

To Mom and Dad

**FOLLOWING THE TRACES OF A FEMALE SAINT IN AND OUT OF
CONSTANTINOPLE:
THE CULT OF ST. EUPHEMIA AND A RESCUE PROJECT PROPOSAL
FOR THE CHURCH BY THE HIPPODROME**

**by
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ABSTRACT

FOLLOWING THE TRACES OF A FEMALE SAINT IN AND OUT OF CONSTANTINOPLE: THE CULT OF ST. EUPHEMIA AND A RESCUE PROJECT PROPOSAL FOR THE CHURCH BY THE HIPPODROME

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**Keywords: St. Euphemia, Constantinople, relics, cult of saints, *martyrium*-
church, cultural heritage, sustainable conservation, management plan**

The cult of St. Euphemia who was martyred around 1700 years ago in Chalcedon (today's Kadıköy) still exists today in İstanbul, and the feast day of the saint is celebrated every September 16 by the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate as a continuing tradition since its emergence in the fourth century. Although Euphemia was an Eastern saint who was later associated with the definition of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, she was venerated by the Western and Eastern Monophysite Churches as well. This thesis aims to understand the still-surviving cult as well as its importance for the city of Constantinople and the Christian world. Thus, on the basis of the Byzantine textual evidence the study examines the historical, cultural, theological, political and social reasons for the emergence and the propagation of the cult of St. Euphemia. Patriarchal records, pilgrims' accounts and the Byzantine chronicles will then be used to analyse the development and the wide geographical spread of her cult

throughout the Christian world, the journey of her relics as well as the church and monastery dedications to the saint in and beyond the borders of Constantinople. The last chapter of this study presents a preliminary proposal for the future of the only surviving Byzantine church dedicated to St. Euphemia in Istanbul together with its surroundings in the historic town. The project will be based on international criteria for the sustainable conservation and management of cultural heritage property.

ÖZET

KONSTANTİNOPOLİS VE ÇEVRESİNDE BİR AZİZENİN İZİNDE: AZİZE EUPHEMIA'NIN KÜLTÜ VE HİPODROM'DAKİ KİLİSESİ İÇİN KURTARMA PLANI TEKLİFİ

Aslı Zeren

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Tez Danışmanı: Alessandra Ricci

Anahtar Kelimeler: Azize Euphemia, Konstantinopolis, kutsal emanetler, azizlerin kültürü, *martiryon*-kilise, kültürel miras, sürdürülebilir koruma, yönetim planı

Yaklaşık 1700 yıl önce Khalkedon'da (Kadıköy) şehit edilen Azize Euphemia'nın kültürü bugün hala İstanbul'da varlığını korumaktadır ve azizenin yortu günü olan 16 Eylül kültürün olduğu 4. yüzyıldan bu yana devam eden bir gelenek olarak Fener-Rum Patrikhanesi'nde kutlanmaktadır. Sonradan Khalkedon Ortodoksluğu'nun tanımı ile özdeşleştirilmiş bir Doğu Kilisesi azizesi olmasına rağmen Batı Kilisesi ve Monofizit Kilise tarafından da kabul görmüş ve kutsal sayılmıştır. Bu çalışma azizenin günümüzde de devam eden kültürünü ve bu kültürün Konstantniopolis ve Hıristiyanlık dünyası için önemini anlamayı amaçlar. Bu nedenle çalışma Bizans kaynaklarına dayanarak Azize Euphemia'nın kültürünün oluşumu ve yayılımının tarihi, kültürel, teolojik, politik ve sosyal nedenlerini inceleyecektir. Kültürün Hıristiyan topografyası üzerindeki gelişimi ve geniş coğrafi

yayımlarının analizi için patriarkal kayıtlar, hacıların kayıtları ve Bizans kroniklerine dayanarak azizenin kutsal emanetlerinin Konstantinopolis sınırları ve sınırların ötesindeki yolculuğu ile ona adanmış kilise ve manastırlar ele alınacaktır. Tezin son bölümü İstanbul'da azizeye adanmış ve günümüze ulaşmayı başarmış tek Bizans kilisesinin ve tarihi şehirde kendisini çevreleyen alanın geleceği için bir proje teklifi sunmaktadır. Bu proje kültürel varlıkların korunması ve yönetiminde uluslararası yaklaşım esas alınarak hazırlanmıştır.

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INTRODUCTION

What did the saints mean for the city in Byzantium and what was their social, political, cultural and economic role in the history of the empire? What do miracles and relics tell us about the role of the saints in Byzantium and why did their relics travel throughout the empire? Is it possible to follow the route of the relics' journey and how shall we interpret these practices in relation with the cult of relics and the saint?

The cult of St. Euphemia which emerged after her martyrdom around 1700 years ago in Chalcedon (today's Kadıköy) still exists as a cult in the city, and every September 16 her feast day is celebrated by the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul establishing a continuing tradition since its emergence in the fourth century.¹

This thesis aims to understand the importance of the cult of St. Euphemia for Constantinople while seeking answers to the above mentioned questions. What were the main reasons behind the popularity of her cult and how did she become the patron saint of Chalcedon and Constantinople? Although she was an Eastern saint who was later associated with the definition of the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, as will be shown in the thesis, she was venerated by the West and Monophysite Churches as well and this irony makes her cult more interesting.²

In order to examine the long veneration and widespread cult of St. Euphemia as well as its importance for Constantinople, this preliminary study will first focus on

¹ The Official web site of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul.
<http://patriarchate.org/patriarchate/tour>

² See *Journey of Relics* and *The Miracle during the Council of Chalcedon* under Chapter I.

the most popular two hagiographical Byzantine texts among a collection of textual evidence ranging over a wide time period from the fourth to the fifteenth century.³ Owing to the fact that these two texts do not overlap each other and with other texts describing the martyrdom and tortures as well as the definition of the church complex in Chalcedon, debate has emerged among scholars about the authenticity of the texts.⁴ O. J. Schrier presents the debate on the traditions and the sources about the saint's martyrdom in his valuable work, and questions if it is possible to determine the exact nature of the martyrdom.⁵ Previously in the field of hagiography scholars were mainly interested in "the production of reliable editions of lives of saints and critical analysis of the authenticity of saints" but modern hagiographic scholarship developed a multidisciplinary approach which prefer to use these sources as evidence for the understanding of the saint's cult, and the social and cultural history of Christianity and Byzantine society.⁶ The main work of H. Delehaye helped me to develop a better understanding of hagiographical texts, while the articles of P. Brown enabled me to see the necessity of the saints and their cult in society through the eyes of early Christians.⁷ *Euphémie de Chalcedoine: Légendes Byzantines*, a collection of the surviving Greek accounts about the life, martyrdom and posthumous miracles of St. Euphemia which was edited and published by F. Halkin became the main source for the primary texts in the first chapter.⁸ In his work the editor Halkin interpreted

³ See figure I.1 the list of primary sources under Chapter I.

⁴ *The Ekphrasis* of Asterius of Amaseia in F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine* (Brussels, 1965): 4-8; *Passio Vetus* (BHG³ 619d) in F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine* (Brussels, 1965): 9-33.

⁵ O. J. Schrier, "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie." *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 329-54.

⁶ Alice- M. Talbot, "Hagiography." *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*. ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack. (Oxford, 2008): 868-9.

⁷ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Dublin, 1998); H. Delehaye, *Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires* (Bruxelles, 1966); Peter Brown, *Society and The Holy in Late Antiquity* (London and California, 1989); P. Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity." *Representations*, Vol. 2 (1983): 1-25.; P. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World*. (Cambridge, 1997).

⁸ F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine: Légendes Byzantines* (Bruxelles, 1965).

these hagiographical texts from the literary point of view and following an earlier approach to hagiographic scholarship which tends to regard these texts as a work of legend within the Byzantine literary genre of epic passion rather than documents which reflect historical details both about the life of the saint the society.⁹ The work of A. M. Talbot gave me an insight into the ‘attitude towards women in the patriarchal society’ as well as ‘female sanctity’ during the Byzantine period. This study thus aims to provide a reassessment of these texts in a wider perspective taking into account gender and class relations in Byzantine society as well as the role of the hagiographical texts for the emergence and popularity of the saint’s cult.¹⁰ For the analysis of development and the wide geographical spread of her cult on the Christian topography, besides the texts about the life and the martyrdom I shall follow the journey of her relics beyond the borders of Constantinople as seen in patriarchal records, pilgrims’ accounts and the Byzantine chronicles. Theophanes the Confessor, as a historian of the early ninth century and an eyewitness of the restoration of her relics to Constantinople formed an important source of evidence although his account of the transfer of the relics to Alexandria is not taken into consideration for reasons which will be discussed later.¹¹ The article by H. Goldfus helped me understand the social and political reasons behind the translation of the saint’s relics from Chalcedon to Constantinople possibly during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius.¹² Although it suggests a different date than Goldfus for the translation on the basis of a hagiographical text, A. Berger’s article provided a much

⁹ See *The Manuscript Tradition* under Chapter I.

¹⁰ A.-M. Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* (Burlington, 2001); A.-M. Talbot ed. *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives* in English Translation (Washington, D.C., 2006).

¹¹ Theophanes Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and near Eastern History CE 284-813* eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford, 1997).

¹² H. Goldfus, "St. Euphemia's Church by the Hippodrome of Constantinople within the Broader Context of Early 7th Century History and Architecture," *Ancient West & East* 5.1-2 (2006): 180.

broader perspective from which to reassess other possibilities for the translation date.¹³

The second chapter will focus on the geography of the cult by following the dedications to St. Euphemia in and out of Constantinople. Here it should be indicated that owing to limitations of methodology, only a selection of the early churches will be included for the dedications to St. Euphemia out of Constantinople. Moreover due to time constraints and availability of the primary sources, detailed analysis of all the hagiographical texts on the list will not be included in my research which admittedly would give a more precise picture of the saint's cult as well as of Byzantine society. The main object of this thesis is to explore the questions of how and why St. Euphemia became so important for Constantinople. Thus, in this chapter I shall try to demonstrate the importance of her cult for the city by examining the location of the dedications and correlating these dedications with the time period in which they were built, to see if there is any historical event that contributed to the promotion of the saint's existing cult, as well as trying to ascertain if any event caused a decline in the cult of the saint. The account of Evagrius Scholasticus, an ecclesiastical historian of the sixth century, which describes the church complex of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon, is an important source, being the only detailed primary account about the location of the first dedication in Chalcedon.¹⁴ An article by A. M. Schneider provided me valuable interpretations of the author about the possible location of the church in Chalcedon and the Fourth General Council which was held in the church, in addition to the references to the travellers' accounts on the church in Chalcedon.¹⁵ The

¹³ Albrecht Berger, "Die Reliquien der Heiligen Euphemia und ihre erste Translation nach Konstantinopel." *Hellenika* Vol. 39 (1988): 311-22.

¹⁴ Evagrius Scholasticus, Whitby, Michael. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool, 2000): 62-5.

¹⁵ Alfons M. Schneider, "Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon" in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* (Grillmeier-Bacht ed.) Vol. 1 (1951): 291-302

accounts of Russian travellers and pilgrims who visited Constantinople between the early thirteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries provide valuable data on the churches and the relics of St. Euphemia in the late Byzantine period.¹⁶ The useful study of R. Naumann and H. Belting, which is mainly based on the architecture and the frescoes of the church by the Hippodrome, presents valuable information in a variety of contexts about historical background and the church building.¹⁷ The articles by Schneider about the first excavation and the excavation reports of R. Duyuran, N. Dolunay and R. Naumann as well as the book by T. F. Mathews have helped me to understand the complexity of the structure and the site from a wider archaeological, architectural and historical viewpoint.¹⁸ The photographic collection of Schneider, Duyuran and Naumann from the excavations has provided a clearer picture of the site and the structure. Moreover these collections have contributed to my understanding of the destruction of the cultural heritage property since the excavations.¹⁹ The works of R. Janin on the churches dedicated to the saint provided me with a rich collection of hagiographical data on the churches –especially on the archaeologically unproven churches- and P. Magdalino’s work has contributed to my research on the historical background of the churches and the topography of Constantinople.²⁰ The work of E.

¹⁶ George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington D.C., 1984).

¹⁷ Rudolf Naumann, and Hans Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966).

¹⁸ Schneider, A. M., “Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia beim Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel.” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* Vol. 42 (1943): 178-185; A. M. Schneider, “Grabung im Bereich des Euphemia-Martyrions zu Konstantinopel,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* Vol. 58 (1943): 255-259; Rüstem Duyuran, “First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul.” *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 5 (1952): 23-38; Rüstem Duyuran, “Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul.” *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 6 (1953): 21-7, 74-80; Necati Dolunay and Rudolf Naumann, “Divanyolu ve Adalet Sarayı Arasındaki Araştırmalar.” *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 11-2 (1964): 19-22, 136-140; Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London, 1971): 61-7.

¹⁹ The photographic collection of the church and frescoes of Hagia Euphemia by A. M. Schneider, R. Naumann and H. Belting in the German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul.

²⁰ R. Janin, “Les églises Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople,” *Échos d’Orient* Vol. 31 (1932): 270-283;

Akyürek has contributed to my general understanding of the cult and the church of St. Euphemia and has directed me to the main references for my research.²¹

Moreover, the last part of his work was able to provide me with ideas and a basis for the rescue project proposal described at the end of the thesis.

For the last chapter of this study as a reflection of the interdisciplinary and conservationist approach to the preservation of historic places of our master's programme I would like to present a preliminary proposal for the future of the only surviving Byzantine church dedicated to St. Euphemia in Istanbul with its surroundings in the historic town. The first two chapters provide the historical background and hopefully stress the importance of the saint's cult and the Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome which was located in the most important region of Constantinople between the main street, the Mese, and the north wall of the Hippodrome and near the most important buildings of the empire, Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace. Today the ruins of this church and a fresco cycle in fourteen panels depicting the life and the martyrdom of the saint on the western niche of the structure are seriously damaged due to the lack of maintenance and responsible management. Thus in the third chapter I would like to present a rescue proposal for the restoration and the sustainable protection of the late thirteenth century frescoes and the church structure in accordance with the national regulation, international conventions and UNESCO recommendations. A restoration project proposal has been submitted to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2006 by an NGO in Istanbul and according to their explanation the final approval of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has been long awaited to start the restoration project of the frescoes in the *Martyrium*-Church

R. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin; Prem. partie. Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. T. 3. Les Églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953): 126-136; P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Hampshire, 2007).

²¹ E. Akyürek, *Khalkedon'lu (Kadıköy) Azize Euphemia ve Sultanahmet'teki Kilisesi*, (İstanbul, 2002).

of St. Euphemia. At this point I shall state that I have not seen the submitted proposal but needless to say, the more the project is delayed the more damage the frescoes and the structure will sustain. Therefore, all parties must enter into a final agreement for the restoration project before the frescoes totally disappear.

CHAPTER I

I. ST. EUPHEMIA (Ἁγία Εὐφημία) “THE WELL PRAISED”¹

1.1. The life of St. Euphemia and the Textual Evidence

Euphemia, an early Christian martyr, was born into an aristocratic family in Chalcedon, today's Kadıköy, in the late third-century as the daughter of the senator Philophron and a pious Christian woman Theodosiane.² She was tortured and executed by the order of the judge Priscus either in 303 under the rule of Emperor Diocletian or in 307 under the rule of his successor Emperor Galerius as she refused to participate in a pagan feast to worship Ares.³ She is later associated with the rights of Chalcedonian Christians.⁴

There are nine different hagiographical Byzantine texts ranging in date from the fourth to the fifteenth-century plus a supposedly ninth-century palimpsest fragment⁵ which was edited and published by the Bollandist François Halkin.⁶ The context behind these texts is more about the cult of the saint, and they range over a wide time period from the Late Antiquity to late Byzantium indicating the long veneration as well as the popular cult of the martyr. In the following tables primary sources about the life, the martyrdom and the churches of the saint are given. Among

¹ In a miniature from Symeon the Metaphrast's tenth century collection St. Euphemia is referred to as “the holy and universally reputed martyr Euphemia.” For *London September Metaphrast* f. 121v. see Christopher Walter, *Pictures as Language: How the Byzantines Exploited Them* (London, 2000): 112. In the Patria of Constantinople the saint is referred to as “Wholly blessed and all praise-worthy St. Euphemia.” See *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* Theodorus Preger ed. (New York, 1975): III. 9, pp. 217.

² F. Halkin, “La Passion Ancienne de Sainte Euphémie de Chalcedoine,” *Analecta Bollandiana* Tomus 83 (Bruxelles, 1965): 101.

³ For September 16, See *Commentarius in Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, *Acta Sanctorum* LXXXII November, part II (Bruxelles, 1931): 510-11 quoted in F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, ix, n.2.

⁴ This is developed in the late history of the relics by Constantine of Tios. *Ibid.*, 102.

⁵ A fragment of a panegyric about the saint was deciphered and edited by P. Canart in *Euphémie De Chalcedoine* (Bruxelles, 1965): 184-199.

⁶ F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoin: Légendes Byzantines* (Bruxelles, 1965).

these texts, the most popular traditions (Fig. I.1a, numbers 1 and 2) will be analysed and discussed on the following pages.

	Chronicler/Illuminator	Title/Type of the source	Date of text
1	Asterius of Amaseia	<i>Ekphrasis</i> (BHG ³ 623) ⁷	late 4 th c.
2	Anonymous	<i>Passio Vetus</i> (BHG ³ 619d) ⁸	5 th or 6 th c.
3	Anonymous	A briefer <i>passio</i> (BHG ³ 619e)	before 8 th -9 th c.
4	Anonymous	Vulgate account (BHG ³ 619a and 619)	older than 8 th c.
5	Constantine of Tios/Tion	<i>Passio</i> (BHG ³ 621)	before CE 815
6	Theodore Bestos	<i>Panegyric</i> (BHG ³ 624)*	796-815 or 11 th c.
7	Symeon Metaphrastes	<i>Passio</i> in the Menologium (BHG ³ 620)	late 10 th c.
8	Michael IV	Imperial Menologium (BHG ³ 624m)	CE 1034-41
9	Makarios Makres	A brief text (BHG ³ 622)	1 st half of the 15 th c.
10	Anonymous	Vatican Menologium Palimpsest fragment	9 th c.
11	The monk Theodore	Theodore <i>Psalter</i> (fol. 163v) ⁹	CE 1066
12	Anonymous/Ed. H. Delehaye	<i>Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae</i> ¹⁰	based on 11 th c. revision
13	Victricius of Rouen	<i>De Laude Sanctorum</i> ¹¹	late 4 th c.
14	Anonymous/Ed. Jacobus de Voragine	Golden Legend/ <i>Legenda Aurea</i> ¹²	13 th c.

Fig. I.1a The list of hagiographical sources.

⁷ "Let Us Die That We May Live": *Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria* (c. CE 350–CE 450), ed. Johan Leemans, et al. (London and New York, 2003): 174–76.

⁸ For the texts between numbers 1-10 see Halkin *Euphémie De Chalcedoine* (Brussels, 1965). The translation of the *Passio Vetus* which Halkin presents us with the number BHG³ 619d, pp. 9-33 in his book will be given in following pages. For a briefer *passio* which according to Halkin antedates the composition of the VIII-IX century monthly *Menologia*, see pp. 35-49; vulgate account pp. 51-79; Constantine of Tios pp. 81-106; Theodore Bestos pp. 107-139; Symeon Metaphrastes pp. 141-161, Imperial Menologium pp. 163-168; a brief text of Makarios Makres pp. 169-183. The text in number ten was published as Appendix to Halkin, op. cit. by Paul Canart pp. 184-199.

⁹ For hagiographical illustration of Euphemia in *Psalter* at number eleven, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age, II, Londres Add.* 19.352 (Paris, 1970): 54, fig. 263. [Quoted in C. Walter, *Pictures as Language How the Byzantines Exploited Them* (London, 2000): 112].

¹⁰ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi* ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (Bruxellis, 1902): under September 16 and July 11.

¹¹ O. J. Schrier, "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984).

¹² Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend Readings on the Saints* (Princeton, 1995): 181-183.

* There is not an agreement about the dating of Bestos' text. While Halkin dates to late eight or early ninth century, Mango states that 'Bestes' lived in the eleventh century. See C. Mango, "Rev. of F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcedoine: Légendes byzantines*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1966): 485-88.

	Chronicler/Illuminator	Title/Type of the source	Date of text
1	Egeria	<i>Itinerarium</i> ¹³	CE 381-384
2	<i>Anonymous Mercati</i> / Ed. K. Ciggaar	Latin translation of a Byzantine guide-book ¹⁴	1 st half of the 12 th c.
3	Anonymous & Compilation/ Ed. G. Majeska	Russian travellers to Constantinople ¹⁵	14 th and 15 th c.
4	Anonymous & Compilation/ After H. Nicholson	Pilgrim accounts of the Templars ¹⁶	13 th -18 th c.
5	Petrus Gyllius	<i>De Bosporo Thracio</i> ¹⁷	16 th c.
6	André Thevet	<i>Cosmographie de Levant</i> ¹⁸	16 th c.
7	Olivier de Nointel & George Wheler	<i>Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant</i> ¹⁹	17 th c.
8	Geoffry de Villehardouin & Thomas Smith	<i>The Chronicle of Geoffry de Villehardouin</i> ²⁰	17 th c.
9	Dimitrie Cantemir	<i>The History of the Ottoman Empire</i> ²¹	late 17 th c.
10	Edmund Chishull	<i>Travels in Turkey and back to England</i> ²²	early 18 th c.
11	Skarlatos Byzantios	<i>Konstantinoupolis</i> ²³	2 nd half of the 19 th c.

Fig. I.1b The accounts of pilgrims and travellers.

¹³ J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (Warminster, 1999): 142.

¹⁴ K. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *REB*. Vol. 34 (1976): 256-7.

¹⁵ George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington D.C., 1984).

¹⁶ Helen J. Nicholson, "The Head of St. Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints," in *Gendering the Crusades*, eds. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (New York, 2002).

¹⁷ Petrus Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio* III, (Veneto, 1561).

¹⁸ André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, ed. Frank Lestringant (Genève, 1985).

¹⁹ George Wheler, *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Amsterdam, 1689).

²⁰ Geoffry de Villehardouin and Thomas Smith, *The Chronicle of Geoffry De Villehardouin: Marshal of Champagne and Romania, Concerning the Conquest of Constantinople, by the French and Venetians*, 1829.

²¹ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Historian of South East European and Oriental Civilizations: Extracts from the History of the Ottoman Empire* (Bucharest, 1973).

²² Edmund D. Chishull, *Türkiye Gezisi ve İngiltere'ye Dönüş*, trans. Bahattin Orhon, Erendiz Özbayoğlu and Heybeliada Theological School, (İstanbul, 1993).

²³ Skarlatos Byzantios, *Konstantinoupolis*, (Athens, 1862): II, 267.

	Chronicler/Illuminator	Title/Type of the source	Date of text
1	Anonymous & Compilation	<i>Acts of the Council of Chalcedon</i> ²⁴	5 th c.
2	Severus of Antioch	<i>Hymns of Severus of Antioch</i> ²⁵	early 6 th c.
3	John Malalas	<i>Chronographia</i> ²⁶	6 th c.
4	Zosimus	<i>Historia Nova</i> ²⁷	6 th c.
5	Evagrius Scholasticus	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> ²⁸	6 th c.
6	Theophylact Simocatta	<i>Historiae</i> ²⁹	early 7 th c.
7	Anonymous & Compilation	<i>Chronicon Paschale</i> ³⁰	7 th c.?
8	Theophanes Confessor	<i>Chronographia</i> ³¹	early 9 th c.
9	Anonymous & Compilation	<i>Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai</i> ³²	8 th -9 th c.?
10	Anonymous/Compilation of epigrams	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i> ³³	10 th c.
11	Constantine Porphyrogenitus	<i>De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae</i> ³⁴	10 th c.
12	Anonymous & Compilation	<i>Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum</i> ³⁵	10 th -12 th c.
13	Michael Psellus	<i>Chronographia</i> ³⁶	11 th c.

Fig. I.1c The list of selected Byzantine chronicles.

²⁴ *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. Richard Price and Michael Gaddis (Liverpool, 2005).

²⁵ Severus of Antioch, *James of Edessa: The hymns of Severus of Antioch and others*, trans. and ed. Ernest Walter Brooks, (Turnhout, 1971).

²⁶ John Malalas, *The Chronicle of J. Malalas*, trans. E. Jeffreys (Melbourne, 1986).

²⁷ Zosimus, *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome*, trans. James J. Buchanan and Harold T. Davis (Texas, 1967).

²⁸ Evagrius Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, trans. Michael Whitby (Liverpool, 2000).

²⁹ Theophylact Simocatta, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, eds. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986).

³⁰ *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Liverpool, 2007).

³¹ Theophanes Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and near Eastern History CE 284-813* eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford, 1997).

³² *The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, eds. Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin (Leiden, 1984).

³³ *Anthologia Palatina* 1.12, trans. W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, Vol. 1 (London, 1916).

³⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre Des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1935).

³⁵ *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Theodorus Preger (New York, 1975).

³⁶ Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: the Chronographia of Michael Psellus* (London, 1966).

Before analysing the original texts, it is necessary to take a general look at the definition of hagiography and the concept of the saint.

I.1.1. What is a 'Saint'?

A 'saint' is a general title which was given to Christians who became holy either by their martyrdom or by living a perfect life as a role-model for society. Indeed, the Greek and Latin words for saint (ἅγιος and *sanctus*)³⁷ meant "holy person" and were used for emperors, gods and so on by Greek and Roman pagans. When the term was adopted by Christians it used to refer to baptized church members and Christians who remained faithful on earth³⁸. In the absence of a formal tradition of Canonisation, despite persecution, in the course of time the term was particularly used to describe a certain type of holy person, the martyr.³⁹ The word 'martyr' originates in the legal Greek term 'μάρτυς', and its verbal form μαρτυρέω which means 'witness' and 'to testify'. The term was originally used for those who were eye-witnesses of the Resurrection of Christ in the New Testament, but by the late second-century the term gained a specific meaning as 'blood witness', and was used for people who lost their lives for the Christian faith. Thus, martyrs were respected as 'witnesses to the truth of the faith for which they had died', and their tombs became sacred shrines for Christian veneration.⁴⁰ Those holy people were believed to have entered the Kingdom of Heaven, as members and representatives of

³⁷ Later we find the term Ὁσιος being used as 'revered'. Personal notes from the seminar of Adrian Saunders.

³⁸ Richard Kieckhefer, George Doherty Bond. *Sainthood: its manifestations in world religions* (Berkeley, 1990): 1-3.

³⁹ S. Wilson, *Saints and Their Cults* (Cambridge, 1985): 2-3.

⁴⁰ E. Ferguson, M. P. McHugh, W. F. Norris, *Encyclopedia of early Christianity* (New York and London, 1998): 724; S. Wilson, *Ibid.*, 3.

the Church Triumphant, or those who won a place around the Throne through their self-sacrifice or exemplary holy life.

There were essential elements for official recognition of sainthood; among them of major importance was the celebration of a feast on the day the saint died, or in other words the saint's '*birth into the Kingdom of Heaven*', similarly important were the attestation of miracles - usually posthumous - and the growth of a cult centre. Thus, veneration in the first instance by an audience followed by subsequent confirmation by a Christian authority was the main step to sainthood, and in this the Eastern tradition lacked the later formal legalism of the West.⁴¹ Indeed, in the West, until even the thirteenth-century there was no official process of canonization. Thus, in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages the confirmation process for inclusion of a saint in a church calendar was under the control of local authority. After the thirteenth-century the Papacy centralised authority for canonization in the Western church. In the East, the process was always less centralised. Eventually, due to different ways of authorizing sainthood there was no single list that included all the saints in both Eastern and Western churches.

At this point, in the East, the role of hagiographical text as a proof for the veneration of a saint becomes significant as textual evidence was another essential element of official sanctity.⁴² Thus, the text, the existence of a shrine, the physical remains of saint (relics) and posthumous miracles are evidence-based elements for the official sanctity of a saint.⁴³

⁴¹ T. Head, *Medieval Hagiography* (New York, 2001): xiv, xv; A. Kazhdan, "Saint," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 3 (New York and Oxford, 1991): 1828.

A. Kazhdan, N. P. Sevchenko "Martyr," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 2, pp. 1308-9.

⁴² T. Head, *Ibid.*

⁴³ T. Head, *Ibid.*; A. M. Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* (Burlington, 2001): II, 111.

I.1.2. What is Hagiography?

Hagiography is a term originated in combination of two Greek words; *hagios* (ἅγιος: sacred, holy) and *graphe* (γραφή: writing, the art of writing)⁴⁴ which literally means *writing of the holy*. It can be defined as ‘a unified category with many sub-genres, and consists of all kinds of literary works such as acts of martyrs (*passio*), *vitae* (lives), *enkomia* (public speeches of praise), and hymnography.⁴⁵ Hagiography was the representation of the developing cult of saints in literature using a new Christian version of ancient rhetoric, or the art of public speaking.⁴⁶ Indeed, the *vita* of a saint fitted the ancient concept of an ‘*exemplum*’ that illustrated a moral concept. In addition to the above mentioned literary works, accounts of miracles and translation of relics, visions and bulls of canonization are also included in the study of this field. The Acta of martyrs were one of the earliest forms of hagiographic literature. There are two main types. The first type consists of the official records of a martyr’s trial usually dated to the second or third centuries, or time of Persecution. The second type, *passio* in Latin and *martyrion* in Greek, comprised the accounts of eyewitnesses or contemporaries, describing the arrest, trial and execution of Christian martyrs.⁴⁷ Among the sub-genres, lives of saints (*vitae*) form the most common type of this popular Byzantine literary genre, particularly after the legalisation of Christianity and the end of Persecution.⁴⁸ These were the accounts of saints which were written in order to be read as moral *exempla* on their feast day for

⁴⁴ H. G Liddell, and R. Scott. *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1889): 5, 169.

⁴⁵ A. M. Talbot, “Hagiography,” *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack. (Oxford, 2008): 863.

⁴⁶ A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire the Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, 1991): 120-154.

⁴⁷ Delehay as cited in Talbot “Hagiography,” *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, pp. 863.

⁴⁸ T. Head, *Medieval Hagiography*. (New York, 2001): xiv, xv.

the promotion of saints and their cults.⁴⁹ Hagiographers adapted traditional themes and motifs (*topoi*) from old narratives of ancient mythology to saints' lives, and by using these literary clichés they formed 'repetitive and common character' in the lives of saints.⁵⁰ The use of *topoi* became the most characteristic feature of this genre which has led to hagiographical texts being perceived as untrustworthy accounts in terms of historical accuracy.⁵¹ This really misses the point of what hagiography is about. In a sense it does not really matter if the life is 'true'. Thus, understanding the purpose of hagiographical texts as well as interpreting and placing them within the context in which they occur is crucial. The most important aim of these texts was to promote the cult of saint by presenting the holiness of saint as well as recording the saint's remarkable achievements as though from an eyewitness. In a sense, the lives of saints were mass communication tools of the medieval period, and as well as providing moral examples they also attracted pilgrims to cult centres.⁵² Indeed, hagiographical texts were the gathered and written version of oral history which then became 'official' history.⁵³ These texts aimed to provide simple, colourful and straightforward moral messages to the public instead of authentic historical details about lives of saints, and hagiographers aimed to demonstrate the life of the saint rather as a role-model of faith in the Christian world than as a biography. Moreover, hagiographical texts provide us with "posthumous miracle stories (*miracula*) and accounts of major events in the history of relic cults (*inventiones*, the ritual

⁴⁹ H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Dublin, 1998): 7-8.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ T. Head, "Hagiography" in *Medieval France* (New York and London): 433-7;

T. Pratsch, "Der hagiographische Topos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* Vol. 100-1 (2007): 249.

⁵² T. Watson, "Creating the cult of a saint: Communication strategies in 10th century England," *Public Relations Review* Vol. 34 (2008): 22; C. Rapp, "Saints and holy men," in Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris, *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge, 2007): 548-566.

⁵³ Lisa M. Bitel, "Saint Brigit of Ireland: From Virgin Saint to Fertility Goddess," (April, 2009), <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/commentaria/article.php?textId=6>

placement of relics in a shrine that inaugurated their public veneration), and translations or the transfer of relics from one shrine to another”.⁵⁴

Delehaye, who was among the first to apply critical method to hagiography, rightly stresses that readers of hagiographical texts should be careful to differentiate between hagiography and history, because the work of the hagiographer may have been based on a real saint as a historical character, but need not be real history, so owing to the use of *topoi* and the addition of anonymous editors the historical accuracy of accounts becomes diluted.⁵⁵ Euphemia’s life with all its colourful detail is a good example of this. Nevertheless, the lives of saints are essential for a historian as these hagiographical texts present important details of social life, which can not be found in the narrative histories, such as ‘childhood, family life, village society and popular piety among lower classes’.⁵⁶ Hagiography gives us a precious glimpse into the popular mindset of the Late Antique and early Medieval World. Yet, hagiographical texts should not be evaluated simply as the product of literary invention or popular imagination because these texts are valid historical sources and literary works, which if used properly provide us details of Byzantine civilization.

Hagiography as a major genre of Late Antique and Byzantine literature, with a historiographical role and character has been discussed by scholars from an interdisciplinary perspective since the nineteenth-century. Today scholars of hagiography are more interested in the text, the given message through the use of common characters and target audience as well as author, and language and style of the text⁵⁷ and indeed, the methodology of the text. Scholars, as pointed out by

⁵⁴ T. Head, "Hagiography," in *Medieval France* (New York and London): 434.

⁵⁵ H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*. (Dublin, 1998): 3.

⁵⁶ A. M. Talbot, "Hagiography," *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, p. 869.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 164. For the developments and change in critical analysis in the field of hagiography see Stephanos Efthymiadis, "New Developments in Hagiography: The Rediscovery of Byzantine Hagiography," Flor Van Ommeslaeghe presents in his article the development of hagiography and the

Efthymiadis, are now interested in hagiography as literature and as a discipline with its own methodology practised in the Medieval period.⁵⁸

When used in this sense hagiographical texts play a major role for the understanding of the history of Christianity and society. They provide us with valuable opportunities to observe and understand the moral rules and norms not in a modern sense, but from the eyes of Byzantines themselves. The textual criticism and interpretation of the texts within this framework would lead us to understanding of cult of the saint, social and cultural history, the rural and urban society in which the text was formed, the religious life of the period, gender and class relations, details of daily life as well as providing information about the perspectives of the author, and the rationale of monasteries and cities where the saint is said to have lived.⁵⁹ For example the lives of Euphemia actually tell us more about the concerns of Chalcedon and religious debates of the period, than they do about the authentic life of Euphemia herself. All the miracles of escape related in her life stressed the integrity of her body because the post-Chalcedonian myth needed a complete set of relics.⁶⁰

From fourth-century onwards hagiography started reflecting and recording the fast spread of the cult of the saints. The first period of Iconoclasm (726-87) and the short period of respite (787-815) before the second Iconoclasm was not a productive age for Byzantine literature and only a few *vitae* were published.⁶¹

Hagiographic production however flourished during the second period of Iconoclasm (815-43), especially during the second half of the ninth and tenth centuries. In this

Bollandist methodology: Flor Van Ommeslaeghe, "The Acta Sanctorum and Bollandist Methodology," *The Byzantine Saint*. ed. Sergei Hackel, (Crestwood, New York, 2001): 155-163.

⁵⁸ Stephanos Efthymiadis, "New Developments in Hagiography: The Rediscovery of Byzantine Hagiography." in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies: London, 21-26 August, 2006* (Hampshire and Burlington, 2006): 157.

⁵⁹ A. Kazhdan, and Mary Talbot, A. M. "Hagiography" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 2, pp. 897-9.

⁶⁰ *La Passion Ancienne (BHG³619d)* no. 17 stresses the animals did not rip her to pieces, Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine* (Brussels, 1965): 32

⁶¹ Talbot, "Hagiography," *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, pp. 866-7.

period *vitae* were mostly written by monks or clergymen as devotion to a master or upon the request of the abbot of a monastery and in a sense replaced the icon as an object of devotion. The main aim of these lives was mainly to promote the posthumous cult of a saint and the accounts of miracles were included as well.⁶² Following on from this, in her article, the French Byzantinist, Auzépy, states that during the late eighth and early ninth-century, the Byzantines were in search of new sources as a means of spreading the propaganda of iconophiles for a new identity of an orthodox empire. Clearly the *vitae* would fit the bill because they are literary images or icons but do not offend the sensibilities of Iconoclasts. Cormack adds that in order to define this new identity as the continuity of the past, icons or reproductions of early Christianity became ‘exemplary’. One can add to that the *vitae* already fulfilled that role as *exempla*.⁶³

The later tenth-century witnessed two important developments in hagiography: the compilation of the Synaxarion of Constantinople as a collection of short biographies about saints in a chronological order according to feast days and the later rewriting of earlier saints’ lives by Symeon Metaphrastes (d.c.1000) in a work known as the *The Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes* in ten volumes and produced mainly for monastic liturgical use.⁶⁴ If we check the table of the textual evidence for St. Euphemia we can see that four of the sources were written in this time period which suggests an increased interest in the *vitae* coinciding with the trend towards classifying what had become an almost unmanageable mass of material. After a decline in the number of new saints and of hagiographical

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Marie-France Auzépy, "Manifestations de la propagande en faveur de l'orthodoxie," in Leslie Brubaker ed. *Byzantium in the Ninth Century Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998): 85-99.
Robin Cormack, "Away from the centre: 'provincial' art in the ninth century," in Leslie Brubaker ed. *Byzantium in the Ninth Century Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998): 151-163.

⁶⁴ Talbot, "Hagiography," *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, pp. 866-7.

production in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the Palaiologan era (1261-1453) experienced a revival; the number of male saints increased and the earlier saints' *vitae* were rewritten with a high and elevated style coinciding with a renaissance of attic or classical prose style in the period⁶⁵.

There are many different motives behind the rewriting of the lives of the earlier saints; they can express gratitude for miraculous healing via the relics of a saint, they provide material for an oration for a feast day, they promote a saint's cult particularly in those monasteries that own relics, and rewritings even reproduce earlier *vitae* in a more respectable style.⁶⁶

I.1.3 The Textual Evidence

The textual evidence for St. Euphemia provides us information within these parameters set by the hagiographic genre. Besides the hagiographical texts such as *enkomion*, *passiones*, accounts of translations of relics and miracles there also exists a traveller account about St. Euphemia in our list. Thus, although primary sources differ in matters of detail which will be further discussed on the following pages, the basic outline of the story is fairly fixed.

Among the list of primary sources, given on three tables, we will start with the travel diary of Egeria, a Spanish abbess, who was travelling to Jerusalem in the late fourth-century ostensibly to learn about the ritual practice of the East.⁶⁷ The first reference in the list of hagiographical sources (Fig. I.1a), namely the homily of

⁶⁵ Ibid.; for the possible reasons of the decline in hagiography see P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," *The Byzantine Saint*. ed. S. Hackel. (New York, 2001): 51-66, and for the revival of the saints in the Palaiologan period see R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," *The Byzantine Saint*. ed. S. Hackel. (New York, 2001): 67-87.

⁶⁶ Talbot, *Ibid.*, 868-9.

⁶⁷ Fig. I.1b, the first source among the accounts of pilgrims and travellers.

Asterius, a bishop of Amaseia in the fourth-century, describes a series of paintings of St. Euphemia to his audience and is characteristic of the rhetorical *ekphrasis* genre popular in the period. It is followed by a possibly fifth-century anonymous Greek *passio* which is a literary genre which presents passion stories of martyrs.⁶⁸ Characteristic of the diversity of the earlier period there are two other anonymous accounts of the saint. The fifth text attributed to Constantine of Tios, dated to the early ninth-century by Halkin, mainly focuses on the translation of the relics and the miracle of the saint in the Council of Chalcedon. The longest source in the collection is the *Panegyric* - a formal public speech of praise⁶⁹ - by Theodore Bestos and describes the martyrdom and miracles of the saint. Although the date is debatable, the text is also dated to the early ninth-century by Halkin. The following text on the list is a tenth-century *passio* of the saint which was based on the first anonymous text (number 2), and was included in the collection of the tenth-century chronicler Symeon Metaphrastes. The eleventh-century *Imperial Menologium* of Michael IV describes the miracles of the saints. A fifteenth-century text by Macarius Macres follows the list which tells the miracles and translation of the saint's relics and is similar to the account of Constantine of Tios. The next text is a fragment dated to the ninth-century by Canart which is also the last text given by Halkin. Number eleven on the list is the eleventh-century *Theodore Psalter* as one of the most important Byzantine manuscripts which was signed by the Studite monk Theodore. It should be included on the list although it is a picture as it provides us an eleventh-century hagiographical illustration which supplements the details of the martyrdom of the

⁶⁸ For *Passio* see Kazhdan, "Martyrion," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, pp. 1308-9.

⁶⁹ E. M. Jeffreys and A. Kazhdan, "Enkomion," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 1, pp. 700-1.

saint.⁷⁰ The *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* by the edition of Delehaye which was based on the eleventh-century revision is included in the list as well as the sermon of Victricious of Rouen as it reflects the popularity of her cult in the Latin West. Last but not least is the well-known *Legenda Aurea* of the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine compiled in the thirteenth-century. Whilst this source does not add much to what we know of Euphemia and often descends to the word play much beloved by the author, it is however valuable as an illustration of how the saint's life was used by a popular preacher in the Latin West in the thirteenth-century and was an important source for the iconography and the cult of St. Euphemia in Western painting.⁷¹

As liturgical practice became fixed, martyrs were commemorated according to the liturgical calendar which was arranged to record the date and month of a martyr's death.⁷² The martyrdom of St. Euphemia was recorded in the fifth-century *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and in *Fasti Vindobonenses*. The date of her persecution was recorded in *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* as September 16, and we learn the year of her death from the *Fasti Vindobonenses* as 303 which coincides with the first year of the Great Persecution under the emperor Diocletian.⁷³ Although there appears to be no agreement about the exact date of Euphemia's persecution, the brief record of her martyrdom suggests that the saint was a historical person:

“Diocletiano VII et Maximiano V. His consulibus ecclesiae demolitae sunt et libri dominici combusti sunt et passa est sancta Eufemia XVI Kal. Octobris.”

⁷⁰ Quoted in C. Walter, *Pictures as Language How the Byzantines Exploited Them* (London, 2000): 112.

⁷¹ The sources given in the Fig. 1.1a between number one and ten are from Halkin's book.

⁷² C. Rapp, "Saints and Holy Men" in *The Cambridge History of Christianity Constantine to c.600* (Cambridge, 2007): 561.

⁷³ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* is the essential list on which western martyrological tradition was based. It was compiled presumably in Aquileia of North Italy in the late fifth century. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and Mark C. Amodio. *Unlocking the Wordhord* (Toronto, 2003): 148. For the standard edition see Giovanni Battista de Rossi and Louis Duchesne, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in *Acta Sanctorum* LXXXII November, part II (1894; reprint 1971).

“In the consulship of Diocletian VII and Maximian V, churches were destroyed, holy books burned, and Saint Euphemia died on the 16th of October.”⁷⁴

So according to different interpretations of the liturgical documents and different accounts the saint was martyred on the 16th of September or 16th of October in either 303 or 307⁷⁵. However, *The Legenda Aurea* puts the death as early as CE 280.⁷⁶ We may conclude from this that either Jacobus de Voragine has misunderstood his source or alternatively is following another source which we do not know. On the other hand, the feast day of St. Euphemia which is widely believed to be the date of the saint’s death (which was understood to be the saint’s birth into the Kingdom of Heaven)⁷⁷, is celebrated on both July 11 and September 16⁷⁸ according to the translations of *typika* or monastic rules pertaining to individual monasteries.⁷⁹ September 16 is the primary feast day of the saint which is celebrated both by the Orthodox and Catholic Christians in order to commemorate her martyrdom while July 11 is celebrated to commemorate the miracle of the saint at the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon which was held in CE 451 at the church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon. *The Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* records both dates and tells us that July 11 is celebrated especially in the *Martyrium*-Church

⁷⁴ Castelli, 464.

⁷⁵ For September 16, See *Commentarius in Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, Acta Sanctorum LXXXII November, part II (Bruxelles, 1931): 510-11 quoted in F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, ix, n.2; and for October 16, 303, See *Fasti Consulares Vindobonenses Monumenta Germaniae historica: Auctorum antiquissimorum*, IX (Berlin 1892) quoted in P. Karlin-Hayter, “A note on bishops, saints and proximity to Constantinople”, in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, (Hampshire, 1995): 404); for the year 307 see F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, ix, n.4; Halkin, François. *Euphémie De Chalcedoine: Légendes Byzantines*, (Bruxelles, 1965): IX-X.

⁷⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend Readings on the Saints* Trans. William Granger Ryan, Vol. II (Princeton, 1995): 183.

⁷⁷ T. Head, *Medieval Hagiography* (New York, 2001): xiv, xv.

⁷⁸ Dionysius, *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournia* Trans. Paul Hetherington (Leningrad, 1989): 63.

⁷⁹ *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, Vol. V., Dumbarton Oaks Studies, (Washington D.C., 2000): 1905.

of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome.⁸⁰ But as the Council of Chalcedon took place in October, July 11 might be either the consecration of the church or the translation day of the relics. Apparently the festival on July 11 would have replaced the authentic commemoration day of the Fourth Council.⁸¹ Leaving aside of the considerations of her feast day it is advisable to consider the earliest evidence of the life, death, and cult of the saint.

The travel account of Egeria, a nun from Spain who travelled to Jerusalem by passing through Constantinople between 381-384, was the earliest account of Christian pilgrimage to survive as well as the earliest account with a mention of the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon.⁸² After her visit to Jerusalem and returning from the shrine of St. Thecla near Seleucia she writes,

10. Arrival in Constantinople (June or July 384): Passing through the same provinces of Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, I reached Chalcedon, and I stayed there because it contains the renowned martyrdom of holy Euphemia, long known to me.⁸³

Unfortunately this important eye witness source does not provide us detailed information either about the church or the saint but just gives a record of her visit as she focuses generally on questions of ritual practice that can be imitated in her native Spain. On the other hand, it tells us that Egeria visited the church of St. Euphemia, “the renowned martyrdom”, which she had known for a long time. Thus, the pilgrimage account of Egeria is a valuable reference as it reflects the popularity of the martyr and of her shrine and that it had already developed and spread out of Chalcedon as well as far beyond Constantinople by the late fourth-century.

⁸⁰ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (Bruxellis, 1902): 813.20.

⁸¹ A. M. Schneider, “Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon,” in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* (Grillmeier-Bacht ed.) Vol. 1 (1951): 301.

⁸² For the translation of Egeria see J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (Warminster, 1999): 142.

⁸³ Wilkinson, *Ibid.*

Of greater importance is the homily -discourse on religious topics⁸⁴ - of Asterius, the early fifth-century Cappadocian bishop and writer, appointed to the See of Amaseia in Pontus in between 380 and 390.⁸⁵ There are sixteen homilies of Asterius of Amaseia, and the eleventh oration in the list is an *ekphrasis* - the literary representation of a visual object⁸⁶-on St. Euphemia.⁸⁷ The term 'beauty' (κάλλος, *kallos*) in the Greek rhetorical tradition was applied into the beauty of city and citizens in the Late Roman. The use of the *topos* (traditional theme) of city's beauty and accomplishment of its citizens was then transformed into the beauty of churches and praise of saints in Byzantine literature. In hagiography, work of art such as a painting or a mosaic is often used by the orator or an author to describe the saint and is called *ekphrasis* (ἔκφρασις). This pictorial tradition in Byzantine literature originated in the rhetorical traditions of the Second Sophistic.⁸⁸ In our case, Asterius describes the details of a painting with four scenes of the martyrdom of the saint which he came across when he arrived at *the temple of God* (the church) under a covered public passageway supposedly in the church of the saint in Chalcedon. Despite his emphasis on rhetorical *color*, “for we - children of the Muses - have in no way less satisfying colours than painters”, his account is believed to be a more reliable source than the remaining texts in terms of their historical accuracy by some scholars. As just stated Asterius in his *ekphrasis* uses artistic language in order to create atmosphere; his is what the ancient rhetorical theoreticians meant by *color*. This is meant to charm and impress the audience. But can we be sure whether the

⁸⁴ For *homily* see Robert F. Taft, “Sermon,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 3, 1880-1.

⁸⁵ Barry Baldwin, “Asterios of Amaseia,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 1, 213.

⁸⁶ Kazhdan, and Jeffreys, “Ekphrasis,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 1, 683.

⁸⁷ Leemans, “Let Us Die That We May Live”, 164.

⁸⁸ Helen Saradi, "The Kallos of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical Topos and Historical Reality," *Gesta* Vol. 34-1 (1995): 37-56. For the role of rhetoric in the development of the Christianity in late antiquity see Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire the Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1991). By Second Sophistic, I refer to rhetorical practice developed during the second century CE. See Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian triumph: the art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450* (Oxford, 1998): 254-9.

painting or its description reflects historical reality or was it due to the imagination of the artist who painted the scene or the orator who described it?⁸⁹ This is always a problem to be born in mind when using *ekphrasis* as a historical source. A critical analysis will be given after the translation of the original text.

The *ekphrasis* of Asterius of Amaseia which is given below is based on the Greek edition of Halkin, 1965: 4-8, and it is translated by B. Dehandschutter:

Ekphrasis on the Holy Martyr Euphemia:

1. The other day, gentlemen, I had the great Demosthenes in my hands - that [oration] of Demosthenes in which he assails Aeschines with bitter words. I spent a long time with the text, and as my spirit was burdened, I needed the distraction of some walk, so that my soul could recover a bit from her labour. Having left my room, I walked with some friends in the marketplace, and from there I went to the temple of God for some quiet prayer. It happened that I passed through one of the roofed passages; and there I saw a painting, the view of which overtook me completely. A masterpiece of Euphranor, you might say, or of some of those artists of old who raised the art of painting to great height, so that their paintings seem almost alive. If you want - and if there is time for an explanation - I shall describe the painting. For we - children of the Muses - have in no way less satisfying colours than painters.

2. A holy woman, named Euphemia, a virgin who consecrated her chastity to God, at the time of the persecution of the pious by a tyrant, chose willingly the danger of death for herself. The citizens who shared the belief for which she died, in full admiration for the virgin's courage and holiness, built in in honour of her a tomb near the church with the coffin therein, and honour her with a yearly festival and a public celebration. And the ministers of God 's mysteries always honour her memory, teaching carefully the assembled people by a public speech how she completed her contest of endurance. But the pious painter by his art placed the whole story with vigour on a canvas and placed the painting near to the holy tomb. This is the masterpiece.

3. High upon his throne sits the judge who looks in a severe and hostile way at the virgin; indeed, even with inanimate matter, art can rage whenever it wants. Then the guards of the office and many soldiers, the secretaries with their tablets and styluses; one of them has lifted up his hand from the wax and observes intensely the condemned, his face turned towards her as if he was ordering her to speak louder so that he, struggling to hear, should not write down any manifest mistake. The virgin stands, dressed in a grey frock and a mantle signifying philosophy, as it was the artist's conviction, and with a courteous look, [a beauty] representing, however for me the adornment of her soul with virtue. She is led to the ruler by two soldiers, the one drags her forward, the other presses her from behind. The virgin's face shows a mixture of shame and firmness - she inclines her head as if she blushes before the eyes of men and yet she stands without panic, fearless before the struggle to come.

⁸⁹ E. Castelli, "Asterius of Amaseia Ekphrasis on the Holy Martyr Euphemia," in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice* (Princeton, 2000): 465.

I always praised other painters, I saw the drama of that woman of Colchis, how she is going to kill her children with the sword, her face divided between pity and anger - one of her eyes looking with wrath, the other revealing the mother in fear and sorrow. But now I have turned away my admiration from the concept of painting to this one, and highly I praise the artist who, more than brightness of colours, mixed shame and courage, virtues that struggle by nature.

4. The representation continues: some executioners, under their short tunics almost naked, begin their work: one has already grasped the head and bowed it down so that the face of the virgin is ready for the punishment by the other. This one stands ready and cuts out her teeth which are like pearls. A hammer and a borer seem to be the instrument of torture. I weep from now on - I am too shocked to speak; the painter has indeed depicted the drops of blood with such realism that you would say they really stream from her lips - lamenting I turn away.

The prison follows. Anew the holy virgin sits down, alone, in grey clothes, stretching her hands to heaven, calling on God, the helper in distress. And while she is praying, the sign that Christians worship and depict appears over her head, a symbol, I believe, of the suffering that awaits her. Immediately, a little further, the painter lit a tremendous fire, with red colour giving life to the flame from all sides. He put her in the middle with her hands stretched towards heaven. No burden is manifested by her face; on the contrary, she looks rejoicing because she moves towards the bodiless, blessed life. Here the painter stayed his hand and I my speech. It is time for you, if you want to complete the description, so that you can see with precision whether our explanation was not failing.⁹⁰

Among the primary literature listed before there are two main sources representing the two antique tradition of St. Euphemia; the *ekphrasis* of Asterius and the anonymous Greek *passio*, but the difference between the two sources is more than a minor conflict that it is not certain whether they refer to the same martyr.

The authenticity of these sources has been discussed by scholars for a long time.⁹¹ After the translation of the Greek *passio* we will discuss the controversies over these two texts while analyzing scholarly opinions in depth but briefly the main debate was about the completely different versions of saint's martyrdom: In Asterius' *ekphrasis* St. Euphemia was thrown into the fire while in the Greek *passio* the saint was killed in the arena by wild beasts.⁹²

⁹⁰ Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 4-8; For the translation see Leemans, J. "Let Us Die That We May Live," 173-76.

⁹¹ Castelli, "Asterius of Amasea Ekphrasis," 465.

⁹² For Asterius see Leemans, "Let Us Die That We May Live," 176; for *passion* see Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 32.

An *Ekphrasis* is "a speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes".⁹³ Thus, the author of *ekphrasis* displays his rhetorical talent and tries to create a painting in the minds of the audience through the use of the art of rhetoric by stressing the importance of the image. In oratory describing real or imaginary works of art through the use of an impressive speech was a deep-rooted tradition, and in some cases a painting or a sculpture by the orator.⁹⁴ Thus, it is hard to analyse whether Asterius describes a painting which really existed in the church of the saint in Chalcedon or it was a description of the painting as a rhetorical exercise of Asterius, a product of his imagination about the martyrdom of a female saint whose cult was quite popular among the Christians in the vicinity of Chalcedon.⁹⁵

What is interesting about this text is that Asterius avoids the use of words that are specifically Christian, and in keeping with the genre of *ekphrasis* describes the Christian work of art in almost pagan terms – for example the reference to Medea -⁹⁶ and yet he still manages to root his discourse firmly in the Christian tradition by use of well-chosen Christian terms.⁹⁷ "Having left my room, I walked with some friends in the marketplace, and from there I went to the **temple of God** (Church) for some quiet prayer....the citizens who shared **the belief for which she died** (Christianity)....and the **ministers of God's mysteries** (priests) always honour her memory...**the sign that Christians worship** (Cross) and depict appears over her head...".⁹⁸ Some scholars suggest that the underlying purpose of using pagan terminology might have been a missionary effort of the homilist to impress the

⁹³ Quoted in Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (London, 2009): 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ E. Castelli, 465.

⁹⁶ The bringing in of mythological parallels was an important feature of the *ekphrasis* genre.

⁹⁷ Leemans, "Let Us Die That We May Live," 175.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

remaining pagans and to persuade them to become a Christian.⁹⁹ However, this seems to be pushing a point too far; as an educated man Asterius probably would not have thought of expressing himself in any other way than according to the rules of rhetoric. And in any case can a description of a painting be realistically considered as grounds for pagan-christian conversion?

One of the main debates on the *ekphrasis* of Asterius is focused on the location of the painting as there is no information about where Asterius exactly saw the painting of the martyr. In the text the reader understands that Asterius went to a church to pray where he saw the painting of the martyr and was impressed by this masterpiece. If he saw the painting in a church in Chalcedon then he must have lived some time in Chalcedon before his episcopate in Amaseia in Pontus which was probably a period between 380 and 390.¹⁰⁰ As Schrier claims in his article this hypothesis is not persuasive according to Stiling and the *ekphrasis* of Asterius is a literary experiment which has no historical value.¹⁰¹ His arguments are mainly based on the style of *ekphrasis*, as suggested above, and he claims that the author does not describe events but simply a painting. In other words is the *homily* merely a literary exercise? He asks if the painting ever existed in the basilical church in Chalcedon where the famous Council was held. If about 600 clergymen met there, then how was the painting not very well-known? Stiling stresses that Asterius' description of the tomb as 'in the neighbourhood of the church' does not agree with the description of the church by the sixth-century Antiochian chronicler Evagrius. Thus, for Stiling, Asterius never visited Chalcedon, and his *ekphrasis* does not reflect the historical realities of the martyrdom of the saint but rather the Greek *passio* presents us with

⁹⁹ Leemans presents the interpretation of Speyer, *Ibid*, 174.

¹⁰⁰ Barry Baldwin, "Asterios of Amaseia," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 1, pp. 213.

¹⁰¹ O. J. Schrier, "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 332.

the authentic account of the saint's martyrdom. He adds that St. Euphemia in the *ekphrasis* of Asterius might have been another Saint Euphemia of Alexandria or Amisos.¹⁰² But we might ask if Asterius would have confused them. On the other hand, according to Schrier in the time of Asterius the mention of the name Euphemia would have reminded everyone of 'St. Euphemia of Chalcedon' as her cult was so popular that even Egeria from the Western Mediterranean knew of her in the 380s.¹⁰³

Yet in keeping with the controversy L. de Tillemont sees the *ekphrasis* of Asterius as the authentic account of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia due to the real historical identity of the fifth-century homilist Asterius. Tillemont claims that in the time period when Asterius lived and in his hometown which was presumably not far from Chalcedon, the citizens of the city must already have known the details about the life of the saint.¹⁰⁴ A real clergyman was describing what people understood to be a real saint.

In 1951 on the 1500th anniversary of the Council of Chalcedon when the debate on the authenticity of these two sources came up again, Schneider stated his doubts concerning the authenticity of the Greek *passio* and rejected the testimony of the anonymous text. He drew attention to the *ekphrasis* of Asterius and following the interpretation of Stilling, introduced a new argument, asking if the *passio* reflected the authentic martyrdom of the saint. If it did, why was there no mention of the story of Euphemia's teeth torture and the death of the saint in the fire and the *passio* when they figured so prominently in the account of Asterius?¹⁰⁵ The answer is that Asterius' account predates the Council of Chalcedon and the story of the famous miracle for which a complete body was required whereas the *passio* postdates

¹⁰² O. J. Schrier, *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 333.

Chalcedon, and provides the body needed for the miracle. The conflict between the two traditions and the analysis of the Greek *passio* will be discussed more fully below. It is worth remarking that Asterius describes the painting as painted on canvas (ἔν σινδόνι)¹⁰⁶. Could it be suggested that the painting no longer survived by the time *passio vetus* was composed? Regardless of the fact that whether the scenes were real or imagination of the homilist, as Gendle states, the reality of the art and the artist were praised by Asterius as they were meant to draw out religious feelings by emphasizing the suffering of the martyr which is a reflection of the development of the cult of the saint.¹⁰⁷

The second text on the list of hagiographical sources is presumably the earliest *passio* of the saint and is called *Passio Vetus. Martyrion* (μαρτύριον-*passio* in Latin) is a Greek word which refers to a literary genre of Byzantine hagiography. *Martyrion* or *passio* which means 'witness' presents us passion of a saint who died as a witness of the Christian faith. It provides neither biographical nor historical data about saint but rather it focuses on torture, martyrdom, miracles and cult of the saint.¹⁰⁸ The Greek text was dated to the fifth-sixth centuries on the basis of author's language as well as considering the hypothesis that the main purpose of the text might have been the commemoration and promotion of the Council of Chalcedon, held in CE 451 in the church dedicated to St. Euphemia.¹⁰⁹ As stated above the *passio* provides the necessary body. No body, no miracle. Moreover, all the other versions of the *passio* of St. Euphemia use material from this account¹¹⁰, which

¹⁰⁶ F. Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine: Légendes Byzantines* (Bruxelles, 1965) : 6, footnote 2.

¹⁰⁷ Nicholas Gendle, "The Role of the Byzantine Saint in the Development of the Icon Cult," *The Byzantine Saint* ed. Sergei Hackel (Crestwood, New York, 2001): 182.

¹⁰⁸ For *Passio* see Kazhdan "Martyrion," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1308-9.

¹⁰⁹ Halkin, "La Passion Ancienne de Sainte Euphémie de Chalcedoine," *Analecta Bollandiana*, Tomus 83 (Bruxelles, 1965): 97.

¹¹⁰ See G. Downey, "Euphémie De Chalcedoine: Légendes Byzantines," Rev. of F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcedoine: Légendes byzantines*, *Speculum* 41-3 (1966): 536-8 ; Mango, C. "Euphémie De Chalcedoine:" Rev. of F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcedoine Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1966):

suggests priority was given to the version from Chalcedon. Among Byzantine scholars, the Greek anonymous *passio* of the saint has been generally considered a work of legend located within the Byzantine literary genre of epic passion rather than an authentic document which reflects the life of saint with historical details.¹¹¹ This may be so, but it certainly reflects the concerns of the Fathers of the Council. The full text of this important life will be given in the following pages.

The most common *topos* of our text which characterizes epic passion was the use of artificial dialogue between the judge and martyr.¹¹² As Delehayé states lives of saints have several passages in common, and sometimes a life story of a saint is completely based on these borrowed parts from other lives of saints.¹¹³ Other *topoi* which confirm our *passio* as a piece of imaginary and legendary hagiographical material will be given in detail after the text.

485-88.

¹¹¹ F. Halkin, H. Delehayé, A. M. Schneider, Elizabeth A. Castelli, O. J. Schrier are some of these scholars who interpret the Greek *passion* of the saint as a typical epic martyrdom.

¹¹² Halkin, "La Passion Ancienne de Sainte Euphémie de Chalcédoine", 97.

¹¹³ H. Delehayé, *The Legends of the Saints* (Dublin, 1998): 74-5.

The translation below is based on the edition of Halkin¹ and is translated by Adrian Saunders.*

The Martyrdom of Christ's Holy Martyr Euphemia:

1. Persecution at Chalcedon

Whilst Priscus was proconsul of Europe, there was a large congregation of Christians at Chalcedon. Now this proconsul Priscus had a friend of the grossest impiety, one Apelianus, who was learned in the wisdom and philosophy of the ancient Greeks and was an assiduous devotee of the god Ares. This Apelianus began to speak against the Christians, saying, "*Most powerful of men and most learned proconsul, may your worship learn this of the great god Ares, that all of us in accordance with the edict of the Emperor and our Great Sovereign should make sacrifice to the mighty god Ares*". And the proconsul Priscus was pleased with what he said, for he saw it as a way of destroying these lost souls. So he caused threatening notices to be put up in the most frequented places saying, "*Beloved Citizens of Chalcedon! Be it known to you all that in eight days we shall purify ourselves and in accordance with the imperial decree, we shall offer sacrifice to the great god Ares. If there be any that acts contrary to what is right and follows another cult, I shall punish him severely. The signal for the sacrifice shall be as follows: On the hour when the trumpet sounds, we will all go with haste to the temple of Ares and eagerly perform the sacrifice, dedicating ourselves to the great god Ares!*"

2. The arrest of a group of Christians and of Euphemia

Now this Apelianus would waste all his days and hours in the worship of idols. So when it was time for those he summoned to howl like dogs in honour of the demon, the trumpeter gave a baleful blast calling together all those who pursued vain hopes. But there was a group of those who feared God in their hearts shut up in a small house and resisting obstinately with prayer. And Euphemia was one of their number, the daughter of the senator Philophron. Her mother was Theodosiane, a pious woman, generous with alms, looking forward to the reward due to her from Heaven. But Apelianus, the schoolfellow of Satan, said to the proconsul, "*There are a number of men who have shut themselves up in a small room, who refuse to comply with the command of the Emperor or with your worship's decree. And if they act as one mind, many will be turned away from the sacrifice and will become attached to them, making a mockery of our sacrifice.*"

As soon as he heard this the proconsul ordered them to be arrested. And as they were being led away, Euphemia was in their midst, her face full of grace, in her demeanour holy in measure beyond the others, shedding light upon those who saw her through her spiritual way of life.

3. The Christians refuse to sacrifice to the god Ares

When they entered the public assize court, the proconsul said, "*You have heard the decree of the Emperor; sacrifice to the great god Ares!*" They all together with the Holy Euphemia as with one voice replied, "*Know, Proconsul, that we are servants of the Everlasting and Great King, who is seated in the Heavens, and of His Only-Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, of He Who has stretched out the Heavens and made the Earth and of the Creator of all. Him alone do we worship offering ourselves to Him as a pleasing sacrifice.*" When the proconsul heard this he said, "*I am astonished at each one of you and I respect your strength of mind and your real excellence. Obey me then, bowing to the will of the Emperor. Reap the benefit of this sacrifice to the Gods, and you will gain our greatest good*"

¹ Halkin, F., "La Passion Ancienne de Sainte Euphémie de Chalcédoine" *Analecta Bollandiana*, Tomus 83 (Bruxelles, 1965): 9-33.

* An unpublished translation of Adrian Saunders. (I would like to thank Prof. Adrian Saunders for his constant guidance and his advice during my research as well as his translations and critical analysis of the texts.)

favour towards you and being made known to the Emperor, you will be deemed worthy of his leadership and mighty dominion.”

When the noble company heard this, they erased the grief from their faces and assumed in its place the image of divine knowledge. They placed the Great and Holy Euphemia in the midst of the Angelic Chorus and said, “*We, Proconsul, are the servants of the Highest God and strive to know of Him through the faith that He has handed down to us, so we might be partakers of the scripture that says: **Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Thou wert faithful in a small thing; now shall I give thee charge over many things.** And you yourself, Proconsul, are not unaware that everyone of those that trusts in transient authority strives to make himself pleasing to him who entrusted that authority to him, so that he might partake of greater and wider authority and honour. And so if they be those that perish and serve those who perish, they seek after vain and empty honours. How much more then shall we, that keep the commandments of the Ever-living and Eternal God, seeking after those promises that are not of this world, that do not perish but endure for ever, enter upon our inheritance from Him? Do then what you will. For we are ready through our knowledge of the Heavenly Vision to give up ourselves rather to death and to partake of the treasures stored up with God, Who has power over all things.”*

4. They are tortured for nineteen days

When Priscus heard this, he screwed up his face in rage and ordered them to be all punished by torture. As they were being punished thus each day, they endured their torments, building their confidence through Christ and nobly exhorting one another to strengthen themselves in the contest. And urging the high-minded and noble athlete Euphemia to strive with grace toward the prize of Christ, they said to her, “*Noble runner, adorned with faith, endowed with resolution, true wisdom, Christ-bearer, how your prize will be won with the fathers! Holding up the unquenched lamp run and be numbered among the five virgins that carried lamps to the Holy Bridegroom who grants a perfect reward in the Kingdom of Heaven.*” And when nineteen days of the great contest of the holy martyrs were fulfilled, they lay in the prison nourished by the Holy Spirit. And on the twentieth day, the proconsul Priscus, having made enquiry of the most impious Apelianus (who was as arrogant as his name implied), went to question the saints; and seating himself in the public court, ordered them to be brought in. And the noble company stood there with the holy Euphemia in their midst like a lamp. Then the proconsul questioned them saying, “*Tell me, my lads, if having suffered trial by torture you have changed your minds and decided to sacrifice to the god Ares?*”

5. Cruelly struck in the face, they are sent back to prison

And they with one voice together with the prize-winning Euphemia said, “*How long, Proconsul, will you be in doubt and not turn away from the error that surrounds you and recognize the God that made you?*” Then Priscus said to the servants of the Devil, “*Slap them around the face and tell them ‘Sacrifice to the god Ares!’*” So the servants did as they were bidden. Yet as they were struck on their faces, their countenance seemed to glow all the more. But the servants were worn out by the beating and fell down as though dead. Then Apelianus said to the proconsul, “*Now they have been punished, send them to the Emperor.*” And the proconsul and all his suite were pleased with the suggestion, and he ordered them to be thrown into the cells beneath the prison, until such time he sent them on to the Emperor. They were all of them forty nine in number, and with them the Holy Euphemia made fifty.

6. Euphemia’s first interrogation

When they had been led off to the prison, the proconsul came down like a wild runner, like a robber and a pirate, like a wolf upon the flock, and he seized the noble Euphemia, alone, hoping, being rotten to the core, he could devise some putrid stratagem. But she, the lover of Christ, was filled with grace and turned her eyes to Heaven and said, “*Succour me, Christ Jesus, my Hope, my Endurance, My Saviour and my Support. May I be not cut off from thee, O Lord.*” When Priscus heard this, he said to her, “*Honour yourself and do not forget the support of your ancestry. But even if you have been led astray by words as is usual with*

women, turn back and sacrifice to the God Ares.” But the noble prize-bearer said, “Nobility in the contest does not weaken due to the nature of the body, but rather, nobility of support and of weakness become in the strength of the spirit as one in perfected will. Wherefore, though I stand before you as a woman in my body, I am as a man in my will, ready to attend upon the summons of my fathers.” Then Priscus hearing this was enraged that he was defeated by a woman, and ordered them to prepare a device with wheels and to cast her into its midst, so that as she was racked and stretched she might quickly give up the ghost.

7. Torture on the rack

When she had been thrown onto the wheels, having made the sign in Christ that binds the heart, she said, “O Wickedness! How much blood has the doer of wickedness shed, so that this Priscus, servant of the Devil, may be seated on high dreaming up these diabolical devices, performing the mysteries of his father Satan! Wicked and deceitful villain! Your machines shall not touch my limbs, for I have Christ as my helper. And I hope that through greater and more exquisite torments, he will grant the endurance I have in my trial to all the company.” Then as she was saying this, the attendants cranked the wheels. While her body was being twisted limb by limb, the resolution of her spirit grew warm within her and praising God, she said, “May Thy grace and the light of Thy truth be with me, O Lord. O Unquenched Lamp, Thou that sittest upon the Throne of Truth, Thou that dost not overlook those that call upon Thee in truth, My Saviour, Look down on me, Thy humble and wretched servant; deliver me from the chaos of this profane man and from the most impious Devil and the boastful threat of Priscus, the hater of beauty.” And as she was saying these things, straightway an angel came down from Heaven and shattered the movement of the wheels and struck down the attendants, so their appearance was changed, and the prize-bearer emerged unspotted, so that before them all she appeared to be glowing with light.

8. The fiery furnace

Then the proconsul said, “By the good fortune of Caesar, and the good will of the Gods, if you do not sacrifice to the god Ares, I shall destroy you with fire and no-one that you reckon reveres God will help you” Then the prize-winner said, “Do you threaten me with the fire that is of little account and soon grows cold? But I am not so unmanly that I fear your threat. By the holy ones among the pious in Christ that run the race in the prison cell, I shall not flinch with Christ as my helper, but shall trample down your tyranny.” The proconsul was astonished and ordered a furnace to be lit, so the flames were some thirty five cubits in extent, and the holy one to be thrown in by other attendants. And coming forward, she stood with godly countenance and sound in body and said, “Blessed art Thou, o Lord God, **that dwellest on high, but lookest down upon the humble**, Whom Angels glorify and Archangels adore! I beseech Thee, though I am humble and meek, stand beside me through Thy goodness and seal me with the seal of Christ, through which I earnestly yearn to win salvation. Show this wicked and Christ-hating Priscus that it was Thou that didst send the Angel to the three boys, and didst scatter the flame and didst blot out the threat of the tyrant. And now send down on me, though humble, Thy succour and **deliver me from the mouth of this lion** and from the snare of the hunter and from the threat of the proconsul. For full of glory and awful is Thy name.”

9. Two servants refuse to throw the saint onto the blaze

When she had said these things, the proconsul ordered his servants to bind her and throw her onto the fire. The servants bound and restrained her. Then one of the servants, Sosthenes by name, holding the restraint came forward to the proconsul and said to him, “Bid me, Proconsul, use this restraint on myself, for I cannot lay hands on this holy one, as I see before my eyes a host of beings holding lamps and greeting her.” Then the servant Victor being vigilant in the knowledge of God loosed the blessed one’s bonds and said, “I beg of you, Proconsul, release me from this duty, for it is hard for me to stretch out my hand. I see before my eyes men standing on the lip of the furnace, scattering the fire and seeming to

watch over the pure and holy one.” Then the proconsul ordered them to be kept under watch and other attendants to stand by.

10. Euphemia is miraculously saved from the fire

There came one named Caesar Barbarus; then seizing the prize-bearer, they cast her into the fire and straightway the servants of the Only Begotten Holiness received her, the lamp-bearing Angels of peace, and scattered the flame of the fire. But as the flame caught hold of Caesar, the holy one stood in the midst of the furnace as though in a palace beholding the King of Glory, and stretching out her hands and said, *“Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our fathers, Thou that with Thy forgiving holiness does not overlook Thy servant, Thou that stretches forth the eye of Truth, Thou that sets the rudders of piety and runs before the tempest of wickedness, Thou that with the sagacity of the Holy Spirit has cast out the serpent of darkness, Thou that, with the sharp sight of the true light within Thyself, of our Lord Jesus Christ, doth adorn those that put their hope in Thee: Grant I beseech thee that I may be deserving, as I run worthily Thy straight race, to be found among those truly running the race in Thee.”* And as she spoke thus, she came out of the furnace, commending those servants to Christ the Everlasting King.

11. The courage of the two converted servants

The proconsul then placed her in the prison saying, *“Let her be chained until the morrow, so I may take counsel how I may destroy her.”* And she went out glorifying God, and the noble soldiers of Christ rejoiced in the contest of the blessed one and said, *“Blessed be God for ever! Grant that Thy servant may be made a holy sacrifice and be numbered among the fathers who have earnestly acknowledged Thy holiness.”* Then still seated on his tribunal, the proconsul ordered Sosthenes and Victor to be brought in. And he said to them, *“Sacrifice to the gods!”* And they replied to him, *“We, Proconsul, were led astray before now by the dark foe whom you worship, and captive to present opportunity, had lost sight of hope in the true God. Now we believe in Him who has lightened our darkness, because through the holy prize-winning Euphemia it is possible to wipe out what we have written with our own hands and to scorn the enemy of truth and for us to be enrolled as citizens in the book of the saints. Hasten and do what your father, Satan, bids and torture us, we who do not obey your wickedness, nor the edict of the Emperor, nor your unclean and lying god!”*

12. Their death in the arena

When he heard this, the proconsul ordered to arena to be prepared and bears to be brought in, so they could be set to fight the wild beasts. The two were thrown in together and began to speak thus: *“Omnipotent God, Holy and Pure, that hast made all subject to Thy wisdom, Who hast made the **hollow of the sea**, Who has created the earth and **separated the light from the darkness**, who slew the dragon and **loosed the pains of death**, release us from the wiles of the robber and deliver us from this murderous greed, and grant, we beseech Thee, that we may inherit Thy name, in peace, pure in body and spirit.”* And straightway a voice came from Heaven saying, *“I have heard your prayer!”* Then commending themselves to God, they fought with the wild beasts, and unstained gave up the ghost. And seeing this, the proconsul rose and went into the Praetorium, but the remains of the holy ones were collected by the Christians. And setting them in order they buried them in a holy place.

13. Euphemia is interrogated a second time

Early the next morning, the proconsul came out to hear the blessed one. She, emerging from the prison, came out like the young she-calf of Christ singing in a marvelous voice: *“**I shall sing a new song unto Thee, O Lord, upon the Earth, in my strength shall I glorify Thee; I shall sing to Thee among the people, and hymning Thy name shall I be Thine heir.**”* And as she came and stood before the tribunal singing, glorifying and praising God, the proconsul addressed her: *“How long will you condemn yourself in your madness? For if you fall down and worship him, the greatest god to whom also the Emperor sacrifices will show his favour towards you. Be persuaded, then, and make the sacrifice. You will live and as a mother you*

will be blessed with many sons” She burst into laughter and said, “Truly I should be called devoid of sense and understanding were I to obey gods that were invisible and shrouded in darkness, were I to acknowledge gods that did not exist in nature, dumb and speechless demons. You lawless and confused man, rejected by the truth of Christ, caught in the snare of the serpent, heir of Tartarus and the abyss and the everlasting unquenched fire, you strive to pluck out those ministering in truth. But I, with the support of Christ, trust that he will strengthen me unremittingly.”

13a. The device with moving stones

Then once more the proconsul ordered four stones to be brought and clamps to be affixed to the corners, and the holy one to be thrown upon them, so that her flesh would be torn to pieces by the stones being moved backwards and forwards by the device. And so the machine was made. Then he ordered her to come forward bound. The she-lamb of Christ came forward and as her limbs were twisted by the stones she made supplication to God amidst her tears, saying, *“I call upon Thee, O Lord my God! For Thee I dislocate the limbs of my heart. Before Thee I rack myself, my tears have I poured forth before Thee. **I make ready my back for the lash, I turn not away my face from those that spit upon me. I run after Thy name, I seek out fear of Thee. Look favorably upon me Thy servant and do not allow him that has wrought this evil against me to fetter my mind, but guard me, wiping every stain of filth from me. Make a miracle of me with Thy holiness, may this infernal and putrid machine not touch me, and restore me sound of mind to the sound of the well-tuned cymbal, so that I may glorify Thy name for ever.**”* So she spoke as her limbs were being dislocated. The attendants strained to drag the stones through the machine, and as they pulled them through, the stones rubbed together and they became like ash, but she lay there like a blameless lamb before God and the proconsul and those with him saw that her body was unharmed.

13b. Instead of devouring her, sea animals bring Euphemia to the surface of the water

Then once more he ordered a pit to be dug out and constructed and much water to be poured into it, and flesh eating beasts to be placed in it and the holy Euphemia to be thrown in, so that the beasts would leap at her and devour her. When she realized what was being done, she ran out before the proconsul ordered her and stood on the edge of the wall. At first she was shaken by the indescribable smell and the foul discordant noise, but breathing deeply of God and adorning herself for the spiritual and divine kingdom, she said, *“Priscus! You wicked man, filled with recklessness, minister of Satan; rightly was your name nailed onto you, for the sawyers of Heaven are getting ready for you, so when they have you, they might fasten on you. For you have denied God, the chorus-leader of life and have heaped scorn on the soldiers of the truth and holiness of Christ.”* So saying she signed herself with the cross, left and right, and calling on her own master she said, *“My Light, O Christ, come to me as Thou didst come to Daniel in the lions’ den and to Jonah in the belly of sea monster.”* And the holy one hurled herself into the water and all the beasts came to her and enslaved by the fear of God lifted her up out of the water, as a mother would raise her child. And when the proconsul saw these great wonders, he said to Apelianus, *“What is the meaning of this? Who is helping her?”* He replied to the proconsul, *“**She binds and casts out devils by the prince of Devils**”.* *“But how come our gods do not punish her?”* asked the proconsul. *“Because they are gracious.”* replied Apelianus.

14. Angels enable her to escape from a trap

Priscus said, *“Let sharpened stones with sword points be placed hidden in the ground and covered with a little earth. Then push her forward and let her run across the place, so she will fall over and die like a wild pig that doesn’t realize what has happened to it.”* The proconsul ordered the plan to be implemented. When it was done, the holy one came forth, very elegant and with her face shining. Then, having suffered so much and in no way overcome, she was pushed forward by the guards, snatched up by angels and passed through the place. But the guards fell onto the trap that had been prepared and perished. And the holy

one opened her mouth once more and said, ***“Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our heart, Thou hast the mysteries of godliness, Thou art the giver of riches incorruptible, the maker of the heavens, He who didst stretch out the earth and made it, He who doth give support to all things by Thy word, He that doth cause the light to rise, who by a nod of Thy head didst send Thy Only Begotten Son from the Heavens that He might loose the pangs of death, and bind the lord of despair: Thou that dost stand beside your soldiers who strive in the contest through Thy name, Thou that dost give the bulwark of faith, Thou that art my helper in all things, deliver my soul through the prayers of the saints that are in the prison cell, that run the race through knowledge of Thee; Guard me Thy servant and preserve me that I may behold the Unity of the Holy Ghost, for thou art forgiving and a salvation in times of trouble.”***

15. She speaks with the proconsul

When he saw her, the proconsul ordered her to be brought before the tribunal and addressed her. *“Do you not know, Euphemia, that you are nobly born and of a leading family, yet have been deceived and persist in being deceived? And while I look out for the interest of the Emperor, you yet resist me as though you were an intelligent and holy woman? Be that as it may, be persuaded, I beg you, and forgiving me the torments you have suffered at my hands, sacrifice to the god Ares, so that no shame be ascribed to your family.”* But keeping her resolution firmly fixed on Christ, she said to the tyrant, ***“Why is your face full of bitterness and deceit? You are a snare made of words, O beast disguised in sheep’s clothing, bringing to an end the chase of the wild hunter, O words more bitter than gall! I shall not be so mad that I shall leave the treasure of life and partake in the sinful pleasures of the Devil. Do not deceive yourself, Proconsul, thinking that you will persuade me to sacrifice to unclean demons. Neither shall you compel me to say they are gods. How can they be gods that have never existed? How can you be so blind that you abandon the living God and make sacrifice to gods that are like things that do not move and have never had life? For you lead the bull of such an age, bellowing, from its stall, anointed by the Devil. Though you live, you mindlessly sacrifice to what is as blind as yourself. So I will not obey your words of bitterness. Come! Hurry! Do as you will! For by your devices I am eager to come to the everlasting stadium, where is my Father, where is the chorus of Angels, where is the perfect athlete, Jesus Christ, where is the blood of truth, where Christ crowns those that strive in the contest through him, where the Holy Spirit strengthens those that stand firm.”***

16. Scourging, saws and skillets

Growing angry, the proconsul ordered her to be scourged and said to her, *“Sacrifice to the gods!”* But as she was being scourged she said, *“Your rods will not touch me. You have wounded me, lawless one, you have broken me, you have no support, but are blinded by the darkness from Satan that surrounds you. Your tyranny has been conquered, you have been covered by wickedness.”* Now Apelianus was enraged together with the proconsul, and ordered sharp saws to be placed before her and skillets, so that when her limbs had been sawn asunder by the saws working in a cunning device, they should be thrown into the skillets to be burnt up and be as ash. And the device was made as commanded. Then the holy Euphemia was thrown onto the saws, and the saws spun round and the skillets burnt red-hot, but nothing touched her, for there were angels with her. Now when the proconsul and Apelianus saw that the soldier of Christ was victorious through her endurance, they plotted together to do away with her; and taking counsel, they prepared the arena and led the servant of Christ into the stadium.

17. Thrown to the beasts, the martyr prays and dies

Standing in the middle, the holy Euphemia said, *“Thou knowest, O God, those that call upon thee. Receive my spirit, and as Thou didst receive the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, though I am humble, even thus receive my spirit.”* And as she said this, she sealed herself with the cross and called upon the name of the Lord. Now four lions and two beasts came out, and the lions leapt forward and kissed her feet, and the beasts did likewise. But so that

the witness of her struggle might be fulfilled, one of the beasts ran to her and bit her, but did not bruise her body. And there came a voice from Heaven saying, *“Run forward, Euphemia, and stand in a holy place. Take thy prize. **Thou hast run the race, thou hast kept the faith.**”* And when the voice had spoken, there was a crash, so that the whole place was shaken and all trembled with fear. And the holy one said, *“Recompense that wretched proconsul the dues of his heart, and come to Thy servant, O God”*. And so saying she gave up the ghost.

18. Her burial, conclusion

Her mother Theodosiane came out with her father Philophron and they took her body and buried it about a mile from Chalcedon in a new place. But the proconsul sent the saints in the prison up to the emperor with letters so that he could deal with them at his pleasure. He commanded the gaolers to leave them in peace on their way, for in his torment he had succumbed to the most terrible sickness. The Holy Euphemia was brought to the Glory of God and to Eternal Memory on the 16th of September, when Priscus was Proconsul. May all of us who come to the end of the witness of the Holy One through the name of Jesus, ascribe Glory to God the Father and to His Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ and to the Holy Ghost, so that we may find through Her prayers a share and a portion with her in the Kingdom of Heaven, through the Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ to Whom be Glory for ever. Amen.

I.1.4. The Manuscript Tradition

The anonymous Greek *passio* has come down to us in three manuscripts, preserved in Athens, the Vatican and in Jerusalem. These manuscripts designated by Halkin as A, B and C, all contain lacunae and differ in some passages substantially although they do appear to be related. In addition to these three manuscripts there also exists a Latin version most likely composed in Paris and which is probably earlier than the extant manuscripts, and so closer to the lost archetype.¹¹⁴ Halkin, therefore uses the Latin version, assuming it is a translation of the Greek, in order to suggest which of the readings offered by A, B, C is more likely to be the truth. He emphasizes that his edition is not based on any particular manuscript, but rather a combination of readings, supplied by recourse to the Latin, and attempts to reconstruct the lost archetype from which the other manuscripts are derived.¹¹⁵ This in fact is normal editorial practice used in classical texts where the editor tries to reconstruct the original words and intentions of the author where the extant manuscript tradition is often corrupt.

The lost archetype of the *passio* itself, as reconstructed by Halkin, can be dated tentatively on grounds of language and style to the fifth or sixth centuries. The extant texts are problematic as stated above and in fact show very little literary value. The Greek is simplistic and much of the text consists of scriptural quotations and the whole tone of the life suggest a popular composition perhaps intended to be read a loud in order to instruct a congregation. Indeed the life as we have it is probably an

¹¹⁴ Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 9-13.

¹¹⁵ Halkin, "La Passion Ancienne de Sainte Euphémie de Chalcedoine," 96.

imaginative retelling of a story that existed in oral tradition.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, the *passio* is important as a reflection of a popular cult rather than as a text which gives hard and fast information about the life of the saint.¹¹⁷

The brief story of our saint's martyrdom according to our *passio* is as follows: Euphemia, the daughter of the senator Philophron and Theodosiane refused to attend the festival which was held in honour of the god Ares by the proconsul Priscus and his friend Apelianus. Euphemia's refusal of giving sacrifice to the god Ares enraged the proconsul and along with the other forty-nine Christians Euphemia was captured and brought to the proconsul. After twenty days of torture the forty-nine Christians were imprisoned in order to be sent to the emperor Diocletian for the execution but Euphemia endured further tortures at the commands of Priscus. These included being placed on the wheel, being thrown into a burning furnace, being placed on a device with sharp stones and iron, the exact nature of the device being not at all clear from the text, being cast inside the tank with the sea animals, probably seals, and finally she dies in the arena when one of the bears bites her leaving her body miraculously intact.

The text is characterized by conventional motifs which classify our text as belonging to the genre *epic passio*.¹¹⁸ Besides the confrontation and the artificial dialogue between judge and martyr, the other common *topoi* of our *passio* can be listed as follows: purity and noble birth of the martyr, a rhetorical speech by the martyr in front of an audience, delivered in order to strengthen the faith of Christians present to pour scorn on the persecuting pagans, many cruel torments which the martyr endured to the end with exemplary faith and patience, both cardinal Christian virtues, supernatural and miraculous interference to save the martyr from torture or

¹¹⁶ Halkin, *Ibid.*, 97-9.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹¹⁸ Delehayé, *Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires* (Bruxelles, 1966): 202-3.

death, posthumous miracles of the martyr, and finally gaining martyrdom by being beheaded with a sword (1), a form of death reserved for high-born citizens, being burned at the stake (2), a more humiliating death, or being thrown to wild beasts (3), a punishment usually meted out to those of humble birth, where the nobility of the sufferer is explicitly enhanced by the contrast with the lowness of the punishment.¹¹⁹

Another conventional motif can be seen in the choice of names given to the characters in the *passio* reflecting either the goodness or the evil of the characters. This of course is clear evidence of imaginative composition. Naturally the judge Priscus and his friend Apelianus symbolize the bad side and their names were chosen accordingly: Priscus means 'old-fashioned'; Apelianus means 'to boast or threat' as well as 'out of sun'. On the other hand, for the good characters of the story names were carefully chosen by the author. Euphemia means 'fair in speech', while the name of her father, Philophron, means 'lover of thinking', as her mother's name, Theodosiane, means 'given by God'. There are also several instances in the text of word play punning on the names, which further accentuate the moral states of the characters.¹²⁰

The use of Scripture was also extensively common among the hagiographers because Scripture was a source which everybody respected and believed. Thus, using scriptural allusions provided authority to the hagiographical text,¹²¹ linked the martyr to the heroes of Scripture and reinforced the moral lesson of the text. In a sense the use of Scripture ennobles the martyr by numbering him or her amongst the saints of the Church Triumphant.¹²² It should be noted here that lives of saints were composed for a mixed or less intellectual society in which people showed high respect for the

¹¹⁹ However, the Christian tradition does show some exceptions to this principle. See for example 'The Passion of St. Perpetua,' in H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972): 106.

¹²⁰ Seminar notes Adrian Saunders Spring 2009.

¹²¹ Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Dublin, 1998): 70.

¹²² Seminar notes Adrian Saunders Spring 2009.

saints, and who prayed for the intercession of these holy people. They celebrated the feasts of saints and enjoyed listening to the stories and praises about them. Thus, the simplicity of the lives as well as the connection with scriptures was designed to make an impression on ordinary people as members of the Church militant.¹²³

In our *passio* it is possible to observe one of these scriptural precedents in the *fiery furnace* part. The story originates from the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the Old Testament. The three friends of Daniel the late prophet refused to worship the golden idol which was set up by the order of King Nebuchadnezzar. Then, they were thrown into the fiery furnace but they were unharmed by the will of God. Indeed a fourth person was seen walking in the furnace with them. Euphemia was similarly unharmed and like the three men was given help by an angelic being.¹²⁴

For one last example in terms of the use of *topos* in our *passio* -indeed there are many more- *Victor* and *Sosthenes* in the ninth part of the text can be given. In fact, this part refers to two *topoi* at the same time. *Victor* and *Sosthenes*, the servants who were supposed to torture the saint became Christians, and refused to throw her onto the fire. The soldier saints are key figures symbolizing the conversion of pagans to Christianity. Those who were impressed by the faith of the saint and who convert form a common conventional motif of hagiography. Once again the names are indicative referring to victory and to strength. On the other hand, another *topos*, 'the life of a saint within a life' is also characteristic of the hagiographic genre which aimed to illustrate the influence of the saint on other people. Perhaps worth noting that the conversion of the torturers emphasizes the utter wickedness of the authorities, they can not and do not change.

¹²³ Ibid, 12-39.

¹²⁴ Daniel 3 in *The Holy Bible*. Third Edition, (Oxford, 1854).

There is an additional underlying message in our text which reflects gender identity in Late Antiquity. In the sixth part of the text, phrases used in the conversation between Euphemia and Priscus demonstrate us how females were treated in that period: "even if you have been led astray by words as is usual with women ", "I stand before you as a woman in my body, I am as a man in my will" and "then Priscus hearing this was enraged that he was defeated by a woman..."¹²⁵ In this sense, Euphemia's masculine reaction towards Priscus and her manly attitude during her brave endurance of tortures as the patron saint of Chalcedon was obviously a typical pattern of the heroic female martyrs of Late Antiquity. Her position as the leader of a group of forty Christian people –possibly consisted mostly of men, if not all,- in the fourth-century seems contradictory and extraordinary according to the general attitude towards women in Byzantium. This issue will be analysed in depth in the third part of this chapter under the emergence of her cult. The presentation of a woman with the strength of a man an example of steadfastness and faith is of course another common theme in hagiography. God gives power to women to act in a men's world on equal terms.

There are differences between the account given by Asterius and that in the *passio*. One of the tortures which the saint endured according to Asterius, namely the extraction of her teeth, is not included in the Greek *passio*. Moreover, the scene from the painting in which the cross appears over the head of St. Euphemia while she was praying in the prison is not given by the *passio*.¹²⁶ Above all, the death of the martyr is given differently in the two accounts; the Greek *passio* kills the saint in the arena in the jaws of lions and bears¹²⁷ while the *ekphrasis* of Asterius puts an end to the

¹²⁵ See the translation of the *Passio*, p. III, under Euphemia's first interrogation.

¹²⁶ Leemans, "Let Us Die That We May Live," 176.

¹²⁷ Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 99-104.

saint's life in the fire.¹²⁸ Indeed, there are three completely different accounts of the martyrdom. The third account in the late and derivate, *Aurea Legenda* by Jacobus de Voragine, claims that St. Euphemia was martyred by the sword of a headsman.¹²⁹ The martyrdom illustrations of the saint vary as well. In the manuscript which was in the collection of Metaphrastes¹³⁰ - a tenth-century author - St. Euphemia was illustrated in the arena with the beasts in accordance with our *passio*.¹³¹ In the eleventh-century Theodore *Psalter* the martyrdom is depicted taking place in the arena¹³² as do the presumably thirteenth-century frescoes on the wall of the saint's church by the Hippodrome in Constantinople (See Fig. III.91).¹³³ On the other hand, although *Venice* manuscript confirms the martyrdom in the *passio*, another manuscript from the Metaphrastic Collection, *The London September Metaphrast*¹³⁴ presents a miniature in which St. Euphemia was illustrated "naked in the fire, her arms outstretched in prayer" just as described by Asterius.¹³⁵ The scenes on the walls of saint's church in Chalcedon disappeared long before the late eleventh or twelfth-century London manuscript was produced, but most probably the author would have known the *ekphrasis* of Asterius.¹³⁶ Another miniature illustrates the third version of the saint's martyrdom by sword, and indeed there are five Western sources in total confirming that she suffered martyrdom by sword: (1) in the preface of the Milanese

¹²⁸ For the English translation of Asterius' *ekphrasis*, see "Let Us Die That We May Live" ed. Johan Leemans, 174-76. For the other English translations of the text see C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (Toronto, 2007): 37-39; C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea, Homilies I-XIV: Text, Introduction and Notes*. (Leiden, 1970): 153-155.

¹²⁹ J. D. Voragine, *The Golden Legend Readings on the Saints* Vol. II, (Princeton, 1995): 181-183.

¹³⁰ Venice. Marc. grac.586

¹³¹ C. Walter, *Pictures as Language How the Byzantines Exploited Them* (London, 2000): 129.

¹³² Kazhdan, and N. P. Sevcenko, "Euphemia of Chalcedon," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 2, 747-8.

¹³³ Figure I.2 and I.3 the martyrdom scene on the western niche of the Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome, see Rudolf Naumann, and Hans Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*. (Berlin, 1966): fig. 44, p. 146.

¹³⁴ British library, Additional 11870

¹³⁵ Figure I.4, see Walter, *Pictures as Language How the Byzantines Exploited Them*, 129.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

rite which might have been written by Eusebius of Milan (462)¹³⁷, (2) Victricius of Rouen in his sermon in the arrival of new relics in *De Laude Sanctorum*¹³⁸, (3) *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine whose sources about Euphemia are unknown¹³⁹, (4) Paulinus of Nola, a late fourth-century bishop, in his two letters to Victricius of Rouen¹⁴⁰, (5) and finally a miniature in the famous Stuttgart Passionary, dated to the first half of the twelfth-century, depicts Euphemia praying on her knees in a large frying-pan held over a fire by a man while another man stabs his sword through her body.¹⁴¹ According to Victricius of Rouen and Paulinus of Nola the saint's head cut off by sword, while for the preface of the Milanese rite, the painter of the Stuttgart miniature and Jacobus de Voragine; the sword was plunged into her body. Here it is interesting to note that Euphemia is depicted more frequently in Western art than in Orthodox art despite her importance for the definition of Orthodoxy of Chalcedon.

We have noted above that according to the Greek *passio* the saint's body was not harmed when she was bitten by a bear. In other words, the purpose of the author of the anonymous *passio* was to emphasize the 'unharméd body of the saint'. It validates the notion that the whole body of the saint was preserved and is coherent with the posthumous miracle of St. Euphemia at the Council of Chalcedon. This will be discussed in the third part under the miracles. The above discussion shows that these texts present varying iconographies and varying accounts of the saint's martyrdom often at variance with one another. This suggests that the accounts of the martyrdom of Euphemia are largely imaginative and that the anonymous *passio* was

¹³⁷ Schrier, "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," 336.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Voragine, *The Golden Legend Readings on the Saints*, 181-183.

¹⁴⁰ Schrier, O. J. "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," 342.

¹⁴¹ As quoted in Schrier, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, *Bibl. fol.* 56, fol. 93^b; A. Boeckler, *Das Stuttgarter Passionale* (Augsburg, 1923): fig. 75.

almost certainly composed in connection with the Council of Chalcedon as a means of demonstrating the truth of the miracle. The above discussion also shows that we are not entitled to look for literal truth in these accounts but rather for expressions of ideology and a vindication of Orthodoxy.



Fig. I.2 Martyrdom of St. Euphemia in the arena by wild beasts, scene 12 from the fresco cycle on the western niche of the church by the Hippodrome, (After Naumann, 1964, DAI).



Fig. I.3 A drawing of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia in the arena, (After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 136).



15. Euphemia (f. 121^v).

Fig. I.4 A miniature of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia by fire “Martyrdom of the holy and universally reputed martyr Euphemia” in *London September Metaphrast* f. 121^v., (Image taken from Christopher Walter, *Pictures as Language How the Byzantines Exploited Them*. London: The Pindar Express, 2000, 112.)



Fig. I.5 A manuscript of the torture and martyrdom of St. Euphemia by sword.

Légende dorée. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 675, f.90.,

(Image taken from Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, London: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991, 22.).

The other sources in the list are given as follows. After brief introduction for each, among the remaining sources I will refer the ones which are related to the translation of relics, miracles and the cult. A concise *passio* of the saint follows the second text which is simple and as a shortened version of the first anonymous Greek

passio. The fourth text was the most popular account with its revised two versions before the *Menologium* of the tenth-century hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes.¹⁴²

The fifth text in the collection belongs to Constantine, bishop of Tios near Amastris in Paphlagonia. According to Halkin, the author must have been born before CE 780 and wrote his chronicle before CE 815. In his account the bishop Constantine focuses on the history of the relics of St. Euphemia, and tells about the cult of the relics first in Chalcedon and then in Constantinople. He writes about the saint's miracle in the Council of Chalcedon, the desecration of the relics by the iconoclasts, the temporary stay of the relics in the island Lemnos, and finally the discovery and the return of the relics to the capital as well as the restoration of the church by the Hippodrome.¹⁴³

The *panegyric* - a formal public speech - of Theodore Bestos is the longest text in the collection. The martyrdom and the three essential miracles of the saint; the confirmation of the definition of Chalcedon, the miraculous effusion of the blood from the tomb, the rescue of the body when it was thrown into the sea and its return to Constantinople are given in this account. While Halkin dates the panegyric between CE 796 and 815, Mango disagrees with that and claims that 'Bestes' lived in the eleventh-century which is also the date of the earliest manuscript of the panegyric. Moreover, he suggests that the information in the account of Bestos is a copy of the account of Constantine of Tios.¹⁴⁴

The metaphrastic *passio* was composed in tenth-century by Symeon Metaphrastes and is based on the earlier Greek *passio* discussed above and is included in his *Menologium*. A *menologium* is a collection of saints' lives which was

¹⁴² Downey, "Rev. of F. Halkin, Euphémie de Chalcedoine," 537.

¹⁴³ Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 4-8; Downey, "Rev. of F. Halkin, Euphémie de Chalcedoine," 537.

¹⁴⁴ See Mango, "Review of Halkin, Euphémie De Chalcedoine," 487-8.

arranged according to their feast days in the liturgical calendar. The late tenth-century collection of Symeon Metaphrastes which comprised around one hundred fifty texts in ten volumes became the principal source used in monasteries to regulate liturgical usage. The Metaphrastic collection was given ecclesiastical approval and gives us the official church version of the lives of saints and martyrs and useful for evaluating by comparison the earlier *Pre-Metaphrastic* unrevised accounts. This collection was later revised in the eleventh-century in a version known as the *Imperial Menologium*.¹⁴⁵ The martyrdom of St. Euphemia which was given in *Venice* manuscript in the Metaphrastic collection is consistent with our *passio*. However, in the *London* manuscript cited above St. Euphemia is given under the title *Martyrdom of the holy and universally reputed martyr Euphemia*, incidentally punning on her name¹⁴⁶ and she was illustrated naked in a fire consistent with Asterius' description.¹⁴⁷

After the late tenth-century *Menologium* of Metaphrastes, *The Imperial Menologium* of Michael IV (CE 1034-41) follows on the list. These texts describe the miracle of the saint in the Council of Chalcedon when she confirmed the definition of Orthodoxy, but they differ in detail from the accounts given by Constantine of Tios and Theodore Bestos.¹⁴⁸

There is a concise text by Makarios Makres (CE 1391-1431) who was a fifteenth-century monk and author. He describes the posthumous miracles and the translation of the relics of St. Euphemia. The account of Makres is similar to the account of Constantine of Tios.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ See N. P. Ševčenko, "Menologion," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* Vol. II, 1341.

¹⁴⁶ πανευφημιος – ευφημια. London September Metaphrast f. 121v. Same title is also given by Constantine of Tios in Halkin op. cit. 81.

¹⁴⁷ Walter, *Pictures as Language How the Byzantines Exploited Them*, 111-2, 129.

¹⁴⁸ Downey, op. cit. 538.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

The last text on the list of Halkin is a palimpsest fragment of a panegyric on St. Euphemia. The text was discovered in Paris by Charles Astruc in 1961 and edited by Paul Canart in 1962¹⁵⁰, and published in Halkin's collection¹⁵¹. This is similar to another palimpsest fragment found in the Vatican.¹⁵² Canart accords more importance to the Vatican fragment on the grounds that Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1002 is almost entirely illegible.¹⁵³ On palaeographic grounds Canart tentatively dates the late uncial hand to the ninth or at the latest early tenth-century.¹⁵⁴

The final text is the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine which was one of the most popular and influential books of the Middle Ages in the West. *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend) is a compilation of saints' lives which was written around 1260 by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine. Although his work is predominantly a collection of later western hagiographical literature St. Euphemia as an Eastern saint is included as well. Thus, we may conclude that Voragine regards the eastern saint and her story important enough to be recognized in the West but follows another tradition.¹⁵⁵ The presence of Euphemia's life in the *Legenda Aurea* will have influenced the many painters who chose to portray her in the West. Euphemia is always shown being beheaded in Western art following the account given by the Dominican.

The above survey demonstrates, then, that there was no fixed version of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia until the legend received its final form in the version of

¹⁵⁰ See fig. I.1a, number ten. Parisinus Suppl. gr. 1002 quoted in Walter, *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Canart in Halkin, *op. cit.*, 184 ff.

¹⁵² Vaticanus gr. 1876 quoted in Walter, *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Canart in Halkin, *op. cit.*, 184.

¹⁵⁴ Canart *op. cit.*, 185. The ninth century date is not improbable as the cursive script developed at the Studium for the rapid copying of manuscripts under Theodore took time to be generally accepted.

¹⁵⁵ Voragine, *The Golden Legend Readings on the Saints*, 181-183. For an earlier edition see *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints*. Compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, 1275. First Edition Published 1470. Englished by William Caxton, First Edition 1483, Edited by F.S. Ellis, Temple Classics, 1900 (Reprinted 1922, 1931.)

the Metaphrast. Thereafter, the legend becomes standard. It would seem that we essentially have two major strands to the myth. The first is essentially a standard account of the passion and death of a Christian martyr and is best represented by the account of Asterius and the iconography of the various works of art that dealt with the saint. Most likely this would be the version followed by Jacobus de Voragine who was concerned to give a moral example and did not have any concern for the definition of Orthodoxy. That was not his purpose. The Golden Legend was written as a manual for popular preachers. The second strand represented by the anonymous Greek *passions* and the subsequent versions of the myth that dealt with the faith of her relics seem to have originated in Chalcedon and to have been exploited to provide the necessary divine authentication of the definition of Orthodoxy given by the Council. The existence of the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian traditions explains the substantial discrepancies and confusion in the myth.¹⁵⁶ Of the real Euphemia all we may confidently say about her is that she died. Where the lives are interesting is that they allow us to trace the development of a myth and its use in markedly different contexts. That there were so many lives and versions of the story shows clearly that she was a popular and much venerated saint.

There are other primary sources that cover other aspects of the Euphemia cult such as the sixth-century historian Evagrius, the sixth-century author Theophylact, the early ninth-century historian Theophanes and the Russian travellers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who wrote about the translation of the saint's relics, her posthumous miracles and the churches dedicated to her in Constantinople. The data given above will be referred to constantly in the sections that follow.

¹⁵⁶ Seminar notes Adrian Saunders Spring 2009

I.2. The wandering of the Saint's relics to and from Constantinople

I.2.1. Relics and their place in Christian cult

The saints, dead or alive, were fundamental elements of Christian life in the medieval period. Among Christians, saints were believed to perform miracles by interceding with and through their faith in God. They had the ability to heal the sick, cast out evil spirits, and protect people from disasters such as famine, disease and fire. These miracles also worked posthumously after the death of saints at their burials or through their relics. Christians thus not only commemorated saints but prayed for their help and intercession as well.¹⁵⁷ When they died, the saints were believed to have entered the Kingdom of Heaven. People prayed for the intercessory power of saints in order to be forgiven their sins at the Last Judgement. Thus, veneration of saints was of major importance in the daily life of Christians from Late Antiquity onwards.¹⁵⁸ After their death, the saints were venerated through their relics; in a sense, relics were more than holy objects for the faithful. By the aid of the saints, relics provided access to a kind of pathway to God.¹⁵⁹ Relics (τά λείψανα - *reliquiae* in Latin which literally mean "left behind") are the physical remains of or objects belonging to holy persons.¹⁶⁰ They were believed to reflect the sacred power of saints in healing and producing miracles by divine assistance. Although not strictly followed in the East, the relics were classified as first, second and third class relics by the Roman Catholic Church. Bodily remains of saints were defined as

¹⁵⁷ T. Head, "Cult of Saints," in *Medieval France* (New York and London, 1995): 851-4.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Barbara Drake Boehm, "Relics and Reliquaries in Medieval Christianity," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.

http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/relic/hd_relc.htm (October 2001)

¹⁶⁰ Head, *Medieval France*, 852; Robert F. Taft and A. Kazhdan "Relics," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 3, pp. 1779-81.

primary or first class relics, and were often described as smelling sweet or giving off perfume while the objects used by saints such as clothes were secondary relics. Objects in physical relation with the secondary relics such as items having touched the tomb of a saint, such as oil or water in contact with relics, or miraculous effusions from a saint's corpse were third class relics.¹⁶¹ The physical remains of saints were put into cases which were made of precious material such as silver or gold and ornamented by jewellery. These cases were called *reliquaries*, and according to canon law they were and still are mostly placed inside altars of shrines which were constructed either over their burials or in places where their relics were translated.

Relics brought privilege and honour to their possessors as well as financial support. Thus, there was a rivalry among the monasteries, churches and even wealthy aristocrats for the possession of the most popular and sacred relics.¹⁶² From this perspective, relics are situated at the center of veneration of a saint's cult. So the popularity of the relics of martyrs and saints grew among clergy and laymen in a two-step process; step one was the discovery of the saint's relics, their original location and miraculous power (*inventio*), while step two was the translation of relics with a liturgical ceremony (*translatio*).¹⁶³ Both events would be commemorated in the liturgical calendar. What was the origin of this tradition? There are some records from ancient Greece that the bones of heroes were moved to a different location by the citizens of a state to create a political connection between the hero and their city.¹⁶⁴ In the Greco-Roman world the cult of heroes gained more popularity and

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Boehm, "Relics and Reliquaries in Medieval Christianity,"

¹⁶³ Rapp, C. "Saints and Holy Men," 558 and Tom Watson, "Creating the cult of a saint: Communication strategies in 10th century England," *Public Relations Review* Vol. 34 (2008): 21.

¹⁶⁴The bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon were brought back home from Tegea to Sparta. See, Herodotus, *The Histories*, Trans. Robin Waterfield and Carolyn Dewald (Oxford, 1998): 29-30.

their burials provided a connection between human and divine. Some cults such as that of Asklepios became an attraction for people who were in need of healing and there were more than five hundred sites dedicated to the cult. On the other hand, today's scholarly approach disagrees with the idea of finding an origin for Christian religious practices in pagan cults. Indeed, the hero cult of the Greco-Roman world was never as universally popular as the Christian cult of saints, and site of the hero cult was mainly a specific location, while in Christian practice, the cult could be theoretically enacted in every church. The Roman imperial cult bears no real relation. In this, the *genius* of the emperor was venerated all over the empire while he was living, and temples were erected to the deified emperor in certain locations after his death. The *adventus* ceremonies of the Late Empire borrowed the imagery of cult, without really specifying the emperor's real divinity. Where these ideas are important, is that the cult of the saints developed in a milieu where people were already accustomed to the veneration of the individual. These practices were transformed into the celebration of saints and their relics in Christianity. Yet there is a well attested tradition of veneration of the location of martyrdom and of the burial places of the earliest martyrs at Rome and elsewhere. Indeed many of the early martyrdoms record the Roman authorities trying to stop the earliest Christians from recovering the bodies of the dead, in order to prevent this.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the Christian cult of relics and saints does originate in early Christian practice, but the hero cult of the Greek world and the imperial cult to a lesser extent of the Roman world provided a solid background for the development of Christian cult.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Polycarp 17, in Musurillo, H. *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. (Oxford, 1972): 14-5; Martyrs of Lyons 57 in Musurillo, 80-1.

¹⁶⁶ Rapp, 549-550.

For the emergence of the cult of relics in East and West and the discussion about the origin of their translation see E. D. Hunt, "The Traffic in Relics: some Late Roman Evidence," *The Byzantine Saint*. ed. Sergei Hackel, (Crestwood, New York, 2001): 171-180.

The earliest recorded veneration of a martyr in Christian hagiography is the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* who was bishop of Symrna and executed in 167. This hagiographical record informs us that Christians collected the remains of the martyr after his execution in the arena and started celebrating the anniversary day of his death as a feast.¹⁶⁷ The division of saint's bodies and the collection of relics developed as a popular tradition in the East by the fourth-century and in the West by the seventh-century. In c. 351 as the first *translatio* the body of martyr Babylas was translated from its burial outside of Antioch to a newly built church on top of a ruined temple of Apollo on the outskirts of Daphne, a suburb of the city. St. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan performed the first *inventio* in 386, by discovering the relics of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius and translated them into his new church as an agency of power.¹⁶⁸

What was the aim of translation of relics? Relics meant honour and power for the owner. From the fourth-century, after the Edict of Milan (CE 313) when Christianity was officially tolerated, the public veneration of relics became more popular among Christians and the strategic emergence and promotion of cult started with the construction of large churches over the tombs of martyrs or *martyria*. The translation of relics created attractive points for pilgrims which resulted in new income as well as power for the owner. Moreover, relics were widely distributed to different locations as a part of the promotion process of the cult. Because each smallest part of the relics had the full power of the saint, the distribution of them would increase and spread their power among Christians.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, the translation of relics from their original shrines to different places also provided

¹⁶⁷ Rapp, 558; Head, *Medieval France*, 851-4.

¹⁶⁸ Rapp, 558-9.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

access to them for people who never travelled out of their home town.¹⁷⁰ In a reversal of pilgrimage, translation of relics brought the power of the saint to the people, rather than their having to make difficult and costly journeys to the source of power.

Among the *martyria* which were erected over the burials of female martyrs during the Christian period, the *Martyrium* of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon was one of the most important shrines.¹⁷¹ After her persecution in the arena of Chalcedon, St. Euphemia was buried by her parents one mile from the city of Chalcedon.¹⁷² According to the sixth-century historian, Evagrius Scholasticus, there was a big ecclesiastical complex of the saint consisting of three huge structures in Chalcedon, and from the account of pilgrim Egeria we know that the church in which the body of St. Euphemia lay already existed and was well-known by the late fourth-century.¹⁷³ St. Euphemia stayed in her famous sanctuary in Chalcedon for a long time, and her relics would have witnessed many historical events such as the meeting of the Emperor Arcadius with Gainas in 399¹⁷⁴, the protection of Basil, the old deacon of Antioch, in the church of St. Euphemia, by the public against Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople who had ordered Basil to be arrested and exiled,¹⁷⁵ or the occasion when the Greens took refuge in the church of the saint while escaping from the soldiers of Justinian in 561.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ Watson, "Creating the cult of a saint: Communication strategies in 10th century England," 23.

¹⁷¹ Head, "Cult of Saints," 851-4.

¹⁷² Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 33.

¹⁷³ Evagrius Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, (Liverpool, 2000): 62-5; for Egeria see Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 142. More in-depth analysis of the churches dedicated to saint will be given in the following chapter.

¹⁷⁴ Zosimus, *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome*. Trans. James J. Buchanan and Harold T. Davis (Texas, 1967): V, 17-8, 211.

¹⁷⁵ Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*. (Berkeley, 1982): 150.

¹⁷⁶ Theophanes Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and near Eastern History CE 284-813* eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford, 1997): 347.

Indeed, the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon became a safe place of refuge for many clergy such as Pope Vigilius and the African bishop Verecundus who refused to accept the imperial edict which was composed by Justinian I in order to unite the Monophysites and the followers of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy during the Three Chapters Controversy in the sixth century. The African bishop

Above all, she hosted the Council of Chalcedon in her church which was held in 451 with around 350 bishops in attendance. The Fourth General Council was aimed to resolve opposing views on the nature of Christ and the result confirmed the Orthodox teaching of the two natures - divine and human - of Christ. The miracle of St. Euphemia in the Council of Chalcedon which will be discussed fully below was believed to conclude the discussion on the definition of faith and, through this council St. Euphemia became the patron saint of Chalcedon as well as Constantinople. The body of the martyr lay entire inside the rotunda in her shrine until a very real threat, which targeted such sacred locations as her shrine, approached from the East around the early seventh-century.

I.2.2. Journey of the Relics

In the early seventh-century the Persians had reached Chalcedon, and the relics of Euphemia were translated to a site within the city walls of Constantinople in order to be protected. This was the converted audience hall of the Palace of Antiochus by the Hippodrome in Constantinople, this notwithstanding the somewhat old tradition alluded to by Theophanes, who maintains that the body of the saint was translated to Alexandria in CE 439/40, a tradition appearing nowhere else.¹⁷⁷ Although the chroniclers do not give a firm date, the translation of the relics of St. Euphemia most probably occurred either in 626 during the reign of Heraclius, or in

Verecundus died in the church of the Saint, and Pope Vigilius became sick in Chalcedon and died on his way back to Rome. See J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752*. (London, 1979): 151.

¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, the 'un-corrupted body' of the saint was believed to be kept in the church of the saint in Chalcedon till the Persian attack by the other sources which will be mentioned in this part. Theophanes Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 117.

680 during the reign of Constantine IV.¹⁷⁸ The dates of the translation of the relics are by no means clear. Amongst the suggested dates by scholars a Persian assault reaching Chalcedon in 608/9 could provide an earlier date for the translation of the relics because they were still in Chalcedon by 593, according to the early seventh-century account of Theophylact Simocatta. Theophylact tells us of an investigation into the miracle attributed to St. Euphemia, an enquiry which was held in 593 in Chalcedon under the orders of the Emperor Maurice.¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, the investigation alone cannot be strong evidence claiming that the relics were still in Chalcedon when the Persians attacked in 608/9. There are three sources which assign the first translation of the relics to the reign of Heraclius (610-41). Among them, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, a compilation work of the early eighth-century, is the earliest source which links the translation of relics to Heraclius.¹⁸⁰ Although the name of Heraclius is not mentioned in relation with the translation, *Parastaseis* leads us to date the transfer into the time of Heraclius. The account of Constantine of Tios leaves an impression that the author did not know the first translation date of the relics and reflected the older sources in his account as well as his interpretation about the miracles.¹⁸¹ The account of Theodore Bestos provides us the usual connection between the Persian invasion and the translation according to the account of Constantine of Tios without using any new sources.¹⁸² *The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* provides us an interesting story of the translation as follows:

¹⁷⁸ H. Goldfus, "St Euphemia's Church by the Hippodrome of Constantinople within the Broader Context of Early 7th Century History and Architecture," *Ancient West & East* 5.1-2 (2006): 180.

¹⁷⁹ Theophylact Simocatta, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, eds. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986): 233-4.

¹⁸⁰ A. Cameron, J. Herrin, *The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, (Leiden, 1984): 63; Constantine of Tios in Halkin, F. *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 88.

¹⁸¹ Constantine of Tios, *Ibid.*

¹⁸² A. Berger, "Die Reliquien der Heiligen Euphemia und ihre erste Translation nach Konstantinopel," *Hellenika* Vol. 39 (1988): 311-22; Theodore Bestos in Halkin, F. *Euphémie De Chalcedoine* (Bruxelles, 1965): 129-132

After the death of the Emperor Maurice (582-602) there was a disciple of a certain Eutyches named Akatos, who was a deacon of the church of S. Euphemia. When he saw that the followers of Eutyches were defeated, he went to the fort Serapion (this was one of those held by the Persians, called Rhegion). He told Perritios, the commander of the fort, about the vulnerability of the inhabitants of Chalcedon. Perritios immediately mounted his chariot (for this was the equipment of the commanders of Rhegion) and with seventy thousand men he made for the metropolis of Chalcedon. The people, however, learned in advance and fled to Byzantium, taking with them the precious relics of St. Euphemia. It was in revenge that Akatos, because the church had not been given over to Eutyches, led the Persian Perritios against it. It was then that the Sun-god, the so-called Kronos, in gold-niello, which stood in Chalcedon, was seized by the Persians. They actually took it away to Persia.¹⁸³

According to its editors, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* present the translation of the relics to Constantinople through the use of a story which was based on the historical relation between the church of the saint and Council of Chalcedon.¹⁸⁴ Akatos, a disciple of Eutyches, a fifth-century archimandrite of a Constantinopolitan monastery,¹⁸⁵ symbolizes the Monophysites, and the occasion that the Persians attacked Chalcedon on the request of Akatos demonstrates the Monophysites protest as the doctrines of Eutyches were condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in 451.¹⁸⁶ Thus, in the *Parastaseis* the reason of the translation of relics was given as a result of the different dynamics obtaining in sixth and seventh-century Constantinople, based on the relations with Persians as well as the controversy between the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians. On the other hand, the source does not provide us a certain date for the translation. The editors suggest CE 609, being the date when the Persians attacked Chalcedon and stayed there according to Theophanes, but this date has been disputed by some scholars.¹⁸⁷ In his detailed and useful article “Die Reliquien der Heiligen Euphemia und ihre erste Translation nach

¹⁸³ Cameron and Herrin, *The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984): 63.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁸⁵ Kazhdan, “Eutyches,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 2, 759.

¹⁸⁶ The miracle of the saint at the Council of Chalcedon will be further analysed under the emergence of the saint's cult on the following pages.

¹⁸⁷ Goldfus, *Ibid.*, 180, 187. For a detailed account on Persian attacks see D. M. Olster, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: Rhetoric and Revolution in Byzantium* (Amsterdam, 1993).

Konstantinopel." Albrecht Berger suggests that the alleged 609 invasion did not take place at all. Other dates for the translation of relics to Constantinople in relation to the Persian attacks on Chalcedon can be suggested as CE 615/616-617 and 626. According to Berger, the invasion of 615/616-617 was in fact against Carthage, and the Persian invasion in 626 was surely historical but according to a text surviving in three fragments¹⁸⁸, possibly from the period of Justinian II (685-95/705-11), the translation of the relics took place in the reign of Constantine IV (668-85). Thus, Berger disagrees with the sources the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, the account of Constantin of Tios and Theodore Bestos, and suggests a much later date as CE 680 for the first translation date of the relics.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, as Goldfus states, if we consider that Chalcedon was attacked twice by that time it is less possible that the relics would still have been left in Chalcedon despite the Persian attacks against the holy Christian items.¹⁹⁰ As there is neither any source providing the exact date of the translation, nor agreement among the scholars, the conversion date of the palace into a *martyrium* may provide us a more realistic date.

Another difficulty arises at this point because there is no agreement on the interpretation of the archaeological data regarding the conversion date of the construction. In their useful study, 'Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken', R. Naumann and H. Belting date the church on architectural criteria to the early sixth-century.¹⁹¹ However, the primary sources suggest that the palace building was used as 'imperial house' administered by high officials until CE

¹⁸⁸ Berger, A. "Die Reliquien der Heiligen Euphemia und ihre erste Translation nach Konstantinopel," 311-22; for the text see Canart, Paul. "Le palimpseste Vaticanus gr. 1876 et la date de la translation de Sainte Euphémie." *Analecta Bollandiana* Vol. 87 (1969): 91-104.

¹⁸⁹ Berger, Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Goldfus, Ibid., 180.

¹⁹¹ Naumann and Belting. *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*, 71.

603.¹⁹² Mathews agrees with Naumann and Belting in early sixth-century dating of the church but Grabar disagrees with them and suggests seventh-century for the earliest religious use of the building with a ninth-century date for the architectural pieces.¹⁹³ Belting states that the Christian cult in the converted Palace of Antiochus emerged, in the early sixth-century, about a century earlier than the translation of the saint's relics.¹⁹⁴ Then, we may assume that by the seventh-century there was already a Christian structure in the converted palace, and the liturgical arrangement of the *martyrium* was designed before the translation of the relics. When considering the architectural planning stages and the changes, the conversion of the secular structure, the Palace of Antiochus, into a *martyrium* seems more like a war-time decision.¹⁹⁵

Goldfus, states that - if the translation occurred under his reign - in view of the estimated arrival of Heraclius in the city of Constantinople and the financial problems of late 610s and 620s, arising from the imperial campaign of Heraclius against the Persians, it is unlikely that the conversion of the Palace of Antiochus into the new church of the saint was finished before CE 628.¹⁹⁶

It is interesting to note that regardless of financial difficulties, Heraclius preferred that the Palace of Antiochus be converted into the new church of the saint for the deposition of her relics rather than translating them to one of the churches in Constantinople which already existed and dedicated to the saint long before the translation of relics.¹⁹⁷ In terms of location, the Palace of Antiochus was definitely a

¹⁹² CE 567 According to Theophylact Simocatta, eds. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986): iii.3.7, pp.76 ; CE 603 according to *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*. Trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Liverpool, 2007): 125, 145.

¹⁹³ A. Grabar, "Études critiques: R. Naumann, Die Euphemiakirche," *Cahiers archéologiques*. Vol. 17 (1967): 253.

¹⁹⁴ Naumann and Belting, *Ibid*.

¹⁹⁵ Grabar, "Études critiques: R. Naumann, Die Euphemiakirche," 251.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 187.

¹⁹⁷ The churches of the saint will be discussed in the second chapter. For the churches dedicated to saint in Constantinople see R. Janin, "Les églises Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople," *Échos d'Orient* Vol. 31 (1932): 270-283.

good choice in the heart of Constantinople and near such important monuments of the capital as the Imperial Palace and the Great Church of Hagia Sophia. Above all, Heraclius would have sought a place which was not related to any patron in order to link the translation of relics to his own initiative as a mark of the success and prestige of his imperial administration.¹⁹⁸

Yet another reason to associate the translation of the relics with Heraclius is both imperial policy and the personal effort of the emperor exerted in order to unite the power of State and Church through the agency of relics and religious authority throughout the empire. Heraclius was trying to find a way of unifying the empire in the face of external threats in terms of the Definition of Orthodoxy given by Chalcedon. Indeed, the use of religion for power and authority was significant in Roman imperial policy, but when we take a look at the general atmosphere when Heraclius was crowned in CE 610, obviously collaboration with ecclesiastical leaders was crucial for the continuity of the empire. After a coup that overthrew the emperor Phocas, Heraclius took over an empire with serious financial problems and hunger. Moreover, Persian attacks from the East, and Avar attacks from both the Northern and the Western provinces resulted in destruction and lack of order throughout the empire. Then, under the initiative of Heraclius and Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, a major religious and political campaign started involving the translation of holy objects and relics as well as the restoration of the churches demolished by the Persians. Under these circumstances the translation of St. Euphemia to Constantinople must have been essential for Heraclius as a confirmation of his Chalcedonian Orthodoxy and of his policy against the Sassanid/Persian policy

¹⁹⁸ Goldfus, 187-8.

that was essentially opposed to the policy of Chalcedon, and certainly against Byzantium.¹⁹⁹

On the other hand, Heraclius did not want to initiate an outbreak of hostility with Monophysite leaders; instead he wanted to reach an agreement with them. He even agreed to take communion from a Monophysite bishop for the sake of reconciliation.²⁰⁰ It is interesting to note here that St. Euphemia was venerated in Monophysite churches as well.²⁰¹ Monophysites however did not agree with Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, so St. Euphemia was an ordinary martyr for them, and while they rejected the interpretation of the miracle in the Council of Chalcedon, they did not reject the saint herself.

Getting back to our topic on the converted palace; Antiochus, had been a Persian eunuch, and had been sent to Constantinople by the Sassanian king Yazdgerd I (399-420) on the request of the Emperor Arcadius to educate his young son and future emperor, Theodosius II.²⁰² Although the literary sources do not agree on dates, we know that Antiochus left the imperial service and his position as *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (grand chamberlain) in the Great Palace and later as *patricius* (patrician) in either 413 or 414, and entered the clergy in around 439 by the order of his former pupil, the Emperor Theodosius II.²⁰³ According to the sixth-century

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 180-185. Translation of the Virgin's robe from Blachernae to Hagia Sophia and to Blachernae against the Avar attack, the restoration of the church in Amida, the translation of the body of St. Anastasius the Persian to Caesarea, and the restoration of Holy Cross to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. For a detailed account of Heraclius' reign and the political change in Byzantium see Gerrit J. Reinink and H. Stolte Bernard, *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641) Crisis and Confrontation* (Leuven, 2002) and Walter E. Kaegi, *Heraclius Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003).

²⁰⁰ Goldfus, 184.

²⁰¹ Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, xii; Arietta Papaconstantinou, *Le Culte des Saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides: L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris, 2001): 85-7.

²⁰² See, J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1980): 102. For detailed information on the role of the Persian eunuch Antiochus in the imperial court of Constantinople see J. Bardill and G. Greatrex. "Antiochus the Praepositus: A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* Vol. 50 (1996): 171- 97.

²⁰³ Theophanes Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 127, 151. For the beginning of Antiochus' position as a priest in the church Martindale gives CE

chronicler Malalas, he became a priest in the Great Church of Constantinople, while the twelfth-century chronicler Zonaras claims that Antiochus was ordained priest and entered the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon.²⁰⁴ This is an interesting point, which presents us with a different reason for the selection of the Persian eunuch's palace as the depository of the saint's relics, but unfortunately there is no similar reference to this in previous chronicles and it is not clear which authorities Zonaras used in his account of the ordination of Antiochus to the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon. Bardill claims that although Zonaras was accepted as a reliable late Byzantine chronicler with his unusual references, he rejects the later date given in earlier chronicles, such as Theophanes, Malalas and Cedrenus, and he associates the ecclesiastical service of Antiochus with the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon. Zonaras hardly inspires confidence. Indeed, having known the conversion of the Palace of Antiochus into the Church of St. Euphemia as well as the translation of the relics from the earlier chronicles, Zonaras might well have been influenced by the information and interpreted accordingly as such.²⁰⁵

The literary sources demonstrate that the Palace of Antiochus was seized by the Emperor Theodosius II after the dismissal of the Persian eunuch in 413/4 due to his disrespectful attitude towards the emperor, and thence the building became an 'imperial house' - *domus divinae* - administered by high officials in the city of Constantinople.²⁰⁶ In this sense, the Palace of Antiochus was an ideal place to be chosen to be converted into the a new sanctuary of the saint in order to promote the prestige of the emperor at the center of the capital, while providing a safe place for

421 on the basis of Zonaras' account. See, J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1980): 102.

²⁰⁴ Bardill and Greatrex. "Antiochus the Praepositus," 185.

²⁰⁵ Bardill and Greatrex, *Ibid.*, 185-6.

²⁰⁶ Theophanes Confessor, eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 151 and Theophylact Simocatta, Michael and Mary Whitby, iii.3.7, 76.

the protection of the sacred relics against the Persians, ironically in a building which once belonged to a Persian.

In the new church by the Hippodrome, the sacred relics were kept until their desecration. During the first iconoclastic period²⁰⁷ (730-787) the church by the Hippodrome was secularized and the relics were thrown in the sea either by Leo III or Constantine V, and during this period the church is said to have been used as an arsenal and stable.²⁰⁸ The relics were then said to have been saved by iconodules and brought to the island of Lemnos. Then during the reign of Constantine VI (780-797) in 796 the relics were returned to Constantinople on the orders of the Empress Irene.²⁰⁹

There are two different stories about the desecration of the relics. In his chronicle Constantine of Tios (ca. 800) claims that Leo III (717-741) ordered her relics to be thrown into the sea but they were miraculously rescued and preserved by pious iconodules in Lemnos. Later, when it was heard that they were kept in Lemnos, the holy relics were brought back to Constantinople on the initiative of Empress Irene and Tarasios, the patriarch of Constantinople, in the reign of Constantine VI.²¹⁰ On the other hand, the early ninth-century chronicler Theophanes who personally witnessed the restoration of the relics to Constantinople in 796 states that the relics were thrown into the sea by Constantine V (741-775) and this story is confirmed by

²⁰⁷ Iconoclasm was a period based on religious debate over icon veneration in the 8th and 9th centuries. The first iconoclastic movement started with Leo III's Edict on the destruction of icons in 730 and ended in 787 by the effort of Empress Irene. The iconoclastic controversies started again in 815 by Leo V and was reversed by Empress Theodora in 843. See, Paul A. Hollingsworth and A. Cutler "Iconoclasm," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 2, pp. 975-7. For the sources on iconoclasm see A. Bryer and J. Herrin, ed., *Iconoclasm: papers given at the ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, (Birmingham, 1977); and Leslie Brubaker, John Haldon and Robert Ousterhout, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680–850): The Sources: An Annotated Survey* (Aldershot, 2001). For the role of the Empress Irene in the restoration of the relics of St. Euphemia see Judith Herrin, *Women in Purple* (London, 2001): 90, 98, 105, 146, 187, and 213.

²⁰⁸ Theophanes Confessor, 607.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Constantine of Tios in Halkin, F. *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 84-106.

another independent source.²¹¹ After stating that the rage of the Christians' emperor against the holy relics was worse than the rage of the Arabs against the Christians and their holy relics, Theophanes tells us of the desecration and subsequent return of the relics to which he was an eye-witness:

This the unholy emperor did to the most precious relic of the all-praised martyr Euphemia which he cast into the sea together with its casket, for he could not suffer to behold her exuding myrrh in front of all the people and refuting his inanities directed against the intercession of the saints. God, however, who guards the bones of them that please Him preserved it intact and manifested it once again on the island of Lemnos. By means of a nocturnal vision, He ordered it to be picked up where it lay and guarded. Under the pious Constantine and Irene, in the 4th indiction (CE 796), it returned with due honour to her church which he, like the enemy of churches that he was, had profaned by turning it into an arms-store and a dungheap, while they cleansed it and reconsecrated it so as to refute his godlessness and manifest their own godly piety. Twenty-two years after the criminal's death I myself saw this wonderful and memorable miracle in the company of the most pious emperors and Tarasios the most holy patriarch and, along with them, I kissed it, unworthy as I was to have been granted so signal a grace.²¹²

According to Constantine of Tios the relics were plundered on the way back to Constantinople by one Artabasдина and the emperors' daughters who brought them back to Constantinople.²¹³ He also adds that the holy hand of the martyr -by which she confirmed the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy through holding the *tomos* (the formula of Orthodoxy), was taken by Nicetas Monomachos and put in the church which was built for St. Euphemia in Sicily.²¹⁴ After restoration on the orders of the Empress Irene, the church of the saint by the Hippodrome was administered by the Metropolitan of Chalcedon and at least part of the relics remained in this church till

²¹¹ Theophanes Confessor, 607; *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger, (New York, 1975): III. 9, 216-7.

For the debate on the desecration of the relics by Leo III or Constantine V see Gero, S. *Byzantine iconoclasm during the reign of Leo III; with particular attention to the oriental sources* (Louvain, 1973): 4, 102 and *Byzantine iconoclasm during the reign of Constantine V, with particular attention to the oriental sources*, (Louvain, Secretariat du Corpus SCO, 1977): 155-163.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 607-8.

²¹³ It is not clear to whom Constantine of Tios refers by the daughters of emperor or Artabasдина. For an interpretation on this issue see Mango, C. "Review of Halkin, Euphémie De Chalcedoine," 486.

²¹⁴ Constantine of Tios, in Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 103-4, quoted in Karlin-Hayter, P. "A note on bishops, saints and proximity to Constantinople", in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, (Hampshire, 1995): 407.

the end of the Byzantine Empire in 1453.²¹⁵ On the other hand, according to travel accounts of Russian pilgrims, the relics of St. Euphemia were kept in a church outside the walls of the city and the church by the Hippodrome possessed only some relics of the martyr, including her head covered in gold and her empty tomb, along with relics of St. Michael.²¹⁶

It is interesting to note that there is no mention of the saint's head or body after the arrival of the relics in the restored church of the saint by the Hippodrome in Constantinople in 796 until the twelfth-century account of the Anonymous Mercati and the account of Anthony of Novgorod, a Russian pilgrim who visited the shrines of Constantinople in 1200.²¹⁷ The twelfth-century Anonymous Mercati places the head and some relics of the saint with relics of other martyrs in a big marble coffin on the left side of the church by the Hippodrome.²¹⁸ What Anthony of Novgorod writes about his visit to the shrine of St. Euphemia outside the city walls might be an explanation of what had happened to the saint's relics after their return to Constantinople in the late eighth-century and before their appearance in the record, in the twelfth and thirteenth-century accounts of the travellers to Constantinople.²¹⁹ In his account from the year 1200 Anthony of Novgorod tells us that "next to it (St. George) is the Church of all Saints, where are the head of St. Philip, relics of SS. Cosmas & Damian, and body of St. Euphemia." and "it is only ten years since her remains have been uncovered, for they did not know where she had been laid."²²⁰ According to Majeska the disappearance and rediscovery of the saint's relics may

²¹⁵ Wolfgang Müller-Weiner, *Istanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası* (İstanbul, 2001): 122-5.

²¹⁶ George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington D.C., 1984): 142, 148

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

²¹⁸ K. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *REB*. Vol. 34 (1976): 256-7.

²¹⁹ The location of the saint's shrine outside the city walls will be discussed in the second chapter.

²²⁰ P. Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae* Vol. II, (Paris, 2004): 227; Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*, 320.

have a resemblance with the story of two other Constantinopolitan saints, namely St. Andrew and St. Theodosia whose bodies had disappeared during the iconoclastic period and then found when that period was over. If the hypothesis is correct, the relics of St. Euphemia might have been hidden during the second iconoclasm (814-842) in order to be protected against the desecration and were rediscovered in 1190 - according to Anthony's account- where a shrine was dedicated to the saint at the site after the rediscovery.²²¹

Then, in 1349 another Russian traveller, Stephen of Novgorod, claims that he venerated the relics of the saint outside the city, as does another Russian anonymous pilgrim who visits and confirms the location of the saint's body and the church on the other side of the Golden Gate in the fourteenth-century.²²² Thus, in other words we may conclude that according to these sources the relics of the saint survived The Fourth Crusade in 1204 and were kept in Constantinople after the city was plundered by the crusaders. On the other hand, Patriarch Constantios states that, before the invasion of Constantinople by the Latins, the relics of St. Euphemia were translated to Selymbria (Silivri) and deposited in the Cathedral Church of the town. The relics were brought back to Constantinople from the Cathedral of Selymbria by Gennadios Scholarios, the patriarch of Constantinople, after the Turkish conquest.²²³ Majeska believes that the statement of Constantios contradicts the accounts of the Russian travellers as the relics were supposed to be in Constantinople by the fourteenth-century. Nonetheless, it is possible that the relics might have been transferred to a safer location in Selymbria due to the Latin invasion as well as approaching Turkish threat to Constantinople between the late fourteenth-century and the Turkish

²²¹ Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*, 319-21.

²²² *Ibid.*, 320.

²²³ Constantios I, Patriarch of Constantinople. *Constantiniade ou, Description de Constantinople* (Constantinople, 1861): 93-4.

conquest of Constantinople in 1453. There is also another source by Dimitrie Cantemir, a Moldavian prince who lived in Istanbul for a period in the late seventeenth-century. Cantemir claims that the remains of St. Euphemia were kept in Selymbria near the ruins of a huge palace constructed by John Cantacuzenus, and the relics were called *Cadid* by the Turks whom visited them out of curiosity.²²⁴ Although debatable, Gennadios Scholarios was believed to have been appointed as the first patriarch of Constantinople by Mehmet the Conqueror after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople.²²⁵ Müller-Wiener claims that after the conquest the relics were kept in the Church of Theotokos Pammakaristos -later known as Fethiye Mosque- which was the seat of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate between 1456 and 1587.²²⁶ If Gennadios became the patriarch one year after the conquest in 1454, then the relics were first kept in the Church of the Holy Apostles -later converted into Fatih Mosque- as it was the seat of the patriarch after the conquest till 1455.²²⁷ Finally, the relics were brought to the Church of St. George, today's Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in the early years of Turkish rule, although from which shrine they were brought to the Patriarchate is unknown.²²⁸ According to the list of Thomas Smith who visited Istanbul in 1669 the relics of St. Euphemia were kept in the Church of St. George along with the Column of the Flagellation of Jesus Christ and the sarcophagus of the emperor Alexios Komnenos.²²⁹

²²⁴ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Historian of South East European and Oriental Civilizations: Extracts from the History of the Ottoman Empire* (Bucharest, 1973): 123.

²²⁵ For the debate on the appointment of Gennadios by Mehmet the Conqueror and *Millet System* see Suraiya Faroqhi, ed. *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*. Vol. 3 (Cambridge, 2006): 275.

²²⁶ Müller-Weiner, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 125, 138.

²²⁷ Müller-Weiner, *Ibid.*, 29 and Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople - Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912): 175; Cyril Mango, ed. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, 1978): 25-6.

²²⁸ Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*, 320.

²²⁹ Zafer Karaca, *İstanbul'da Osmanlı Dönemi Rum Kiliseleri* (İstanbul, 2006): 163.

This is the estimated route of the relics' journey from Chalcedon to the Church of St. George as presented by the eastern tradition according to which the relics were not taken to the West by the crusaders during the Latin Occupation of Constantinople. This differs from the western tradition of the Knights Templar. In fact, long before the Templars, the relics were first recorded in the West in a sermon by Victricius who was Bishop of Rouen in the late fourth-century. Victricius of Rouen thanks Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, for sending a gift of relics, in his sermon in *De Laude Sanctorum* which was probably delivered on the occasion of welcoming the relics.²³⁰ The relics were sent by Ambrose from Milan to Rouen in order to strengthen the importance of the newly constructed basilica of Victricius. Although the exact date of translation is not known, the relics of St. Euphemia were among the gift of relics together with relics of St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Gervasius, St. Protasius, and St. Agricola.²³¹ Before the translation the relics had been in possession of Ambrose in Milan.

During this period, the city of Milan was an imperial capital and the centre of North Italy, and the interest of the Milanese bishop in the relics was obvious as he was among those clergymen, including Damasus of Rome and Paulinus of Nola, who tried to promote the cult of the martyrs and their relics in the West.²³² Ambrose constructed the Basilica of the Holy Apostles in the city of Milan in the early 380s following a plan similar in plan to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. Then, in order to strengthen the Christian faith and his ecclesiastical power in the imperial capital, he received gifts of relics from Constantinople as the

²³⁰ Gillian Clark, "Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate," *Early Medieval Europe* Vol. 10-2 (2001): 161.

²³¹ Gillian Clark, "Victricius of Rouen: Praising the Saints." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* Vol. 7-3 (1999): 383 and Schrier, "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 338.

²³² Gillian Clark, "Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate," 161.

city of Milan lacked its own martyrs.²³³ Although identification of these relics remain debatable, according to a feast recorded in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* on May 9, gifts of relics were received by Ambrose probably for the dedication of the Basilica Romana by himself: "Mediolano de ingressu reliquiarum apostolorum Iohannis, Andreae et Thomae in basilica ad portam Romanam" (Concerning the entry of the relics of the Apostles John, Andrew and Thomas into the Basilica at the Roman Gate in Milan).²³⁴ Delehaye states that the relics of St. Euphemia were included in this group and claims that most probably *Mediolano Ephenici* in the Echternach manuscript of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* was corruption of the name Euphemia.²³⁵ Furthermore, under November 27, without a year; the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* indicates that: "in Mediolano Lucae Andreae Iohannis Severi et Euphemiae" (the relics of Luke, Andrew, John Severus and Euphemia were brought to Milan on the 27th of November).²³⁶ This was another dedication and according to Delehaye a dedication happened soon after the episcopate of Ambrose if not during it.²³⁷ The relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius were among the gifts of relics as well as the relics of St. Euphemia which were sent to Victricius of Rouen from Milan. The relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius were discovered by Ambrose in 386, and thus, on the basis of these texts we may conclude that the relics of St. Euphemia were in Milan before 386 and they were sent to the church in Rouen from Milan. Moreover, Paulinus of Nola, a convert bishop of the late fourth-century, states that he collected the relics of St. John the Baptist, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Luke, St. Agricola, St. Vitalis, St. Proculus, St.

²³³ Clark, *Ibid.*, 168-9.

²³⁴ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, 241 quoted from Schrier, O. J. "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie." *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 340-1.

²³⁵ Schrier, *Ibid.*, 341.

²³⁶ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, 623-4 quoted from Schrier, *Ibid.*, 341.

²³⁷ The views of Delehaye is cited from Schrier, O. J. "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," 340-1.

Nazarius and St. Euphemia for his basilica beside the shrine of St. Felix at Nola. Some of these relics namely, the relics of St. Andrew, St. Luke, St. John and St. Euphemia were recorded as having been sent to a basilica in Aquileia in 380s as well. Krautheimer states that these relics were sent from Constantinople to the North Italian sees as a donation for the basilicas most probably by Theodosius.²³⁸

It is obvious that the cult of St. Euphemia as an eastern patron saint was more important than assumed in the western Christian world, especially in Italy, while all along, according to the eastern tradition the relics were supposed to have been in Chalcedon.

For further western traditions concerning the movement of the relics, we should move forward in time to the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Occupation of Constantinople in 1204, bearing in mind that the relics of St. Euphemia were supposedly still kept in the Byzantine capital. It was recorded in a thirteenth-century pilgrim account that The Knights Templar, the famous Christian military religious order of the late Middle Ages, had the relics of St. Euphemia. This leads us to believe that the relics were spoils of the Latin invasion of Constantinople in 1204; however it was stated that the relics were miraculously brought to Castle Pilgrim (in Athlit, a coastal town for the Crusaders and pilgrims between Mount Carmel and Caesarea) from Constantinople by the grace of God as "only holy people may possess holy relics" and this was a common way of legitimizing plunder.²³⁹ After the castle was abandoned in 1261, during the templar trials, the relics were taken to Cyprus and

²³⁸ Schrier, *Ibid.*, 339 and R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: topography and politics*. (Berkeley, 1983): 80. According to the records in *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* under November 27 St. Euphemia is recorded under the list of relics in the Basilica Apostolorum in Milan. Moreover, the name of St. Euphemia is also mentioned under September 3 with the relics of other saints Luke, Andrew and John as donation to the basilica in Aquileia. See, Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: topography and politics*. (Berkeley, 1983): 80, 146; *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, AASS, Nov. II. 2, 623ff. and for September 3 see 485ff.

²³⁹ Helen J. Nicholson, "The Head of St. Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints," in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan, B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (New York, 2002): 110-1.

passed into the possession of the order's treasury at Nicosia. Then, the relics were possessed by the Hospital of St. John and recorded on Rhodes in 1395. In 1522 the Hospitallers left the island of Rhodes to the Ottomans and carried the relics with them to Malta. After a new reliquary had been made the relics were recorded on Malta in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Finally, the relics were taken as booty during the military campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte's troops in June 1798 and were carried with Napoleon's flagship *L'Orient* to the battle of Nile on 1 August 1798.²⁴⁰

All of these arguments point to the conclusion that there were many non-authentic relics or at least fragments of the saint travelling in between the East and the West, reflecting us the popularity of her cult for both sides. The relics of St. Euphemia were believed to be kept within the borders of Constantinople after their restitution from the island of Lemnos to the Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome according to both ancient authors of the East and today's Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul. Thus, as argued by Nicholson, most probably the relics of the saint which were possessed by the Templars and Hospitallers were not authentic but their desire to keep the relics of the female saint whom they devoted themselves was clear enough to show us that the cult of the saint extended far beyond the borders of its motherland and they were center of attraction to both the religious authorities and to pilgrims over a wide span of time. Indeed, they still are in today's world and are venerated throughout the Orthodox and the Catholic world.

²⁴⁰ Nicholson, *Ibid.*, 111-2.

I.3. The Emergence of the Cult of St. Euphemia in the Christian World

I.3.1. How did the cult of a saint emerge?

The cult of saints originated from the commemoration of martyrs as the cult of dead, and as we discussed before some scholars claim that cult of saint replaced cult of pagan gods while recent studies tend to refuse a direct relation between them.²⁴¹ Before the time of Constantine, martyrdom was considered an honor by Christians, who thereby proved their faith and won “the crown” and a place in Paradise. The tombs of martyrs became sacred sanctuaries where Christians could gather as ‘witnesses of the death of their martyrs’ and commemorate the anniversary of their death. When the persecution of Christians came to an end under the Edict of Milan in 313, toleration of Christianity was extended by Constantine and new forms of sanctity and sainthood developed to complement the cult of the earlier martyrs.²⁴²

The veneration and invocation of saints, the cult of their relics and images have always had significant importance to Christians as well as to the liturgy of the Church. Holy people were at first usually venerated in the local churches or monasteries where they lived, and devout visitors would congregate around their *martyria* to receive healing from their relics as well as intercession. Soon a cult would grow up around the tomb of saint, and there would be an annual celebration usually on the saint’s feast day and a *vita* or an icon of the saint would be produced. In this way a holy person would be recognized as a saint by the local church as well

²⁴¹ See under the subtitle: *The Controversial Journey of the Saint's Relics in and out of Constantinople*. On this debate, see also Stephen Wilson, *Saints and Their Cults: studies in religious sociology, folklore and history*, (Cambridge, 1985):2, 3 and 191.

²⁴² Rapp, "Saints and holy men," 551.

as the local community and his or her name would be placed on the list of feast days. On the other hand, in course of time some saints acquired a wider fame for reasons which are not always clear, and their feast days were included in the calendar of the Church in order to be celebrated universally²⁴³. In this part of my research besides the significant features of her cult I will try to examine the underlying reasons behind the veneration and the widespread cult of St. Euphemia throughout the Byzantine world.

In both Eastern and Western Christianity local popularity of a saint was followed by the official ecclesiastical recognition and declaration of his or her sanctity by the church. The official recognition of the sanctity, that is canonization, was confirmed by the patriarch and synod of Constantinople for Byzantium.²⁴⁴ In Byzantium, the recognition of an individual's sanctity was a process based on local tradition rather than on an official process of canonization up until the late thirteenth-century, while official canonization of a saint by the Pope had already been normal for almost three centuries in the West.²⁴⁵ Although the process of sanctification began with public veneration in both the Greek East and the Latin West, eventually differences between the ways in Eastern and Western Christianity developed. Peter Brown maintains that contrasts were developed between Western Europe and Byzantium mainly due to the unity of the Mediterranean rather than the division of the Christian Church, and he claims that the difference of the ways between East and

²⁴³ Anscar J. Chupungco, ed. *Handbook for Liturgical Studies Vol. V, Liturgical Time and Space* (Collegeville Minnesota, 2000): 299; Alice-Mary Talbot, ed. *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, 2006): 7.

²⁴⁴ A.-M. Talbot, "Canonization," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 1, 372.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, and Kazhdan, "Saint," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 3, 1828.

West in Christianity cannot be reduced to few formulas. The reality was far more complex.²⁴⁶

The significant elements for sanctification of a saint can be listed as follows: Posthumous miracles, uncorrupted corpse of the saint, an icon and a *vita*.²⁴⁷ Rapp states that the cult of a saint has already been created and established before his or her death by followers of the saint and pilgrims, who played a key role in the process of cult formation as well as for promulgation of the cult by circulating stories of the saint's miraculous interventions.²⁴⁸ Thus, both the role of oral tradition and the written lives of saints were highly significant for the development of a saint's cult. As Brown expresses, a holy man was a 'role model' for imitation in the Roman society of Late Antiquity, standing as a reflection of Christ himself with virtue and heroism against persecution.²⁴⁹ He defines holy man as a 'man of power' who makes the life easier for the Late Antique society by protecting them from the disasters such as earthquakes, plagues, famine and storms. This will have led to a "following" and ultimately to a "cult". Moreover, in the East, the holy man was placed as a power that could courageously stand against the emperor's justice in the minds of the people.²⁵⁰

The heroic attitude of the saint was reflected in the stories that stimulated the

²⁴⁶ Peter Brown, "Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways," in *Society and The Holy in Late Antiquity* (London and California, 1989): 166-9. Peter Brown's seminal article in *Society and The Holy in Late Antiquity* is in fact a revision of his earlier article "The Rise and Function of the Holy man in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 61 (1971): 80-101. This article had a profound effect on all subsequent studies. In this, he saw the holy man as a charismatic individual acting as patron of the poor and oppressed, and representing an alternative to established authority. The definition of 'holy man' and the way Brown presented the contrast between Greek East and Latin West are questioned by some scholars. For more on this debate see A. Cameron, "On defining the holy man," Paul Antony Hayward, "Demystifying the role of sanctity in Western Christendom," and Paul Fouracre, "The origins of the Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints," in James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward ed. *The Cult of saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1999).

²⁴⁷ A.-M. Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* (Burlington, 2001): II-111.

²⁴⁸ Rapp, C. "Saints and holy men," 552.

²⁴⁹ Brown, P. "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* Vol. 2 (1983): 15-6.

For the role of the holy man in the society see also P. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred, Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1997): 57-78 especially 61-7.

²⁵⁰ Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London, 2004): 102.

imagination of others who were thus taught to imitate the saint. From the oral accounts of these holy men and women, which must have circulated in numerous versions, developed the more formal versions, which tended to fix the details of the story. Then, hagiographic texts were translated into different languages enabling wider for recognition of these holy men and women as well as the promotion of their cults.²⁵¹ Obviously, the Latin version of the *passio*, following the fifth-century original Greek *passio* of St. Euphemia was an effort to promote the cult of the saint in the Latin West. However, we know from Egeria that the cult of St. Euphemia was already widespread by the late fourth-century at the latest in the western world suggesting the circulation of other versions of the saint's life and martyrdom.

In addition to the oral tradition and hagiographical texts as written lives of the saints, inclusion of their feast days into church calendar, dedication of churches to saints, veneration and distribution of their relics and icons, composition of hymns in honor of the saints and readings from their *vitae* on their feast days were other steps in the promulgation process of cult.²⁵²

Translation of relics took place from the fourth-century onwards throughout the Christian world to promote a saint's cult as well as to gain economic power and prestige as the relics became a major attraction for pilgrims. Translation of relics also served to spread sanctity and holiness from the center to the very edges of the Christian world, complementing rapidly developing local cults. Besides pilgrims, there were different parties who were interested in relics and tried to gather as much power as they could. Bishops exerted their efforts in an effort to control the veneration of relics in order to strengthen their ecclesiastical and economical power in the administration of the church, while members of aristocracy and imperial

²⁵¹ Cameron, "On defining the holy man," 37.

²⁵² Kazhdan, "Saint," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 3, 1828.

family donated relics for prestige and privilege. Emperors, on the other hand, were eager to possess collections of sacred relics as a confirmation of their relation with the divine power, as a means of uniting the power of State and Church, as well as of strengthening their imperial administration.²⁵³

According to the above analysis about the reproduction of the saints' lives as a strategy to promote the cult of a saint, we may conclude that the early ninth-century *passio* of Constantine of Tios and the ninth-century or eleventh-century panegyric of Theodore Bestos of St. Euphemia were essentially strategies for promoting the cult after the translation of her relics from Chalcedon to Constantinople in the late seventh-century.

Here we ask what made St. Euphemia a saint renowned in Constantinople, and why her cult became more popular up to the present than many other saints of early Byzantium. Let us first analyse and understand the significant features that shaped the popularity of her cult. St. Euphemia was a young Christian girl of noble birth as the daughter of senator Philophron and Theodosiane. The emphasis on her noble lineage is one of the most typical motifs in hagiography as a reflection or typology of "the biblical genealogy of Christ within a line of kings".²⁵⁴ While having all the moral virtues, privileged birth was "the honor of having belonged to Christ's immediate following".²⁵⁵ Furthermore, as a popular hagiographical topos, nobility was the sign of noble character with features of saintliness in addition to power and prestige enabling her to affect society.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Holger A. Klein, "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* Vol. 58 (2004): 284.

²⁵⁴ Head, *Medieval Hagiography* (New York, 2001): 338 note 6.

For more on noble lineage see Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, *Soldiers of Christ Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park, 1995): xxxiv.

²⁵⁵ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Dublin, 1998): 55.

²⁵⁶ Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, *Soldiers of Christ Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, xxxiv.

“When Priscus heard this, he said to her, ‘Honour yourself and do not forget the support of your ancestry. But even if you have been led astray by words as is usual with women, turn back and sacrifice to the God Ares.’”²⁵⁷

St. Euphemia had the typical features of an early female saint in Late Antiquity as a virgin martyr of noble birth who was executed during the persecutions of Christians in the third and early fourth-century. When the Persecution was over and religious tolerance developed for Christians throughout the empire, new different patterns of female sainthood emerged in Middle and Late Byzantine Christianity, including married holy women, ascetic nuns and “women disguised as monks”.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Alice Mary Talbot, in her work ‘Women and Religious Life in Byzantium’ states that considering the number of surviving *vitae* and visual representation of saints in church decoration as well as on icons and seals, female saints of the first six centuries were later the most popular holy women of the Byzantine world. On the other hand, ironically enough, the number of actual women saints started to decrease for still unclear reasons as the persecution ended, and the sanctity of fewer women was recognized, while many more male saints received sanctification from Late Antiquity onwards. On the contrary, in the West the High Middle Ages witnessed the recognition of many new female saints.²⁵⁹

The decline in the numbers of female saints might be a reflection of the ongoing contradictory attitudes of Byzantines towards women – besides the possible ignorance of holy women by the male chroniclers²⁶⁰ - as there was a general

²⁵⁷ Halkin, “La Passion Ancienne de Sainte Euphémie de Chalcédoine,” 105-6, unpublished translation of Adrian Saunders.

²⁵⁸ Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* (Burlington, 2001): VI-1-16.

²⁵⁹ Talbot, *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, II-105. As Head reminds us in his article: Eusebius mentions only fifteen female martyrs among one hundred and twenty martyrs in his *Ecclesiastical history*. Only a limited number of early *passions* were about women, in the late fourth century the accounts of female saints were written long after their deaths. St. Euphemia was one of the few female martyrs who was venerated on her feast

ambivalence about the sanctity of the female sex which is said to have originated between the image of Eve as the source and reason of the Original Sin and the image of the Virgin Mary as the Virgin Mother of Christ.²⁶¹ Hence, woman was respected as mother but at the same time woman was accused of being unreliable and weak and as a source of sin.²⁶² Even in Late Antiquity despite the fact that there were more female saints in later ages, there was no gender-based equality. Thus women had to struggle more than their male counterparts to enter the religious life, and they had to shed their femininity in order to prove their ‘manly courage’.²⁶³

Being a female saint in the Late Antique world was different from being a male saint. Women who wished to enter religious life or to live an ascetic life had to reject the social norms which limited their education, and demanded they marry.²⁶⁴ They did not have the freedom to make their own choices and decisions about their lives. Thus, it was a struggle on two fronts: on one side against anti-Christian policy with no tolerance of another religion; and, on the other, against a society which disapproved of the independent brave women despite their being numerous earlier heroic *exempla*. According to society’s code of ethics, women were discouraged from leaving their homes for pilgrimage or to enter the religious life. Aside from the harsh consequences of breaking the rules of a patriarchal social system by choosing holiness, while refusing to fulfill the expectations of public authority, it was not easy for women to gain sanctity, because she was “a potential source of temptation and

day by the fourth century. See, Head, "Hagiography," in *Women in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson and Nadia Margolis (London, 2002).

²⁶¹ Head, *Ibid.*; Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, x. Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex Female Sanctity and Society, CA. 500-1100*, (Chicago and London, 1998): 6.

²⁶² Talbot, "Women," in *The Byzantines*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Chicago and London, 1997): 142-3.

²⁶³ Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium*, VI-15.

²⁶⁴ See the story of Thekla in Carolyn L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven and London, 2004): 1-12

evil regardless of her status”²⁶⁵, and so a threat to others, mainly men, in pursuit of holiness.

Under these circumstances, celibacy, namely the renunciation of their sexual function for the sake of ritual purity provided woman a new social identity rather than being “allayer of male lust and bearer of children”.²⁶⁶ While marriage was encouraged by the Church and the society as the traditional role of woman, from the fourth-century onwards celibacy became a common and significant force in Christianity, and virginity turned into a new type of power for women in all strata within the society.²⁶⁷ The sacred virgins - *parthenoi*- of the Late Antiquity were named as “Brides of Christ”. Virginity and religious life provided aristocratic women opportunities to have a career out of their houses with the influence and power of their family names, sometimes even as a leader in the city, while for laywomen it gave a chance to avoid an unwanted marriage and to become brides of Christ.²⁶⁸ However, as Laiou stresses, it would be wrong to consider that the position of women in the Byzantine society remained unchanged for centuries. The role and the identity of the Byzantine women underwent changes over the centuries reflecting major changes in society. The over-emphasis on virginity was transformed into other female virtues such as charity, humility, and obedience after the ninth-century. The Metaphrastic versions of earlier *vitae* of female saints softened the ideals and even married females without an entry into a convent gained sanctity.²⁶⁹

The virginity of a saint was also considered an essential virtue in the West for Templar devotion to female saints between the twelfth and the fifteenth-century.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 34.

²⁶⁶ Elizabeth Ann Clark, *Women in the Early Church*, (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1983): 18.

²⁶⁷ Connor, Carolyn L. *Women of Byzantium*, 16-9.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Angeliki E. Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium*. (Hampshire, 2005): I-234 and Ia-198-9.

Moreover, it is quite interesting to note that although St. Euphemia was the patron saint of the Orthodox definition, the Templars, besides their devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary as the patron saint of the Order of the Temple, highly venerated the female saint and honoured their relic of St. Euphemia.²⁷⁰ It is another irony of the veneration of St. Euphemia that the Templars who were an order of celibate men and very extreme in their celibacy and did not allow women into their order, did have a great devotion to the saint. St. George, as expected, was also venerated by the Templars as a well-known military saint, and besides St. Euphemia of Chalcedon, they venerated another female virgin saint of the early fourth-century, namely one of the eleven thousand virgins who was martyred with St. Ursula. Her relics were valued too, but apparently neither St. George nor St. Ursula's maiden received as much attention as St. Euphemia.²⁷¹ Nevertheless, St. Ursula's maiden was venerated by the Temple at Paris while St. Euphemia was widespread among the whole order of the Templar. According to Helen Nicholson, virginity was consciously emphasized as a virtue among the Templars, for the celibate knights were encouraged to follow their example of virtue. In addition to the virtue of chastity, the cult of the female virgin saints would provide the Templars with virtues such as patience and modesty, so they might become devoted pious men as well as an organized military force. Once again, because of their greater weakness than men, the victory of long-suffering and fragile female saints against male pagans was used to fire the Templars with enthusiasm for endurance and desire for victory against their enemy.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Nicholson, "The Head of St. Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints," 108-120, especially 116-7.

²⁷¹ For more see Nicholson, *Ibid.*, 117.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

Before the conclusion of the analysis of St. Euphemia's cult let us take a more detailed look at the miracles of the saint which played the major role in the emergence of her cult in the Byzantine world.

I.3.2. The Miracles

Saints were followed and visited by pilgrims and believers, for, not only were they seen as exemplary role models for society but also as providers of miracles which 'God performed through the saints'.²⁷³ These miracles occur both during their lives and posthumously after their deaths at their burials and through their relics. Many of these miracles were related to cure and exorcism as well as forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation of souls. Thus, shrines of saints were often visited by those who sought miraculous healing and intercession of saints.²⁷⁴ Posthumous miracle stories (*miracula*) of saints were collected and formed a new genre of Christian hagiography which was read before pilgrims as a part of the celebration on a saint's feast day.²⁷⁵ These miracle accounts emerged over a long period in the healing shrines as an effective way of promoting the cult of the saint. Most probably miraculous cures were shared by the healed patients and were recorded in those shrines in order to be selected to form a collection of miracles.²⁷⁶ Once again it is likely that the oral tradition was later formalised as a written tradition.

These posthumous miracle stories played a major role in the development and promotion of the cult of a saint and attracted pilgrims and visitors who were in need of physical and spiritual healing. St. Euphemia miraculously survives several tortures

²⁷³ Head, *Medieval France*, 434.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Rapp, "Saints and Holy Men," 562.

²⁷⁶ Talbot, "Hagiography," *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, 866.

in her short life as we know from her *passion* and there are two posthumous miracles attributed to the saint, namely the effusion of blood and the miracle in the council, both of which were recorded by the chroniclers. Her cult was promoted by the recording and commemoration of both these posthumous miracles, but one of them particularly helped promote the expansion of her cult throughout the Byzantine world and provided her the title as a patron saint of Greek-Orthodox Christianity.

I.3.2.1. The Miraculous Effusion of Blood

A miracle, whether performed during a saint's life, or after his death, was sometimes described by the Latin word 'virtus', meaning a virtue or power that truly reflected the divine power of God. An example of this is the Miraculous Effusion of Blood attributed to the relics of St. Euphemia.²⁷⁷

It is said that at certain times blood miraculously exuded from the corpse of St. Euphemia. There is explicit testimony for this miracle in the chronicle of the sixth-century chronicler Evagrius Scholasticus.²⁷⁸ Evagrius describes the Miraculous Effusion of Blood in detail as if he witnessed the miracle, in the same way he gave a detailed description of the church complex of St. Euphemia. Evagrius states that The Miraculous Effusion of Blood was collected by an iron stick with a sponge wrapped on it from a small hole on the left side of the coffin which was opened miraculously as a protection against the Persian attack when they tried to burn the sarcophagus of the saint according to the account of Constantine of Tios (c. 800).²⁷⁹ Apart from the discussion on the discrepancy between the account of Tios and others as to questions of dating and the authenticity of his account, as Mango stresses that no sensible

²⁷⁷ Noble and Head. *Soldiers of Christ Saints and Saints' Lives*, xv.

²⁷⁸ *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, trans. Whitby (Liverpool, 2000): 64-5.

²⁷⁹ Whitby, *Ibid.* and Constantine of Tios in Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 84-106.

explanation was given of why the relics had to be translated to Constantinople for protection, while they had the power to protect themselves miraculously. Constantine of Tios does not give us a date either for the Persian attack or for the translation of relics but he also claims that once he experienced the supernatural effusion of blood from the small opening on the sarcophagus.²⁸⁰ On the other hand, this legend may demonstrate that the relics survived at least one of the Persian attacks before their translation to Constantinople.

In his detailed account Evagrius stresses the fact that the miraculous effusion of blood was given by God to all people and distributed equally. He tells that St. Euphemia invited people including bishops by appearing to them in a dream, inviting them to visit her sanctuary. Thus the shrine then became popular, especially among administrators and dignitaries of the Church.²⁸¹

...And the miracles performed by the all-holy lady at certain times are manifest to all Christians. For often, appearing as a dream to those who at the time were bishops of the said city, or even to some who were in other ways distinguished in their life, she orders them to attend on her and harvest a vintage at the precinct. [41] Whenever this became known to the emperors and the archbishop and the city, those who direct the sceptres and the sacred rites and the offices throng to the church along with all the remaining multitude, in their wish to participate in the celebrations. Then while everyone is watching, the prelate of the city of Constantine with his attendant priests goes inside the sanctuary where lies the all-holy body, as I have already mentioned. There is a small opening inside the coffin, on the left side, secured with small doors; through this they send in towards the all-holy remains a lengthy iron rod on which they have fastened a sponge; after turning the sponge around they draw back the iron towards themselves, filled with blood and numerous clots. Whenever the populace beholds this, it forthwith does obeisance, reverencing God. So great is the quantity of what is brought forth that both the pious emperors and all the assembled priests and furthermore the whole populace gathered together share richly in the distributions, and it is sent forth throughout the whole wide world to those of the faithful who want it, and both the clots and the all-holy blood are preserved for ever, in no way changing to a different appearance. These matters are celebrated in a manner befitting God, not according to a certain fixed cycle but as the life of the presiding priest and the gravity of his habits wishes. And so men say that when an honourable person, distinguished for

²⁸⁰ For a detailed discussion on the discrepancy of the account of Tios see C. Mango, "The Relics of St. Euphemia and the Synaxarion of Constantinople," 83-5, and Berger, "Die Reliquien der Heiligen Euphemia und ihre erste Translation nach Konstantinopel," 319-20.

²⁸¹ *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, Whitby, 64-5.

virtues, is at the helm this miracle indeed happens particularly frequently, but that when it is not someone of this type such divine signs proceed rarely. And I will tell of something which neither time nor occasion interrupts, nor indeed is there a distinction between believers and unbelievers, but it is sent forth for all equally. Whenever anyone comes here to the place where there is the precious coffin in which are the all-holy remains, he is filled with a fragrant odour beyond any familiar to men. For it is not like that gathered in meadows, nor indeed that emitted from one of the most fragrant things, nor yet such a perfumer would create, but it is strange and [42] extraordinary, presenting through itself the power of its origins.²⁸²

Evagrius alleges that the miraculous effusion of blood occurs at certain times and the frequency of this event increases when the city was under the rule of an honourable and distinguished bishop. On the other hand, an early seventh-century author Theophylact Simocatta building on Evagrius tells that the effusion of blood was performed annually on every September 16 on the feast day of St. Euphemia. He explains as a detail how people showed interest in the miracle and how the miraculous blood which had *certain natural aromatics* was distributed to the crowd in glass vessels by priest of the church.²⁸³ Then, Theophylact links this miracle with a remarkable story about a sceptical investigation of the miracle by the Emperor Maurice:

Let not the wonderful events at that time concerning the martyr Euphemia escape those who love knowledge, but let us extend our account a little. For descriptions which have attained divine illumination bestow their great inherent benefit on the souls of their listeners. (2) Chalcedon is a city situated at the mouth of the Pontus, on the opposite shore from the city of the Byzantines. In it there is situated a church of the martyr Euphemia, where ancient report has established that the most holy body of the martyr is placed in a sepulchre. (3) Now every year on the day of her martyrdom, on account of the superabundance of that divine activity, there appears a most wonderful sign, one which is, in short, most incredible to those who have not witnessed it. (4) For although the body has lain in the tomb for four hundred years or so already, on the aforesaid day, before the eyes of the throngs, the leader of the priestly church of those parts draws up with sponges founts of blood from the dead body (5) And you may see, as if from a newly slain body, the blood mingled with flux from wounds and blended with certain natural aromatics, and the priest performing the distribution of these to the throngs in little vessels made out of glass. (6) Then there rashly occurred to the Emperor Maurice, in the twelfth year of his imperial power, a certain notion concerning the divinity of the soul: he belittled

²⁸² *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, Whitby, 64-5.

²⁸³ *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, Whitby, 233-4.

the miracles, rejected the wonder outright, and attributed the mystery to men's crafty devices. (7) Accordingly, the grave was stripped of its silver ornament, and the tomb was guarded by seals, for such was the counsel of bold disbelief. (8) But when the appointed day had arrived, the secret was tested, the mystery examined, the miracles investigated, and through the miracles she became an indubitable witness to her own power: once again rivers of aromatic blood sprang from the tomb, the mystery gushed with the discharges, sponges were enriched with fragrant blood, and the martyr multiplied the effluence. For when God is disbelieved, he is not accustomed to begrudge knowledge. (9) And so in this way the martyr educated the emperor's disbelief. But the emperor sent, in return for the gushing forth of blood, an inundation of tears, and repaid the effluences of aromatics with a shower from his eyes, saying 'God is wonderful in his saints.'²⁸⁴

The Emperor Maurice was known to be a relic collector, Whitby states that Maurice could not have added the body of Daniel from Khusro II as well as a relic of St. Demetrius from Thessalonica into his collection, but he had the cap of the Nestorian Catholicus, Sabrisho. Thus, he claims that emperor's action in questioning the miraculous effusion of blood from the body of the saint makes sense as he wanted to strengthen his impressive collection by testing the supernatural power of the relics.²⁸⁵ On the other hand, there seems to be another reason which forced the emperor to act as he did, entirely in accordance with his imperial policy. The investigation occurred in the twelfth year of Maurice's reign, according to Theophylact, who considers the manner of the Emperor an exhibition of grave disrespect to the holy relics.²⁸⁶ The underlying reason for the emperor's suspicion about authenticity of the miraculous effusion of blood was directly related to the dynamics of imperial policy, according to Grégoire.²⁸⁷ At this point we shall remember the religious and political policy of Heraclius for a similar analysis of the social and political conditions of the empire under the rule of Maurice. One year

²⁸⁴ Theophylact Simocatta, Whitby, *Ibid*, 233-4.

²⁸⁵ M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare* (Oxford, 1988): 23.

²⁸⁶ Theophylact Simocatta, Whitby, *Ibid*, 233.

²⁸⁷ Whitby, *Ibid*. footnote 86; for more see H. Grégoire, who suggests a relation between the investigation of Maurice and his murder at Chalcedon in "Sainte Euphémie et l'empereur Maurice," *Muséon* Vol. 59 (1946): 295-302.

before the investigation, during the twelfth year of Maurice's reign in 592, peace was made with Persia and Maurice needed the support of his Armenian soldiers for his approaching Danube campaign. Yet, the Armenian provinces were opponents of the Council of Chalcedon. Thus, by attacking the well-known miracle of the patron saint of the diophysite formula, Maurice could have tried to gain the support of the Armenian monophysites. In other words, questioning the miracle of Euphemia was a diplomatic maneuver in order to placate the other party. Ironically, eight years later the Emperor Maurice was murdered at Chalcedon.²⁸⁸

Later, as has been mentioned above, either in the seventh or in the early eighth-century the relics of St. Euphemia were translated from Chalcedon to Constantinople due to Persian attacks. A palimpsest fragment from the period of Justinian II (685-95/705-11) tells us that the relics of St. Euphemia were translated from Chalcedon to Constantinople in the reign of Constantine IV (668-85).²⁸⁹ According to the same text the miraculous effusion of blood continued in Chalcedon after the translation of the relics.²⁹⁰ While there is no explanation as to how it was possible that the effusion of blood continued from an empty sarcophagus, this may also demonstrate us the importance of the cult of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon long after the removal of the relics.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Whitby, *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ Berger, "Die Reliquien der Heiligen Euphemia," 311-22; For more see Paul Canart, "Le palimpseste Vaticanus gr. 1876 et la date de la translation de Sainte Euphémie," *Analecta Bollandiana* Vol. 87 (1969): 91-104.

²⁹⁰ C. Mango, "The Relics of St. Euphemia and the Synaxarion of Constantinople," *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* LIII (1999): 83.

²⁹¹ Mango, *Ibid.*

I.3.2.2. The Miracle during the Council of Chalcedon

As mentioned before The Fourth General Council, was held in the Church of St. Euphemia under Marcian and Pulcheria in between the 8th and 31st of October, 451 attended by around 350 bishops, mainly from the East.²⁹² The Council was primarily held in order to finalize the controversy over the orthodox definition of faith which was based on the Christological debate over the nature of Christ between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople. As a result of the Council, Pope Leo's *Tome* was accepted as the orthodox Definition of Faith, as it emphasizes '*the full divinity and full humanity in the one whole person*' as opposed to the '*one nature of the incarnate Logos*' a formula supported by the Alexandrians.²⁹³ The emperor Marcian and the Empress Pulcheria played a significant role in the decisions as well as the organization of the council in an attempt to end the controversy and unite the Eastern and Western provinces of the empire but they failed in their attempt, and the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon started a schism between the supporters of the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy and the so-called Monophysite (Miophysite) Churches.²⁹⁴ The Definition of Faith which was declared by the Council of Chalcedon turned into the standard expression of today's Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christology, in the formula "one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation".²⁹⁵ The other important decision of the council, namely *Canon 28*, gave the See of Constantinople a status of

²⁹² Aristeides Papadakis, "Council of Chalcedon," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 1, 404.

²⁹³ E. Ferguson, M. P. McHugh, W. F. Norris, *Encyclopedia of early Christianity* (New York and London, 1998): 248-9.

²⁹⁴ Ferguson, *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. Richard Price and Michael Gaddis (Liverpool, 2005): 59.

honour after the See of Rome, and as the first See in the East as well as granting authority over the dioceses of Thrace, Asia and Pontus.²⁹⁶

During this Council a miracle occurred through the agency of St. Euphemia, and was believed to conclude the discussion on the nature of Christ, and confirmed the diophysite (two-natured) doctrine as the orthodox Definition of Faith, as opposed to the monophysite (one-natured).²⁹⁷ Nevertheless, as mentioned before, even the Monophysites continued to venerate St. Euphemia after the Council.²⁹⁸ There are two versions of the Saint's miracle in the Council of Chalcedon.²⁹⁹ According to one version, the council fathers, having seen that no final agreement had been reached, decided to open the tomb of the saint and present the *tomos* –the official document on which the diophysite doctrine was written- to the saint. Then, St. Euphemia rose from the dead animated by the breath of God, held the *tomos* and gave it back to the council fathers after kissing it.³⁰⁰ The other version of the miracle tells us that the doctrines of both parties (monophysites and diophysites) were put into the coffin of the saint and were placed on her chest. After some days, when the coffin was reopened by the council fathers, the orthodox doctrine was found in her right hand while the doctrine of the Monophysites was laid at her feet.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ Papadakis, "Council of Chalcedon," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 1, 404.

²⁹⁷ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, trans. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, Second Series, Vol. 12 (Edinburgh, 1980): 72-3.

²⁹⁸ For the cult of St. Euphemia in Egypt see Arietta Papaconstantinou, *Le Culte des Saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides*, 85-7.

²⁹⁹ Halkin, "Le Concile de Chalcedoine," in *Recherches et Documents D'Hagiographie Byzantine*. (Bruxelles, 1971): 284-5.

³⁰⁰ Constantine of Tios in Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 93-5 and Theodore Bestos in Halkin, *Ibid.*, 129-132.

³⁰¹ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye. (Bruxelles, 1902): 811-3; Imperial Menologium, Halkin, *op. cit.*, 163-8, and in the text of Makarios Makres in Halkin, *op. cit.*, 173. The number of the bishops who attended the council was given as 630 in *Synaxarium*, there are other sources indicating different numbers and there is not an agreement on the exact numbers of the bishops. For a detailed analysis of the issue see Attendance and Ecumenicity (Appendix 2) in *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, (Liverpool, 2005): 193-203.

I.4. Conclusion

It should be remarked that St. Euphemia was not the only saint who was venerated in and outside Asia Minor and whose reputation went far beyond the borders of Constantinople. She had all the typical characteristics of a virgin martyr of Late Antiquity as well as all the significant elements for the promulgation of her cult: relics, posthumous miracles, a church complex dedicated to her in Chalcedon and a *passio*. As Goldfus stresses, besides her veneration for miraculous healing and intercession as a witness to Christ, the cult of St. Euphemia had a special place among the other saints owing to her miraculous role in the confirmation of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy during the Council of Chalcedon.³⁰²

After the Fourth General Council was held in the church of the saint in Chalcedon in CE 451, the cult of St. Euphemia became widespread throughout the Christian world. The relics of the saint, which enabled many pilgrims to express their devotion and to seek healing through the miraculous effusion of blood from the saint's corpse, became even more important after the Council, and St. Euphemia became the patron saint of Chalcedon. While her relics were still kept in the church complex in Chalcedon, other churches dedicated to the saint started to be built across the Bosphorus in Constantinople itself.

The first anonymous Greek *passio* of the saint which is believed to have been produced after the Council of Chalcedon was translated into Latin and other versions claiming three different executions of the saint were produced by hagiographers over time. This may be seen as evidence for the continuing and expanding cult of the saint throughout the Christian world. The relics of the saint were translated from

³⁰² H. Goldfus, "St Euphemia's Church by the Hippodrome of Constantinople within the Broader Context of Early 7th Century History and Architecture," *Ancient West & East* 5.1-2 (2006): 184.

Chalcedon to Constantinople owing to the Persian threat, and then they moved to many other locations, as recorded in a number of stories and accounts, that present a tradition which is, to say the least, extremely confused. The importance of the cult of St. Euphemia rested largely on the miracle which confirmed the Chalcedonian formula that Christ is in 'two natures'.³⁰³

On the other hand, it can be expressed that the Council of Chalcedon played the role of catalyst in the greater promotion of the cult of St. Euphemia for there is historical evidence that she was already an important and a well-known female saint venerated in both Greek East and Latin West before the Council. First we know from the account of the Spanish pilgrim named Egeria who visited the church of the saint around 380s that St. Euphemia was well-known and venerated in the West. The *ekphrasis* of Asterius of Amaseia describes the painting of the *vita* of St. Euphemia probably in the Church at Chalcedon, and reflects the importance of her cult in Asia Minor. In 399 Emperor Arcadius and Gothic leader Gainas met in the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon.³⁰⁴ This was probably the first historical event which was taken place in the church complex of the saint in Chalcedon indicating the importance of the cult of the saint as well as the church before the Council. It is highly doubtful, according to Theophanes' account that the body of the saint was moved to Alexandria in CE 439/40 as was given before in the journey of the relics. This so-called translation might have not happened but this data does suggest that the cult of the saint was also popular as early as the fifth-century in Monophysite Egypt. Indeed, the feast day of St. Euphemia was included in the Monophysite Coptic, Jacobite, and Ethiopic calendars, and we know from a hymn which was written in the

³⁰³ Goldfus, *Ibid.*, 178-9.

³⁰⁴ Zosimus, *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome*, trans. James J. Buchanan and Harold T. Davis (San Antonio, 1967): Book V. 17-18, 211; Theophanes Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford, 1997): 117.

honour of St. Euphemia by Severus, the Monophysite bishop of Antioch, that the saint was venerated by the Monophysite Syrians as well.³⁰⁵

The relics of St. Euphemia according to other accounts were among the relics which were sent to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, as a gift to promote his newly constructed basilica by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. The fact that the name of St. Euphemia was included among the relics presented to the basilica built by Bishop Paulinus near the shrine of St. Felix at Nola, as well as to a basilica in Aquileia in the fourth-century, is further evidence for the rapid diffusion of the cult of the saint. Delehaye shows that some certain saints' relics were preferred for translation in the late fourth and early fifth centuries and this explains why the name of Euphemia is included in the lists of many different churches. Above all, this reference demonstrates us the limits of the popularity of her cult and confirms that St. Euphemia was venerated and well-known in the North Italy. Eventually, if we remember that in the reign of Irene, the holy hand of the martyr was taken by Nicetas Monomachos to the church which was dedicated to St. Euphemia in Sicily, and further recall the Templars' devotion to the saint and their possession of some relics, we may conclude that in addition to being the patron saint of the Council of Chalcedon, St. Euphemia was venerated throughout the Christian world since the fourth-century as a model of fortitude, endurance and faith in a hostile world, and as an example of a virgin martyr, who, as far as the church was concerned, had risen above the status accorded to her by society, thereby winning the crown.

³⁰⁵ Severus of Antioch, *James of Edessa: The hymns of Severus of Antioch and others*, trans. and ed. Ernest Walter Brooks. (Turnhout, 1971): 24; Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, xii.

II. THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CULT OF ST. EUPHEMIA

II.1. The Main Churches of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon and Constantinople

II.1.1. The *Martyrium*-Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon

The anonymous Greek *passio* of the saint (BHG³ 619d) tells us that after her martyrdom on September 16, she was buried about a mile (approximately 1.5 km) from Chalcedon by her parents Theodosiane and Philophron.³⁰⁶ After Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in the reign of the Emperor Constantine I (CE 324-337), church construction on a larger scale began, and around the second half of the fourth-century a basilica was built over her tomb.³⁰⁷ However, there is no reference to the exact construction date of the *martyrium*-church.

Unfortunately the *passio* does not provide information about the location of the church and “ὡς ἄπὸ μιλίου Καλχηδόνοϛ” (about a mile from Chalcedon) is the only description that we get. Although they do not provide sufficient detail to serve as a solid reference source for the location of the church, some sources indicate that the church was constructed on the site of the Temple of Apollo, Artemis or Aphrodite.³⁰⁸ We know that the Spanish pilgrim Egeria visited the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon in 384. Moreover, in 400, the Emperor Arcadius had a meeting with the

³⁰⁶ Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 33.

³⁰⁷ R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique*. (Paris, 1975) : 31-2 ; Semavi Eyice, “Eufemia (Ayia) Kilisesi,” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993-95): 227.

³⁰⁸ Dionysios Byzantios. *Ἀνάπλουϛ Βοσπόρου Per Bosporum Navigatio Deniz Yoluyula Boğaz*. trans. Erendiz Özbayoğlu, (İstanbul, 2009): CXI, p. 141 and CXI, 193. Dionysios describes a sloping shore leading to a plain, watered by the river Himeros, where the temple of Aphrodite is located. Indeed the slope and a plain remind the description of Evagrius too but we don't know the name of Himeros River today. Özbayoğlu claims that the water source and the temple were located nearby the Haydarpaşa and the temple was later converted into the Church of St. Euphemia. The translator gives reference to O. Frick, *Dionysii Byzantini Anaplum Bospori ex Gillio Excerptum*, edidit et illustravit Otto Frick, Wesel 1860, p. 38. For Artemis see *Paulys Realencyclopædie Der Classischen Altertumwissenschaft*, München 1897, s.v. “Khalkedon.” (I would like to thank to Prof. Özbayoğlu for kindly sharing these references with me.)

Gothic leader, Gainas, there.³⁰⁹ Although he does not mention the location of the church, Asterius of Amasea describes four paintings of scenes about the *vita* of St. Euphemia in 410 in his *ekphrasis*.³¹⁰ In 518 another diplomatic meeting was arranged on reorganization of the religious policy of the empire between the Emperor Justin I, Justinian and Vitalian, leader of a revolt against the Emperor Anastasius.³¹¹ On 23 December 551, Pope Vigilius escaped from his official residence and took refuge in the basilica of St. Euphemia.³¹² Ten years later, in November 561, after a violent clash between the partisan circus factions known as the Blues and Greens, the members of the Green faction fled for refuge to the Church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon.³¹³ We know that an investigation was held about authenticity of the miraculous effusion of blood on the order of the Emperor Maurice in 593 in this church. These are the historical records about the presence of the Church of St. Euphemia until the Persians reached Chalcedon by the beginning of the seventh-century. Although the chronicles do not provide us the exact date of the translation of the saint's relics from Chalcedon to Constantinople – except the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* which dates the translation to the reign of the Emperor Heraclius – it is generally agreed that due to the Persian attacks to Chalcedon in 608/9, 614/617, 626 and 680, the relics of the saints were translated to Constantinople. It is most likely that the church of the saint was destroyed by the Persians during these

³⁰⁹ Zosimus, *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome*. (Texas, 1967): V, 17-8, 211; Socrates Scholasticus. *The Ecclesiastical History VI* (Kessinger, 2004): 250; Sozomen. *The Ecclesiastical History VIII* (Kessinger, 2004): 326; Theophanes Confessor. *Chronographia*. (Oxford, 1997): 116-7 under [AD 401/2].

³¹⁰ Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 32.

³¹¹ Schneider, "Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon," 299.

³¹² Schneider, op. cit. For more information see *Epistola Vigili papae encyclica in Vigiliusbriefe*, ed. E. Schwartz, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, 1940, Heft 2, 4, 10.

³¹³ Theophanes Confessor. *Chronographia*. (Oxford, 1997): 346-7 under [AD 561/2]; For another riot when the Greens sought refuge in the church at Chalcedon under the reign of the Emperor Anastasius (491-518) see John Malalas, *The Chronicle of J. Malalas*, trans. by E. Jeffreys (Melbourne, 1986), 18.132.

invasions and, thus there is no source indicating that the church was active after the seventh-century.³¹⁴

However, Asterius states that the roofed passage, where he sees the paintings, is close to the tomb of the saint. Thus, the martyrdom he describes, around 400s, was most probably the one in Chalcedon. If so, the Church of St. Euphemia can not have been far from the city center of Chalcedon because Asterius tells that he took a walk to recreation after spending a long time reading Demosthenes. He states that after spending a short time in the marketplace he came to the temple of God to pray.³¹⁵

Paulinus of Nola gives a precise location for the saint:

et quae Chalcidicis Euphemia martyr in oris

Signat virgineo sacratum sanguine litus.³¹⁶

(Euphemia who as martyr in the area of Chalcedon marks and consecrates that shore with her virgin's blood.)

The most detailed description of the church complex is given by the sixth-century chronicler, Evagrius. His detailed account of the structure of the church complex as well as the nature of its location gives us the impression that he personally visited the church and maybe even witnessed the blood miracle. On the other hand, as Whitby points out, his description of nature is quite rhetorical and thus it can not be a definitive proof.³¹⁷

Accordingly they convened at the holy precinct of the martyr Euphemia, which is situated at the city of Chalcedonians in the Bithynian province, but is distant no more than two stades from the Bosphorus, on a gentle incline in pleasant country, so that the progression is imperceptible for those setting out for the martyr's church-and suddenly on arriving inside the sanctuary they are high up. As a result the gaze stretches out from a viewing point to contemplate everything, plains

³¹⁴ According to Berger who suggests CE 680 for the first translation date of the saint's relics, the alleged 609 invasion did not take place at all, 617 was against Carthage, 626 was the historical invasion

³¹⁵ Schneider, "Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon," 291-302 especially pp. 293-5.

³¹⁶ Quoted in Schneider, op. cit. 295

³¹⁷ Evagrius Scholasticus. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, trans. Whitby, 63.

lying below, level and outspread, green with grass, waving with crops and beautified by the prospect of all kinds of trees, thicketed mountains rising pleasingly and curving to a height, as well as varying seas, now purple in calm, playing sweet and gentle on the shores where the place is windless, now spluttering and angry with waves, drawing back pebbles and seaweed and the lighter shellfish with the waves' backwash. The precinct is opposite Constantinople, so that the church is also beautified by the prospect of so great a city. The precinct consists of three huge structures: one is open-air, adorned with a long court and columns on all sides, and another in turn after this is almost alike in breadth and length and columns but differing only in the roof above. On its northern side towards the rising sun there stands a circular dwelling with a rotunda, encircled on the interior with columns fashioned with great skill, alike in material and alike in magnitude. By these an upper part is raised aloft under the same roof, so that from there it is possible for those who wish both to supplicate the martyr and to be present at the services. Inside the rotunda, towards the east, is a well-proportioned shrine, where the all-holy remains of the martyr lie in a lengthy coffin- some call it a sarcophagus-which is very skillfully fashioned from silver...³¹⁸

So we learn that the sanctuary of Euphemia was located on top of a small hill about two *stadia* (≈ 370 m.) inland from the Bosphorus and surrounded by green with a view of Constantinople on the opposite. According to the acts of the saint the sanctuary was about a mile from Chalcedon but it is not clear from where the 1.5 kilometers starts, from the suburbs or the town center. Indeed, the vague descriptions of early authors for the starting points of these measures of distance caused many problems of interpretation. Schneider, therefore, works on Moltke's map of Constantinople, the suburbs, the neighborhood and the Bosphorus' in 1940s and tries to locate the church according to the description of Evagrius. He suggests that the church must have been located to the north of the city of Chalcedon on a hill which is called the Yeldeğirmeni (windmills) neighborhood and close to the east-west intersecting road called Duatepe (prayer hill) which runs right across the hill from Chrysopolis (modern Üsküdar) to Nicomedia (modern İzmit) as the leading road and

³¹⁸ Ibid., II, 62-3.

expected to follow the ancient route (See Fig. II.1).³¹⁹ But it should be considered that when Schneider tries to locate the church, the so-called neighborhood was completely built over by 1950s. Thus without any solid reference, any suggestion about the exact location of the *martyrium*-church would be no more than an assumption.

Schneider also examines travellers' accounts to ascertain if any of them offer the exact location of the church. André Thevet, the cosmographer who came to Istanbul in 1554 along with the French humanists including the traveller and author Petrus Gyllius,³²⁰ reports that Sultan Süleyman I destroyed the church to get building material for his mosque.³²¹ Thevet probably meant destruction of the ruins, as the *martyrium*-church in Chalcedon had been destroyed during the Persian attacks between CE 616-626, and there is no reference indicating the church is active after the seventh-century. Thus, the church must already have been ruined by the first half of the fourteenth-century during the Turkish invasion of Chalcedon. Besides, as Janin reminds us if the church was destroyed by the Sultan, Petrus Gyllius would have not skipped this detail.³²² Gyllius indicates that nothing remained of this basilica in Chalcedon neither on earth nor underground. The author also writes about a spring which flows from the ancient aqueduct of St. Euphemia which is located about a mile from the harbor of Chalcedon. There are a couple of authors, including himself, who claim that big massive blocks of the ruined church and the remaining stones from the city walls of Chalcedon were taken around 1550s in order to be used in the construction of the foundations of the mosque of Sultan Süleyman I. One of these

³¹⁹ Schneider, op. cit. 295-6. Semavi Eyice states that the French Catholic School built in Yeldeğirmeni at the beginning of 20th century was named St. Euphémie which might be also taken into consideration. Eyice "Eufemia (Ayia) Kilisesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 227.

³²⁰ Petrus Gyllius, *İstanbul'un Tarihi Eserleri*, trans. Erendiz Özbayoğlu (İstanbul, 1997) : 16.

³²¹ André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, ed. Frank Lestringant. (Genève, 1985) : 77-8.

³²² Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique*, 31-2.

authors, Skarlatos Byzantios, who visited Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth-century, confirms the testimony of Petrus Gyllius on this.³²³ The French ambassador Olivier de Nointel (1670/79) locates the church one-quarter league (3.75 miles) out of Chalcedon, and tells us that it was a small and insignificant building which was situated in the place called *Cadiqui* (Kadıköy) by the Turks. Nointel wants to confirm this location with a Greek inscription that he had seen in a ruined church out of Kadıköy but the inscription locates the Council Church within Kadıköy. On the other hand, history and geography of this source seem problematic as it links the Council of Chalcedon to the Emperor Constantine in 327, and locates the tombs –most probably the necropolis- within Chalcedon.³²⁴

³²³ Petrus Gyllius, *De Bosporo Thracio* III, (Veneto, 1561): 246; Byzantios, *Konstantinoupolis*, (Athens, 1862): II, 267.

³²⁴ George Wheler, *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Amsterdam, 1689): 178; Schneider, op. cit. 297.

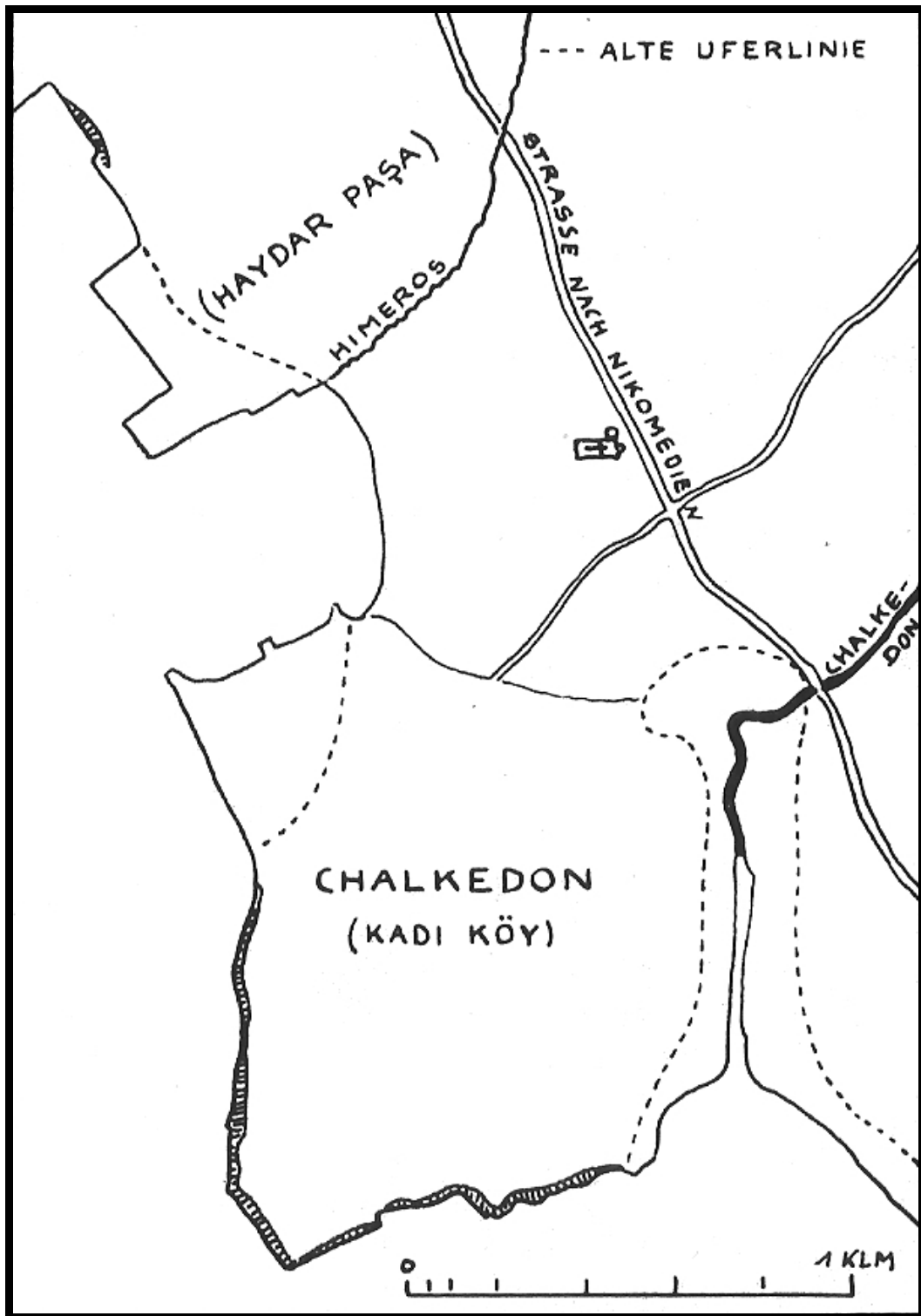


Fig. II.1 The *Martyrium*-Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon
(After Schneider 1951, pl. 1).

According to Janin, the starting point of two *stadia* distance, mentioned by Evagrius, should be taken from the ancient bay of Chalcedon, which was once a little further inland. The hill, on which the Church complex of St. Euphemia was located,

must have been close to the continuation of the Chalcedon peninsula and a little to the west. These indications lead us outside the old city and to the north of the small neck of Altı Yol. Thus, Janin claims that the church was located near the railway cutting on a small hill either on the north or south. He assumes that it was on the north of the railway cutting, however, he states that for a long time there have been no remains; thus no research can lead us to a certain decision. Janin also states that a fountain located in the southwest of the small valley where the road passes might be the spring reported by Pierre Gilles. It was still present in the early twentieth-century and was fed by an underground channel according to Gilles but Janin reports that it no longer flows (See Fig. II.2).³²⁵

³²⁵ Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, 33.

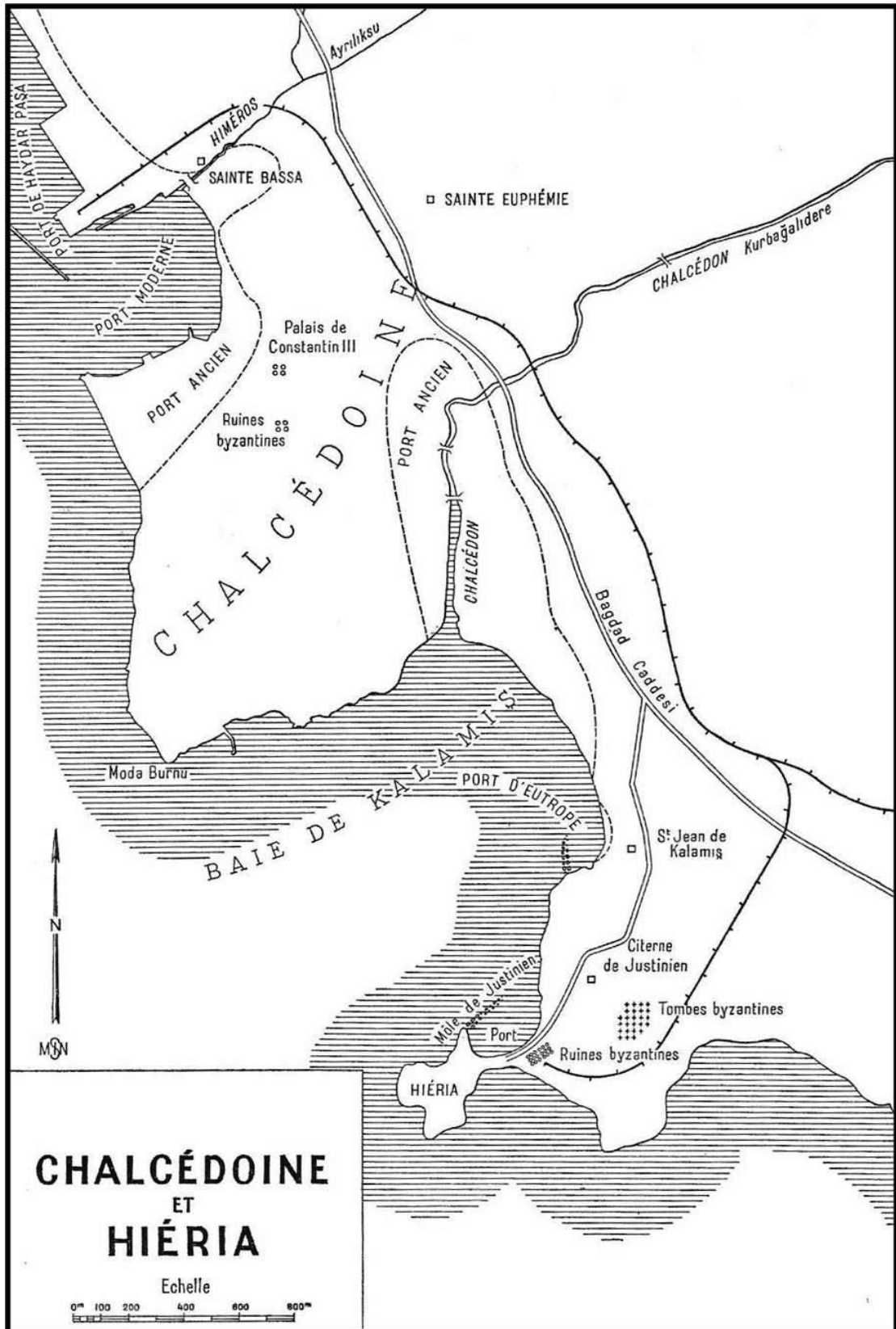


Fig. II.2 The Martyrium-Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon,
 (After Janin 1975, p.30).

Although we are not sure about the exact location, according to the description of Evagrius, we understand that the Church complex of the saint consisted of three buildings: The first structure was an open peristyle surrounded by columns on four sides, followed by a basilica with the same size but roofed, and adjacent to the north-east side of the basilica there was a two-storied circular structure with an inner row of columns and domed roof. From this circular *martyrium* it was possible to follow the liturgy in the basilica as well. On the east side of the circular building the relics of the saint were enshrined within a silver coffin (See Fig. II.3).³²⁶

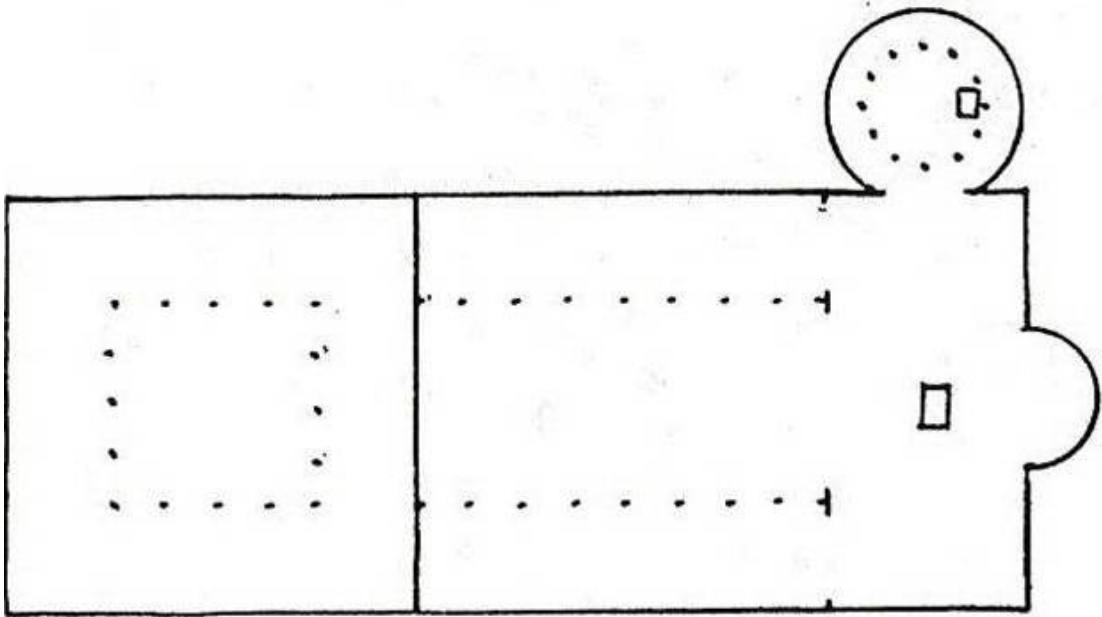


Fig. II.3 The Basilica and the *Martyrium* of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon,
(After Schneider 1951, pl.1).

We may also assume that the church must have been quite large since the full sessions of the Council of Chalcedon were held in the basilica with more than 600

³²⁶ Evagrius, 62-3; Schneider, "Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon," 297-8.

bishops, secular officials as well as the Emperor and the Empress with the imperial household.³²⁷

It should be noted that M. J. Miliopoulos locates the *Martyrium*-Church of St. Euphemia on the current location of Haydarpaşa railway station. As J. Pargoire states this hypothesis cannot be true since Evagrius locates the church on a hill and approximately two *stadia* (≈ 370 m.) inland from the Bosphorus. Haydarpaşa station is located by the seaside and almost on the sea level.³²⁸

Another scholar B. Kötting claims that the Church of St Euphemia was indeed the church built by Rufinus, the prefect of the East around 400s, at Chalcedon.³²⁹ This hypothesis also fails because the church of Rufinus was dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul.³³⁰ Moreover, it was located in the suburbs of Chalcedon known as ‘The Oak’ which is today’s Caddebostan and it is not a possible location for the Church of St. Euphemia.³³¹

Today there is a small, nineteenth-century church named after St. Euphemia within the center of Kadıköy which is not related to the ancient church of the saint. The Church is said to have been erected in 1694 and reestablished in 1832.³³²

³²⁷ The number of the bishops who attended the council was given as 630 in *Synaxarium*, there are other sources indicating different numbers and there is no agreement on the exact numbers of the bishops. For a detailed analysis of the issue see, Attendance and Ecumenicity (Appendix 2) in *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, trans. Richard Price and Michael Gaddis (Liverpool, 2005): 193-203.

³²⁸ M. J. Miliopoulos, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, t. IX (1900): 63-71; J. Pargoire, “L’eglise Sainte-Euphémie et Rufinians à Chalcédoine,” *Echos d’Orient* Vol. XIV (1911): 108 and “Autour de Chalcédoine,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Vol. 11-2 (1902): 333.

³²⁹ B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Münster 1980): 185.

³³⁰ Sozomen, *The Ecclesiastical History*, (Whitefish, MT, 2004): chapter 17, 343.

³³¹ Schneider, “Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon,” 298-99, footnote 35.

³³² The website of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, 26.02.10
<http://www.ec-patr.org/afieroma/churches/show.php?lang=en&id=45>

II.1.2. The *Martyrium*-Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome

(Ἁγία Εὐφημία ἐν τῷ Ἱπποδρομῷ)

The church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome in Constantinople was originally the *triclinium*, the audience hall, of a palace building which was erected in the early fifth-century as the Palace of Antiochus who was a chamberlain under Theodosius II.³³³ During the excavations under the direction of R. Duyuran in 1951-52, in the axis of the *Porticus Semiotunda* two column bases were discovered *in situ*, and one of them had the inscription “ANTIOXOY ΠΙΠΕΠΙΟ” (of Antiochus the *praepositus*) on it. The *Patria* attributes the construction of the church to the Emperor Constantine I which was wrong.³³⁴

As has been noted on the first chapter, Antiochus, a Persian eunuch, had been sent to Constantinople by the Sassanian king Yazdgerd I (399-420) on the request of the Emperor Arcadius (395-408) to guard and educate his young son and future emperor, Theodosius II (408-450) in 402.³³⁵ After the death of the Emperor Arcadius in 408, Antiochus was elevated to the rank of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (grand chamberlain). Although the literary sources do not agree on dates, Antiochus, the influential eunuch at the Constantinopolitan court, left the imperial service in either 413 or 414 in the Great Palace. Later as *ex-praepositus*, he was given the title *patricius* (patrician), and became a priest of the Great Church in around 439 by the

³³³ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 20-21.

³³⁴ *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Theodorus Preger ed. (New York, 1975): III. 9, 216-7.

³³⁵ For detailed information on the role of the Persian eunuch Antiochus in the imperial court of Constantinople see Bardill, and Greatrex. "Antiochus the Praepositus: A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* Vol. 50 (1996): 171- 97.

order of the Emperor Theodosius II.³³⁶ Nevertheless, as mentioned before, the Palace of Antiochus was seized by the emperor Theodosius II after the dismissal of the Persian eunuch in 413/4 due to misuse of his power, and the building was used as the ‘imperial house’ (οἰκία Βασιλικάι - *domus divinae*) administered by high officials in the city of Constantinople.³³⁷ On the other hand – as pointed out by Greatrex and Bardill – his dismissal was probably more related to the policy of Pulcheria, elder sister of the Emperor Theodosius II, as she decided to extend her powers to gain more political and administrative control in the court but the influence of Antiochus on Theodosius continued until 439 despite the power of Pulcheria. Considering the testimony of the brickstamps from the excavations as well as the literary evidence, it might be concluded that the Palace of Antiochus was probably constructed soon after 429 when Antiochus was *praepositus* (See Fig. II.4).³³⁸ According to the primary sources the palace building was used for the accommodation of high officials as a royal residence until CE 603.³³⁹

On the other hand, the *triclinium*, the audience hall of the palace must have been converted into a church before 603 because in the final excavation reports Naumann and Belting date the church to the early sixth-century on architectural

³³⁶ Theophanes Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 127, 151. As indicated before Martindale gives CE 421 for the date on which Antiochus was attained as a priest in the church on the basis of Zonaras' account. See, Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* Vol. II (Cambridge, 2006): 102.

³³⁷ Theophanes Confessor, eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 151 and Theophylact Simocatta, Michael and Mary Whitby, iii.3.7, 76.

³³⁸ Bardill and Greatrex, 197. Schneider reports that 300 stamped bricks were found and the majority of them referred to fourteenth or fifteenth year in an indiction cycle which demonstrates that the building was possibly constructed in one period and in one standard. (A. M. Schneider, “Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia beim Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel.” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* Vol. 42 (1943): 179). Duyuran reports after the rescue excavation of 1950 that among the more than 100 brickstamps found some of them are very unusual. (R. Duyuran, “First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul.” *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 5 (1952): 38.) Belting repeats the analysis of Schneider and Mamboury in the final excavation report. (Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 20, footnote 50.) For a catalogue and analysis on Byzantine brickstamps of Istanbul see Jonathan Bardill, *Brickstamps of Constantinople*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2004).

³³⁹ CE 567 According to Theophylact Simocatta, Whitby, iii.3.7,76; CE 603 according to *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Liverpool, 2007): 125, 145.

criteria. Mathews agrees with them in early sixth-century dating of the church on the basis of the sculptural fragments from the chancel barrier such as the octagonal column bases and the chancel-slab decorations as well as the decorative technique of inlaying glass paste in marble. (See Fig. II.5)³⁴⁰ Belting, therefore, states that the Christian cult in the converted Palace of Antiochus emerged in the early sixth-century, about a century earlier than the translation of the saint's relics.³⁴¹ Then, as discussed in the previous chapter, if we accept the theory which suggests that the relics of St. Euphemia were translated to Constantinople either in 626 or 680 due to the Persian attacks, then we may assume that by the seventh-century there was already a Christian structure in the converted palace, and the liturgical arrangement of the *martyrium* was designed before the translation of the relics.

As seen in the figure II.5, the hexagonal *triclinium* hall was entered from the south through a sigma-plan colonnade. There were large niches on five sides and the sixth one was rectangular in shape which served as the entrance. The exterior circular porches (numbered as I, II, III, IV, Fig. II.5) between the niches provided auxiliary entrances into the niches. In the sixth-century the secular palace hall was converted into a church and the structure was reoriented accordingly. A new sanctuary was placed in the eastern niche and a new main entrance (Niche no. 1, Fig. II.5) was opened on the opposite of the sanctuary according to the new east-west axis of the

³⁴⁰ Naumann and Belting. *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*. (Berlin, 1966): 70-1; Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London, 1971): 62-3. Schneider dates the construction of the Palace of Antiochus to 400s and suggests that the building did not serve long enough to its original function and was converted to martyrium in the 5th century-on the basis of the wall technique-. (Schneider, "Grabung im Bereich des Euphemia-Martyriums zu Konstantinopel." *Archäologischer Anzeiger* Vol. 58 (1943): 256 and "Das Martyrium der hl. Euphemia," 184.) Belting disagrees with the suggestion of Schneider claiming that Antiochus would not yet have elevated to the rank of *praepositus* in CE 400. (Naumann, and Belting. *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 20.) Grabar, on the other hand, disagrees with Naumann and Belting, and suggests seventh-century for the earliest religious use of the building with a ninth-century date for the architectural pieces. See Grabar, "Études critiques: R. Naumann, Die Euphemiakirche," *Cahiers archéologiques* Vol. 17 (1967): 253.

³⁴¹ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 71.

church.³⁴² The remains of the synthronon, altar foundation, chancel barrier, and solea, found on the site during the excavations, represent the sixth-century style characteristics which provide evidence for dating the church as well as for the Early Byzantine church planning (See Fig. III.6).³⁴³

After the translation from Chalcedon, the sacred relics were kept in this new church by the Hippodrome until their desecration in the eighth-century. The relics were placed either in a small box under the altar (in front of the niche no. 4, Fig. II.5) as was described by Constantine of Tios and Theodore Bestos, or in the north-eastern niche (Niche no. 3, Fig. II.5).³⁴⁴

During the first iconoclastic period³⁴⁵ (730-787) the church by the Hippodrome was secularized and the relics were thrown in the sea either by Leo III or Constantine V, and during this period the church is said to have been used as an arsenal and stable.³⁴⁶ There are two different stories about the desecration of the relics. In his chronicle Constantine of Tios (ca. 800) claims that Leo III (717-741) ordered her relics to be thrown into the sea but they were miraculously rescued and

³⁴² Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 45; Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 61-7.

³⁴³ Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*. (London, 1976): 123.

³⁴⁴ Constantine of Tios in Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 86-7; Theodore Bestos in Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 137-9. Although deposition of the relics in a box under the altar is an unusual arrangement, Naumann, Belting and Mathews confirm the testimony of Constantine of Tios. (Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemiakirche*, 106-11; Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 67). On the other hand, Grabar and Goldfus suggest the north-eastern niche for the location of the relics but with different reasons. Grabar claims that the building was originally planned as a *martyrion* and the north-eastern niche was the location of the relics as the focal point of the building but there is neither archaeological nor literary evidence behind his hypothesis. The argument of Goldfus, on the other hand, is more convincing: He refuses the testimony of Constantine of Tios. He defines his account as fictitious and claims that the account of Theodore Bestos is not reliable either, as it seems to be depended on the account of Tios. Besides an architectural analysis confirming his argument, Goldfus reminds us the plan of the *martyrium* in Chalcedon, in which the relics were deposited, was located next to the north of the basilica at its eastern end. Thus he suggests that the liturgical arrangement of the new church must have been accordingly, and the relics were deposited in the north-eastern niche. (Goldfus, *St Euphemia's Church*, 189-195.)

³⁴⁵ For the role of the Empress Irene in the restoration of the relics of St. Euphemia see Herrin, *Women in Purple* (London, 2001): 90, 98, 105, 146, 187, and 213.

³⁴⁶ Theophanes Confessor, 607; Judith Herrin states that the earthquake of 740 might have been the reason for the destruction of the church, and –instead of an offensive misuse as was described by literary sources such as the *Patria* and the *Chronicle of Theophanes*– Constantine V would have evaluated the ruined church as store for military supplies and horses (Herrin, *Women In Purple*, 105.)

preserved by pious iconodules in Lemnos. On the other hand, Theophanes who personally witnessed the restoration of the relics to Constantinople in 796 states that the relics were thrown into the sea by Constantine V (741-775) and this story is confirmed by another independent source.³⁴⁷ Later, when it was heard that they were kept in Lemnos, the holy relics were brought back to Constantinople in 796-797 on the initiative of Empress Irene (797-802), Constantine VI (780-797), and Tarasios, the patriarch of Constantinople.³⁴⁸

Before the redeposition of the relics, the church was restored from its state as an arsenal and stable, and reconsecrated on the orders of Irene. The restoration included the epistyle of the templon and the repainting of the walls which did not survive due to the Latin invasion of the thirteenth-century.³⁴⁹ After the restoration by Irene, the church is said to have been administered by the Metropolitan of Chalcedon, but the earliest evidence confirming the reliability of this hypothesis is dated to the eleventh-century.³⁵⁰ The big fire of 1203 in the Mese affected the church which afterwards underwent another extensive restoration and redecoration with frescoes of the Palaiologan period.³⁵¹ From 1350 onwards Chalcedon was under the Turkish rule, thus the administration of the church passed to the Patriarchate in Constantinople. There are patriarchal documents of the late fourteenth-century from which we learn that there were gardens belonging to the church in the neighbourhood in this

³⁴⁷ Theophanes Confessor, eds. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 607 and *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Theodorus Preger ed. (New York, 1975): III. 9, 217. Regarding the debate on the desecration of the relics by Leo III or Constantine V, for the scholars who refuse the testimony of Constantine of Tios see S. Gero, *Byzantine iconoclasm during the reign of Leo III* (Louvain, 1973): 4, 102 and *Byzantine iconoclasm during the reign of Constantine V*, (Louvain, 1977): 155-163; J. Wortley, "Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982): 253-79 and see Mango, "Rev. of F. Halkin, Euphémie de Chalcedoine," *Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1966): 485-88.

³⁴⁸ Constantine of Tios in Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 84-106.

³⁴⁹ Theophanes Confessor, 607; Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemiakirche*, 27; Müller-Wiener, *Istanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 123.

³⁵⁰ Müller-Wiener, 123.

³⁵¹ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 32-3.

period.³⁵² The accounts of the pilgrims demonstrate that the church was in use and visited during the late Byzantine period and the relics at least partly remained in this church till the end of the Byzantine Empire.³⁵³ Although there is no sufficient evidence after 1400 to support this argument, the church must have survived until 1453, but the reason and the date of its destruction are unknown.³⁵⁴

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, large palace constructions started within the area to the north of the Hippodrome. One of these palaces, the İbrahim Paşa Palace which was used by İbrahim Paşa since 1522 – the grand vizier of Sultan Süleyman I- was constructed on the early Palace of Antiochus, and during the construction the ruins of the church must have been demolished. In 1748 when the construction of the Nur-i Osmaniye Mosque was started, excavated soil material was left on the ruined church of St. Euphemia forming a thick layer of rubble about 4-5 meters high. The tombstones of the Server Dede Shrine (d. 1766) which is located within the courtyard of the Ottoman Cadastral Ministry building (today the Cadastral Registry), are the inlaid columns which were taken from the Church of St. Euphemia.³⁵⁵

Small houses and a prison were constructed in the area during the nineteenth and the early twentieth-century. When the prison building was demolished in 1939 due to danger of collapse, the *martyrium* structure and the frescoes were discovered (See Fig. III.71). The first excavations were started by the German Archaeological Institute in İstanbul under the direction of Alfons Maria Schneider and Sedat Çetintaş

³⁵² R. Janin, "Les églises Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople," *Échos d'Orient* Vol. 31 (1932): 274.

³⁵³ Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*, 142, 258-9, 319.

³⁵⁴ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 32-3.

Schneider and Janin claim that according to the testimony of anonymous Russian pilgrims the church survived until the conquest of Constantinople 1453 but there is no source indicating the use of the church after the conquest. (Schneider, "Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia beim Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel," 185; Janin, "Les églises Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople," 273-5.)

³⁵⁵ Schneider, "Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia," 185; Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 32-3; Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 125.

on August 6, 1942 and lasted until December 5 of the same year. When the decision was taken to start the construction of the New Palace of Justice on the north-west side of the Sultan Ahmet Square, the first rescue excavations started under the direction of Rüstem Duyuran on June 1, 1950 under the auspices of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. The rescue excavations were continued between May 1951 and May 1952 by Duyuran. Finally on December 1963 while extending the street, lying in front of the New Palace of Justice building, towards the Divan Yolu (Mese), thick Byzantine walls were discovered. The planned street was constructed with a curved angle to protect the ruins, and the last excavation in the field was carried out between the January and March of 1964 in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute and the İstanbul Archaeological Museums under the supervision of Rudolf Naumann and Necati Dolunay.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ Duyuran, "First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul," *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 5 (1952): 23, 33; Duyuran, "Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul," *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 6 (1953): 21, 74; N. Dolunay and R. Naumann, "Divanyolu ve Adalet Sarayı Arasındaki Arařtırmalar," *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 11-2 (1964): 19.

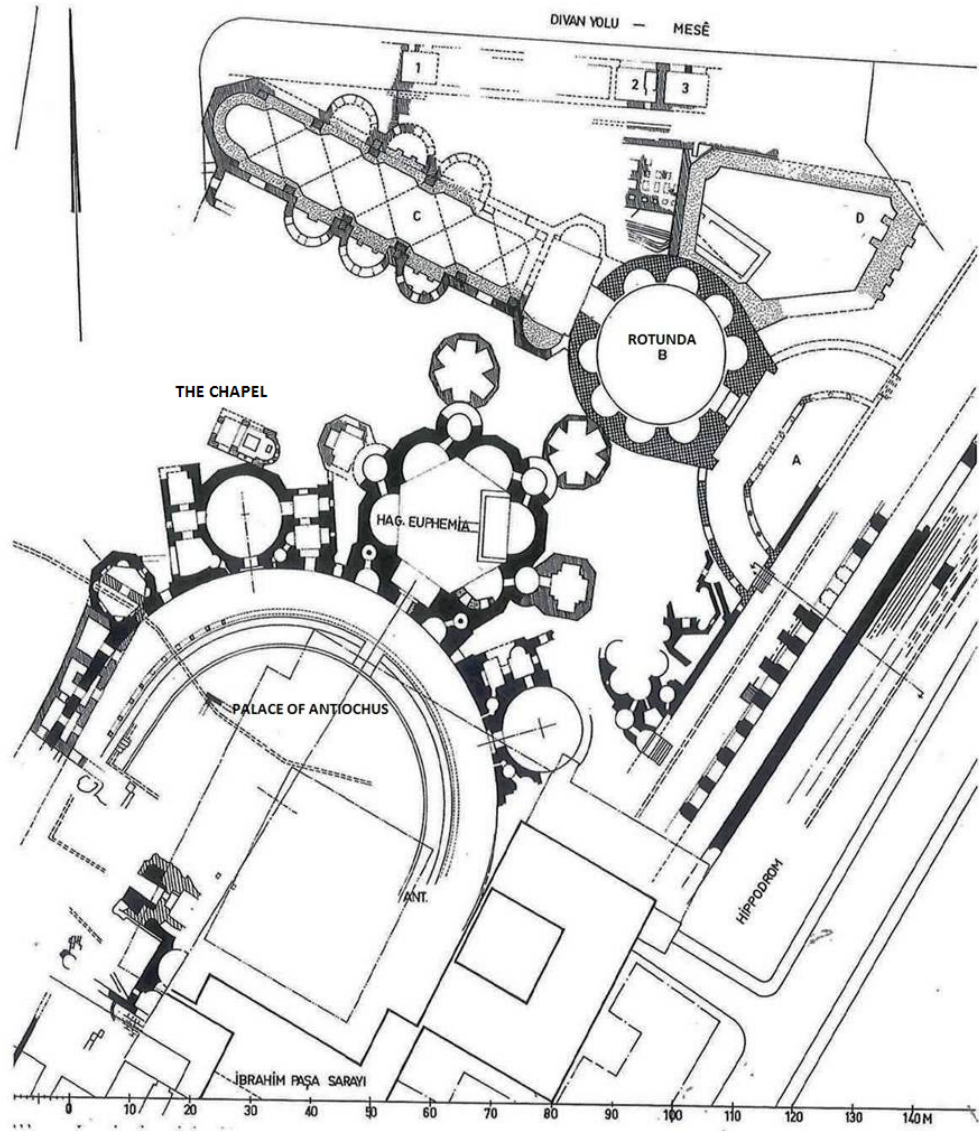


Fig. II.4 Plan of the discoveries after the excavations of 1952-3 and 1964 on the northwest of the Hippodrome in İstanbul, (After Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 124).

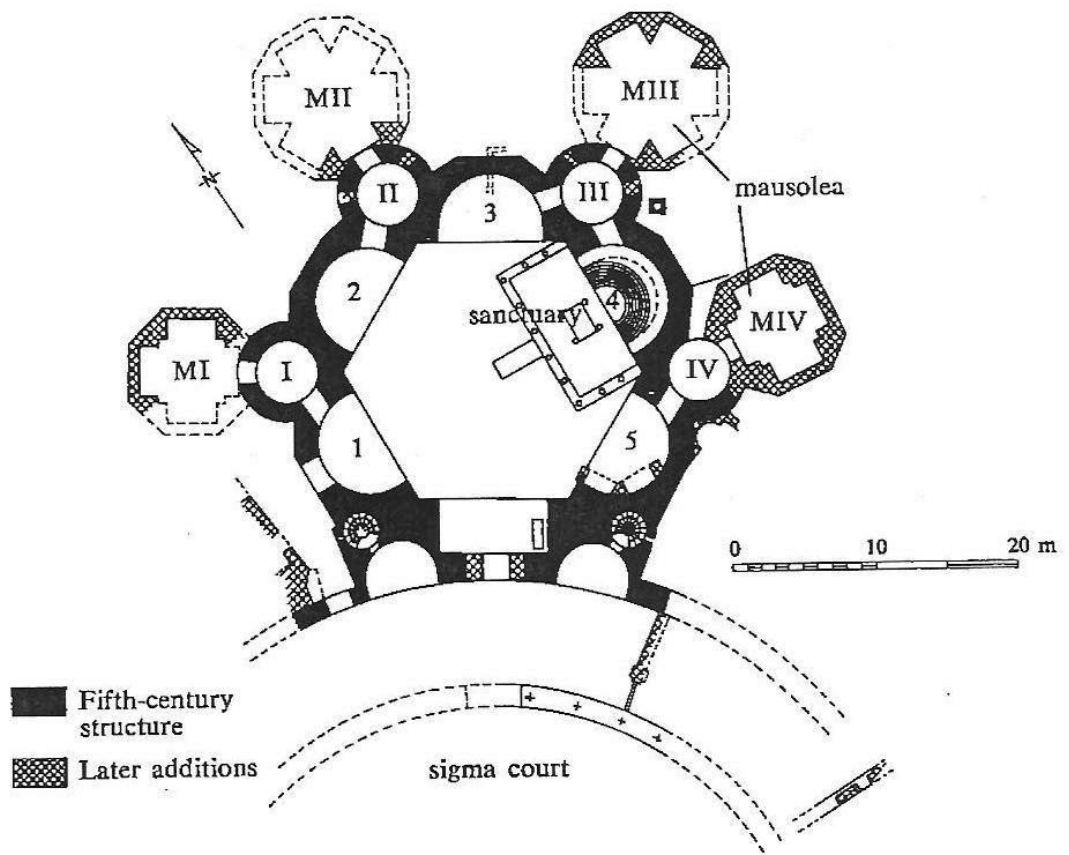


Fig. II.5 Plan of the *Martyrium*-Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome, (After Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* fig. 30).

II.1.2.1. The excavations on the site of the New Palace of Justice in Istanbul

In this part of the research, the abstract of the excavation reports are given in the chronological order.

II.1.2.1.1. A. M. Schneider, the first excavation in 1942

(August 6-December 5)

During the demolition of an old prison building located on the north-west of the Hippodrome in 1939, a Byzantine construction with frescoes was discovered. In

1941 Schneider announced that the ruins and the frescoes must have belonged to the famous *Martyrium*-Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome in Constantinople.³⁵⁷ Then he decided to uncover the remaining ruins of the Byzantine construction. As the area by the Hippodrome is considered as of high importance by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, excavation permission was given on July 25, 1942 by the Turkish authorities. So the first excavation started on August 6, 1942 and lasted until December 5 undertaken by the German Archaeological Institute in İstanbul, under the direction of A. M. Schneider and Sedat Çetintaş. Schneider states that the excavation site was filled with rubble about 4-5 meters high which made the stratigraphic separation between different cultural layers difficult to distinguish. On the other hand, through the thick layer of rubble many of the frescoes managed to survive over the years. Trenches were excavated to a depth of approximately 7 meters in some areas, and the structure of the *martyrion* was fully uncovered.³⁵⁸

According to Schneider the foundation of the old *martyrion* survived until the sixteenth-century. When the neighboring buildings disappeared during the excavation of demolition and construction, excavated soil material was left here reaching today's height. Schneider states that during the Byzantine period there was no construction on the area between the *martyrium* and the Hippodrome and during the Turkish period a bath was constructed.³⁵⁹

The *martyrium* was hexagonal in plan with large niches on five sides. The sixth one as the entrance side was rectangular in shape. Moreover, there were small circular porches between the niches which provided indirect access into these niches. It is interesting to note that the main entrance of the building was not located on the

³⁵⁷ Schneider, "Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* Vol. 56 (1941): 296-318.

³⁵⁸ Schneider, "Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia beim Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* Vol. 42 (1943): 178.

³⁵⁹ Schneider, "Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia," 179.

axis of the church, it was to the south. In this respect, Schneider assumes that the building was not originally built as a church. He states that the building originally might have been a bath or a *nymphaeum* that was later changed its function. On the other hand, there was no evidence of a hypocaust heating system in the church building. Thus there is no certainty that the building was once used as a bath or a *nymphaeum*. The east apse was covered with the synthronon, seven ranges of semicircular steps on which the clergy sat, and the borders of the bema could be seen within the stylobate. Moreover, besides octagonal column bases, columns and chancel slabs, inlaid with coloured glass, were found here (III.68).³⁶⁰

A half-sphere shaped and monolithic dome of the ciborium survived (See Fig.II.6). On the west apse, opposite the borders of ciborium, stood the new entrance which was later opened on the church axis. The entrance which leads to the room on the north was later closed off and converted into a mausoleum. The most important find of all which discovered in the west apsis was a fresco cycle depicting the life and martyrdom of St. Euphemia (See Figures III.73-93).³⁶¹

Schneider reports that on the hexagonal corners to the left of the fresco cycle of Euphemia there were two pictures of St. George and St. Demetrios which were in bad condition. There was also a big representation of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on the west apse to the left of the fresco cycle. He states that there were numerous holes, looted burials, at the base of the church and on the east wall of the main entrance there was a burial with an inscription. Schneider assumes that the burial must have belonged to a metropolitan of Chalcedon. On the south-east apse there was an *arcosolium* tomb of a bishop which must have been built later than the church. There was another picture on the wall of the tomb on which the Virgin Mary and three

³⁶⁰ Schneider, Ibid, 180.

³⁶¹ Schneider, Ibid, 181.

saints were depicted. One of the saints kneels in front of Mary holding a model of the Church of St. Euphemia.³⁶²

Schneider claims that the *martyrium* must have been a bath or a *nymphaeum* before the conversion. According to the wall techniques the structure must have been built in the fourth or fifth-century but considering the brick stamps, the date could not be later than 400s. He adds that the building must have been converted into the *martyrium* in the fifth-century. The architectural remains, on the other hand, are both from the fifth and the ninth-century. The texts of the frescoes were pre-metaphrastic and predate the frescoes. Thus Schneider states that the fresco cycle of Euphemia must have been damaged during the Iconoclastic period and both the church and the frescoes must have been restored during the reign of Irene (797-802). He also adds that the frescoes could be dated to the eighth and ninth-century as the representations were similar to the features of the Macedonian Renaissance period.³⁶³

It should be noted that the excavation diary of Schneider was lost during the war. Thus the reports of the final excavation under the supervision of Naumann in 1964 are less definitive than it should be.³⁶⁴

³⁶² Schneider, *Ibid*, 182-3.

³⁶³ Schneider, *Ibid*, 184.

³⁶⁴ Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London, 1971): 75, footnote 87.



Fig. II.6 The monolithic dome of ciborium,
(After Schneider, 1943, DAI, Kb 0826).

II.1.2.1.2. R. Duyuran, the 1st period of the rescue excavations in 1950 (June- December)

When the decision was taken to construct the new Palace of Justice of İstanbul on the north-west side of Sultan Ahmet Square, the rescue excavations started on June 1, 1950 and lasted until the end of the year. The architectural remains of the excavation were evaluated under two main groups (Section A and B). The first group of remains is found to the south of the Palace of İbrahim Paşa and around the *Porticus Semiotunda* which formed the *Martyrion* of St. Euphemia. The *Deisis* fresco, discovered by Schneider, was completely uncovered in addition to another fresco, depicting a large cross and flowers, which was dated to the Latin period in the thirteenth-century. On the north of the circular building which is located to the west of the *martyrion*, the ruins of a late period chapel was found. The eight cornered

structure to the east of this chapel (one of the *mausolea*) was paved with coloured marble (See Fig. II.5).³⁶⁵

Duyuran also reports that the eastern extremity of the *Porticus Semirotonda* was destroyed during the construction of the Palace of İbrahim Paşa. The second group of the architectural remains mostly belonged to the Hippodrome. Duyuran states that the bath structure towards the Hippodrome, which was discovered and dated to the early Turkish period by Schneider, was reevaluated in the 1950 excavations, and reported as a Byzantine construction which was restored in the Turkish period.³⁶⁶ He finishes his report by stating that the existence of a stratum of rubble brought from other places makes the identification and dating more difficult.

II.1.2.1.3. R. Duyuran, the 2nd period of the rescue excavations in 1951-2 (May 1951-May 1952)

For the basement construction of the New Palace of Justice, the authorities decided to dig to a depth of seven meters and work started at May 1951. When the ground stabilized at an elevation of 42.70 m. towards the end of the year 1951, the first excavations started within the *Porticus Semirotonda* and lasted until the first half of 1952.³⁶⁷ In the axis of the *Porticus Semirotonda* two column bases were discovered *in situ*, and one of them had the inscription “ANTIOXOY ΠΙΠΕΠΙΟ” (See Fig. II.7) on it. It was reported that a similar base was found 65 years ago in the Üçler Street, perpendicular to the Hippodrome, but the base found *in situ* is more

³⁶⁵ Duyuran, “First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul” *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 5 (1952): 23-6.

³⁶⁶ Duyuran, “First Report on Excavations,” 26, 28-30.

³⁶⁷ Duyuran, “Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul,” *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 6 (1953): 21.

important.³⁶⁸ After the discovery of the foundation walls of the circular and polygonal buildings encircling the *Porticus Semiotunda*, the excavators became sure that the *martyrion* was located at the center of the large blocks and small buildings surrounding the *Porticus Semiotunda*. On the south-western side of the *martyrion* two large impost capitals were found, adorned with acanthus leaves and masks, which stood on the massive marble threshold of the main entrance of the *martyrium* (See Figures II.8, II.9 and II.10).³⁶⁹

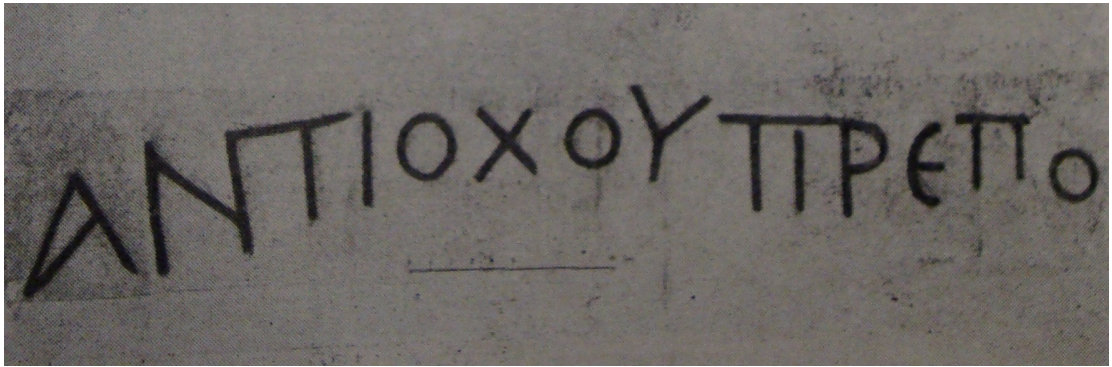


Fig. II.7 The inscription on the eastern column base,
(After Duyuran, 2nd Report, Fig. 7b).



Fig. II.8 Impost capital, (After Duyuran, 2nd Report, Fig. 11).

³⁶⁸ Duyuran, "Second Report on Excavations," 22.

³⁶⁹ Duyuran, "Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul," *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* Vol. 6 (1953): 24.



Fig. II.9 Central gate of the *martyrion* before the excavations,
(After Duyuran, 2nd Report, Fig.10).



Fig. II.10 Central gate of the *martyrion* after the excavations,
(After R. Duyuran, *ibid.* fig. 12).

A group of ruins belonging to a later period than the *martyrion*, a fireplace, a cistern and a big marble threshold, were discovered but due to devastation in the area, a plan of the buildings could not be drawn.³⁷⁰

II.1.2.1.4. N. Dolunay and R. Naumann, the excavation between the New Palace of Justice building and Divan Yolu (Mese) in 1964, (January-March)

On December 1963 while extending the street, lying in front of the New Palace of Justice building, towards the Divan Yolu (Mese), thick Byzantine walls were discovered. The planned street was constructed with a curved angle to protect the ruins, and the last excavation in the field was carried out between the January and March of 1964 in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute and the İstanbul Archaeological Museums under the supervision of Rudolf Naumann and Necati Dolunay.³⁷¹ Excavations were conducted over two different areas: One of them was the large structure, aligned west-east with apse, and the other area was between the Divan Yolu and the Rotunda. During the rescue excavations under the direction of R. Duyuran between 1950 and 1952 a wall structure with two apses was discovered on the west of the Rotunda and to the north of the Palace of Antiochus. It was then understood that the wall structure was the south part of a 58 m. long hall. This hall was connected to the Rotunda but the construction date was not contemporary. Indeed, both the Rotunda and the Palace of Antiochus were dated to the early fifth-century. Since this big hall is not related to the *Martyrium* of St.

³⁷⁰ Duyuran, "Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at İstanbul," *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul* Vol. 6 (1953): 25.

³⁷¹ Dolunay and Naumann, "Divanyolu ve Adalet Sarayı Arasındaki Araştırmalar," *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul* Vol. 11-2 (1964): 19.

Euphemia, it is out of the purpose of the present research. But it is necessary to point out that the hall might have belonged to the Palace of Lausos which is assumed to have been located to the north of the Palace of Antiochus, and between the Cistern of Philoxenos and Mese.³⁷²

During the studies between the Rotunda and the Palace of Antiochus two *mausolea* with twelve corners were discovered. In each of them there were entrances and six niches for sarcophagi. These rooms were entered from the exterior circular porches. Dolunay finishes his report with the information that İstanbul Municipality the Directorate of Parks and Gardens would like the whole excavation area to be converted into an archaeological park for the protection of the ruins.

II.1.3. The Other Churches dedicated to St. Euphemia in Constantinople

It is believed that there were at least five sanctuaries within Constantinople dedicated to St. Euphemia, in addition to the *martyrium* by the Hippodrome.³⁷³

II.1.3.1. The Church of St. Euphemia in Neorion

[Ἁγία Εὐφημία πλησίον τοῦ Νεωρίου (εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Δύναμιν)]

The construction date of the church is not known, but in the Synaxarion of Constantinople the feast day of the Church of St. Euphemia in the Neorion harbour is given under May 16. Janin states that three churches, dedicated to the attributes of God, were constructed by the Emperor Constantine as St. Sophia, St. Eirene and St.

³⁷² There is no agreement on the identification of the remains as the Palace of Lausos. Bardill disagrees with the previous studies and locates the Palace of Lausos to the north of Mese and near the Forum of Constantine. For more on the Palace of Lausos see J. Bardill, "The Palace of Lausos and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study" *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 101.1 (1997): 67-95.

³⁷³ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin; Prem. partie. Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. T. 3. Les Églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953) : 126.

Dynamis. The Church of St. Euphemia was located next to the Church of St. Dynamis which gave its name to the neighbourhood. The churches of Dynamis and Euphemia were situated in the vicinity of the İstanbul Customs which was built upon the Neorion harbour.³⁷⁴

II.1.3.2. The Church of St. Euphemia in *ta Olybriou*

[Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Εὐφημίας ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυβρίου]

The church was located in the region called *Ta Olybriou*, to the north-west of the Philadelphion (around today's Şehzade Mosque located in the Fatih district), which was named after the nearby house of Anicius Olybrius (d. 472), one of the last rulers of the Western Roman Empire.³⁷⁵ The church was wrongly attributed to Euphemia, wife of the Emperor Justin I (518-27), by the chronicle *The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* as there was a statue of her on a column in the church.³⁷⁶ According to *The Patria*, the construction of the church was started by Licinia Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius II and wife of Valentinian III,³⁷⁷ and as completed after her death.³⁷⁸ *The Chronicon Paschale* states that Eudoxia's daughter Placidia and her husband Anicia Olybrius built it.³⁷⁹ The inscriptional epigrams in *The Anthologia Palatina* describe the church as the work of three generations, and Juliana Anicia, one of the last members of the Theodosian family as the daughter of Anicia Olybrius and Placidia, as the third generation attendant of her family to beautify this

³⁷⁴ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 130 and “Les églises Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople,” 283.

³⁷⁵ *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Theodorus Preger ed. (New York, 1975): III. 60, pp. 238.

³⁷⁶ *The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, eds. Cameron and Herrin (Leiden, 1984): chapter 30, 93, 206.

³⁷⁷ Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* Vol. II (Cambridge, 1980): 410-11.

³⁷⁸ *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Preger, III. 60, 238.

³⁷⁹ *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Liverpool, 2007): 86.

church. The most detailed inscription in *The Anthologia Palatina* tells us the construction story from the mouth of the church:

I am the House of the Trinity, and three generations built me. First Eudoxia, 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 splendor, 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.³⁸⁰

So the construction of the church had begun in 462 by Licinia Eudoxia, was completed by Placidia and Anicia Olybrius, and finally it was furnished and beautified by Juliana Anicia in 472.³⁸¹ It should be noted that, as Magdalino points out, the inscription stresses that the church was the possession of the Theodosian family, stressing the adherence of the family to the Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Pulcheria, the wife of the Emperor Marcian and the sister of Theodosius II, chose the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon for the Fourth General Council in 451 because the basilica was big enough for such a crowded meeting and Pulcheria believed in the power of the saint for the success of the council.³⁸²

Janin claims that in the early fifth or sixth-century a monastery was constructed next to this church which was not included in the list of the religious structures in Constantinople.³⁸³ On the other hand, in three monastic documents – as was pointed out by Janin – the aforesaid monastery of St. Euphemia in *ta Olybriou* was named just after the monasteries of Dalmatou and Diou, well-known and old monasteries of Constantinople. Indeed, the importance of the monastery is well

³⁸⁰ *Anthologia Palatina* 1.12, trans. W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, Vol. 1 (London, 1916): 13; John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*. (Washington, D.C, 1987): 23.

³⁸¹ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 131.

³⁸² Paul Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*. (Aldershot, 2007):II, 60; Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982): 213-4.

³⁸³ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 132 ; Magdalino, *Byzantine Constantinople*, II, 60-1.

testified by *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, a work of compilation produced for the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959). This detailed source on the ceremonial procedures in Constantinople records that after visiting the Holy Apostles, on the way back to the Great Palace, the emperor passes the marble lions, the Church of St. Polyeuktos and the Church of St. Euphemia in *ta Olybriou* before Philadelphion. Thus, St. Euphemia at *ta Olybriou* was located on the processional route which links the Holy Apostles to the Philadelphion (See Fig. II.11).³⁸⁴

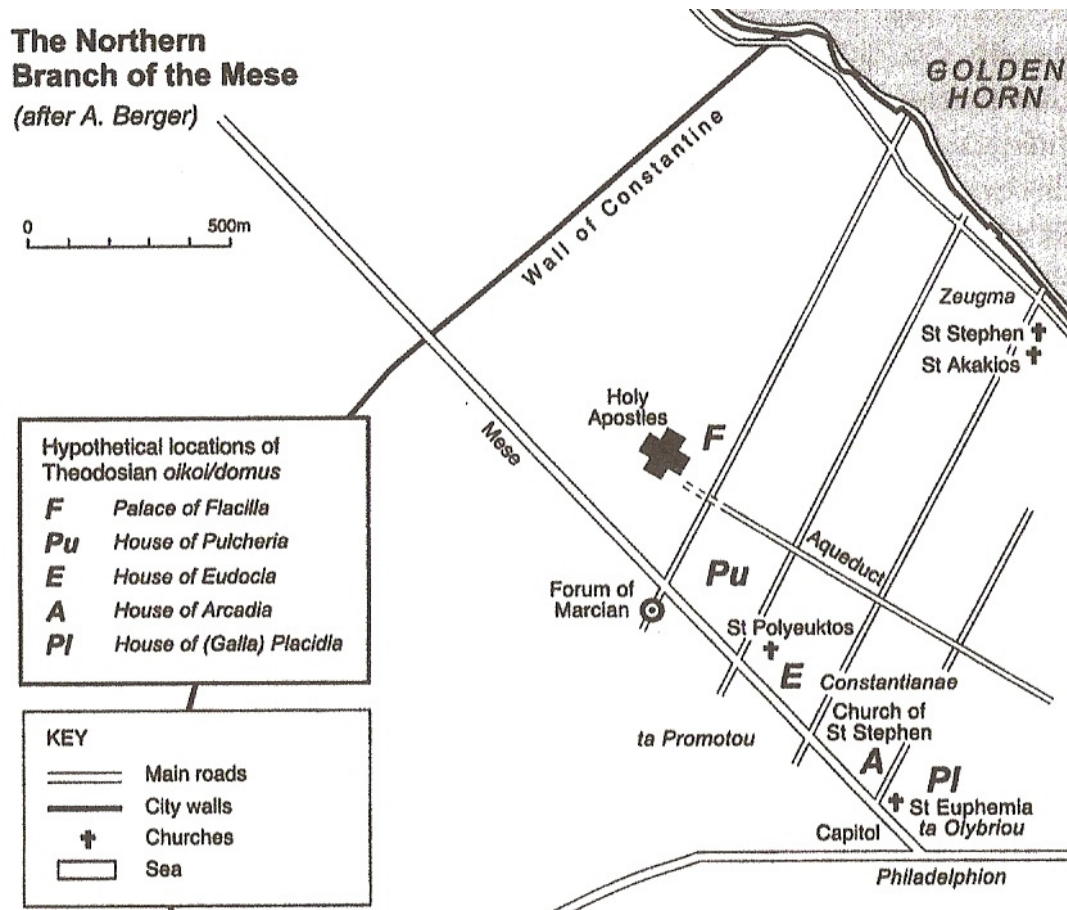


Fig. II.11 The location of St. Euphemia *Ta Olybriou* on the processional route,
(After Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, Aldershot, 2007: II, 55).

³⁸⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre Des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1935): 44; Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 132; Magdalino, *Byzantine Constantinople* (Hampshire, 2007): II, 60-1.

II.1.3.3. The Church of St. Euphemia in Petra

[Ἁγία Εὐφημία ἐν τῇ Πέτρῃ]

There are several documents confirming the existence of two different sacred sites dedicated to St. Euphemia, though the church in Petra has always been confused with the one in Petrion.³⁸⁵ The *Patria* attributes the Church of St. Euphemia in Petra to the Emperor Anastasius (491-518) and his wife Ariadne, dating the church to the late fifth and early sixth-century.³⁸⁶ On the other hand, in different manuscripts and under two different dates (September 22 and April 12), *The Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* records that the relics of St. Africanus and St. Terentius were placed in the Church of St. Euphemia in Petra by the order of Theodosius I (379-395). Thus, the church might have already been in existence and restored by the Emperor Anastasius and the Empress Ariadne. These texts however are questionable and we do not have further evidence to confirm this hypothesis.³⁸⁷

According to a document from the Monastery of Koutloumous in Mt. Athos, the sacred site of St. Euphemia in Petra was located near the Cistern of Aspar around today's Yavuz Sultan Selim Mosque, standing on the fifth hill, in Çukurbostan. The church was probably located to the north of this hill which was once the valley of Petra.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 133.

³⁸⁶ *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Theodorus Preger ed. (New York, 1975): III. 67, 240.

³⁸⁷ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 133.

³⁸⁸ Janin, *Ibid.*

II.1.3.4. The Church and the Convent of St. Euphemia in Petrion

[Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Εὐφημίας ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ]

According to the traditions associated with pseudo-Dorotheos, supposedly the bishop or presbyter of Tyre at the beginning of the fourth-century, the church at Petrion was first founded either by bishop Titus or bishop Castinus, and once served as the episcopal seat of Byzantium.³⁸⁹

According to the patriographs, a monastery in the Church of St. Euphemia at Petrion was first mentioned with the name of the Emperor Basil I (867-886), thus the convent is generally regarded to have been founded by Basil I in the ninth-century.³⁹⁰ Indeed, the convent of St. Euphemia at Petrion was referred to as *Nea Mone* and the Emperor Basil I used the epithet ‘*Nea*’ for the new constructions and restorations initiated by him.³⁹¹ Moreover, four daughters of Basil I are said to have been sent to the convent where most of his family members were buried.³⁹²

The name of the convent is mentioned in several documents between the ninth and the late eleventh-century. One of them records that the Empress Zoe (ca. 978-1050) exiled her sister Theodora to the convent of St. Euphemia in Petrion

³⁸⁹ Janin, *Ibid*; Mango “The Relics of St. Euphemia and the Synaxarion of Constantinople,” 86. Mango states that according to the Typikon of the Great Church in the version of cod. Hagiou Stavrou 49 and Synaxarion the main feast day of the saint, the commemoration of her martyrdom in September 16, takes place in the church by the Hippodrome after the restoration of relics in 796. But before 796 the church is recorded under July 11 for the feast of the *horos* (definition) of Chalcedon. Furthermore Typikon of the Great Church in the version of cod. Patmiacus 266 records that before 796 the *synaxis* of September 16 (her martyrdom and feast day) takes place in the church of the saint at the Petrion. Thus Mango claims that the relics of St. Euphemia were placed in the church at Petrion after the translation from Chalcedon in 680.

³⁹⁰ *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Theodorus Preger ed. (New York, 1975): III. 186, 274; Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos* (Bonn, 1988): 490-3; for the Anonymous of Banduri see Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 134.

³⁹¹ Magdalino, *Byzantine Constantinople*, VI, 52-3.

³⁹² Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 134; For the tombs in the convent see Janin, *Ibid*. and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cérémoniis* II. 42, ed. J. J. Reiske 2 Vols. Bonn, 1829-1830, 648-9.

during the reign of the Emperor Romanos III Argyrus (1028-1034).³⁹³ The record of a late eleventh-century English pilgrim is the last document about the convent, and from then onwards the Byzantine documents, except the *synaxaria*, do not mention either the church or the convent.³⁹⁴

The Synaxarion of Constantinople indicates that the church and the Convent of St. Euphemia in Petrion was close to the *martyria* of St. Juliana of Nicomedia and St. Laurentius, all of which point to the same location. The district of the Petrion is located at the shore and lies around five hundred meters from the Gate of Ispigas (today Cibali Kapı) towards the Phanar in Golden Horn (Haliç). Early studies located the church at today's Gül Camii (The Mosque of the Rose) which was identified as St. Theodosia of the Evergetes Monastery, and consider that the Church of St. Theodosia (Gül Camii) and the Church of St. Euphemia were the same building.³⁹⁵ Later studies demonstrated that this argument was not valid. The Monastery of *Dexiocrates* (the Church of St. Theodosia) in which the relics of St. Theodosia were kept and the Convent of St. Euphemia are two different buildings which were mentioned separately in the same section of the *Patria*.³⁹⁶ Thus, according to the limited sources available today, we cannot identify the exact location of the Church and the Convent in Petrion, other than simply stating that it was located on the Golden Horn and in the vicinity of Gül Camii. In addition, the Gül Camii was not the Convent of St. Euphemia and the Church of St. Theodosia was a different building which existed at the same time in the neighborhood.

³⁹³ Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: the Chronographia of Michael Psellus* (London, 1966): V, 35-36, 143.

³⁹⁴ Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, (Bonn, 1988): 490-3; For the other documents mention the convent see Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 134-5.

³⁹⁵ Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, pp. 135-6.

³⁹⁶ B. Aran, "The Church of Saint Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Euergetes," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* Vol. 28 (1979): 214-20.

Finally, according to the accounts of Russian pilgrims who visited Constantinople between the late twelfth and the fourteenth-century, the relics of St. Euphemia were kept in a shrine outside the land walls of the city and honoured with procession on every Wednesday and Friday. According to their description the church was located ‘on the other side of the Golden Gate’ (Modern Yedikule, at the south end of the land walls) and between the Church of St. Andrew *in Krisei* (Modern Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii) and the shrine of the Prophet Daniel. Thus, as pointed out by Majeska, the shrine would be located outside the land walls between the Pege Gate (Silivri Kapı) and the Romanus Gate (Topkapı) as the nearest gates to the aforementioned reference points. On the other hand, there is no other source about the shrine of St. Euphemia outside the city walls (See Fig. II.12).³⁹⁷

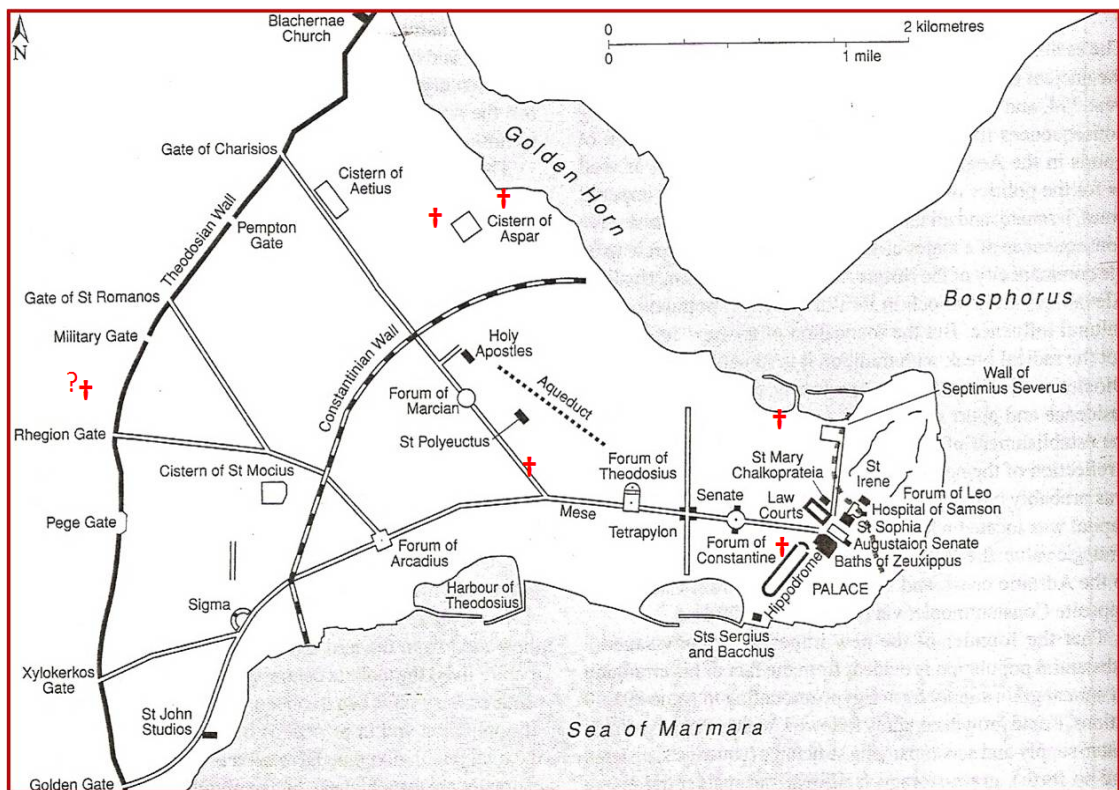


Fig. II.12 Churches and monasteries of St. Euphemia in Constantinople,
(After Haldon, *Palgrave Atlas*, map 3.3).

³⁹⁷ Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 319-21.

II.2. The Churches Dedicated to St. Euphemia outside Constantinople

It should be stated that there were more churches dedicated to St. Euphemia than indicated below, but the aim of this part of the research is to reflect the distribution of church dedications to St. Euphemia throughout the Christian world in relation to her cult as a symbol of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy as well as to the relics and the churches of the saint in Chalcedon and Constantinople. This study, therefore, concentrates upon St. Euphemia's sphere of influence on the Christian topography through an analysis of the relation of these churches with her cult. Moreover, the purpose of this part is to demonstrate that the widespread popularity of her cult went beyond the borders of Constantinople and reached the furthest limits of the Byzantine Empire.

In Daphne, located to the south of Antioch on the Orontes, there was a sanctuary of St. Euphemia possibly built in the sixth-century.³⁹⁸ According to the testimony of the Crusaders, the relics of St. Euphemia were brought to Athlit, a coastal town for the Crusaders and pilgrims between Mount Carmel and Caesarea, in the thirteenth-century.³⁹⁹ On the other hand, the literary sources demonstrate that there was a church dedicated to St. Euphemia near Caesarea as early as the seventh-century.⁴⁰⁰ A Syriac chronicle, known as *the Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene* from the middle sixth-century, describes a big riot at Alexandria which was organised after the publication of the Henotikon of Zeno in CE 485 at the Martyr-

³⁹⁸ Brown, *Late antiquity: a guide to the postclassical world* (Cambridge, 1999): 405.

³⁹⁹ Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader art in the Holy Land: from the Third Crusade to the fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Cambridge, 2005): 133-4; Lee I Levine, Ehud Netzer. *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima, 1975, 1976, 1979* Final report, *Quedem*, Vol. 21 (Jerusalem, 1986): 5.

⁴⁰⁰ Levine, Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima, 1975, 1976, 1979* Final report-*Quedem*, Vol. 21 (Jerusalem, 1986): 5.

Church of St. Euphemia outside the walls of Alexandria.⁴⁰¹ This reminds us of the chronicler Theophanes which claims that the body of the saint was translated to Alexandria in 439/40.⁴⁰² If such an event ever took place, despite there being no other evidence to support it, was this the church which had been constructed to host the relics of the saint? A sixth-century ecclesiastical document records that there was another church dedicated to St. Euphemia in Oxyrhynchus, a city in the Upper Egypt.⁴⁰³ This is unusual given that Egypt was anti-Chalcedonian, but certainly indicates her prestige in Egypt. It has been suggested that the Egyptian veneration of the saint reflects pre-Chalcedonian ritual usage.⁴⁰⁴

In the West we don't know when the first church dedicated to St. Euphemia was built in Rome, but the first record of its existence can be found in the *Liber Pontificalis*, a late seventh-century compilation of the liturgical practices in Rome. The source describes that the ruined church was restored by the order of Pope Sergius I (687-701).⁴⁰⁵ Chadwick states that due to the ecclesiastical controversy between the supporters of the Fourth General Council and the Monophysites, St. Euphemia, as the patroness of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy and her church might have been ignored in Rome until the end of the schism of the Three Chapters in the late seventh-century.⁴⁰⁶ In other words before the seventh-century and most probably before the Fourth General Council was held in 451, there was already a church in Rome dedicated to St. Euphemia. Moreover, bearing in mind that the relics of St.

⁴⁰¹ Alban Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion* (Oxford, 1902): 73, footnote 1.

⁴⁰² Theophanes Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 117.

⁴⁰³ Richard Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London, 2002): 295, 313.

⁴⁰⁴ Arietta Papaconstantinou, *Le Culte des Saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides: L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris, 2001): 85-7.

⁴⁰⁵ O. Chadwick, "Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great," *Journal of Theological Studies* Vol. 50 (1949): 7.

⁴⁰⁶ After the contra-position of the Pope Vigilius who refused to acknowledge the imperial edict but then forced to change his decision and sought refuge in the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon out of fear of reactions from the West, St. Euphemia became the representative of the ecclesiastical controversy. (Chadwick, *Ibid.*).

Euphemia were among the gift of relics which received high attention in the late fourth-century especially in North Italy, it is quite likely that there was a church or churches of the saint in Rome by the fifth-century. In 579, the Patriarch Elias of Aquileia (571-587) had built a chief church dedicated to St. Euphemia with an octagonal sanctuary at Grado, in North-East Italy, to challenge Rome (See Fig. III.94). Indeed the architectural lay out of the basilical church was same as the church in Chalcedon.⁴⁰⁷ Pope Gelasius I (492-96) had built a church in her honour about 30 km. from Rome at Tivoli. The last but not least, Pope Donus (676-78) built a church dedicated to her on the Appian Way in South-East Italy.⁴⁰⁸

According to the ninth-century chronicle of Constantine of Tios the relics, after their desecration by Leo III, were saved by iconodules and brought to the island of Lemnos. A church was built to keep her relics in Lemnos and despite the disapproval of the people in Lemnos, Irene ordered the relics to be returned to Constantinople. Nevertheless, Constantine states that some parts of the relics remained there but the church was destroyed by “an envoy of the tyrant”.⁴⁰⁹ Mango points out that the tyrant might have been Constantine V. Furthermore, Constantine of Tios describes that the relics were distributed by the people who brought them back to Constantinople in 796. The holy hand of the martyr, by which she confirmed the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy through holding the *tomos* (the formula of Orthodoxy), was taken by Nicetas Monomachos, and put in the church which was built for St. Euphemia in Sicily.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ Goldfus, *St Euphemia's Church*, 192-3.

⁴⁰⁸ Chadwick, *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ Constantine of Tios in Halkin, *Euphémie De Chalcedoine*, 103-4; Mango, “The Relics of St. Euphemia and the Synaxarion of Constantinople,” 83.

⁴¹⁰ Constantine of Tios, in Halkin, *Ibid.*, 103-4.

Finally there was a *Martyrion* of St. Euphemia, close to Constantinople, in Adrianoupolis, Paphlagonia which was probably built by Alypius the Stylite in the late sixth-century (See Fig. II.13).⁴¹¹

⁴¹¹ Vincenzo Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582-867): Its History and Structural Elements* (Rome, 1991): 235.

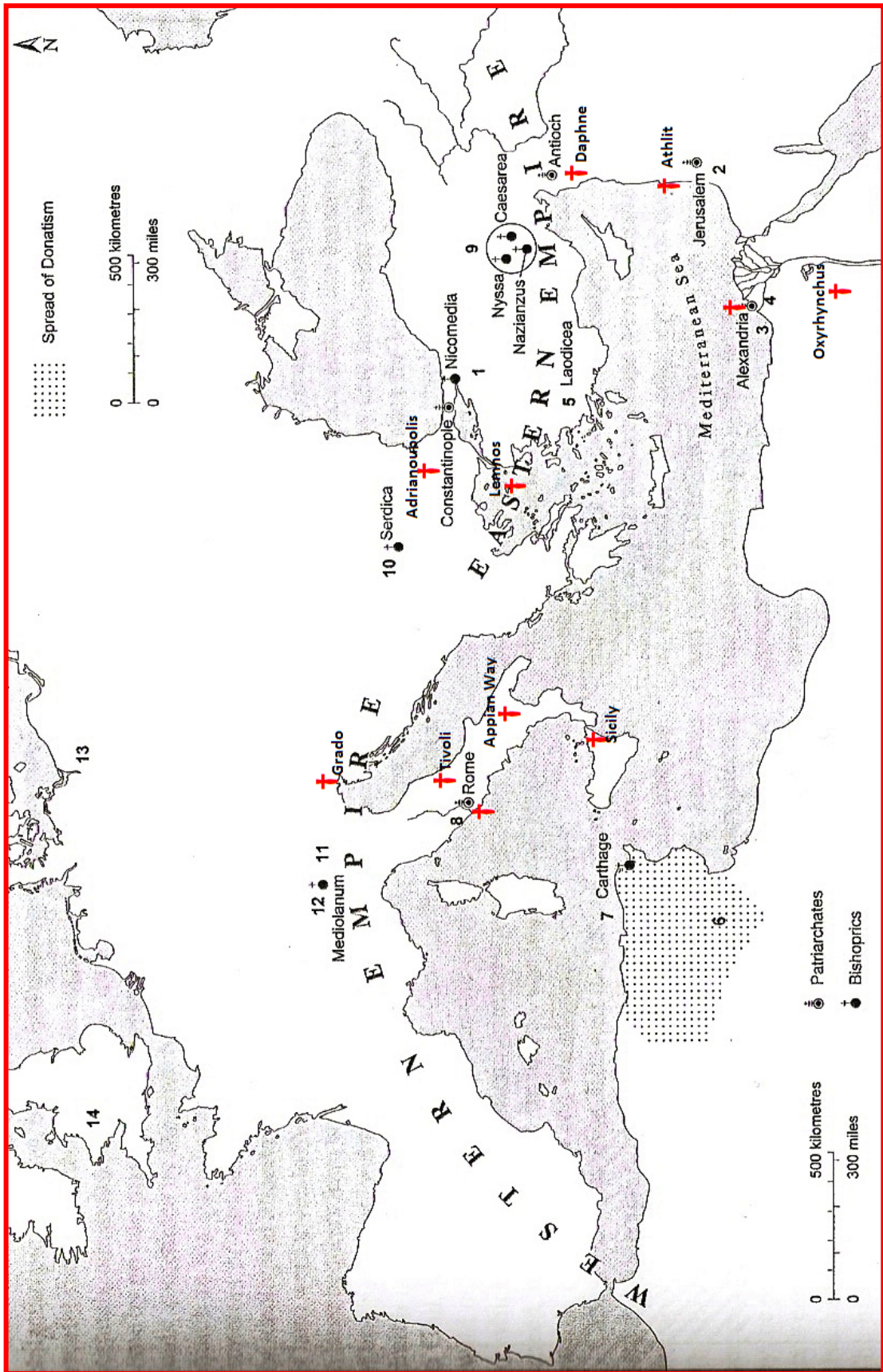


Fig. II.13 Churches of St. Euphemia out of Constantinople, (After Haldon, *Palgrave Atlas*, map 4.1).

II.3. Conclusion

There is no doubt that the Fourth General Council and the miracle of the saint which confirmed the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy played the biggest role in the promotion of the cult of St. Euphemia throughout the Byzantium. On the other hand, from the account of Egeria and ecclesiastical documents concerning the translation of her relics from Constantinople to North Italy in the fourth-century, we understand that the cult of St. Euphemia and the reputation of her miracles had already gone beyond the borders of Chalcedon and Constantinople before the Fourth General Council in 451. There are records both from the East and the West of Constantinople that her sanctuary in Chalcedon had become a widely known holy place on the pilgrims' route and her relics were among the gifts of relics which attracted pilgrims as well as the church's attention.

The existence of the four churches, two of them in Constantinople (in *ta Olybriou* and Petra), one in Alexandria and one in Rome, which were dedicated to the saint, confirm the influence of the cult of the saint by the fifth-century. On the other hand, it is clear that St. Euphemia's cult began to increase after the Council, and the reputation of the saint reached a larger geography. The construction of the churches in the sixth-century in Constantinople (including the one by the Hippodrome), Daphne, Oxyrhynchus, Grado, Tivoli and Adrianoupolis demonstrate that the council helped to increase the popularity of her cult. On the other hand, after the Fourth General Council, St. Euphemia became identical with the ecclesiastical controversy and her churches might have been ignored by the opponents of the Chalcedonian definition, as conceivably happened to the church of the saint in Rome. However, surprisingly enough, the saint continued to be venerated by the opponents

of the Chalcedon both in the west and the east for they only rejected the decisions of the Council. Thus, her cult continued to develop throughout the Byzantine World despite strong protests against the Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith. Eventually, as the patron saint of Chalcedon she was also venerated by Monophysites, and as the saint of the Eastern Church the cult of St. Euphemia was more important than assumed in the Western Church. Yet we may even suggest that in terms of the numbers of the churches dedicated to the saint, and which have survived, as well as the frequency of the pictorial representation of the saint in the churches, St. Euphemia is actually more visible in the West than she is in the East.

The churches dedicated to her in Constantinople demonstrate the importance of her cult for the capital of Byzantium. The central location of the church by the Hippodrome in which the relics were believed to be kept till the end of Byzantium clearly indicates the significance of the saint for the Church and the State. The church in ta Olybriou was located on the processional route as the following stop after the Church of St. Polyeuktos from the Church of the Holy Apostles on the way back to the Great Palace. Thus the churches of the saint were not only located on the pilgrimage route, but were also honoured by imperial ceremonial as well. Byzantine documents indicate that the convent of the saint in Petrion served as the burial of many imperial and aristocratic family members, in addition to providing a safe place for refuge and monastic life.

Iconoclasm (726-787/815-843) had negative effects on the cult, the relics and the church of the saint by the Hippodrome. The sources do not agree on the destruction of the church and the desecration of the relics. The church might have been destroyed by the earthquake of 740 or by the order of Leo III or Constantine V who may also have destroyed relics at Lemnos. In either case the relics were moved

and distributed while the church by the Hippodrome became ruined and served as a store for a while. Nevertheless, the accounts of the Russian pilgrims demonstrate that her cult was revitalised in Constantinople by the end of Iconoclasm until the end of the Byzantium. The translation of her relics to the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate (chronologically to Holy Apostles, Pammakaristos and to the current Patriarchal church of St. George) after the conquest of Constantinople, the commemoration of her feast day and the existence of a modern church dedicated to her in Kadıköy, where the cult was first established, demonstrate us that her cult survived for approximately 1700 years and still continues today.

III. A RESCUE PROJECT PROPOSAL FOR THE CHURCH BY THE HIPPODROME

III.1. History and Description of the Site

The primary focus of the proposal is to provide brief information about the physical location, the historical background and the archaeological excavations on the site.

III.1.1. The Geographical Location of the Site

The church building was located in the most important region of the capital of Byzantium between the main street, the Mese, and the north wall of the Hippodrome and near the such important buildings of the empire as Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace (See Fig. III.1).

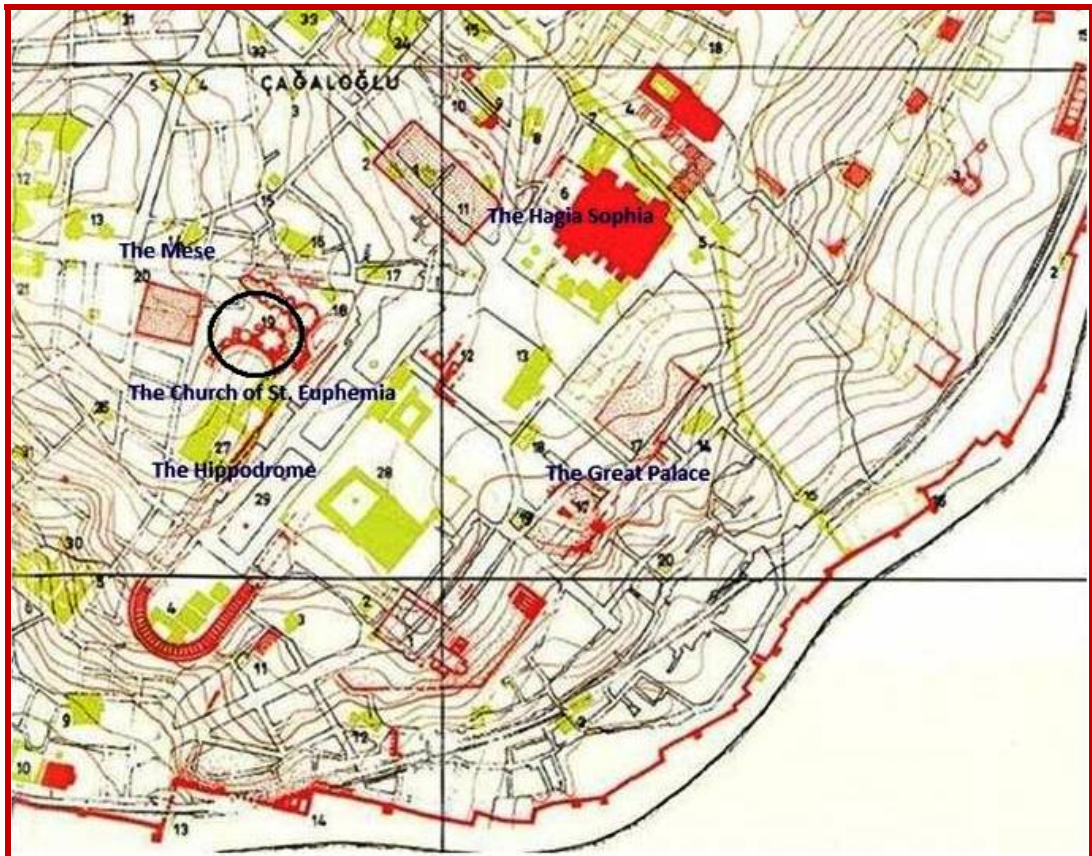


Fig. III.1 The location of the Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome, (After Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, Suriçi İstanbul, Galata ve Pera Tarihi Anıtlarını Gösteren Plan).

The region was located between the first hill, which was the acropolis of the capital, and the second hill. On the north-east of the church there was Augustaion Square which was located to the west of the Senate House and to the south of Hagia Sophia. The Mese, on the north of the church, was also located on the pilgrims' route on the way to Hagia Sophia (See Fig. III.2). Today the ruins of the church are located within the garden of the Palace of Justice to the north-west of the Hippodrome in Sultan Ahmet Square in the Eminönü District of Istanbul.⁴¹²

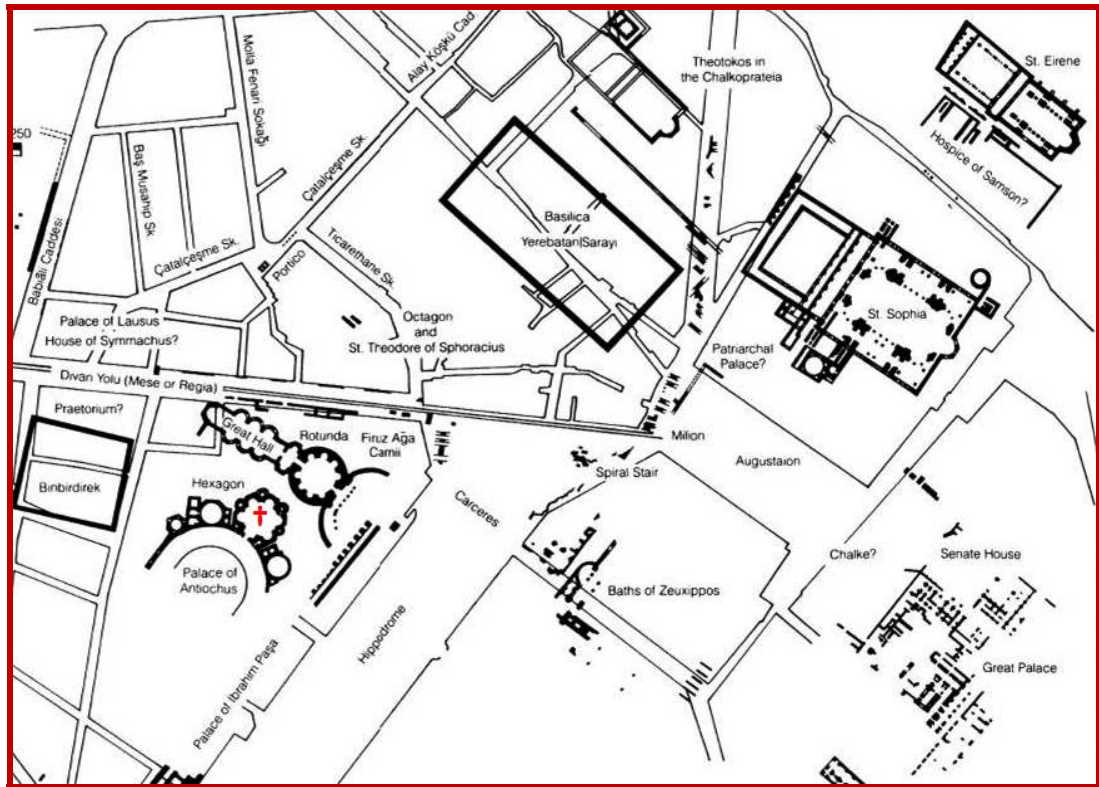


Fig. III.2 Plan of the Byzantine remains near the Church of St. Euphemia, (After Bardill, *The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople*, fig. 2).

⁴¹² E. Akyürek, A. Tiryaki, Ö. Çömezoğlu, M. Ermiş, *TAY-The Archaeological Settlements of Turkey-8: The Byzantine Period/Marmara Region* (İstanbul, 2007): s. v. "The Church of St. Euphemia".

III.1.2. The History of the Site: the Byzantine, the Ottoman and the Republic period

Although the history of the Church by the Hippodrome is discussed under the second chapter in detail, this chapter aims to provide a proposal independent from the previous chapters, thus the history of the site as well as the archaeological excavations will be given briefly. The Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome in Constantinople was originally the *triclinium*, the audience hall, of a palace building which was erected in the early fifth-century as the Palace of Antiochus who was a chamberlain under Theodosius II.⁴¹³ The primary sources suggest that the Palace of Antiochus was probably constructed soon after 429 when Antiochus was *praepositus*, and the palace building was used for the accommodation of high officials as a royal residence until CE 603.⁴¹⁴ On the basis of the architectural evidence the audience hall of the palace must have been converted into a church in the early sixth-century (See Fig. III.3).⁴¹⁵

Without any structural changes to the building, the palace hall was adapted into a church with liturgical arrangement such as the placement of a new sanctuary to the right niche of the hexagonal building, and a new main entrance on the opposite of the sanctuary according to the new east-west axis of the church.⁴¹⁶ In the seventh-century due to the Persian attacks, the relics of St. Euphemia were translated from

⁴¹³ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche* (Berlin 1966): 20-21.

⁴¹⁴ Bardill and Greatrex, (1996): 197; CE 567 According to Theophylact Simocatta, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Oxford, 1986): iii.3.7, 76; CE 603 according to *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, trans. Michael and Mary Whitby (Liverpool, 2007): 125, 145.

⁴¹⁵ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken*. (Berlin, 1966): 70-1; Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London, 1971): 62-3.

⁴¹⁶ Naumann, and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 45; Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 61-7.

Chalcedon to Constantinople and were placed in the new church of the saint by the Hippodrome. Then the new church became an attraction point for pilgrims like the sanctuary in Chalcedon.

In the first iconoclastic period (730-787) the church by the Hippodrome was secularized and the relics were thrown in the sea either by Leo III or Constantine V, and during this period the church is said to have been used as an arsenal and stable. Then, the church was restored from its state as an arsenal and stable and reconsecrated by the orders of Irene (797-802) and the relics were brought back to Constantinople from Lemnos in 796-797.⁴¹⁷ Although the church was seriously damaged during the big fire of 1203 in Mese and the Latin invasion in 1204 the church had another extensive restoration and redecoration with frescoes of the Palaiologan period.⁴¹⁸ The accounts of the pilgrims demonstrate that the church was in use and visited during the late Byzantine period and the relics at least partly remained in this church till the end of the Byzantine Empire.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ Theophanes Confessor, 607; Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 27; Müller-Wiener, *Istanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 123.

⁴¹⁸ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 32-3.

⁴¹⁹ Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 142, 258-9, 319.

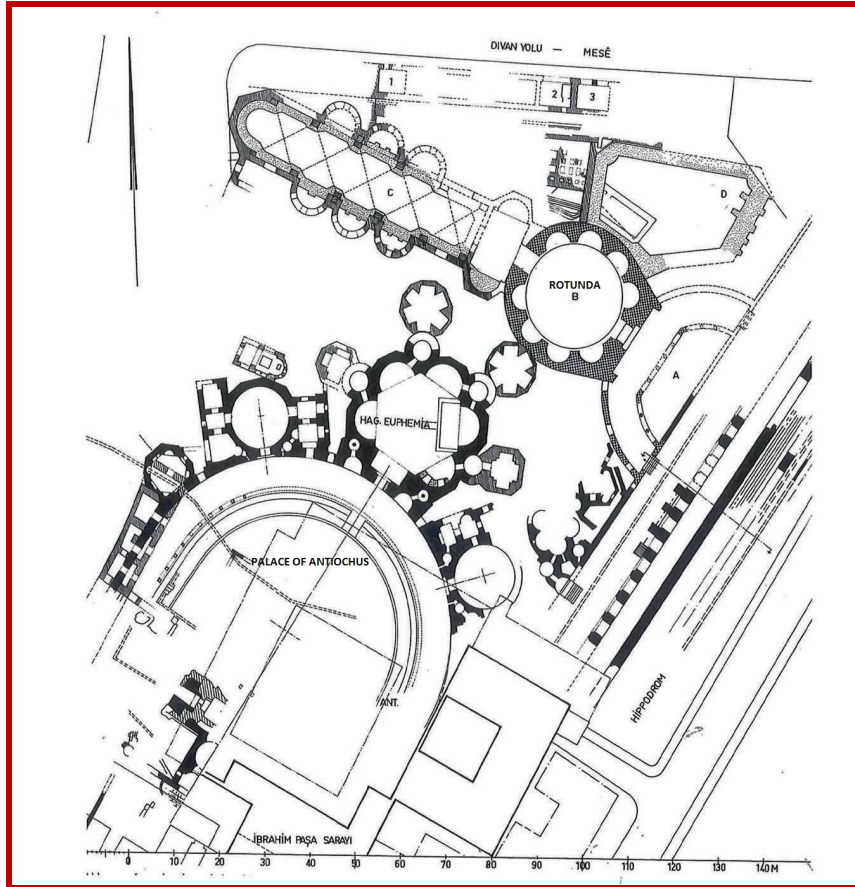


Fig. III.3 The Church of St. Euphemia and its environment, (After Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 124).

The sources about the church after 1400 are not clear and sufficient enough, nevertheless, the church must have survived the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 (See Fig. III.4). Although the reason and the date of its destruction are unknown it is highly probable that the ruins of the church must have been demolished during the construction of the large palaces to the north of the Hippodrome in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century.⁴²⁰ In 1748 the excavated soil material from the construction of the Nur-i Osmaniye Mosque were left on the ruined church forming a thick layer of rubble about 4-5 meters high.⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 32-3; Janin, "Les églises Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople," *Échos d'Orient* Vol. 31 (1932): 273-5.

⁴²¹ Schneider, "Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia," 185; Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 32-3; Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 125.

Small houses and a prison were constructed in the area during the nineteenth and the early twentieth-century. Today the ruins of the church are located within the garden of the Palace of Justice which has been used as the parking place and it is not accessible by outsiders.

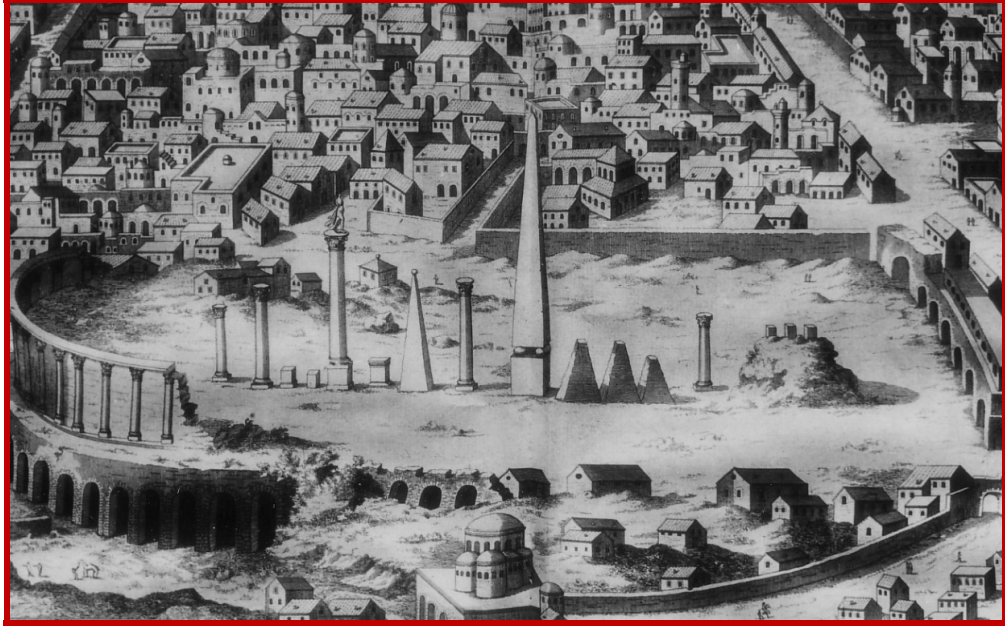


Fig. III.4 View of the Hippodrome ca. 1480, published by Onofrio Panvinio in 1600, (After Yıldırım, *Symbolic Maps of the City İstanbul Engravings*, İstanbul: İstanbul Ticaret Odası Yayınları, 2008: 184).

III.1.3. The Archaeological Context, Excavations and Finds at the Site

When the prison building was demolished in 1939 due to the collapse danger, the *martyrium* structure and the frescoes were discovered. The first excavation started by the German Archaeological Institute in İstanbul under the direction of Alfons Maria Schneider and Sedat Çetintaş on August 6, 1942 and lasted until December 5 of the same year. When the decision was taken to start the construction of the New Palace of Justice on the north-west side of the Sultan Ahmet Square, the first period of the rescue excavations started under the direction of Rüstem Duyuran on June 1, 1950 by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. This excavation continued until the end of the

year. The second period of the rescue excavations continued between May 1951 and May 1952 by Duyuran (See Fig. III.5). Finally on December 1963 while extending the street, lying in front of the New Palace of Justice building, towards the Divan Yolu (Mese), thick Byzantine walls were discovered. The planned street was constructed with a curved angle to protect the ruins, and the last excavation in the field was carried out between the January and March of 1964 in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute and the İstanbul Archaeological Museums under the supervision of Rudolf Naumann and Necati Dolunay.⁴²²

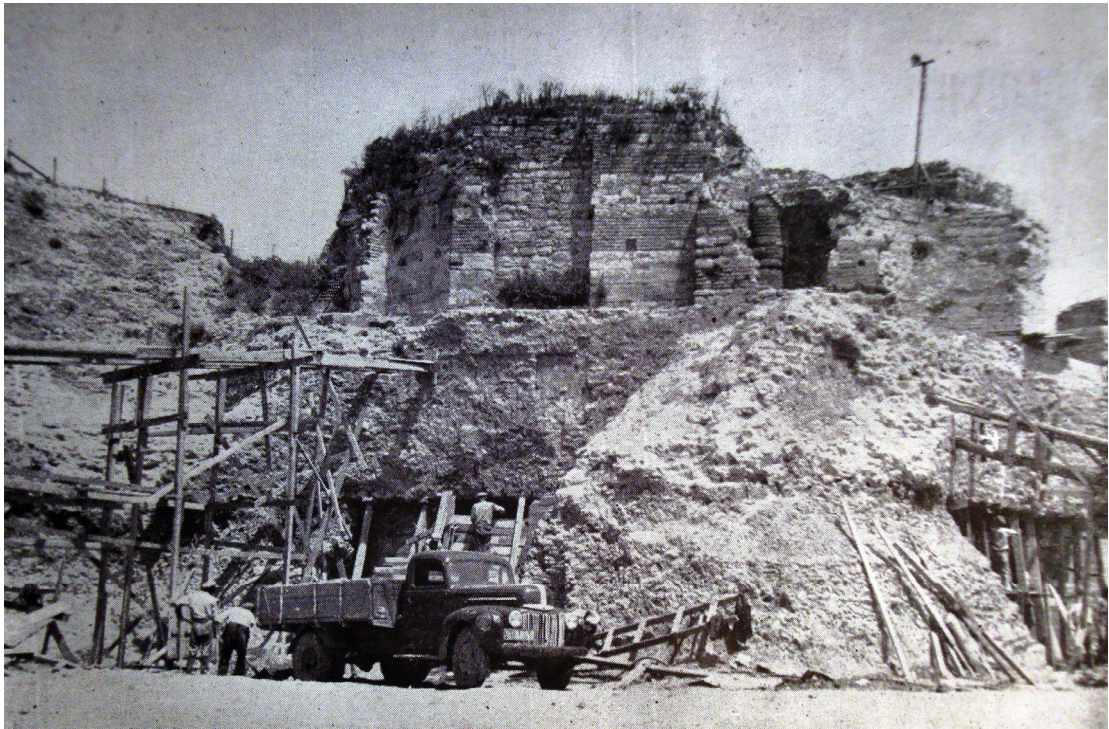


Fig. III.5 The substructure of the *martyrium*, the 2nd period of the rescue excavations in 1951-2, (After Duyuran, 2nd Report, Fig.13).

⁴²² Duyuran, "First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at İstanbul," *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul* Vol. 5 (1952): 23, 33; Duyuran, "Second Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at İstanbul," *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul* Vol. 6 (1953): 21, 74; Dolunay and Naumann, "Divanyolu ve Adalet Sarayı Arasındaki Araştırmalar," *Annals of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul*, Vol. 11-2 (1964): 19.

III.2. Statement of Significance and the Heritage Value

The values of the monument can be classified under four main headings:

Architectural: The ruins of the church are one of the oldest Byzantine structures which has survived to the present day. The original structure which is dated to the fifth-century presents us significant data about early Byzantine palatine architecture. The archaeological finds in the structure converted into a church in the early sixth-century provide an almost complete reconstruction of the liturgical layout. Thus, the church demonstrates the liturgical arrangement during the conversion of a secular building into a religious structure in the early Byzantine period, and it is very important for the history of the church planning in Constantinople (See Fig. III.6).⁴²³

Artistic: The late thirteenth-century frescoes on the west niche of the structure which depict the martyrdom of St. Euphemia have no parallel in terms of artistic style and the form of existing fresco cycles in Constantinople. It is the only cycle of frescoes representing the martyrdom of St. Euphemia in the world and there is no other fresco cycle of a saint from Constantinople which has survived.⁴²⁴

Hagiographical: The Byzantine sources which describe St. Euphemia between the fourth and the thirteenth-century present different versions of the saint's martyrdom. Thus the fresco cycle about the life and the martyrdom of the saint which is about to disappear today provides a valuable reference for the comparison of hagiographical texts about the saint as well as the history of Christianity.

Historical, Cultural and Religious Diversity: The church is one of the monuments which reflect the long and powerful past of Istanbul as well as the different religions

⁴²³ Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London, 1971): 61.

⁴²⁴ Mathews, *Ibid.*; E. Akyürek, *Khalkedon'lu (Kadıköy) Azize Euphemia ve Sultanahmet'teki Kilisesi*, (İstanbul, 2002): 60-3.

and cultures of its past which have made the city a world heritage site today. The cult of St. Euphemia, which was formed in Chalcedon in the fourth-century and has survived into the twenty-first century, was extremely important to Byzantine civilization. The cult of St. Euphemia, whose relics are kept today in the Church of Hagios Georgios in the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate, is important for Orthodox Christians and for all the Christian world, and the feast day of the saint is celebrated every September 16 in the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate.



Fig. III.6 The Synthronon and the main apse of the church
(Schneider, 1943, DAI, Kb 4242).

III.3. The Church of St. Euphemia Today and Threats to the Site

Today the ruins of the church are located within the garden of the Palace of Justice in Sultan Ahmet which can be accessed from the parking place to the south but it is not open to visitors. After the discovery of the fresco cycle of St. Euphemia, the west niche of the hexagonal hall was covered with a small shed to protect the

paintings (See Fig. III.71). The roof of this shed collapsed in 1994 and it was restored by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1996. In 1997 a cleaning organisation was held by the Cultural Awareness Foundation and in 2007 the roof was restored again by the foundation. The final cleaning project took place upon our application as a team from Koç University and in cooperation with the Cultural Awareness Foundation in December 2008 (See Fig. III.43). Today the walls of the shed can not carry the roof anymore. There is a danger that the roof can collapse at any time. Although the preserved sections of the original floor pavement are protected under the soil, the weight of the cars parked within the *martyrion* causes serious damage to the foundation of the historic structure. Thus, besides an urgent conservation action for the remaining frescoes the entire area should be protected from cars and all vehicles should be banned from parking within the *martyrion* as soon as possible. The old roof and the ruined shed have not prevented the erosion of the water, wind and the high-humidity on the wall-paintings over time. Thus the lack of maintenance and responsible management has led to very serious and irreversible damage to the wall-paintings (See Figures III.7-III.25). Cars are parked within the *martyrion* and just in front of the shed (See Figures III.27, III.33 and III.39) and due to the lack of care and awareness of cultural heritage values, the historical site has turned into a garbage dump although it was partly under the protection of the Palace of Justice (See Figures III.30 and III.40). The roots of nearby trees and plants are also one of the major problems causing structural damage to the walls and foundations of the monument. Thus mechanical and chemical treatment is necessary for the removal of the tree trunks and roots from the walls and for control of plant growth on the site (See Figures III.41 and III.42). Natural and environmental factors are therefore speeding up the destruction of the site. Thus urgent action for

restoration, conservation and long-time preservation is needed to save this historical and the cultural monument.



Fig. III.7 Scene 2, Schneider, 1943, DAI, Kb06.



Fig. III.8 Scene 2, Naumann, 1964, DAI, 2221.



Fig. III.9 Scene 2, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.10 Scene 3, Naumann, 1964, DAI.



Fig. III.11 Scene 3, 2008, (photo. by author).

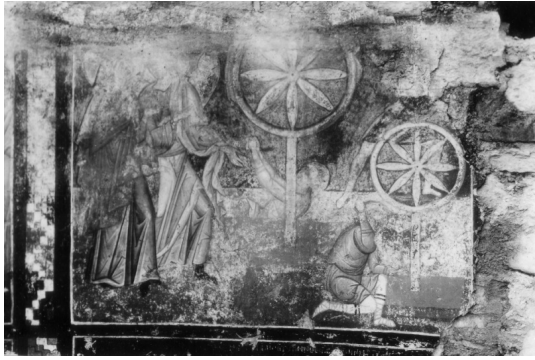


Fig. III.12 Scene 4, Naumann, 1964,
DAI, 2226.



Fig. III.13 Scene 4, 2008,
(photo. by author).



Fig. III.14 Scene 9, Schneider, 1943,
DAI, Kb0864.



Fig. III.15 Scene 9, Naumann, 1964,
DAI.



Fig. III.16 Scene 9, 2008, (photo. by author).

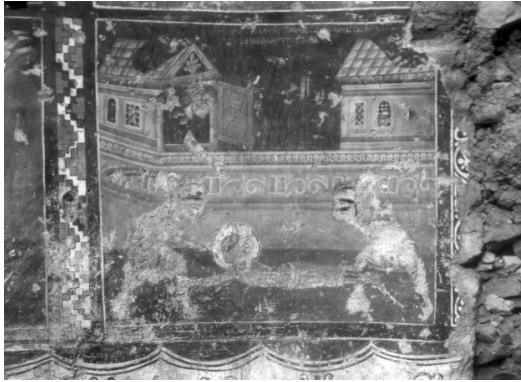


Fig. III.17 Scene 10, Naumann, 1964,



Fig. III.18 Scene 10, 2008, DAI, 5477.

(photo. by author).



Fig. III.19 Scene 12, Naumann, 1964, DAI.



Fig. III.20 Scene 12, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.21 The scene of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, Naumann, 1964, DAI.



Fig. III.22 The wall on which the fresco existed, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.23 The Fresco Cycle, Naumann, 1964, DAI, 4704.



Fig. III.24 The Fresco Cycle, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.25 The Fresco Cycle, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.26 The view of the shed from the east, Schneider, 1943, DAI, Kb4227.



Fig. III.27 The view of the shed from the east, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.28 Synthronon, Schneider, 1943, DAI, Kb4228.



Fig. III.29 Synthronon, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.30 Synthronon, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.31 The view of the S.Ahmet Mosque from the east of the church, 1969, DAI, R2417.



Fig. III.32 View from the same angle, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.33 The ruined shed on the western niche of the church, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.34 The ruined door of the shed, 2010 (photo. by author).



Fig. III.35 The dangerous roof of the shed, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.36 The western part of the shed, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.37 The monolithic dome of the ciborium, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.38 The architectural pieces in the site, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.39 Cars in front of the shed, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.40 Mass of garbage in the Synthronon, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.41 Roots of the plants cause structural damage, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.42 The damage of the uncontrolled plants, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.43 The Cleaning project of the site in December 2008,
(photo. by the Cultural Awareness Foundation).

III.4. Management Policies

The primary objectives of the management policies on the preservation of the cultural heritage and sustainable management of the site will be given according to international conventions, charters, national law/legislations and the local regulations.

III.4.1. Definition

The Historic Areas of Istanbul were included on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985 on the basis of the cultural criteria C (i), (ii), (iii), and (iv).⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ “i. to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; ii. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; iii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; iv. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history”. For the Criteria for selection of UNESCO see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>

The site is declared a conservation zone and is subject to national legislation according to the Legislation for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (Law No.2863, National Level, amended by Laws No.17.06.1987, No.3386; No.5226, Dated: 14.07.2004), The Environment Law (Law No.2872), The National Parks Law (Law No.2873), The Bosphorus Law (Law No. 2960), The Coastal Zone Law (Law No.36921/3830), The Decree Law on the Establishment of Administration for Specially Protected Areas (Decree Law No.383), The Law for Pious Foundations (Law No. 2762), and on the Legislation on Incentives for Cultural Investments and Enterprises (No.5225).⁴²⁶

By the decision of The First Number of Regional Council of Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation in 12.07.1995 and in accordance with law number 6848; the historical peninsula was defined as an ‘urban and historical site’, and an ‘urban and archaeological site’, and inside the *Sur-i Sultani* (Sultan’s walls), the area was defined as a 1st degree archaeological site. The area including the ruins of the Church of St. Euphemia is located within the 1st degree archaeological site boundaries of the historical peninsula.

According to **Law No. 2863 on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets** enacted in 1983, considering the impact of the transition and the buffer zone on the core area, the immediate priority of any urban and environmental project is to protect and enhance the archaeological potential of the site. Moreover, the same national law clearly forbids any physical intervention and constructive process on the cultural heritage site.⁴²⁷ Thus, the ruins of the Church of st. Euphemia should be protected with the ruins of The Palace of Antiochus, the so-called Palace of Lausus

⁴²⁶ Report of the Joint ICOMOS/UNESCO Expert Review Mission to the Historic Areas of Istanbul World Heritage Site, report 3, (06-11.04.2006): 5.

<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/mis356-2006.pdf>

⁴²⁷ The Official web site of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey, The Law 2863, article 9 <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/teftis/Genel/BelgeGoster>

and the old building of the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre, as well as the other Ottoman ruins around the site.

There are far more national and international binding laws, codes and legislations on the protection of cultural heritage signed by Turkish Republic than given in this part but the following are some of the main codes and charters which should be followed for the implementation of any urban and environmental project in the historical peninsula:

1964/ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) The Venice Charter implies that the sustainable conservation and protection of monuments as well as the uncovered architectural elements should be essential (Article 4, 15); all kind of reconstruction work in the site should be prevented (Article 15).⁴²⁸

1972/UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage states that each state party promises to take the responsibility of “...ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage...”⁴²⁹

1985/COE (The Council of Europe) Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe stresses that the member states of The Council of Europe accept that the architectural heritage reflects the “...richness and diversity of Europe's cultural heritage...”, thus it is our past and “...a common heritage of all Europeans...”. So the signatories of the convention undertake the responsibility for maintaining inventories and appropriate documents in the case of a threat as soon as

⁴²⁸ (Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu, 24.09.1967/3674) Ali Kazım Öz, Saadet Güner ed. *AB Kültürel Miras Mevzuatı ve Türkiye Projesi*, Cilt 2 (İstanbul, 2007): 278-80; The Official web site of ICOMOS http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.htm

⁴²⁹ (14.02.1983/17959 Resmi Gazete) *AB Kültürel Miras Mevzuatı ve Türkiye Projesi*, Cilt 2 (İstanbul, 2007): 52-64; The Official web site of UNESCO <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>

possible (Article 2); and pledge to take all necessary precautions for the environmental arrangements to secure the cultural heritage (Article 7).⁴³⁰

1992/COE European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage underlines that “...as a source of European collective memory and an instrument for historical and scientific study” each state should guarantee; the protection and the research of the archaeological heritage for the understanding of the history of the civilizations in relation with the natural environment (Article 1); “the creation of archaeological reserves ...” in order to protection the archaeological evidence for the future excavation and researches (Article 2); the sustainable protection and conservation of the archaeological heritage *in situ* (Article 4); the modification of the development plans to lessen their negative impacts on the archaeological heritage (5/ii a). Every state should encourage and organise educational programmes for public awareness on the significance of the archaeological heritage and possible threats to the site. Public access to the site and the exhibition of the archaeological finds should be provided (9/i,ii).⁴³¹

III.4.2. Current Ownership and the Submitted Project

As stated before the ruins of The Church of St. Euphemia were located within the garden of the Palace of Justice and officially the site is owned by the Treasury. But according to the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (No. 2863), The Ministry of Culture and Tourism is the main responsible authority and -

⁴³⁰ The Official web site of The Council of Europe, Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe CETS No.:121, <http://www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/>; (20.04.1989/20145 Resmi Gazete) *AB Kültürel Miras Mevzuatı ve Türkiye Projesi*, Cilt 2 (İstanbul, 2007): 363-71.

⁴³¹ The Official web site of The Council of Europe, European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, <http://www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/>; (08.08.1989/23780 Resmi Gazete) *AB Kültürel Miras Mevzuatı ve Türkiye Projesi*, Cilt 2 (İstanbul, 2007): 466-73.

regardless of the ownership- all kinds of immovable cultural and natural properties belong to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.⁴³² There is a restoration project proposal which was submitted to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2006 by the Cultural Awareness Foundation and with the scientific support of Prof. Dr. Engin Akyürek from Istanbul University. According to the explanation of the Cultural Awareness Foundation, after the conclusion of financing negotiations, the final approval of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is being awaited in order to start the restoration project of the frescoes in the *Martyrium* of St. Euphemia.

III.5. The Project Objectives and the Proposed Changes

The main objective of this proposal is to increase public awareness for the sustainable protection of the World Heritage Site. The project emphasizes that all future projects should prioritise the protection and the display of the archaeological remains with its surroundings in the old town. The suggestions are generally based on implementing the recommendations of the UNESCO Mission and some of the proposed changes such as Traffic Master Plan are previously suggested by different projects on Sultan Ahmet Archaeological Zone.

⁴³² **Article 10** – “The Ministry of Culture and Tourism shall be authorized to take the necessary measures or have others take the necessary measures to conserve immovable cultural and natural property, regardless of ownership or administration, control or have public institutions and organisations, municipalities and governorships carry out control.”
<http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/Genel/BelgeGoster>.

III.5.1. The immediate restoration and conservation of the frescoes and the walls

This proposal aims for the urgent intervention and the required restoration of the frescoes and the walls at the site which are in immediate danger of total destruction and disappearance. Since they were discovered in 1939 and were totally unearthed in 1964, the frescoes have been left unattended without professional restoration. The damage of underground waters to the historic monument is one of the major environmental factors speeding up the destruction of the site. Water penetration through the walls seriously damaged the frescoes. Thus the damage and humidity resulted from underground water movement should be controlled after the conservation of the walls.⁴³³ The shed, which was temporarily built to protect the frescoes against the weather conditions until professional treatment, was available a long time ago, thus it is no longer capable of protecting the frescoes. Considering the time that has passed since the application of the Cultural Awareness Foundation submitted to the Ministry of Tourism and Culture for the restoration and conservation of the frescoes in 2006, from now on all projects pertaining to the *Martyrium* of St. Euphemia must primarily focus on the protection of the frescoes and the remaining walls, and conservation should start before the scenes totally disappear.

⁴³³ I would like to thank to Prof. Akyürek for sharing his research on the restoration of the frescoes and this information with me.

III.5.2. The Sultan Ahmet Open-Air Archaeological Park

According to our responsibilities for adhering to the ethics and principles of international laws and regulations, to protect the integrity and the authenticity of the entire site, the ruins of the *Martyrium* of St. Euphemia should be assessed and evaluated together with the ruins of the Palace of Antiochos on the north, the building of the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre (Deferi Hakani Nezareti Binası/Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Binası) and with the Ottoman period ruins on the south. The whole area is located within the First Degree conservation zones of Sultan Ahmet and for the protection of the integrity of the site it is essential to start the implementation of the Sultan Ahmet archaeological park project within the core area of the World Heritage Site and all the regulations and applications must prioritise the protection of the archaeological remains and the architectural finds of the historical site.

The Archaeological Park Project in the Sultan Ahmet area was first suggested by Henri Prost in his master plan of 1937.⁴³⁴ Prost, who worked as the official urban planner of Istanbul at the head of the Planning Office between 1936 and 1951, proposed an archaeological park for the protection of the Byzantine and Ottoman monuments extending from the Sultan Ahmet Mosque on the south including the ancient acropolis of Byzantium, the Hippodrome and the Great Palace. The Archaeological Park proposal of Prost, which focuses on converting the whole area into an open-air museum for the public, was approved by the Early Republican

⁴³⁴ F. Candaş Bilse, "Shaping a Modern City out of an Ancient Capital: Henri Prost's plan for the historical peninsula of Istanbul," *IPHS 2004, the 11th International Planning History Conference, Planning Models and the Culture of Cities* (Barcelona, 2004): 7; Pierre Pinon, "Henri Prost, Albert Gabriel, Istanbul Archaeological Park and The Hippodrome," *Hippodrom/At Meydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History II* (Istanbul, 2010): 152-3.

authorities. However, his proposal for the Archaeological Park Project in Sultan Ahmet has never materialized and the authorities have failed to seize the chance to start the implementation of the project, after the big fire of 1933 in the Hippodrome before new constructions were started. His proposal for an archaeological park project in Sultan Ahmet was brought back to the agenda by the architect-historian Albert Gabriel in 1947 and with the beginning of the construction of the new Palace of Justice and the rescue excavations after the discovery of the Church of St. Euphemia in 1950, and thus the necessity of a project for the protection and the exhibition of the unearthed ruins was commended once more to the authorities.⁴³⁵

The lack of an effective system for protecting the cultural heritage, economic deficiencies in terms of the financial responsibility for the expropriations and the excavations in the Early Republic period, as well as the skeptical approach and reluctance of the Turkish authorities to uncover preconquest monuments have been the main reasons for the failure of an archaeological park project in Sultan Ahmet.⁴³⁶ The master plan of Henri Prost was criticised for erasing the traces of the Ottoman period while emphasizing the Byzantine monuments in the name of modern urbanization.⁴³⁷ The debate concerning the master plan of Prost and his success or failure in protecting the Byzantine and Ottoman monuments is the subject of another discussion and it is out of the scope of this research. Here, by reminding the reader of the Archaeological Park Project of Prost in 1937, I should like to emphasize the fact that more than a half century has passed since his proposal, and still an archaeological park for the First Degree Conservation Zone in Sultan Ahmet has not been achieved. The Darülfünun Building (in the place of today's Four Seasons Hotel

⁴³⁵ Pierre Pinon, "Henri Prost, Albert Gabriel, Istanbul Archaeological Park and The Hippodrome," 153-4.

⁴³⁶ Pierre Pinon, *Ibid*, 152-167.

⁴³⁷ Nur Altınyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation," *Muqarnas* Vol. 24 (November 2007): 292.

in Sultan Ahmet and next to the old prison building), which was designed by Fossati Brothers in 1845 and was used as the building of Istanbul University and the old Palace of Justice, was destroyed by the big fire in 1933 and a large area was opened between the Hippodrome and the sea.⁴³⁸ Although this gave a great chance to start excavations for the remains of the Great Palace which were known, together with the implementation of the archaeological park project, both the remains and the area were neglected. Despite the continuous warnings and the recommendations of international institutions and scholars, no declaration was made by the authorities against new construction in the core areas as ‘zone *non aedificandi*’ surrounding the historical remains, and by 1950 several houses had been built within the First Degree Conservation Zone.⁴³⁹ Finally in 1995, The First Number of Regional Council of Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation declared the historical peninsula as an ‘urban and historical site’, ‘urban and archaeological site’, and the interior of *Sur-i Sultani* as the 1st Degree Archaeological Site according to law number 6848, and any new construction within the borders of the zone was prohibited. Nevertheless, reports demonstrate that new and illegal construction has been carried out despite the decisions of the Conservation Council, including illegal floor additions, ignoring the shortest permitted distance, and the permitted height, and most important of all, within the ‘prohibited area’.⁴⁴⁰

P. Lemerle, a French scholar, states his concern in a letter sent to the international committee of the Archaeological Park Project in Sultan Ahmet in November 1950, that the construction of the monumental Palace of Justice could

⁴³⁸ UNESCO Report on the Joint World Heritage Centre/Icomos Mission to the Historic Areas of Istanbul World Heritage Site from 8 To 13 May 2008, whc.unesco.org/document/100746

⁴³⁹ Pinon, “Henri Prost, Albert Gabriel, Istanbul Archaeological Park and The Hippodrome,” 160.

⁴⁴⁰ For the illegal constructions within the protected area see Elif Özden Örnek, “Does Announcement of ‘Urban Site’ mean that ‘It is Absolutely Conserved’?,” *Journal of the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture of Gazi University* Vol 21-4 (2006): 656-7.

damage the Hippodrome while the unearthed important remains would be destroyed due to the lack of a systematized protection.⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately he was justified in his concerns and the remains of the Church of St. Euphemia were partly destroyed during the construction of the new Palace of Justice, and the unearthed frescoes and the architectural remains have been left unattended since the excavation.

Today the core area of Sultan Ahmet within the boundaries of the Hagia Sophia, the Great Palace, the Hippodrome and the Church of St. Euphemia can be classified as an ordinary park instead of an archaeological park. Some of the remains of which have been unearthed during the archaeological excavations in the field have been kept in the depots of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum while many others have been left without any satisfactory protection (See Figures III.37, III.38 and III.52). The concert stages and the festival stands which have been erected in and around the Hippodrome (even inside the monuments, for example the book fair in the Sultan Ahmet Mosque) damage the historical structures underneath, and these crowded events generate large amounts of rubbish within the First Degree Conservation Zone of the Sultan Ahmet (See Figures III.46, III.47). Moreover, these unaesthetic settings, which are not compatible with the historical authenticity of this important landscape, change the historical silhouette of the old town.

⁴⁴¹ In a letter Lemerle wrote to P. Bosch-Gimpera – a Spanish historian and director of the department of Philosophy and Civilizations – on November 14, 1950. The letter is available in the UNESCO archives or the Archives of the French Institute of Architecture, H. Prost Collection, HP.ARC.30/53, quoted in Pinon, *Ibid*, 159-160, and footnote 36.



Fig. III.44 The view of the Firuz Ağa Mosque from the east of the church, Artamonoff, 1945, DAI, 52.



Fig. III.45 View from the same angle, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.46 The concert platforms in Sultan Ahmet, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.47 The concert platforms in Sultan Ahmet, 2010, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.48 The *arcosolium* tomb of a bishop on the south-east apse which has now disappeared, Schneider, 1943, DAI, Kb0848.



Fig. III.49 View from the same angle, 2010, (photo. by author).

III.5.3. The exhibition of all the remains of the monument on site

The archaeological and the architectural finds of the Church of St. Euphemia which were unearthed during the excavations between 1942 and 1964 are mainly kept in the depots of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Some of the important remains such as the inlaid columns and a piece of marble icon of a female which was thought to be St. Euphemia are displayed in the ‘Istanbul through the Ages’ exhibition in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. There are also some pieces displayed in the garden of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, but many other finds such as the monolithic dome of ciborium and column heads were left in the area without protection (See Figures III.37, III.38 and III.52). Most important of all, the late thirteenth-century frescoes on the western niche of the structure have been left without a sufficient protection against the environmental damage.



Fig. III.50 The Corinthian column capital, which was found during the rescue excavations in 1950, the garden of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, 2009, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.51 Pedestal of a statue which was found in the first rescue excavations in 1950, the garden of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, 2009, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.52 The dome of ciborium and other architectural remains in the site, 2010, (photo. by author).

The open-air archaeological site of Galerius' Palace in Thessaloniki in Greece which was awarded a prize by Europa Nostra in 2008 is a good example of restoration, sustainable conservation and the successful display of an urban archaeological site. Indeed, with the similarity of the remains as well as the location of the archaeological site, the Palace of Galerius demonstrates an exemplary approach for the rescue project of St. Euphemia and its surroundings with the redesigned directory signs, information panels, the wooden walkway along the historic site, the restoration and protection of the mosaics and the frescoes, the display of the remains on the site, and the intervention methods and materials are compatible with the authenticity of the structure (See Figures III.53-III.60).



Fig. III.53 The open-air archaeological site of Galerius' Palace, Thessaloniki, 2008, (photo. by author).

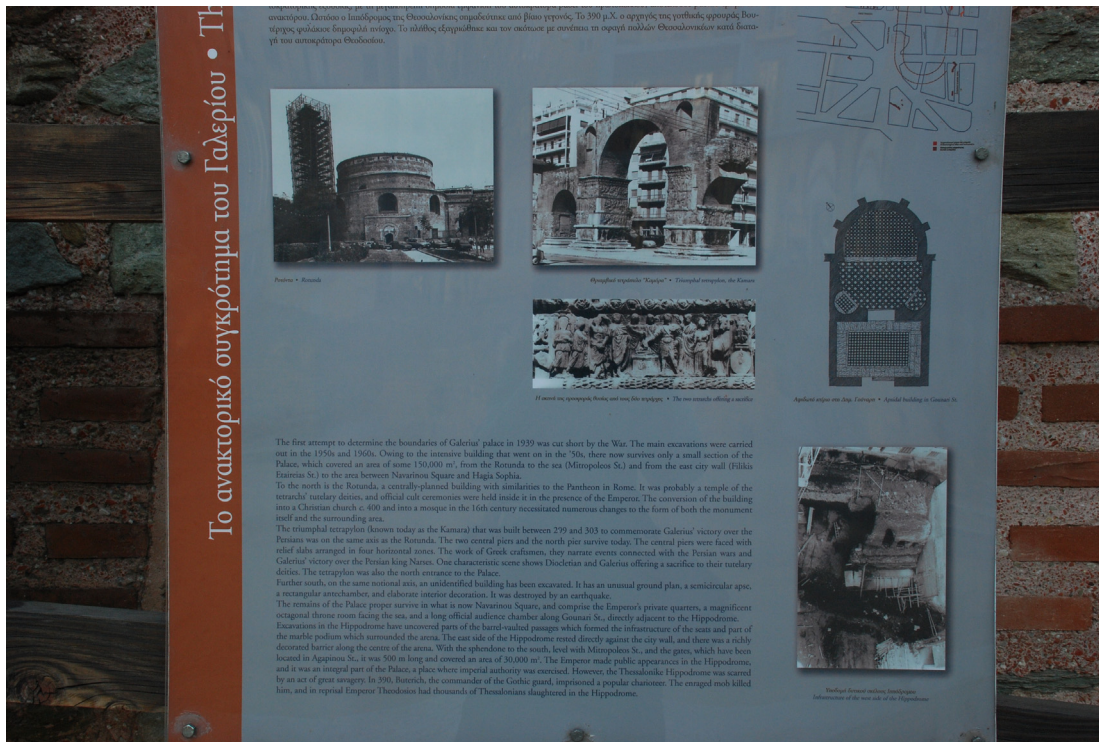


Fig. III.54 The detailed information panels of Galerius' Palace, 2008,
(photo. by author).



Fig. III.55 The wooden walkway along the archaeological site, 2008,
(photo. by author).



Fig. III.56 The wooden walkway detail, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.57 The conservation of the floor mosaics, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.58 The restoration and conservation of floor mosaics under glass protection, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.59 The display of the architectural pieces on the site, 2008, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.60 The display of the architectural pieces on the site detail, 2008,
(photo. by author).

III.5.4. A Traffic and Tourism Management Plan

The management plan of the core area of Sultan Ahmet should include a traffic and a tourism master plan which were suggested by ICOMOS and UNESCO in 2006.⁴⁴² The major damage on the historical monuments caused by the heavy traffic in Sultan Ahmet core area is obvious. Every day hundreds of big tour buses visit the First Degree Conservation Zone and the historical monuments are damaged by the vibration, heat and the pollution caused by the heavy traffic. Thus, within the urban archaeological site of the Sultan Ahmet area, traffic should be banned, and an alternative transportation system which would minimize the impact of traffic should be developed in the old town. There are several examples of mass transit monorails

⁴⁴² Report of the Joint ICOMOS/UNESCO Expert Review Mission to the Historic Areas of Istanbul World Heritage Site, report 3, (06-11.04.2006): 5, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/mis356-2006.pdf>

or shuttle bus services in the historic sites in the world. The installation of nostalgic or electric tram system from the tourism center to the heart of the old town which would have less impact on the environment and the historical monuments would be a catalyst for the sustainable conservation and the revitalization of the Sultan Ahmet. A tourism center which would meet the needs of visitors could feasibly be established with the major facilities such as a medical room, a tourism information office, a bank, a post and exchange office, atm machines, parking places, restrooms, cafes and restaurants by the Bosphorus around Ahirkapi or Cankurtaran. The tour buses may leave their tourists and use the parking place in the tourism center (point A on the map, Fig. 61) where a tram service with a predetermined itinerary provides the visitors access to the heart of the old town and a regular service back to the tourism center (See Fig. III.61).

Last but not the least the historical building of the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre (Defteri Hakani Nezareti Binası/Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Binası) on the south of the Church of St. Euphemia should be converted into a Byzantine Museum or City Museum of Istanbul instead of the boutique hotel desired by the authorities.

III.5.5. A New Cultural and Faith Tourism Destination in the Old Town

The Church of St. Euphemia is located in Sultan Ahmet in the most touristic area of Istanbul. The city of Istanbul is a global tourism destination and attracts tourism throughout the year. According to the statistical reports of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism every year an average of seven million foreigners visit Istanbul and although there is not a specific research or certain numbers probably almost all

of tourists visit the historic sites in the Sultan Ahmet area.⁴⁴³ Although there are many historical sites and museums in Istanbul, the rich potential of the city for cultural tourism cannot develop in the absence of new tourism destinations with restored monuments and sites. At the entrance of the most popular museums or monuments such as the Museum of Hagia Sophia, the Museum of the Topkapi Palace, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque and the Museum of the Basilica Cistern, long queues form as a common problem of tourism and traffic in Istanbul. After the restoration and the sustainable conservation of the frescoes as well as the rearrangement of the archaeological remains and the display of the finds from the excavations, the Church of St. Euphemia would provide a new cultural and faith tourism destination within the walking distance of the most visited sites in the old town. An Archaeological Park project for the Church of St. Euphemia and its surroundings would ease the pile up of tourists at the busy Topkapi-Hagia Sophia-Sultan Ahmet Mosque line and that would be a gain both for the cultural heritage and the cultural tourism of Istanbul (See Fig. III.62).



Fig. III.61 A tourism and traffic master plan proposal on map.

⁴⁴³ See the web site of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Tourism Statistics, May 13, 2010, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster>

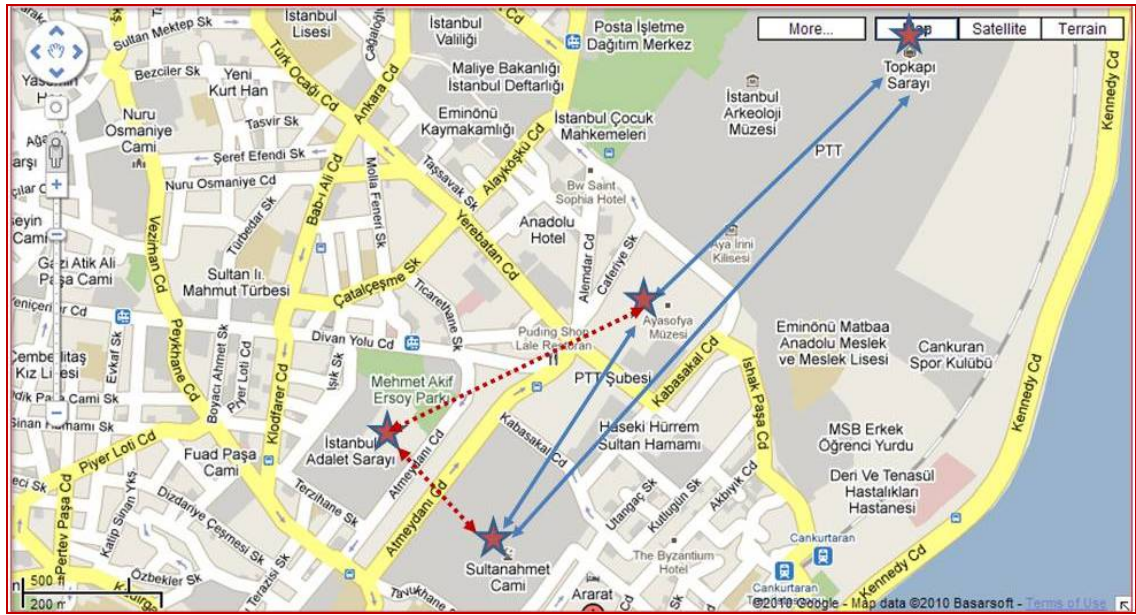


Fig. III.62 The Church of St. Euphemia as a new cultural and faith tourism destination.

The feast day of St. Euphemia on every September 16 is celebrated in the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul where the relics of the saint are kept in a silver coffin. The event draws a remarkable audience - primarily of from Orthodox Christian visitors – but also from tourists as well as the original Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Istanbul (See Figures III.63-III.65). Regaining our common cultural heritage by the restoration of the only fresco cycle depicting St. Euphemia to survive today, as well as the restoration and sustainable conservation of the church remains, would reflect the respect and the tolerance that we are supposed to demonstrate for the Constantinopolitan past of Istanbul and its religions and cultures throughout history. Today Istanbul should represent itself as an ideological model for the world where civilizations, religions and cultures meet and have succeeded in living together in peace. The restoration of the Church of St. Euphemia and making the monument accessible to the public would increase historical and the cultural awareness as well as a willing tolerance towards cultural diversity.



Fig. III.63 The feast day of St. Euphemia on September 16 in the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate Istanbul, 2009, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.64 The silver coffin of the saint, 2009, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.65 The feast day of St. Euphemia detail, 2009, (photo. by author).



Fig. III.66 Aerial photograph of the Hippodrome, 2008, (photo. by Oğuz İşdeğer, Bahçeşehir University).

III.6. Conclusion

The natural, historical and cultural heritage of Istanbul should be protected and represented according to the national, international, cultural and environmental policy and legislation. The sustainable conservation of this wealth is only possible through the implementation of national and international policy on the cultural and natural heritage preservation. As stated before, the historical sites of Istanbul were added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985 and since then international concerns for the protection of the World Heritage site Istanbul and recommendations have been indicated to the Turkish authorities. In 2005 it was clearly stated by UNESCO that a World Heritage Management Plan for the historic sites and the protective buffer zone should be prepared as soon as possible according to the “international standards in compliance with the Operational Guidelines and the Vienna Memorandum.”⁴⁴⁴ Five years have passed since these recommendations were included in the mission reports of UNESCO but still there is neither a management plan nor a tourism or traffic plan for the Sultan Ahmet region. The inclusion of Istanbul in the list of World Heritage in Danger has been postponed for three times to give time to the authorities for effective coordination and communication to implement the necessary legislation for the sustainable conservation of the cultural heritage.

According to the modern conservation principles the physical and the chemical restoration of the frescoes and the structure are not enough for the sustainable protection of the historical monument. The remains of the Church of St. Euphemia cannot be evaluated independently from the remains of the Palace of

⁴⁴⁴ UNESCO Report on the Joint World Heritage Centre/Icomos Mission to the Historic Areas of Istanbul World Heritage Site from 8 to 13 May 2008, whc.unesco.org/document/100746, 12-3.

Antiochos on the north and the Ottoman ruins including the old building of the Land Registry and Cadastrate on the south. The whole area, as it was indicated in the UNESCO Mission reports since 2005, should immediately be converted into the Archaeological Park and the conservation of the surviving historical monuments in relation with the surroundings in order to protect the integrity of the historic site should be prioritised. The historical and the urban tissue of the old town caught between the unplanned urbanisation, the demands of an increasing population and extensive industrialisation should be saved and be revitalised as comprising the authentic identity and the collective memory of the city of Istanbul. Any management plan should aim to raise awareness of the municipalities and the public concerning the heritage values and the understanding of the history of the urban archaeological site. Today, studies aimed at increasing public awareness are organised by the civil society aided by the efforts and commitment of academicians and students rather than by the authorities. Yet, creation of a common ownership and promotion of a shared responsibility to involve the public in the protection of the World Heritage site for the future generations play a major role in the sustainable conservation of the historical sites. Moreover, any management plan should consider contributing to systematic regional development by strengthening cultural, social and economic dynamics.

Any management plan, considered in detail, should be aware that huge numbers of tour buses and other vehicles cause irreversible damage to the atmosphere and the historical structures. In order to avoid this major damage the First Degree Conservation Zone should be closed to all vehicles and be converted into pedestrian-only areas as soon as possible. A different transportation system with the most minimal impact such as tram or shuttle service from a tourism center should

be designed with a predetermined itinerary around the historical sites. All kinds of new settings which damage the structures and the authenticity of the historic town should be removed, the area should be cleared from the vehicles and all of the archaeological remains should be revealed and be displayed within a large green area.

While planning the Sultan Ahmet Archaeological Park as a part of the overall historical peninsula management plan which would naturally include the ruins of the Church of St. Euphemia, international standards and models in compliance with the requirements of the conventions should be taken into consideration. On the other hand, special solutions geared to the specific needs and dynamics of the city of Istanbul should be developed and implemented by the authorities. After the construction of the newest Palace of Justice in Çağlayan, which is due to be finished by the end of 2010, today's Palace of Justice next to the Church of St. Euphemia will stand empty. There is ongoing debate about whether the building of the Palace of Justice in Sultan Ahmet, which was seriously damaged during the last earthquake, should be demolished or not. The decision about the preservation or the demolition of the building which is a work of Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat from 1949 reflecting the typical Turkish Architecture in the Republican Period of 1950s is another subject of discussion. Yet, it should be stated that for the construction of the Palace of Justice in 1949 one of the most important samples of the sixteenth-century Ottoman civil architecture and the only aristocratic residence from that period was partly torn down, as well as the fifth-century remains of the Palace of Antiochus and the sixth-century remains of the Church of St. Euphemia. Moreover, the monumental appearance of the new Palace of Justice damaged the integrity and the authenticity of the historic site. Worse still, only fifty years after its construction, we now discuss

about the demolition of this structure which irreversibly damaged fifth, sixth and a sixteenth-century World Heritage properties.

What is more important today is the rearrangement and new function of the Justice building if it is not to be demolished after the transition is completed by the authorities. The new implementation of project for the conservation of the cultural heritage should consider the impact on both above ground and underground of the archaeological site. According to the unofficial news from the print media there is a plan to convert the Justice building into a hotel within the core area of the First Degree Archaeological Zone. There is no need to express how much damage such a project would cause to the remains of the Church of St. Euphemia, the Hippodrome and its surroundings. The infrastructure of the old town within the core area of Sultan Ahmet cannot handle any tourism establishment and such a decision as this would run against the basic principles of the conventions on the conservation of the World Heritage property.

The main purpose of the rescue proposal for the frescoes and the ruins of the Church of St. Euphemia is to attract attention to the site and to this long-time ignored historical monument which has been waiting for restoration and conservation in the heart of the old town, since it was discovered in 1940s. This research aims at reminding the authorities that the late thirteenth-century frescoes and the remains of the sixth-century structure of the Church of St. Euphemia are disappearing from the memory of the old town and from the historical landscape. The restoration project proposal which was submitted to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2002 by the Cultural Awareness Foundation has still been awaiting final confirmation and over time, negligence, natural and the environmental factors have caused deterioration and irreversible damage to the historical monument and the frescoes. Thus, if nothing is

done soon to start the restoration and the conservation project unfortunately we will witness, in the last fifty years since their excavation the disappearance, of a 1600 years old structure of which the foundations belong to the Palace of Antiochus, and a series of unique 800 years old frescoes. Hopefully both the authorities and the principal stakeholders will communicate and cooperate in more effective ways to start the urgent implementation of the restoration and conservation project as soon as possible for the sake of a unique, but fast disappearing cultural heritage.

CONCLUSION

The main focus of this thesis is the cult of St. Euphemia and its significance for the city of Constantinople throughout the Byzantium. The church complex of the fourth-century saint in Chalcedon hosted The Fourth General Council in CE 451. Her key role in the confirmation of the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy contributed to the promotion of the existing cult, although it was not only reason for its emergence. A Spanish pilgrim named Egeria shares her happiness with us when she records in her diary that she succeeded in visiting the sanctuary of St. Euphemia in 380s which had been “long known to her”. It is obvious that by the fourth-century, around seventy years before The Fourth Council, the cult and the sanctuary of the saint in Chalcedon had spread far beyond the borders of Constantinople and had reached the most western part of Europe. The sanctuary in Chalcedon attracted many pilgrims throughout the Christian World and became a popular destination on the way to Jerusalem. Moreover, Victricius who was the bishop of Rouen in the late fourth-century thanks Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, in his sermon in *De Laude Sanctorum*, for sending a gift of relics including the relics of St. Euphemia. This tradition is followed by similar records in different churches in Italy which provides further evidence for the popularity of the cult in the West before the council. Another record predating the council is the homily of Asterius of Amasea from the late fourth-century which describes the painting of the saint on the walls of her church in Chalcedon. Indeed, that the council was held in her church in Chalcedon was ample demonstration of the popularity of her cult. According to the records, the church complex was big enough to host the 630 bishops attending the council and recorded

by the *Synaxarium*. But also the Empress Pulcheria, the wife of the Emperor Marcian and the sister of Theodosius II, believed in the power of the saint for the success of the council which was crucial to imperial policy. The dimension of the church in Chalcedon is another evidence for the importance of her cult in Chalcedon.

Theophanes tells us in his account that almost ten years before the council, the relics of St. Euphemia were translated to Alexandria. This probably never happened as there is no other account confirming this, while there are other sources indicating that the relics were kept in Chalcedon at least until 593 when an enquiry was held by the Emperor Marcian to investigate her miracle. But the testimony of Theophanes indicates that the cult of St. Euphemia was popular in Egypt before the council.

The popularity of her cult increased after she confirmed the Orthodox Definition of the Faith in the council and this can be verified by the dedications to the saint through out the Christian topography. It should be indicated that after the council her cult might have decreased in importance due to the opponents of the Council of Chalcedon, the Iconoclastic movement and the conquest of Constantinople but it never disappeared entirely. So her cult continued to be venerated by the Orthodox Churches besides the Monophysite Churches in the east as well as by the Catholic Churches in the west. In the conclusion of the second chapter I suggested that the dedications to the saint and the pictorial representation of the saint in the churches are more visible in the west than in the east. Yet we must remember that by the seventh-century there were at least five churches within Constantinople before the translation of the relics and it is highly possible that there were more than five till the decline of Byzantium. On the other hand dedications to St. Euphemia in the Orthodox countries, such as Greece, Russia, and Serbia, surprisingly are less, although one expects to see many churches dedicated to St.

Euphemia as the patron saint of the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, this is a general observation and further research based on this argument may be proposed on the dedications to the saint in Orthodox Countries from the early Byzantine period onwards in order to ascertain if there is any reason for the decline of her cult in these countries.

This study has sought to develop a comprehensive understanding of the cult of the saint as well as the historical background and the spread of this cult as much as possible. Yet what we know today about the life and the martyrdom of the saint is all questionable. According to the hagiographical records she was martyred in either 303 or 307 under the rule of the Emperor Diocletian or Galerius. There are three main traditions concerning the martyrdom of the saint. Asterius, the bishop of Amaseia in the fourth-century, describes the painting of St. Euphemia with a scene of her martyrdom by fire. In a possibly fifth-century anonymous Greek *passio* the saint was martyred in the arena by wild beasts. The conflict between these two texts is obvious. The anonymous Greek *passio*, which was most probably produced after the Council of Chalcedon, presents a tradition of martyrdom testifying the presence of the unharmed whole body for the miracle while the homily text of Asterius predates the council and the story of the miracle. Moreover, Asterius describes the painting as painted on canvas, so we may even suggest that the painting no longer existed by the time *passio vetus* was composed. Indeed, the discrepancy between these texts goes further than this and scholars have discussed why the torture scenes are not coherent in these texts. Same explanation can be given here since the paintings in the description of Asterius might have disappeared by the time the *passio* was composed and popularised. On the other hand, we are not sure if the frescoes described by Asterius existed in the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon because Asterius'

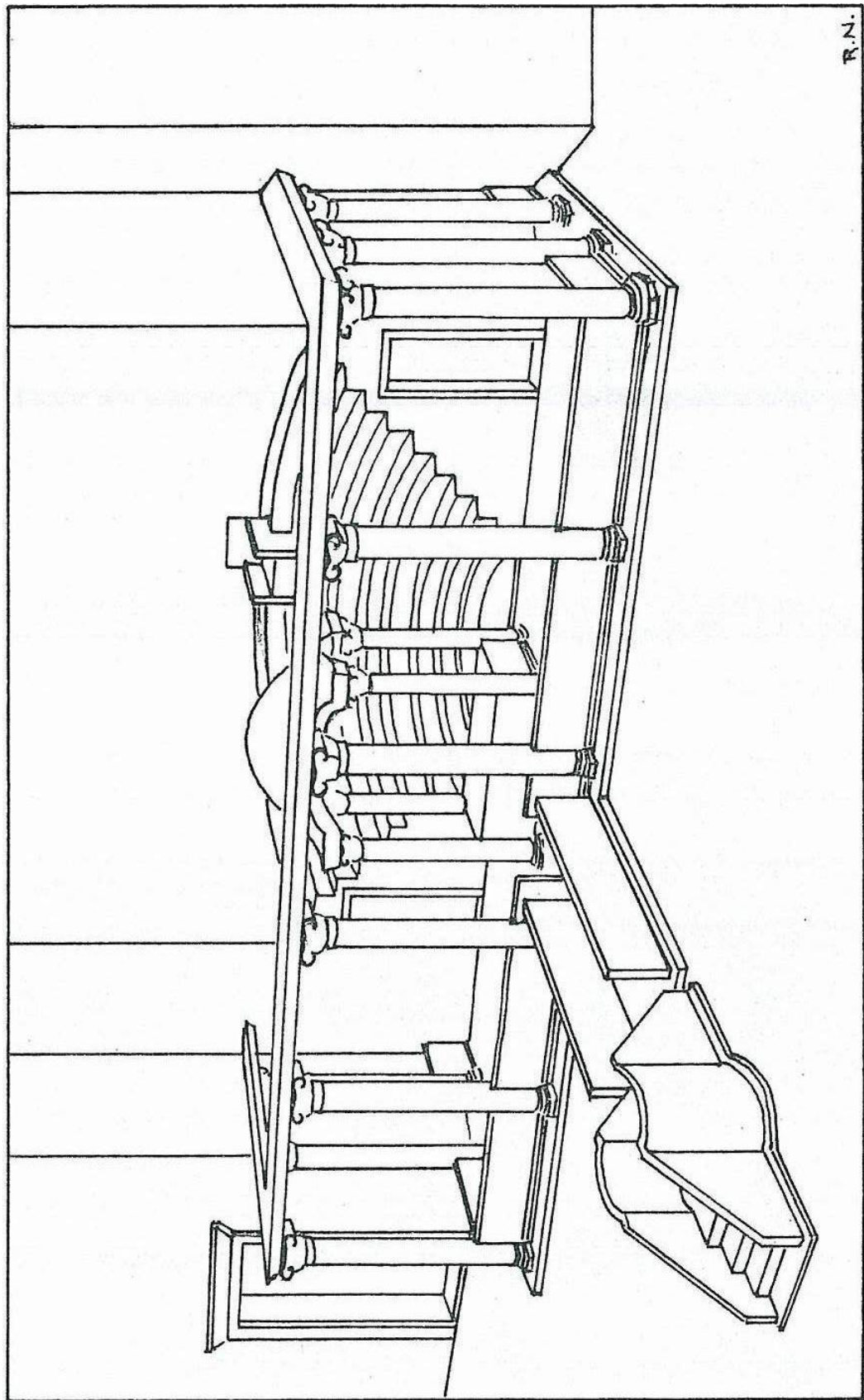
description of the location of the tomb does not agree with the detailed description of the church complex by Evagrius. Among these three traditions it may be suggested that her end among the wild beasts in the arena becomes dominant in the textual evidence about the saint. However, there are exceptions such as the miniature of St. Euphemia's martyrdom in the fire as a part of the collection of the tenth-century author Symeon Metaphrastes. This demonstrates to us that although the popular tradition of the martyrdom was by the beasts in the arena, the tradition described by Asterius was known as well. Western tradition presents the martyrdom by sword in the thirteenth-century Golden Legend by Jacobus de Voragine as the third version of the saint's martyrdom which is frequently painted in the Western art. Briefly as indicated by Schrier in the most detailed work so far about the martyrdom of the saint, literary evidence exists for each tradition by the fifth-century of which none can be dismissed and it is not possible to conclude the exact nature of the martyrdom with the evidence we have today. The fact that the lives have been edited numerous times since the beginning of the cult in the fourth-century by different hagiographers from time to time demonstrates that St. Euphemia was one of the most popular martyrs of the Christian antiquity. The other source of evidence for the widespread cult of the saint, in addition to the dedications throughout the Christian topography, is the almost unfollowable route of the relics' journey on three continents from Milan, Rouen and Aquileia in the west to Athlit, Jerusalem in the east and to Alexandria and the river Nile to the south.

The location, the function and the dimension of the church dedications reflect the significance of her cult for Constantinople. The *Martyrium*-Church in Chalcedon was a big complex that consisted of three buildings according to the description of Evagrius and was big enough to be able to host the Fourth Council. The *martyrium*-

church in Constantinople by the Hippodrome obviously demonstrates the importance of her cult for the capital of Byzantium with its central location, while the church in *ta Olybriou* was honoured by the imperial entourage as one of the stops on the processional route. The convent of the saint in Petrion served as the burial of many imperial and aristocratic family members as well as providing a safe place for refuge and monastic life.

Last but not least, the literary evidence about the saint provides a valuable source for the analysis of gender and class relations in the society of Byzantium. The *passio* reflects the role and identity of the Byzantine women in the Late Antiquity, and the powerful image of St. Euphemia, who had the typical features of an early female saint as an example of a female virgin martyr of noble birth, attracts the other powerful and determined women in the society and gained their appreciation. The Spanish pilgrim Egeria who travelled thousands of miles to visit the sanctuary of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon, the Empress Pulcheria who believed in the power of St. Euphemia for the success of the council and thus organised it in her church, Juliana Anicia, the aristocratic women patron of the Church of St. Euphemia in *ta Olybriou*, who finished the construction of the church as a family possession and the Empress Irene who played a major role in the restoration of the Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome and the restitution of her relics to Constantinople, were among those powerful women who cared and respected the cult of the saint. The cult of St. Euphemia attracted many pilgrims, well-known bishops and aristocrats throughout Byzantium as well as the Emperors, Empresses and even the Templars. Her relics and miracles became a part of the imperial policy and the translation stories were recorded in many patriarchal documents, and probably travelled with pilgrims to many holy places, while numerous of churches and monasteries were dedicated. Her

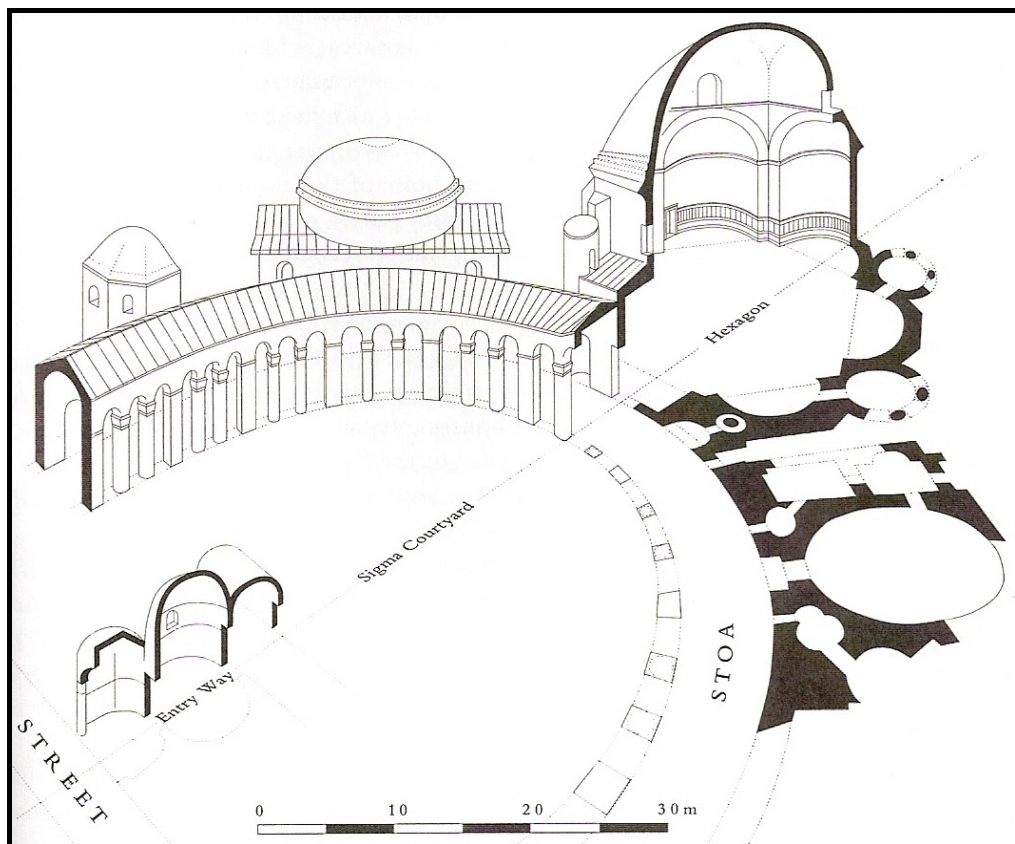
churches flourished in the city of Constantinople and her cult as the patron saint of the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy reached far beyond the borders of Constantinople. Today the churches and monasteries, dedicated to St. Euphemia in Constantinople, have disappeared a long time ago and according to previous research there exists no archaeological evidence for the ruins as they were mostly damaged and have disappeared underneath a modern layer urbanization. The Church of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome, therefore, is the only remaining historical church of the saint from Byzantine Constantinople and now lies in ruins in the garden of the Palace of Justice and is not open to visitors. The last chapter suggests a proposal for the immediate restoration and conservation of the unique Mediaeval frescoes of the saint and the ruins of the historical church with its surroundings. I hope that this brief proposal may serve as a reminder to the authorities and cultural stakeholders of the terrible condition in which this World Heritage property survives and may inspire ideas for the sustainable conservation of this cultural heritage property in accordance with international conventions and regulations.



III.67 View of the Templon and Altar, reconstruction by R. Naumann
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 100).

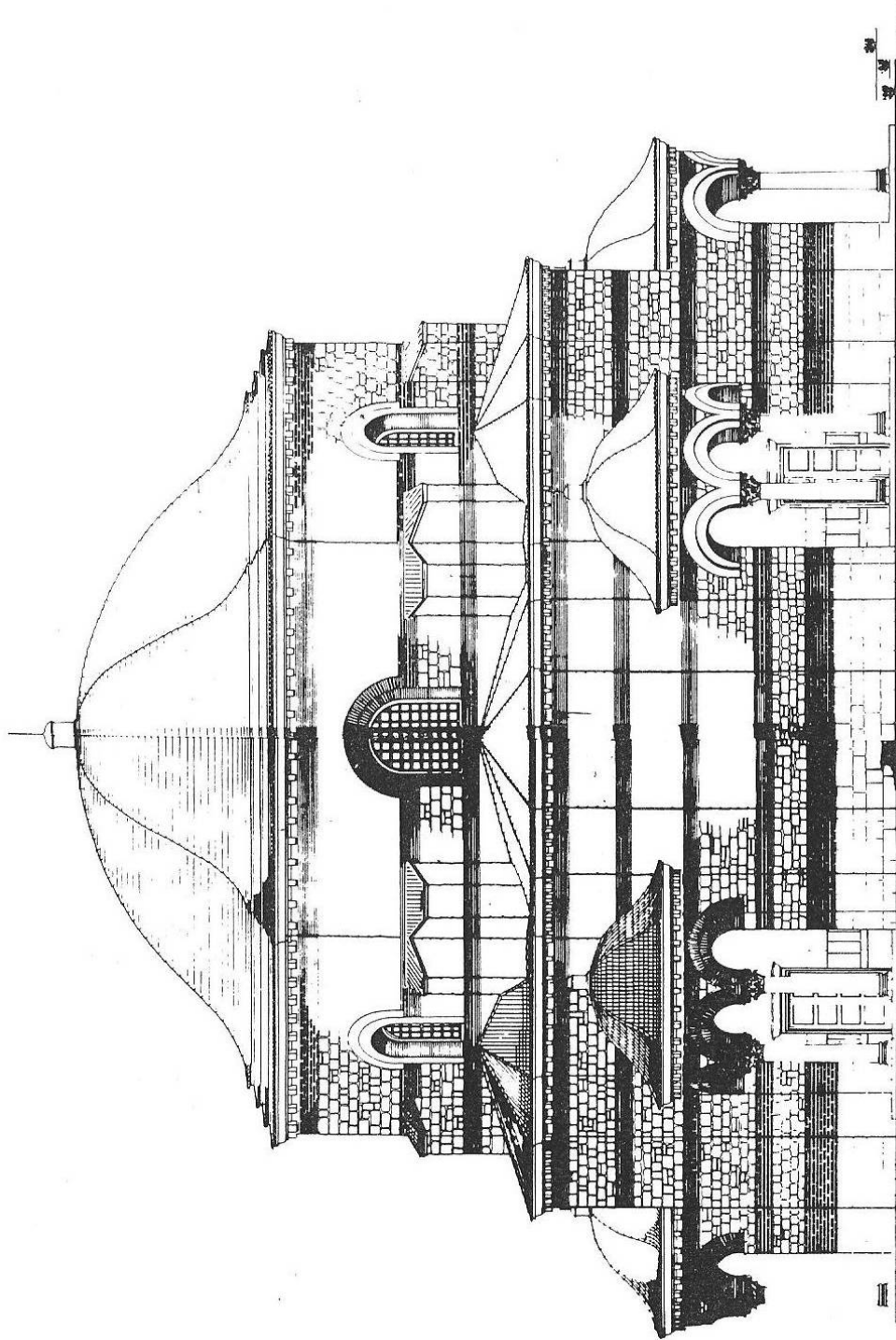


III.68 View of the Templon and Altar (DAI Kb 4230)



III.69 Restitution of the Palace of Antiochus by T. Mathews

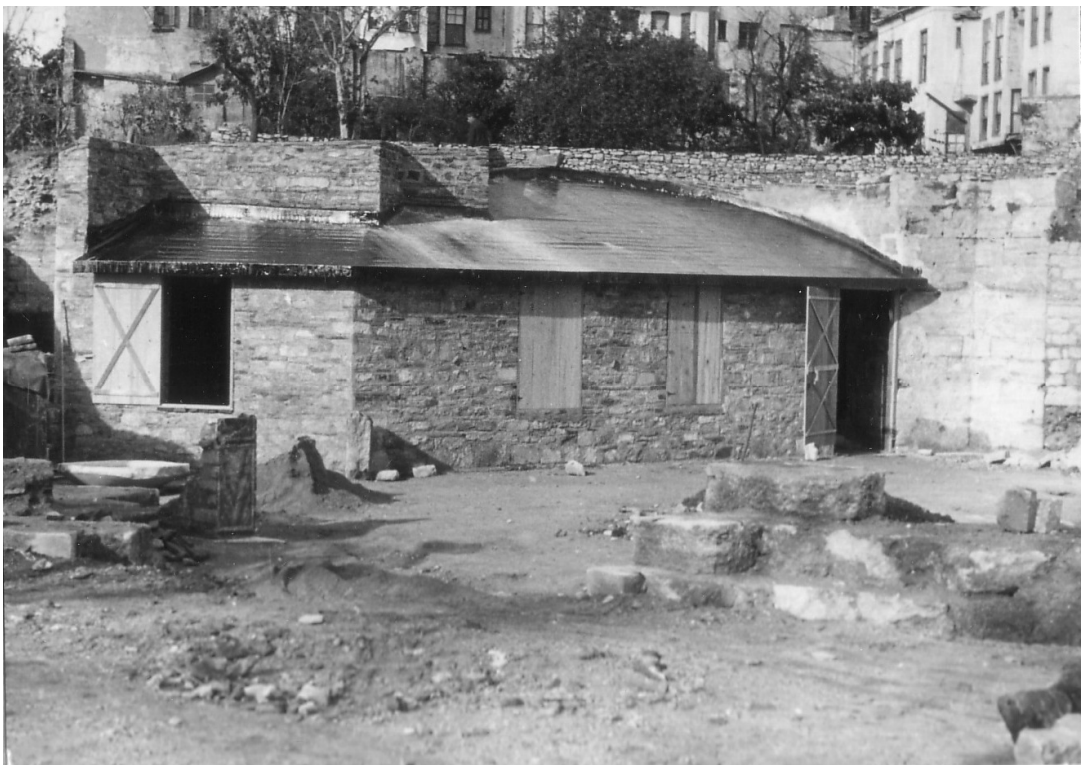
(The web site of T. Mathews) <http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/fineart/html/Byzantine>



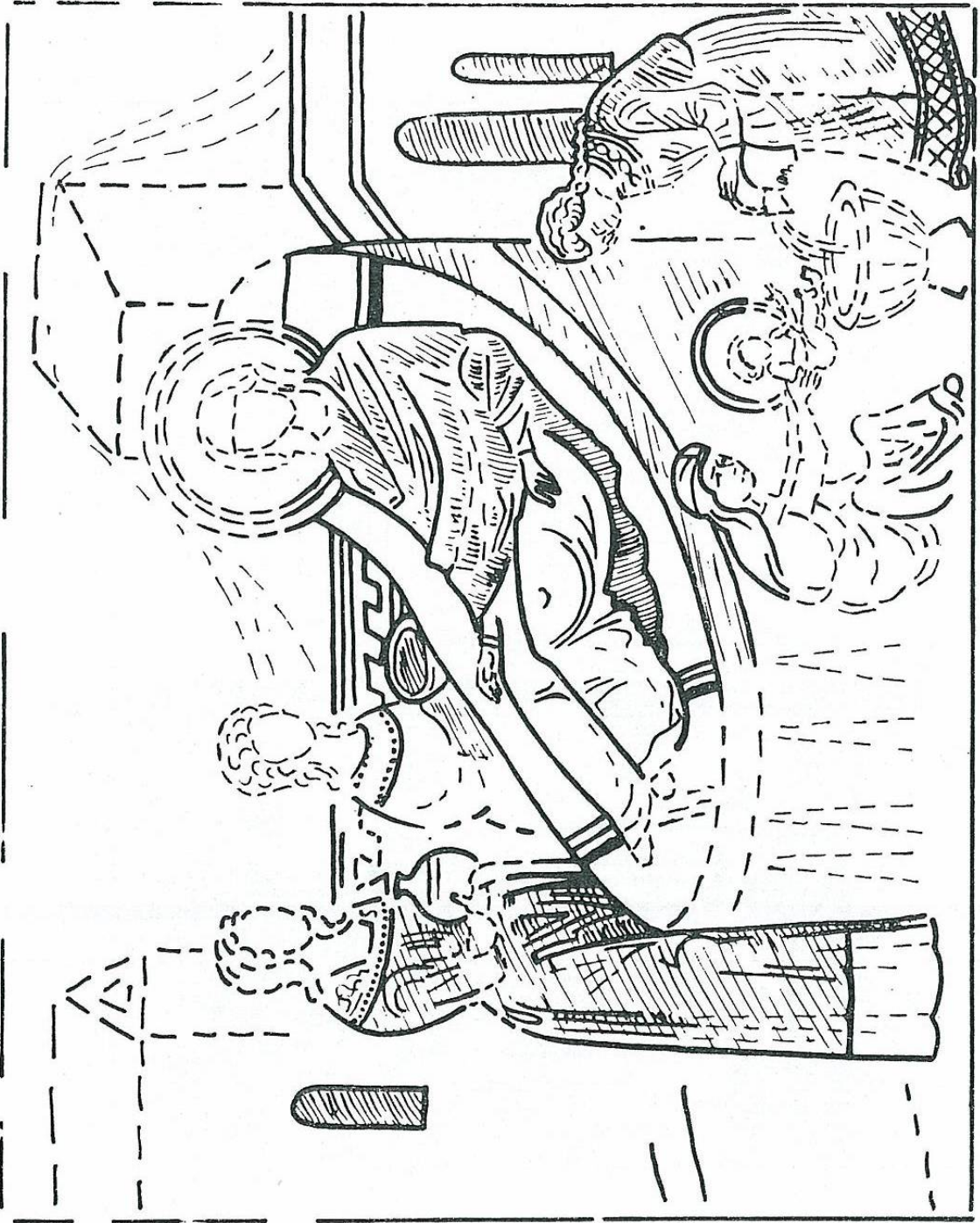
III.70 Restitution of the church by L. Yazıcıoğlu
(After Yazıcıoğlu, “Antiochos Sarayı-Euphemia Martyrionu,” 15).



III.71 Western niche with the fresco cycle (Naumann and Belting, DAI 5479).



III.72 The construction of shed on the western wall
(After Schneider, DAI Kb 0822).



III.73 Scene 1, Birth of Euphemia

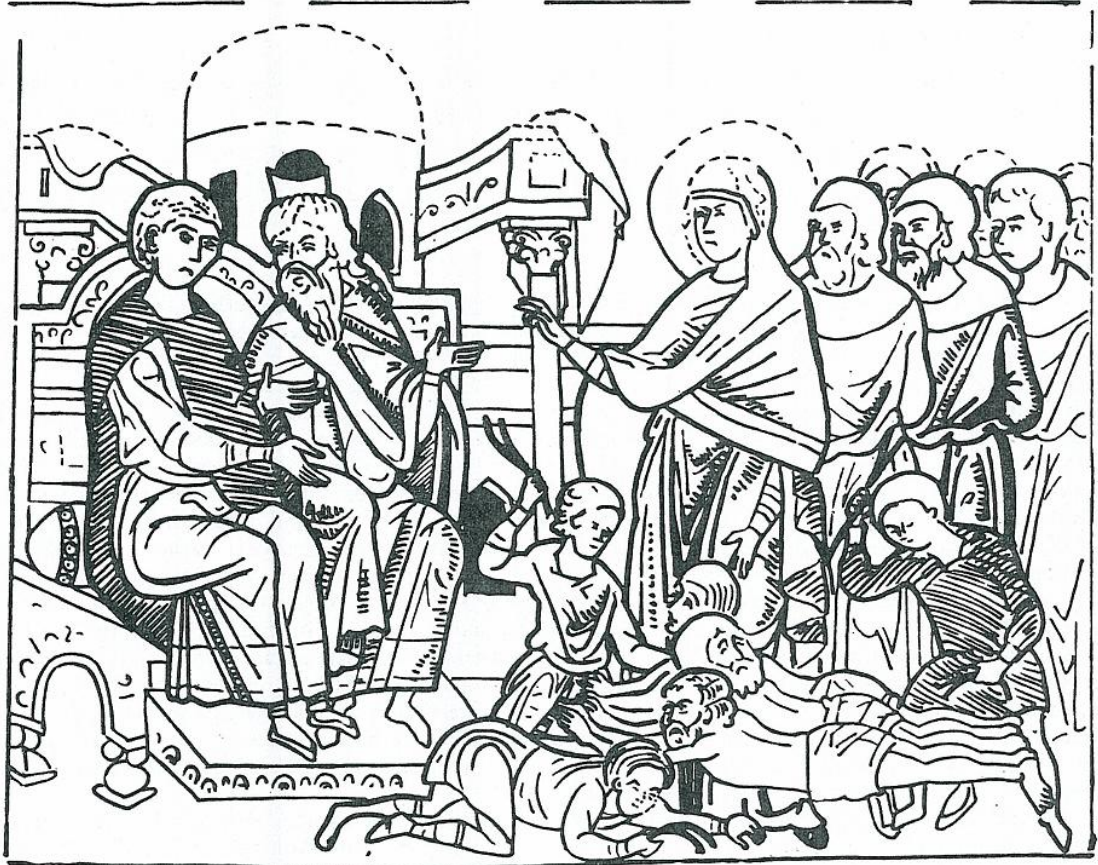
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 119).



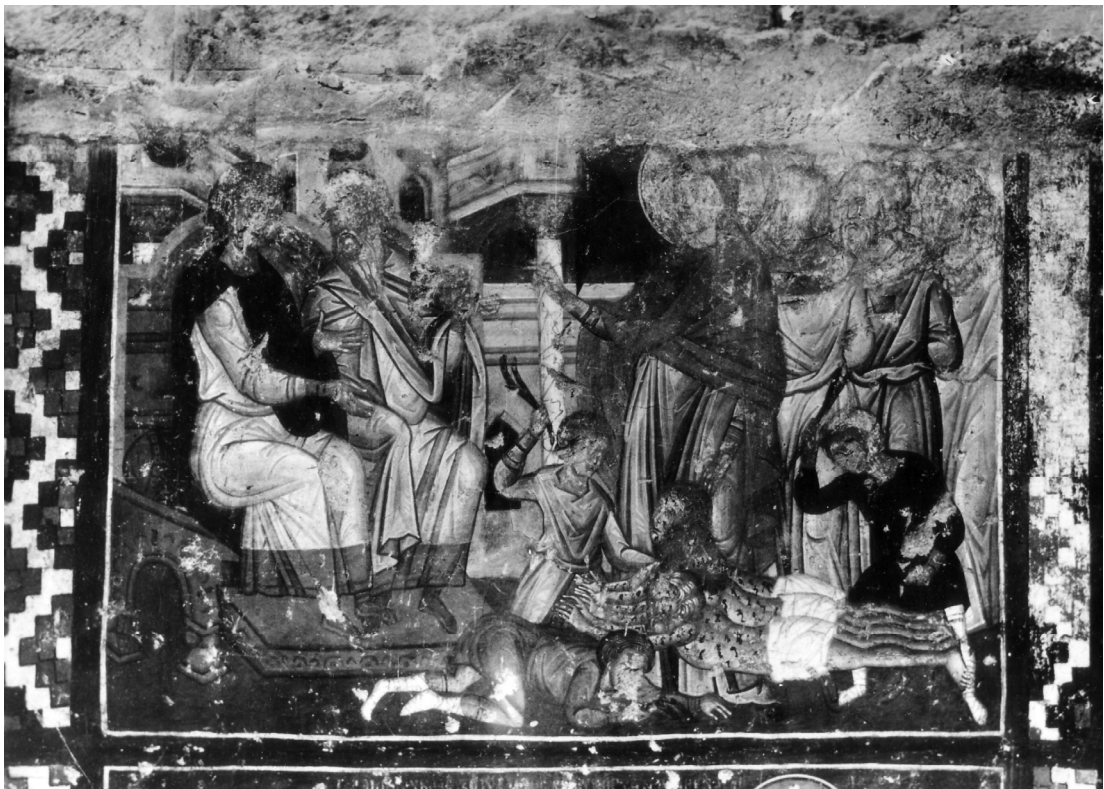
III.74 Scene 2, Euphemia with Chalcedonian Christians
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 120).



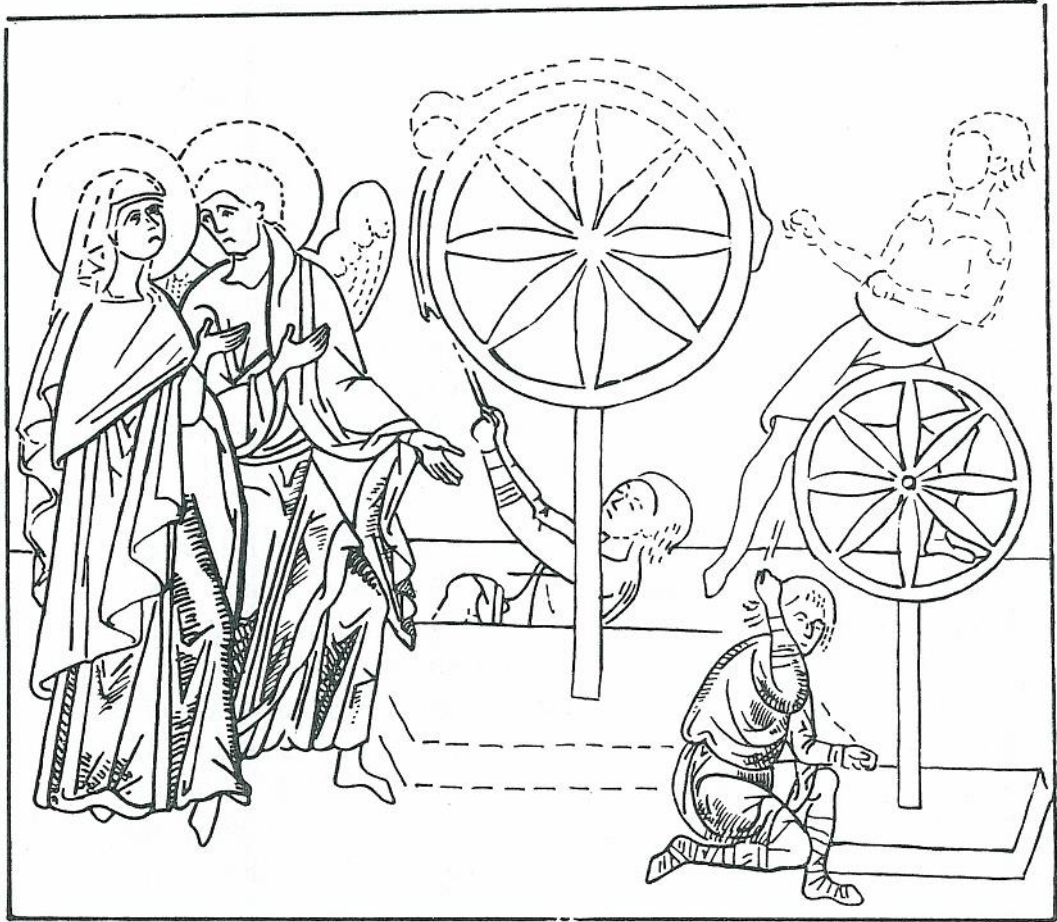
III.75 Scene 2, (Naumann and Belting, DAI 2221).



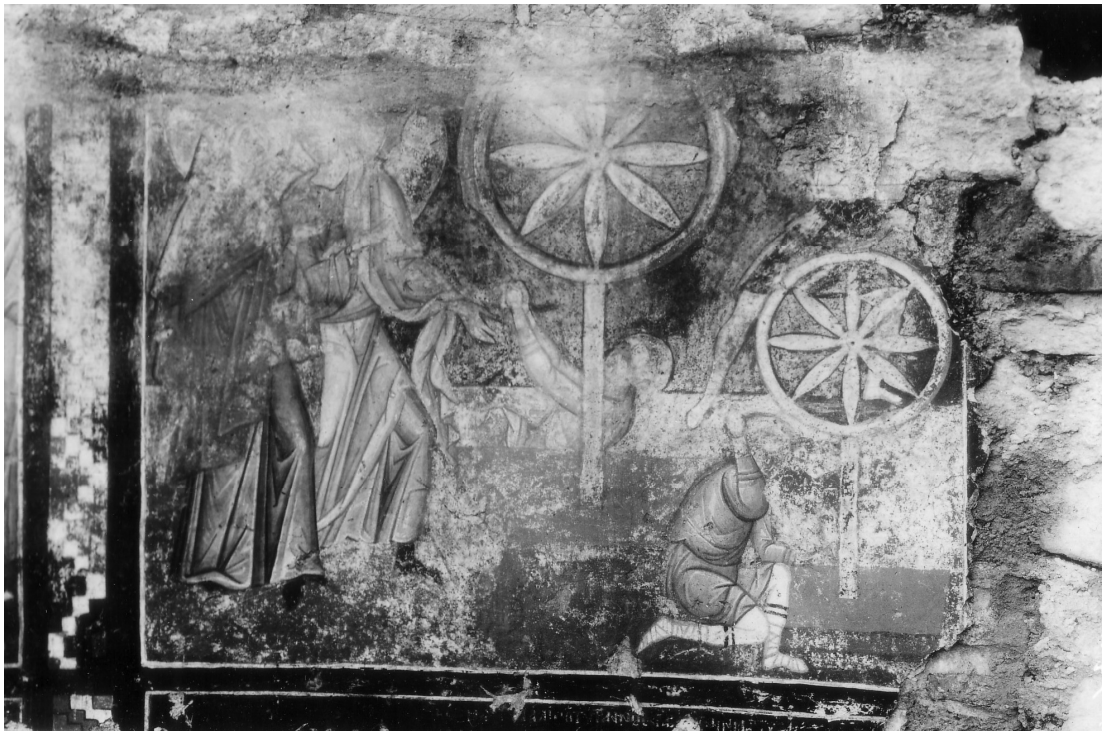
III.76 Scene 3, Euphemia in front of the judges
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 121).



III.77 Scene 3 (DAI, 2232).



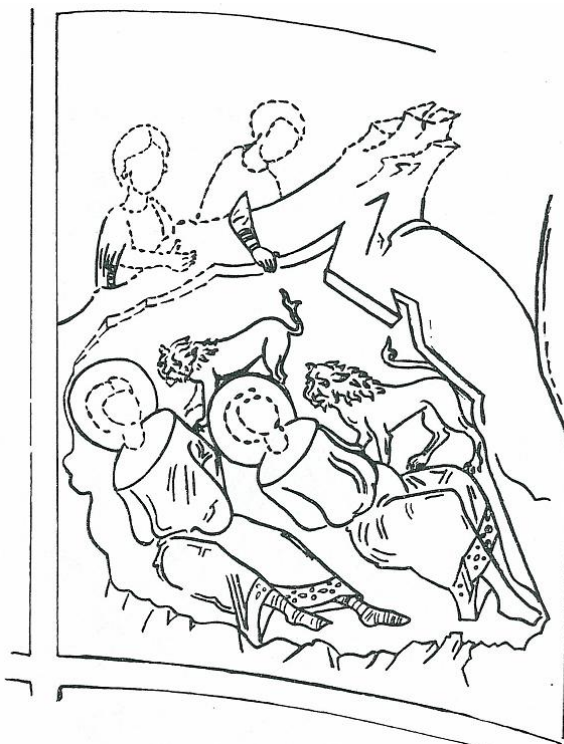
III.78 Scene 4, Wheel Torture



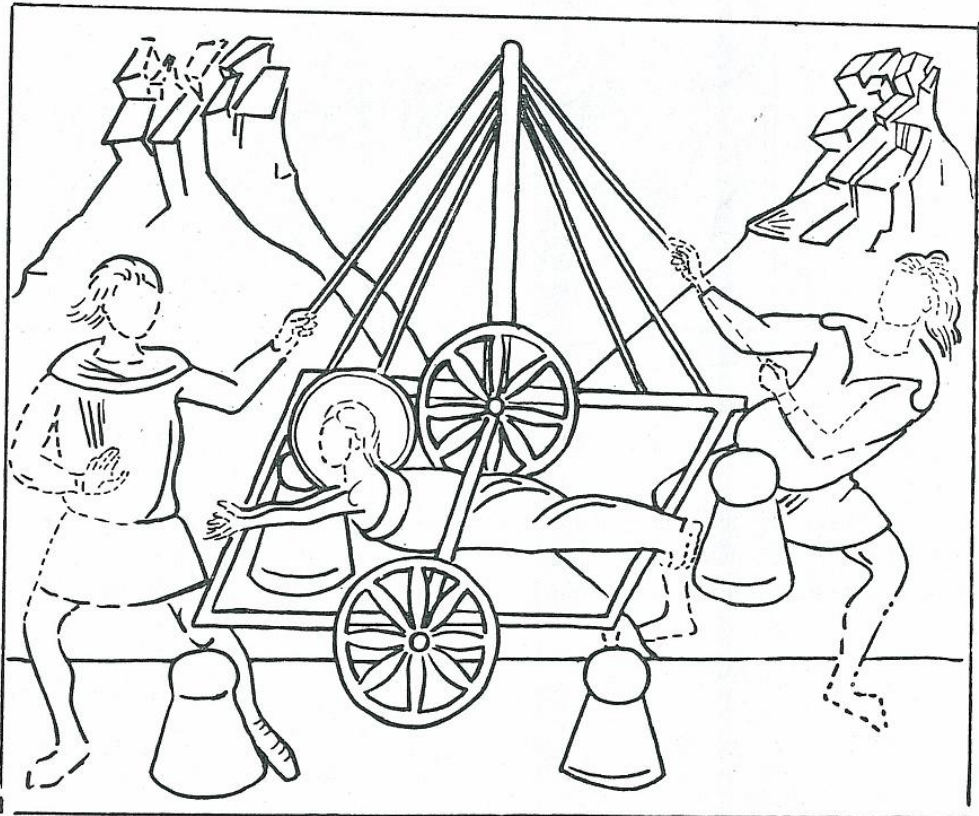
III.79 Scene 4, (Naumann and Belting, DAI 2226).



III.80 Scene 5, Martyrdom of Euphemia by fire
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 125).



III.81 Scene 6, Martyrdom of Victor and Sosthenes
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 127).



III.82 Scene 7, Weight Torture
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 128).



III.83 Scene 7, Weight Torture, 2008, (photo. by author).



III.84 Scene 8, Throwing Euphemia to sea monsters,
 (After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 130).



III.85 Scene 8, (After Schneider DAI, 5825).

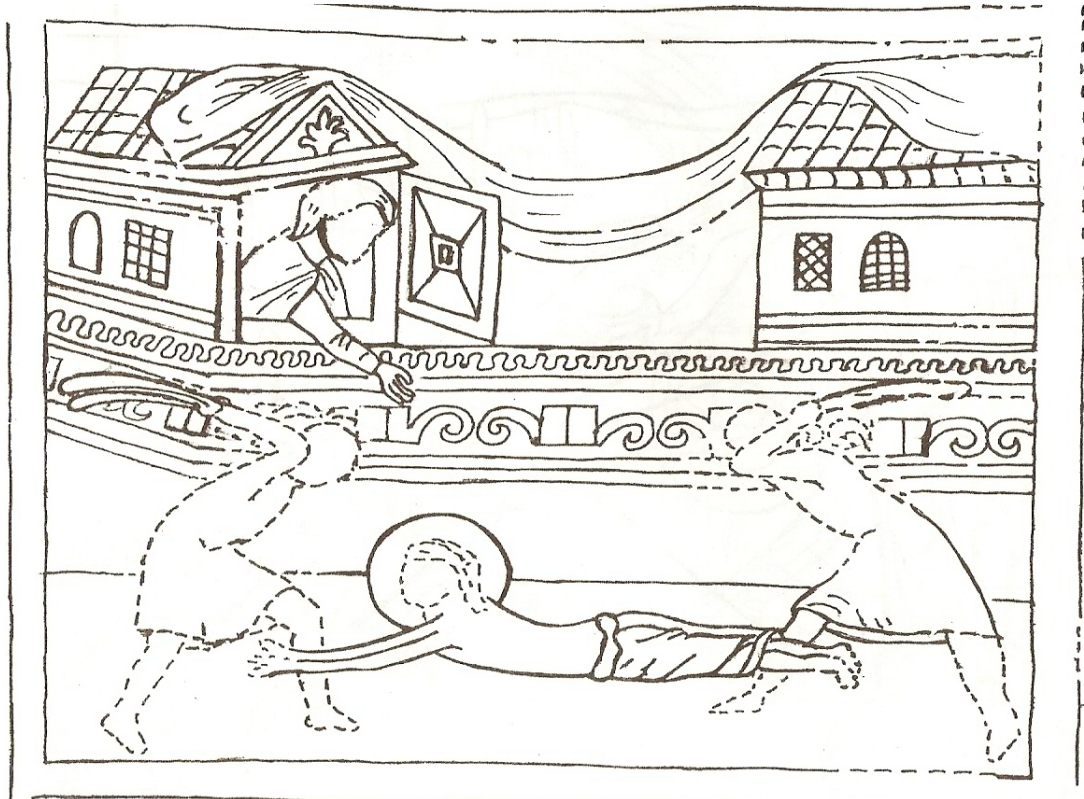


III.86 Scene 9, Wolf trap

(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 133).



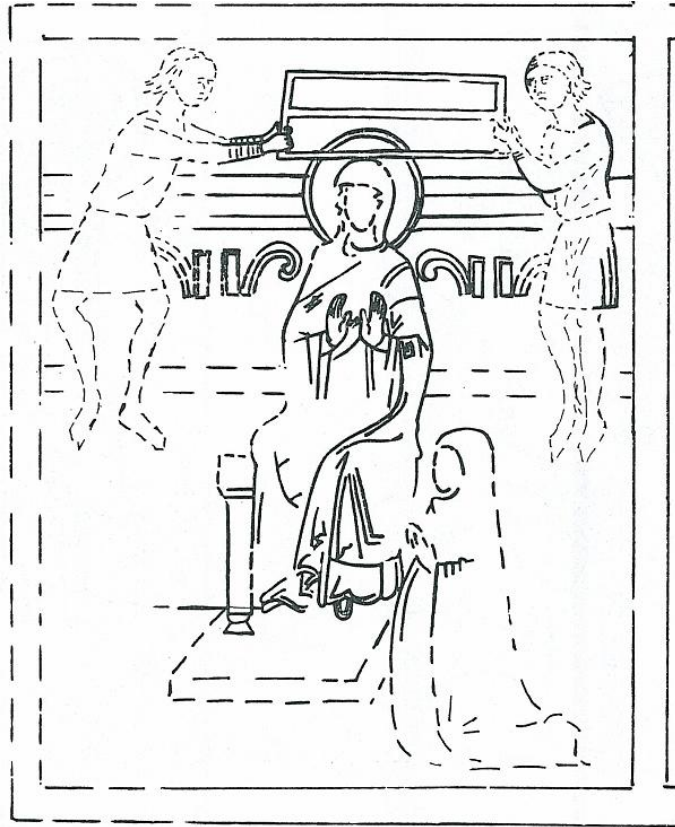
III.87 Scene 9, (Naumann and Belting, DAI).



III.88 Scene 10, Whipping Euphemia
(After E. Akyürek, *Khalkedon'lu Azize Euphemia*, 93).



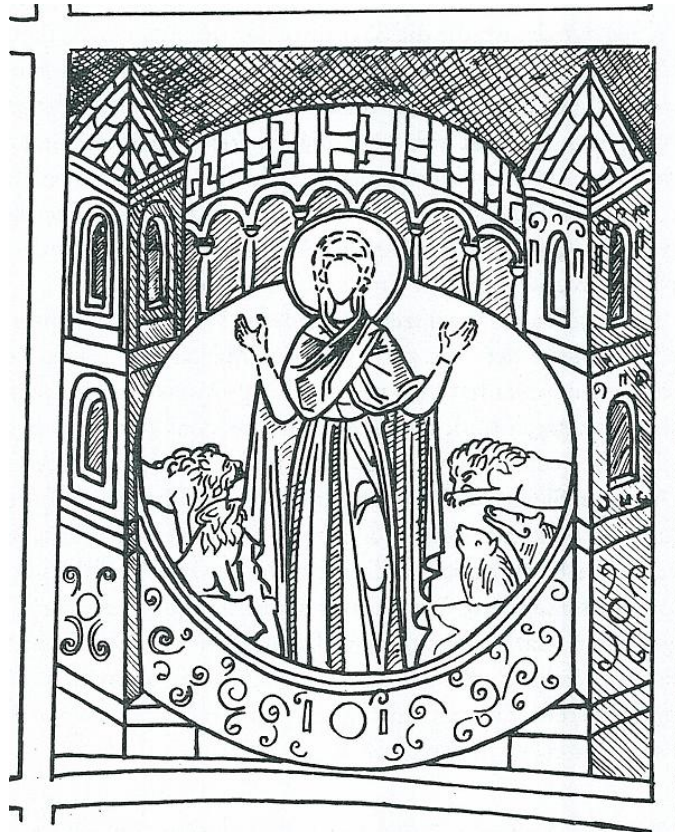
III.89 Scene 10, (Naumann and Belting, DAI 5477).



III.90 Scene 11, Cutting Euphemia with saw
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 134).



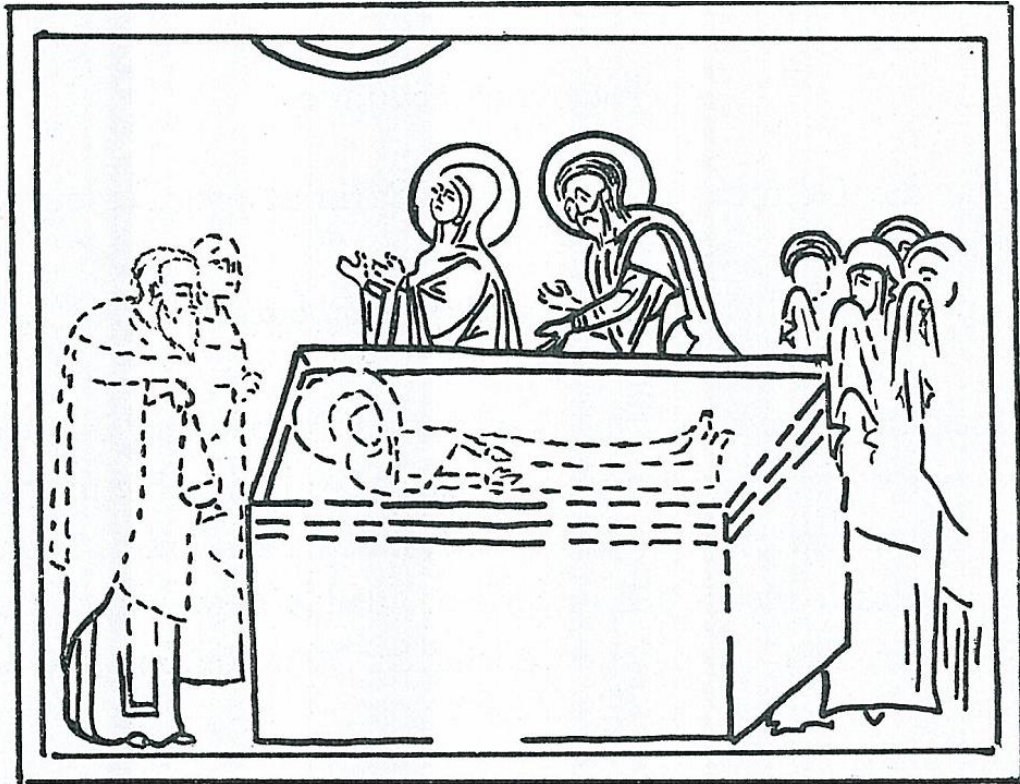
III.91 Scene 11, (Naumann and Belting, DAI).



III.92 Scene 12, Martyrdom of Euphemia in the arena
(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 136).

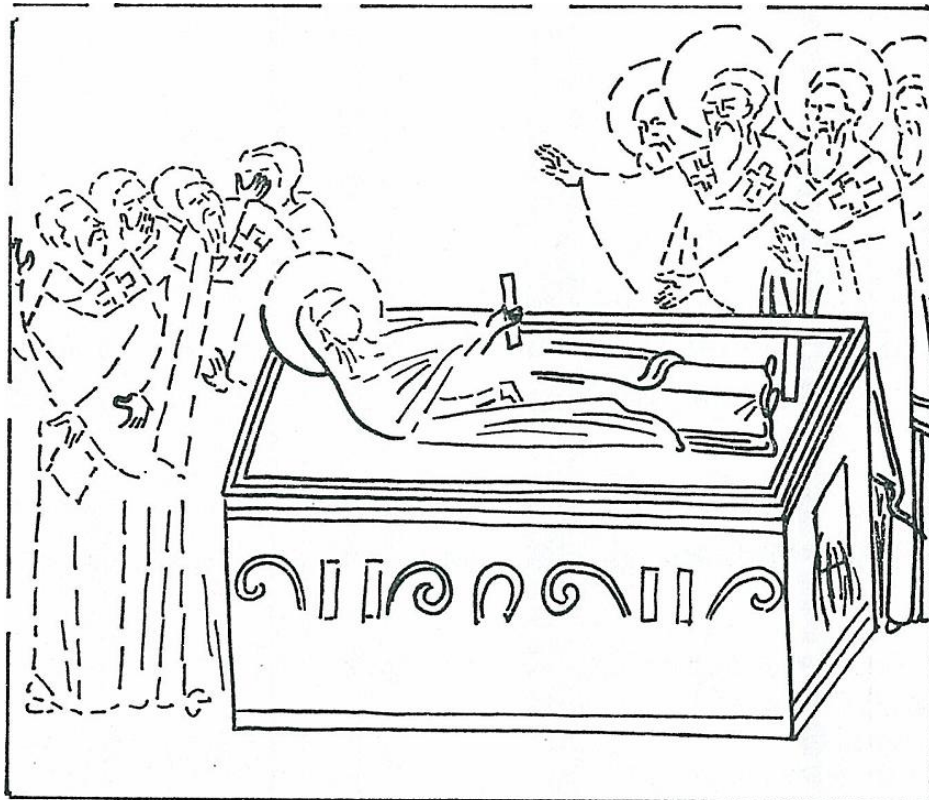


III.93 Scene 12, (Naumann and Belting, DAI).



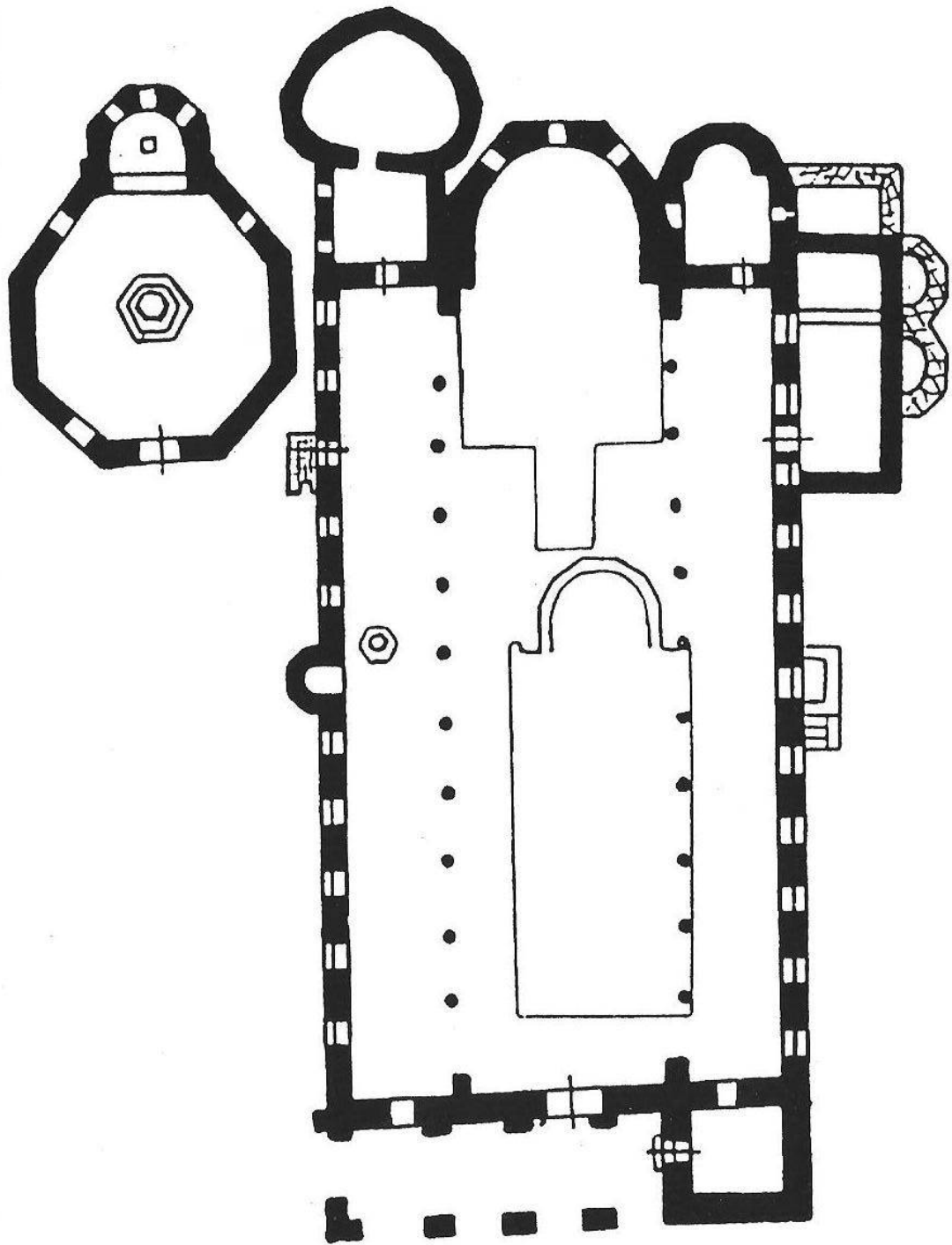
III.94 Scene 13, Funeral of Euphemia

(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 139).



III.95 Scene 14, Miracle of Euphemia during the Council of Chalcedon

(After Naumann and Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche*, 140).



III.96 The Church and baptistery of St. Euphemia at Grado

(After Goldfus, "St. Euphemia's Church," 193).

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