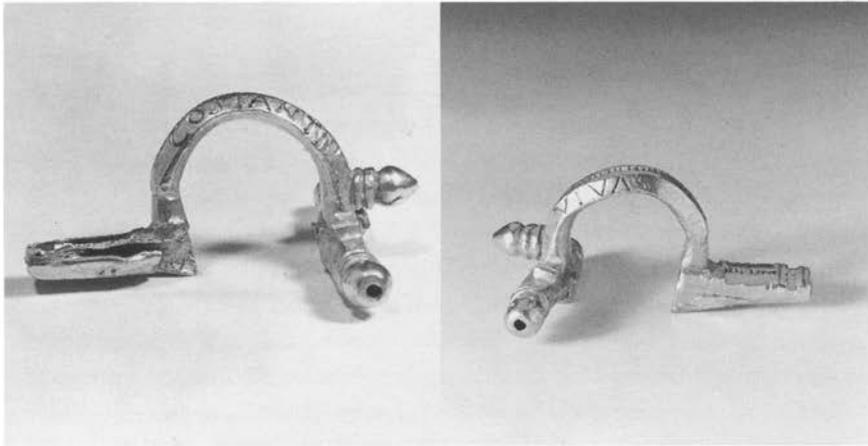
A number of fibulae, seven gold and one bronze, inscribed with the name of one, and in some cases of two, emperors are in the same category as the Constantine gold rings. These fibulae, of the so-called crossbow type, range in date from ca. 303/304

to 361/363, and some of them commemorate a particular event, such as the decennalia of Constantine I. Others employ a phrase such as "vivas" together with the name of the emperor (Fig. 6).⁶⁸

It has been asserted for some of these inscribed fibulae that they must have belonged to the emperors themselves.⁶⁹ A golden fibula was, however, the characteristic badge of rank in the late Roman empire for senators, for high-ranking administrators and for officers of high rank in the army, as is known from the literary sources and from depictions in art.⁷⁰ Furthermore,



5. Ring inscribed *FIDEM CONSTANTINO*, gold, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 11.023



6. Crossbow fibula
inscribed
COSTANTI VIVAS,
gold, Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches
Museum,
Antikensammlung,
no. VII B303.

the latter show that emperors and princes did not usually wear the crossbow fibula but rather a highly ornamented brooch, usually round but sometimes oval or almond shaped.⁷¹ For these reasons, as Noll argued convincingly, it is unlikely that the gold fibulae with emperors' names on them actually belonged to the emperors named. Rather, they were intended as gifts to high-ranking officials and soldiers.⁷²

In view, therefore, of the arguments demonstrating that these two groups of jewelry inscribed with imperial names were not the personal property of the emperors, one cannot safely assume that the empress Aelia Eudocia once wore the gold finger ring with her name on it. More probably, it was made to be given to some worthy recipient. Depictions of the imperial family such as that of the empress Ariadne on an ivory panel in Vienna dated to the early sixth century serve as a reminder of how rich and ornate the apparel and jewelry of an early Byzantine empress could be.⁷³ The simple bezel and rather fragile construction of the Eudocia ring provide a striking contrast.⁷⁴ A gold ring adorned with a cross would, however, be suitable for a religious woman such as Eudocia is known to have been, both from her writings and from her building activity in Jerusalem. The question of ownership cannot be definitely decided, but whether the ring was worn by her, or whether it was made for her to give away, it is still associated with one of the more fascinating figures of early Byzantine history.

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NOTES

¹Acc. no. 77.239. Said to come from Beirut. Diameter of hoop 1.92 cm.

This study was originally presented as a paper at an Archaeological Institute of America regional symposium on personal ornament in the ancient world, held at the University of Missouri in October 1982. A brief version was published in *The News*, Museum of Art and Archaeology 3 (Fall 1985). The paper has been substantially reworked for publication here. I am grateful for the help of Julia Burman, Averil Cameron, and Yoram Tsafirir. The late Glanville Downey first correctly identified the empress whose name is inscribed on the ring.

²D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), 194-96; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), 533. On niello, see M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst: Niello* (Osnabrück, 1972, reprint of Frankfurt 1924 edition), and W. A. Oddy, M. Bimson, and S. LaNiece, "The Composition of Niello Decoration on Gold, Silver and Bronze in the Antique and Mediaeval Periods," *Studies in Conservation* 28 (1983): 29-35.

³George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2d ed., trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford, 1968), 56-57; Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 309-10.

⁴There was a powerful empress, Eudocia Makrembolitissa, in the eleventh century, the wife first of Constantine X and then of Romanus IV. See L. Cohn, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa" in A.F. von Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* (hereafter *RE*) (Stuttgart, 1907), 6:1, cols. 912-13; N. Oikonomidès, "Le serment de l'impératrice Eudocie (1067): un épisode de l'histoire dynastique de

Byzance," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 21 (1963): 101-28.

⁵The most important references to her life occur in the following ancient authors: Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, W. Jacob, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 71 (Vindobonae, 1952); Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, eds. (Amsterdam, 1964, reprint of London 1898 edition); Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii, Vita Sabae, and other saints lives*, E. Schwartz ed., *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1939); Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, *Patrologia Latina*, J.-P. Migne, ed., vol. 51 (Paris, 1861); John Malalas, *Chronographia*, L. Dindorf, ed., *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (hereafter *CSHB*) (Bonn, 1831); Tusculum fragments in *Spicilegium romanum*, A. Mai, ed. (Rome, 1839); *Chronicon Paschale*, L. Dindorf, ed., *CSHB* (Bonn, 1832). A brief modern account using some of these sources appears in J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, A.D. 395-527 (Cambridge, 1980), 408-9. A fuller account occurs in O. Seeck, "Eudokia," *RE* (Stuttgart, 1909), 6:1, cols. 906-12, and H.-G. Beck, "Eudokia (Kaiserin)," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1966), 6: cols. 844-47. See also G. R. Sievers, *Studien zur Geschichte der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1870), 431-33; W. Wiegand, *Eudoxia, Gemahlin des oströmischen Kaisers Theodosius II* (Worms, 1871); F. A. Gregorovius, *Athenais, Geschichte einer byzantinischen Kaiserin* (Leipzig, 1882); Charles Diehl, *Byzantine Portraits* (New York, 1927), 24-48; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2d ed. (London, 1923), 1, 225-31. For more recent studies see Kenneth G. Holum, "Family Life in the Theodosian House," *Kleronomia* 8 (1976): 280-92, and *Theodosian Empresses, Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982); Alan Cameron, "The empress and the poet: paganism and politics at the court of Theodosius II," *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982): 217-89; E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 312-460* (Oxford, 1984), chap. 10.

Socrates' ecclesiastical history, written ca. 439 and thus a contemporary account, contains the earliest and least fanciful report of Eudocia's origins. John Malalas, the sixth-century historian, has left us the earliest and most complete connected account of her life, but it is a highly romantic version that was followed by the *Chronicon Paschale*. Both Marcellinus and the *Chronicon Paschale* share the same annalistic source for the period, but Marcellinus, the earlier, is the more reliable. The Eudocia story also occurs in an eighth-century text, on which see Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, eds., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, *Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* 10 (Leiden, 1984), 254, for comment on the function of the story in Malalas as a moralizing fable. Late nineteenth- and early

twentieth-century historians for the most part uncritically accepted the romantic stories about Eudocia. For a skeptical evaluation of some of these authors and of more recent work, see Cameron, "Empress and poet."

⁶Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1. Holum disputes her Athenian origin and suggests that she came from Antioch (*Theodosian Emperresses*, 117-18). An inscription on a statue base found in the Athenian Agora provides, however, the first real evidence for a connection between Eudocia and the city of Athens. See E. Sironen, "An Honorary Epigram for the Empress Eudocia in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 59 (1990): 371-74. I would like to thank E. Sironen for an advance copy of his article and Judith Binder for informing me about Dr. Sironen's work.

⁷Socrates 11. 17, 2; Theophanes *Chronographia* 5911, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1839).

⁸Socrates 11. 16, 2; Priscus *Fragmenta* 8, I. Bekker and B. G. Niebuhr, eds., *CSHB* (Bonn, 1829); *Chronicon Paschale* 421; Theophanes 5911.

⁹Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1; Theophanes 5911. No portrait busts have survived. For her coins see J. F. W. de Salis, "The Coins of the Two Eudoxias, Eudocia . . .," *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1867): 203-15; J. Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), 1: 120-21; J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines* (Amsterdam, 1968, reprint of St. Petersburg 1912-1914 edition), 82-86.

¹⁰Socrates 11.16, 2; Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 10.306, 58, T. Kiesslingius, ed. (Hildesheim, 1963).

¹¹John Malalas, *Chronographia* 14. 52-53; *Chronicon Paschale*, 420, 421.

¹²Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1; Theophanes 5911.

¹³Socrates 11. 17, 2; Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 1; Theophanes 5911; Marcellinus 421, 1.

¹⁴Marcellinus 422, 1.

¹⁵*Chronicon Paschale* 423.

¹⁶Marcellinus 431, 1.

¹⁷Cameron, "Empress and poet,": 266-67.

¹⁸Socrates 12. 15, 2.

¹⁹Theophanes 5927; *Anthologia Graeca* 105, vol. 1, Hermann Beckby, ed. (Munich, 1957).

²⁰Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 20, 3-5. Evagrius records that her stay in Antioch was commemorated by a skillfully made bronze statue. According to John Malalas (*Spicilegium romanum*, 2: 2, 15, frag. 2) and the *Chronicon Paschale* (444), two monuments commemorated her visit, a gilded bronze statue and a bronze stele. The Latin mistranslation of bronze statue for the bronze stele of John Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale* has been followed by Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), 451.

²¹Socrates 12. 15, 2; Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 21. 1 and 22. 1; Theophanes 5927; Marcellinus 439, 2. The relics brought back by Eudocia were an addition to the relics of Saint Stephen's right arm that had been brought to Constantinople in 421 and placed in a chapel dedicated to Saint Stephen founded by Pulcheria. On this earlier translation of Saint Stephen's relics, see Kenneth G. Holum and Gary Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, Adventus Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 115-33. See, however, L. J. Wilson, "The Trier Procession Ivory: A New Interpretation," *Byzantion* 54 (1984): 602-14, for an alternative interpretation of the Trier ivory. The bones brought back by Eudocia were deposited in the basilica of Saint Lawrence.

²²The ancient sources do not agree on the date for her final departure. Most modern scholars have rejected 440 and 444, preferring 441 or 442, based on a passage in Suidas, *Lexikon*, A. Adler, ed. (Leipzig, 1928-1938), s.v. *Kyros Panopolites*, which states that the fall of the poet Cyrus of Panopolis, the empress's friend, was brought about by her departure. By February 442 Cyrus was no longer consul and praetorian prefect (Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 235-36). Constantelos considers, however, that Cyrus was consul until 443 and that Eudocia left in that year (D. J. Constantelos, "Kyros Panopolites, Rebuilder of Constantinople," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 12 [1971]: 460). The year 443 has also been suggested by Boyce, based on the rarity of solidi of Eudocia for that year and the apparent increase in those for her daughter Licinia Eudoxia. Boyce argued that Eudocia's departure in 443 led to a cessation of the minting of her solidi (Aline A. Boyce, "Eudoxia, Eudocia, Eudoxia: "Dated Solidi of the Fifth Century," *Museum Notes* 6 [1954]: 136-38). See, however, Cameron, "Empress and poet,": 258-63, for objections to Boyce's argument; Cameron favors a date of 441, or possibly 440, for Eudocia's departure.

²³Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 27 and 20; Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 15. 9, *Patrologia Graeca*, J.-P. Migne, ed., vol. 147 (Paris, 1865); Theophanes 5945. On the heresy, see W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge, 1972).

²⁴Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 30 and 35; Theophanes 5947; Nicephorus 14. 50 (*Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 146).

²⁵Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 22, 1; Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historion* 337C, I. Bekker, ed., *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838).

²⁶The story, which involves a large Phrygian apple as the means of discovery of Eudocia's adultery, is found first in the uncritical and often confused sixth-century historian John Malalas (*Chronographia* 14: 57-58). The *Chronicon Paschale* (444) follows John Malalas (see also Cedrenus 337C). Paulinus

was executed in 440, and in Cappadocia, not Constantinople, but Eudocia retained her influence in Constantinople until 441 or 442, or, if the later date is preferred for her departure, until 443. That there were rumors about the empress's adultery as early as 451 is attested by Nestorius (*The Bazaar of Heracleides*, 520, trans. F. Nau [Paris, 1910]: 331). For careful discussion of the facts, see Seeck, *RE*, cols. 909-10; Beck, "Eudokia," cols. 845-46.

²⁷On the empress as a poet, see A. Ludwich "Eudokia, die Gattin des Kaisers Theodosios II, als Dichterin," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 37 (1882): 206-25; Herbert Hunger, "On the Imitation (Μίμησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969): 34, and *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 12.5.2 (Munich, 1978), 100-101, 112; Cameron, "Empress and poet," 279 (for a scathing denunciation of her poetic ability); A.-J. Rey, "Studies on the works of the Empress Aelia Eudocia" (M. Litt., Saint John's College, Oxford, 1988).

²⁸J. Green and Y. Tsafir, "Greek Inscriptions from Hammat Gader: A Poem by the Empress Eudocia and Two Building Inscriptions," *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982): 77-91.

²⁹*Anthologia Palatina*, trans. W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (London, 1916) 1. 10. See R. M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul I* (Princeton, 1986).

³⁰Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974), 384, n. 4; W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton, 1968), 68.

³¹Cameron, "Empress and poet," 277-81.

³²Martindale, *Prosopography*, 1145.

³³Seeck, *RE*, col. 908 (for 441 or 442); Constantelos, "Kyros," 460.

³⁴M. Avi-Yonah, *Jerusalem* (New York, 1960), 112.

³⁵Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* (New York, 1976), 240-41.

³⁶Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 22, 1; Cassiodorus *Expositio Psalmorum* 50, 20, M. Adriaen, ed., *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (hereafter CCSL), vol. 97 (1958); *Chronicon Paschale* 444; John Malalas, *Chronographia* 14. 58; *Nicephorus* 14. 50. For plan of the city, see Y. Tsafir, "Jerusalem," in *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 3, K. Wessel and M. Restle, eds. (Stuttgart, 1978), cols. 555-56, fig. 11; K. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (London, 1974) fig. 44.

³⁷F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894-1897* (London, 1898), 25-28; Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, 269-70. More recent excavations have not demonstrated that the new wall did not follow the line of the earlier one. (Y. Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David, I, 1978-82, QEDem* 19 [1984], 30-31). There seems to be a question, however, as to when exactly Eudocia's wall went

out of use. D. Bahat ("Les portes de Jérusalem selon Mukaddasi," *Revue Biblique* 93 [1986]: 430) states that it was not abandoned until 1033, following an earthquake. He refers to J. Praver's article, "The Conquest of the City and the Walls of Jerusalem at the Eve of the First Crusade," *Eretz Israel* 17 (1984) (in Hebrew). Y. Tsafir, on the other hand, considers it possible that the line of Eudocia's wall was abandoned earlier, between 870 and 985, the time of Muqaddasi, and not necessarily as a result of war but more likely as a result of decrease in population and decline in importance of Jerusalem (Y. Tsafir, "Muqaddasi's Gates of Jerusalem. A New Identification Based on Byzantine Sources," *Israel Exploration Journal* 27 [1977]: 154-58). Recent excavations have uncovered remains of a gate through Eudocia's wall. See *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 72 (1979): 28-29; 77 (1981): 26-27; 80-81 (1982): 30-31.

³⁸Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem, 1954), 16-18, pl. 7; Y. Tsafir, "Jerusalem," cols. 575-87, fig. 21, and "The Maps Used by Theodosius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986): 136. For full bibliography on the mosaic up to 1977, see H. Donner and H. Cüppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba* (Wiesbaden, 1977), xi-xvi. See also M. Piccirillo in *Monde de la Bible* 52 (1988): 16-18. For a date in the first half of the seventh century for the mosaic, see Pauline Donceel-Voûte, "La carte de Madaba: cosmographie, anachronisme et propagande," *Revue Biblique* 95 (1988): 540-42.

³⁹Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, 35.

⁴⁰Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 22; Theodosius, *Itinerarium* 8, P. Geyer ed., *CCSL*, vol. 175 (1965); Antoninus Placentinus 25, *CCSL*, vol. 175 (1965).

⁴¹L. de Vaux, "Mémoire relatif aux fouilles entreprises par les R. P. Dominicains à Saint-Étienne de Jérusalem," *Revue archéologique*, series III, 12 (1888): 32-60; J. Lagrange, *St. Étienne et son sanctuaire à Jérusalem* (Paris, 1894); H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem; recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. 2, 4, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1926), 768-804.

⁴²Evagrius Scholasticus 1. 21; John of Nikiu, *Chronigum de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, H. Zotenberg ed., *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres Paris. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris, 1883), 24: 470.

⁴³Nicephorus Callistus 14, 50, but for unreliability of this source, see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 239.

⁴⁴For discussion of the buildings put up by contemporaries of Eudocia, see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 241. See also n. 53 below and John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 24 (1987), although with little information on Jerusalem in the first half of the fifth century.

⁴⁵Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 178-210.

⁴⁶Antoninus Placentinus 24; Asher Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* (Bonn, 1970), 90-93; Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1976), 2: 615. A mid-sixth-century reconstruction described by Ovadiah is not mentioned by Avi-Yonah. Excavations here from 1978 to 1982 revealed substantial remains of structures that dated to the fifth century. The excavators concluded that they may have been connected with the public buildings constructed around the Siloam Church in the fifth century. See Shiloh, *QEDEM* 19 (1984), 6.

⁴⁷F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 7: 2 (Paris, 1927), 2331-32, 2334, for attribution to the empress; Vincent-Abel, *Jerusalem* (Paris, 1922), 2, 3: 644.

⁴⁸John Rufus, *Plérphories*, F. Nau ed., *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1912), 8: 35-36; Ovadiah, *Corpus*, 78-79.

⁴⁹Vincent-Abel, *Jerusalem*, 2, 3: 652-66.

⁵⁰Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia*, 615-16.

⁵¹Avi-Yonah, "Excavations at Sheikh Bader," *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 15 (1949): 19-23, see page II for the English summary where the buildings are dated to the sixth century. See also Ovadiah, *Corpus*, 81-82, who follows Avi-Yonah's original dating to the early sixth century but states that the church was probably connected with Eudocia's home for the aged. For plan of the basilica, see Ovadiah and C. Gomez da Silva, "Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land, II: Updated Material on churches discussed in the Corpus," *Levant* 14 (1982): 139, no. 21.

⁵² Another attribution to Eudocia that also is not justifiable is based on the German and English translations of John Rufus's life of Peter the Iberian, which state that the empress was also responsible for the restoration of a church on the Mount of Olives where the Persian martyrs and the forty martyrs of Sebastia were buried (R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer* [Leipzig 1895], 37; D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints* [Oxford, 1976, reprint of 1956 edition], 65). The Syriac text, however, apparently does not connect Eudocia with this restoration but only with the building of the church of Saint Stephen.

⁵³Excavations in 1961-1967 uncovered remains of the foundations of a church whose plan was probably basilical. A surviving fragment of a mosaic floor contains an inscription that perhaps associates the church with Bassa, who is known to have built a nunnery and a chapel of Saint Menas, which survives today as part of the Armenian Cathedral of Saint James (Kenyon,

Jerusalem, 273-74). For Bassa, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, 30, and *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 2. 1, 3, 31, p. 135, E. Schwartz, ed. (Berlin/Leipzig, 1933).

⁵⁴Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 617-19.

⁵⁵Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, 2, 4: 685-98; J. M. Rousée, "L'église Sainte-Marie de la Probatique," *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana. Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 26 (1965): 171-74. Ovadiah and da Silva, "Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land, I: Newly Discovered Churches," *Levant* 13 (1981): 223-24, dated to probably the beginning of the fifth century, and before 427.

⁵⁶John Rufus, 35; *Vita Petri Iberi*, 94, R. Raabe, ed., *Petrus der Iberer* (Leipzig, 1895).

⁵⁷Church of Pontius Pilate: *Vita Petri Iberi*, 94; Theodosius 7; *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* 6, R. Weber, ed., *CCSL*, vol. 175 (1965); Antoninus Placentinus 23. Basilica: *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* 5. Golden Gate: Antoninus Placentinus 17.

⁵⁸Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire*, 2334. The attribution of the Golden Gate to Eudocia, originally in Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, 2 (910-11), has been given no credence for many years. For latest discussion of the date of this gate, see M. Rosen-Ayalon, "The Early Islamic Monuments of Al-Haram Al-Sharif," *QEDEM* 28 (1989): 38-44.

⁵⁹Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 237, 239-40.

⁶⁰The type of bezel, flat and circular, was fairly popular in the Christian East and can be paralleled by a number of rings of the sixth and seventh centuries. See H. Battke, *Ringe aus vier Jahrtausenden im Schmuckmuseum Pforzheim* (Frankfurt, 1963), no. 23, and K. R. Brown in Kurt Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), no. 308, for one with nielloed, equal-armed cross. This example and others listed in M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2 (New York, 1965), no. 67, have a heavier bezel than does the Eudocia ring, and their hoops are plain. Faceted and polygonal rings without a bezel, some inscribed, some plain, are known from the third century and later (cf. F. Henkel, *Die Römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande* [Berlin, 1913], nos. 9-13; F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1907), nos. 639-43. For a list of Byzantine gold and silver rings with inscriptions, see M. Hadzidakis, "Un anneau byzantin du Musée Benaki," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 17 (1939-1943): 193-206.

⁶¹E. Coche de la Ferté, *Collection Hélène Stathatos. Les objets byzantins et*

post-byzantins (Limoges, 1957), pl. VI bis B. There appears to be no mention of this ring in the text. The date is given as part of the caption for the plate.

⁶²Acc. no. 76.333. L. 12.5 cm. Gift of Gawain McKinley.

⁶³Ramsay MacMullen, "The Emperor's Largesses," *Latomus* 21 (1962): 159-66.

⁶⁴Acc. no. 71.37. Diameter 4 cm. Gift of Maureen C. Mabbott in memory of Thomas O. Mabbott. Published: *Illustrated Museum Handbook: A Guide to the Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia*, O. Overby, ed. (Columbia, 1982), no. 112. For description of the occasions of medallion issues and for discussion of the recipients, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York, 1944), especially 117-18, for gifts of gold medallions to barbarian princes in the third and fourth centuries. For other medallions of Constantius II of the same type as the Missouri medallion, see Toynbee, "Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-antique Art," *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 140-41; Alfred R. Bellinger, "Roman and Byzantine Medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958): 146-47. The Missouri medallion is the only one attested from the Thessalonika mint.

⁶⁵Henkel, *Fingerringe*, 17. Noll listed the rings of this type known to him, adding to the examples published by Henkel. See R. Noll, "Eine goldene 'Kaiserfibel' aus Niederemmel vom Jahre 316," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 174 (1974): 241-43. See also Gary Vikan, "Early Christian and Byzantine Rings in the Zucker Family Collection," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 45 (1987): 33, fig. 3, for publication of a ring, possibly Noll no. 15 or 16, listed there as from the Guilhou collection, present whereabouts unknown. For one more ring, see Endre Tóth, "Römische Gold- und Silbergegenstände mit Inschriften im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum. Goldringe," *Folia Archaeologica* 30 (1979): 164-66, no. 11 (an incomplete ring found in Hungary).

⁶⁶Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* 53, 145-46, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 1 (1967).

⁶⁷M. Ross, "Two Gem Carvings of the IV Century A.D.," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957): 174, pl. 67.

⁶⁸Noll, "Kaiserfibel,": 221-38.

⁶⁹E. Coche de la Ferté, *L'antiquité chrétienne au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1958), 102; J. Heurgon, *Le trésor de Ténès* (Paris, 1958), 25; Ross in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 299, "a fibula presented to Constantine the Great."

⁷⁰A. Oliver, Jr., "Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Jewelry," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1966): 283-84; Noll, "Kaiserfibel,": 238-39.

⁷¹Klaus Wessel, "Fibel," *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1971) 2: cols. 539-41.

⁷²Noll, "Kaiserfibel," : 238-39. Oliver points out that many gold fibulae are equal in weight to five aurei or to multiples of five and refers to a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Historia* 20. 4, 18, E. Gallatier ed., *Histoire* [Paris, 1968-1977]) in which the emperor Julian promised five aurei and one pound of silver to each man at his accession in 361 (in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 303).

⁷³Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 31, no. 25,

⁷⁴One may think, however, of the rather plain and simple pendant that belonged to Maria, empress 398-407 (D. Gaborit in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 306, no. 279).