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A WOMAN'S PLACE: IMPERIAL WOMEN IN LATE ANTIQUE ROME*

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La place de la femme : les impératrices dans la Rome tardo-antique

La relation entre les empereurs romains de l'époque tardive et la ville de Rome est traditionnellement caractérisée par l'abandon de la cité, favorisant des lieux qui répondaient mieux aux exigences militaires, politiques et religieuses de cette période. Or, l'historiographie récente amène à penser que pendant l'Antiquité tardive la position impériale vis-à-vis de l'ancienne capitale de l'empire a été plus complexe, notamment au V^e^ *siècle. Le présent article s'appuie sur cette approche et y introduit une nouvelle perspective, en s'intéressant davantage aux itinéraires des femmes de l'empire et laissant de côté ceux des hommes qui ont dominé les débats intellectuels sur la Rome impériale de l'Antiquité tardive. Une lecture attentive de nos sources, pour la plupart incomplètes, suggère que nombre des membres féminins des familles impériales résidait à Rome entre le début du* IV^e^ *et le milieu du* V^e^ *siècle, pour une période souvent beaucoup plus longue que les membres masculins. Dans un premier temps, j'examinerai les raisons d'une telle situation, montrant que la présence des femmes à Rome relevait d'une politique plus large destinée à associer la famille impériale à la ville de Rome – ou plus précisément d'une construction en pleine évolution de la famille impériale autour des principales femmes –, de manière à assurer l'unité, l'harmonie et la tradition de l'empire. Toutefois, comme l'a montré récemment Jill Harries, le fait de résider à Rome a peut-être offert à certaines de ces femmes une marge de manœuvre : je développerai ce point en montrant comment la résidence à Rome a façonné l'identité des femmes impériales de différentes manières, souvent en fonction du rôle qu'elles jouaient au sein de la famille impériale (femme, sœur, mère ou fille). Les différentes expériences individuelles des femmes à Rome me permettent de mettre toute la lumière sur le conflit tragique entre Serena, cousine de l'empereur Honorius, et sa demi-sœur Galla Placidia, au tout début du* V^e^ *siècle.* [Trad. de la Rédaction]

This article examines the presence of female members of the imperial family in the late antique city of Rome. The evidence for this presence has significant things to tell us about the relationship between late Roman emperors and the ancient capital of their empire at a time of profound political and religious change, as well as about the functions assigned to emperors' female relations in late Roman imperial propaganda. Most importantly, the evidence provides a window into the varied ways in which residence in Rome shaped identities of individual women of the imperial family and how, in turn, their different roles within the imperial family – wives, sisters, mothers, daughters and other female descendants – shaped these women's relationships with the city of Rome.

The attitudes of late Roman emperors to Rome have traditionally been described as one of neglect in favour of residence at places more suited to military, political

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or religious agendas of the time, such as Trier, Milan, Ravenna or Constantinople. The foundation of the latter as the 'new Rome' on the Bosporus by the first Christian emperor Constantine in 330 is often seen as exemplifying this situation.[1] Yet, recent historiography has shown that positions of late Roman emperors towards Rome were more complex, particularly at the time of Constantine and then again in the 5th century. Jill Harries and Muriel Moser have called for a reassessment of Constantine's "rejection" of Rome, pointing to his continuous close relationship with Roman aristocrats, who served as his imperial officials and his frequent correspondence with the Roman senate.[2] Andrew Gillett, Mark Humphries and Meaghan McEvoy, in turn, have shown that fifth-century Western emperors tended to exalt the position of Rome to create a counterweight to the rise of Constantinople and to cement their legitimacy, eventually even moving the court back to Rome for long periods under Valentinian III (425-455).[3]

The present article will build on these new approaches to late antique imperial Rome from a different perspective. Our understanding of the role Rome played in imperial strategies in this period will be refined if we shift attention away from the itineraries of imperial men, which have dominated scholarly debates on imperial Rome in late antiquity, to those of imperial women. While late antique emperors' usually short visits to and long absences from Rome have been examined in painstaking detail, a study of the presence in Rome of imperial women is still in its infancy.[4] Yet, as we shall see, a careful reading of our often fragmentary sources suggests that a number of imperial female relatives were resident in Rome between the early 4th and the mid-5th centuries, often for much longer than male members of the imperial family. In addition, some of them were buried just outside the city. I will begin with an overview of these cases (all listed in Appendix I) and an exposition of a methodology of how to approach them. This is important, as this data has never been assembled before, so that historians need to develop rigorous ways as to how to interrogate them. I will then proceed to investigate one scenario of female imperial presence in Rome in more detail: that of women belonging to the Constantinian dynasty up to c. 350. As we shall see, a nuanced understanding of their positions within the family of Constantine will go some way to explaining the different reasons why individual imperial women may have resided in Rome.

Late Roman Imperial women and Late Antique Rome: sources and approaches

As is the case with ancient women generally, information on imperial female residence and activities in late antique Rome has to be pieced together from very fragmentary evidence deriving from a variety of source types, each demanding its own critical approach: literary texts, inscriptions and archaeological remains. It therefore needs to be borne in mind at all times that the story of imperial women's residence in Rome can only be told in a snapshot and often speculative way. In some cases, we even have to assess whether our sources refer to residence in Rome at all, even before we can start analysing their meaning. For instance, the historian Zosimus, writing in the late 5th century, explained that Theodosius I sent his fiancée Galla and her mother Justina, widow of the previous emperor Valentinian I, from Thessalonika "to Rome" in 387 (εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην). While this passage could be an allusion to the city itself, Zosimus could also have taken "Rome" as a synecdoche for the entire West.[5] Even if he did mean the city of Rome, there is no guarantee that Zosimus, who was writing in Constantinople some time after the event, is a reliable witness.

In this article, I have in general followed scholarly consensus where it placed women in Rome, noting potential debates at the appropriate instance. However, I have also tended to give the sources the benefit of the doubt. This is important because, even though the evidence for imperial women is more fragmentary than for imperial men, we cannot afford to dismiss it, however hypothetical its analysis may be. Here, a "safety-in-numbers" approach may help. As Appendix I shows, the frequency of well-attested and undisputed cases of imperial women in late antique Rome is in fact high enough to suggest a trend for female residence in Rome that does not seem to be accidental and into which the uncertain cases may fit as well. I would also argue that the references in our literary sources, at once rare and often cursory, to female residence in Rome are significant in themselves. The nature of ancient literary sources is such that women were rarely talked about and rarely for their own sake. Yet, where they are, we need to distinguish between the mention of women in a "referential" and a "representational" way.[6] In the former case, women were mentioned to give another story more detail and credibility rather than to make a moral judgement about female (or often male) behaviour, as would happen with a "representational" case. In many instances, female

1. Jones 1964, pp. 687-711; Van Dam 2010, p. 48.
2. Harries 2012, p. 124; Moser 2013, pp. 18-44 and Muriel Moser in this volume.
3. Gillett 2001; Humphries 2007 and 2012; McEvoy 2013.
4. The most comprehensive list of imperial visits to Rome is in Demandt 1989, p. 376, n. 7. See Humphries 2007, p. 30, n. 39 and Gavin Kelly in this volume for critique.
5. Zos. 4.45.4. Neil McLynn assures me in a personal comment that this would, however, have been unusual.
6. Dixon 2001, pp. 14, 20-21.

imperial residence in Rome appears in texts in this referential way. A good, but by no means the only, example is Julian's brief allusion in his panegyric on Constantius II to Constantius' mother Fausta's childhood in Rome. Julian added this detail to underscore Constantius' special relationship with the city, made more believable by reference to this fact.[7] Hence female imperial residence in Rome must have been considered reasonably common and uncontroversial by some contemporary authors.

The comparatively greater number of material remains in Rome related to the public roles of imperial women shows, in turn, that some imperial women enjoyed a remarkable visibility in the late antique city. These remains include honorary statuary, frescoes, tombs, and epigraphy recording patronage of buildings, institutions, and individuals. This in itself does not prove that these women were present in Rome at all or for any length of time, at least while alive. Yet I will argue that the nature of the imperial messages that can be deduced from this evidence makes it plausible that at least some imperial women were present, although perhaps not always the same as those celebrated through the material remains. These remains certainly show that the inhabitants of Rome thought, or were meant to think, about the contribution imperial women had made to urban life. It should further be noted that late antique imperial female presence in Rome was part of the city's collective memory well into the early middle Ages. Several imperial women were remembered in early medieval Christian legends as having been physically present in the city, as spectacularly pious agents in the transformation of Rome into a Christian centre.[8] It is difficult to establish whether this was due to the power of imperial iconography or due to women's actual presence in the city, but at least the latter cannot be ruled out.

The list of imperial women possibly visiting or even residing in Rome between the early fourth and the mid-5th century compiled in Appendix I in more detail makes it clear that their respective roles within the imperial family were of a very diverse nature.[9] Some of them were wives of living emperors, whether these were *Augusti* or Caesars (Fausta, Valeria Maximilla, Eusebia, Helena the Younger, Maria, Thermantia, Licinia Eudoxia). They mostly came to Rome to accompany their husbands or were buried in Rome, but there are exceptions. For example, Eusebia seems to have visited Rome by herself, in perhaps 354. In his panegyric on the empress, Julian described her entry into Rome in a way that strikingly resembled that of an imperial *adventus*, with a visit to the senate, popular acclamations and the distribution of largesse.[10]

The majority of the women we find in Rome, however, fulfilled less central functions in the imperial family, at least at the time of residence in Rome. They were mothers of emperors (Helena the Elder, Justina, Galla Placidia), widows (Justina, Laeta), sisters (Eutropia, Anastasia, Serena, Galla Placidia, Honoria), nieces (Thermantia), daughters (Fausta, Constantina, Galla, Galla Placidia) and, perhaps, more distant female relatives (Anastasia, mother of Gallus; Anastasia, wife of Flavius Avitus Marinianus; Constantia, wife of Orfitus). As far as we can tell, all of these were in Rome, at least for some of the time, without the emperor present. It is also apparent that some of them, such as Fausta and Galla Placidia, resided in Rome at different stages of their life-cycle. Consequently, the role they played within the imperial family changed between the times of their residences in the city.

It is therefore worth asking whether these residences in Rome were determined by a particular function they held within the imperial court or whether some of them had a more personal relationship with the city that transcended this function. In this regard, we should remember that Roman customs of exogamy meant that imperial women were not only producers of families, but also products of other families (aristocratic or imperial) and movers between families. Furthermore, due to the most common Roman form of marriage, married Roman women in the late empire stayed connected to their family of origin, as long as their male head of household (*paterfamilias*) was alive under so-called *patria potestas*.[11] While this has been extensively discussed with regard to Roman women in general, questions about (male) fears regarding women's loyalty and conflicts of interest arising from this situation rarely underpin analysis of late Roman imperial women, who are mostly studied for their bond with the current ruling emperor. Methodologically, however, we gain a more precise understanding of imperial women residing in Rome, if we do not accept imperial female identity as static, but analyse their relationship with Rome against their different family backgrounds and ancestries as well as their changing roles within the imperial family.[12]

7. Jul., *Or.* 1.5c.
8. *Passio Cyriaci et soc.* 10-12 (BHL 2056) (Artemia, Serena, alleged daughter and wife of Diocletian); *Passio Gallicani* 1-6 (BHL 3236-7) (Helena, Constantina); *Passio Agnetis* 16 (BHL 156), *Passio Iohannis et Pauli* 1 (BHL 3242), *Passio Constantiae* (BHL 1927), *Passio Felicis* (BHL 2857), *Liber Pontificalis* I: 207 (all: Constantina); *Liber pontificalis* I: 180 (Constantina, Constantia); *Translatio Sancti Stephani protomartyris* (BHL 7878-81) ("daughter of Theodosius", probably Licinia Eudoxia). Also note the Constantinian names "Anastasia" and "Fausta" in the *Passio Anastasiae* (BHL 400 and 401).
9. For source references see Appendix I.
10. Jul., *Or.* 3.129b. For the date see *PLRE* I, Eusebia, p. 300.
11. Arjava 1996, pp. 123-127.
12. For the importance of taking account of difference when studying female identity, or any identity, in the past see Scott 1991.

I will now turn to applying this approach to the situation under Constantine and his sons. Jill Harries has recently argued that, over the course of several generations, Constantinian women gained more independence over their actions. Constantine's daughter Constantina (d. 354) in particular appears in an astonishingly autonomous way compared to her mother Fausta and her grandmother Helena, whom we can only see through the prism of male imperial dynastic strategies. Harries linked this new female assertiveness to Constantina's residence in Rome, away from her imperial relatives, which opened up new spaces to manoeuvre and gain access to a different kind of power, in particular through alternative female Christian lifestyles.[13] While this article will reconfirm Harries' view that residence in Rome mattered for imperial female agency, it will try to situate Constantinian women, including Constantina, within larger imperial and aristocratic family networks centred on the city of Rome. Such a broader view will encompass not only women in Constantine's own narrow family line, but also more distant relatives and the horizontal and vertical relationships between them. In this way we will be able to see that female imperial residence in Rome had a long history reaching back into the time of the Tetrarchy, but was also, crucially, interwoven with that of the Roman senatorial aristocracy. What is more, this situation created particular challenges for Constantine's imperial project, which he, and perhaps his sons, sought to remedy through increasing visibility in Rome of the women closest to them, while at the same time underlining this closeness.

Maximianic daughters, Constantinian wives and the Roman senatorial aristocracy

The Rome Constantine entered on 29 October 312 after defeat of his rival Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge was famously steeped in public history, both Christian and pagan. It is less discussed that the city was also intimately connected to the emperor's own family history. Constantine had been married to one of Maxentius' sisters, Fausta, since 307, when he had sealed a political alliance with Maxentius and his and Fausta's father, the former tetrarch Maximian, after Maxentius' usurpation in Rome. Constantine was also the stepson of Maxentius' half-sister, Theodora, whom Constantine's father, the late tetrarch Constantius I had married over three decades earlier. For this marriage, Constantius I had given up Constantine's mother, Helena, and it had given him six more children (who belonged to what I will call henceforth the "Theodoran branch" of Constantine's family). By 310 the union between these in-laws had broken down. Constantine had forced his father-in-law Maximian, who after an unsuccessful attempt to depose his son Maxentius had joined him in Gaul, to commit suicide. Two years later he marched on Rome to defeat Maxentius. When 312 drew to a close, Constantine had therefore driven to death his wife's and stepmother's father, and killed their brother.[14]

Constantine's ways of dealing with the legacy of Maxentius in Rome by submitting his rival to *damnatio memoriae* have been well rehearsed by historians.[15] Yet, as David Potter has shown recently, the Rome that Constantine took from Maxentius had originally been a Maximianic city for more than a decade.[16] It had been Maximian who from 298 had overseen the tetrarchic building projects in the city in preparation for Diocletian's *vicennalia*, especially the Baths of Diocletian, for which he had acquired vast stretches of land on the Viminal and Quirinal hills.[17] This had brought Maximian to Rome, although perhaps not for the first time. As mentioned above, his daughter Fausta was born in Rome. This event is usually dated on the basis of Maximian's visits to Rome, either the one in 298 or a possible earlier one in 289/290.[18] Yet Fausta's birth could, of course, have occurred during Maximian's absences from Rome, since he had no technical role to play in it.[19] This would disconnect the date of Fausta's birth from the dates of Maximian's sojourns in Rome. At the same time, it could imply that Maximian had made his pregnant wife, Eutropia, reside in Rome while he was not there. As Julian's reference mentioned above shows, Eutropia and Fausta certainly lived in Rome for some years during Fausta's early childhood and, doing so without Maximian for some of this time, they would have thus provided the imperial presence in the city. The year 298 was also not the last time Maximian visited Rome. In 303 he presided over the celebration of Diocletian's *vicennalia*, and, while Diocletian left soon after, he himself stayed on until the following year or even until 305.[20] From 303 on, the urban prefecture of Rome was newly filled with men belonging to the oldest

13. Harries 2014.

14. See Barnes 2011, pp. 38-42, 61-83 for background to these dynastic alliances and events. I follow Barnes 2011, pp. 40-41, in his assumption that Theodora was more likely Maximian's daughter, as the early *Origo Constantini* (*Anon. Val.* 1.1) claims, than his step-daughter (as claimed by Aur. Vict., *Caes*. 39.25, Eutrop. 9.22.1 and *Epit. de Caes.* 39.2, 40.12), see also n. 48. For references, see also Appendix II.
15. Comprehensively: Curran 2000, pp. 76-90, and see Simon Corcoran in this volume.
16. Potter 2010, pp. 29-30.
17. *CIL* 6.1130: *coemptis aedificiis*. Around this time we can also see reorganisation of imperial brick production: Curran 2000, p. 44.
18. On the dating of Fausta's birth and the connection with Maximian's Rome visits see Barnes 1982, pp. 34, 58, n. 49.
19. Nixon, Saylor Rodgers 1994, p. 198, n. 19.
20. As alluded to in *Pan. Lat.* 7.8.8 and 7.15.6; see Enßlin 1930, pp. 2509-2510.

Roman families. In David Potter's view, this was down to Maximian, eager to connect with traditional senatorial families in Rome, which also opened up control over North Africa, and in the process marked the beginning of a strong regional aristocracy dominating Italy well into the 4th century.[21]

Maximian's connection with Rome had probably paved the way for Maxentius' taking power in the city. After his abdication in 305, Maximian had returned to southern Italy, an obvious choice in the light of his social networks described above. The next year saw him ambulating between various estates to the south of Rome, a region that was covered with senatorial landholding.[22] At the same time Maxentius was in turn living just outside Rome with his wife and son in a so-called *villa publica* on the Via Labicana, six miles south-east of the city. An honorary inscription found in the vicinity celebrates him as a senator (*vir clarissimus*).[23] The description of Maxentius' place of residence suggests that it had been part of Maximian's abdication settlement of 305, while his status connects him to the senatorial circles cultivated by Maximian. We should not, therefore, imagine Maxentius' choice of residence in Rome as autonomous of his father, particularly given the legally, but also morally, prescribed dependency of even adult Romans on their living fathers.[24] It follows that Maxentius' seizure of power in Rome was not accidental, but also not as ideologically motivated as some historians have assumed, at least at first.[25] Maxentius' power-base was Rome, but only because it was his family's power-base, advertised previously through, among other things, their women's residence in the city. This was precisely why Maxentius immediately recalled his father, as he realised quickly that the taking of full imperial power without sharing it with Maximian would have cost him his claim to legitimacy particularly in the city.[26] After his father's departure from the city in 308, however, Maxentius managed to alienate the Roman senators by introducing a new senatorial tax to fund his wars against Constantine.[27] Hence some senatorial families might well have thought that they had enjoyed more protection under Maximian.

Yet the relationship between Maximian and the city of Rome may have been even closer and extended beyond political patronage to concrete alliances. Of interest here are the marriages of three of Constantine's half-siblings, children of Constantius I and Theodora, into Roman senatorial families. Due to the fragmentary nature of the sources, these are hard to date. Our earliest record is of the end of one of these marriages, between Constantine's half-sister Anastasia and Bassianus, a member of the prestigious Nummii Albini Seneciones family.[28] Probably in 315, while in Rome to celebrate his *decennalia*, Constantine had decided to confer upon Bassianus the rank of Caesar. It has been suggested that in 315, when Constantine's marriage to Fausta was still childless, he had hoped to build his dynasty in this way, capitalising on Anastasia's imperial pedigree. Within a year, however, Constantine had Bassianus executed for treason, possibly to be connected to the birth of Fausta's first son Constantine (later Constantine II).[29] At this point, the "Theodoran branch" of the family, being directly connected to both Constantius and Maximian, became for Constantine more a liability than a blessing. Therefore, he banished his half-brothers Julius Constantius and Flavius Dalmatius from court to prevent any imperial claims.[30] Julius Constantius was also married to a member of a Roman senatorial family, Galla, of the Naeratii family. Their second son Gallus, the later Caesar, was born in 326, in Etruria just north of Rome, which means that their marriage must have taken place at some point before this date, possibly even before 316 when Julius Constantius was banished.[31] A third marriage to a Roman aristocrat was that of Eutropia, possibly Constantine's youngest half-sister, to Nepotianus, but no certain date is mentioned in connection to this union.[32]

These rather perplexing marriages have rarely been analysed by historians. When they have, it is usually assumed that Constantine had arranged them during the years following his conquest of Rome.[33] Yet, given the complete absence of any record about intervention by Constantine in their orchestration, another idea can at least be entertained. We should indeed remember that Anastasia, Julius Constantius and Eutropia were not only Constantine's half-siblings, but also, through their

21. Potter 2010, p. 30. On Maximian's alleged persecution of senators see Curran 2000, pp. 63-65 who argues these stories were the result of later Constantinian slander.
22. Maximian's residence is recorded as Lucania (Eutrop. 10.2.3; Zos. 2.10.2), Campania (Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 26.7), and for the suburbium of Rome (*Pan. Lat.* 7.11.3). On southern Italy and the senatorial aristocracy: Matthews 1975, pp. 12-17.
23. Eutrop. 10.2.3 (*villa publica*); *Epit. de Caes.* 40.2; *ILS* 666.
24. On the legal and moral power of the *paterfamilias* concept persisting well into late antiquity see Arjava 1998.
25. On Maxentius' ideological connection with Rome, see Hekster 1999, pp. 718-724. However, most of Maxentius' propaganda and building programme along these lines, so well described by Hekster, post-date Maximian's departure from Rome, which suggests that at this point Maxentius needed a new source of legitimacy beyond his father's patronage of Rome. See Cullhed 1994, pp. 45-67 and Corcoran in this volume.
26. Cullhed 1994, pp. 41-44.
27. Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 40.24.
28. Chausson 2002, p. 141; Chausson 2007, p. 128 stemma 9 and p. 130 stemma 10.
29. *Anon. Val.* 1.5 (= *Origo Constantini Imperatoris*). See Chausson 2002, p. 137.
30. Barnes 2011, p. 102.
31. *PLRE* I, Galla 1, p. 382; Chausson 2007, pp. 124-125 and stemma 8.
32. *PLRE* I, Eutropia 2, p. 316.
33. See e.g. James 2013, p. 99.

mother Theodora, Maximian's grandchildren. It is not unlikely that Theodora, if she was still alive, returned with her children to her father, possibly still her *paterfamilias*, in Italy upon her husband Constantius I's death in 306 (in fact, we do not even know whether they had all been with Constantius I in the first place). Theodora's children were now legally independent (*sui iuris*), but still minors and hence needed a legal guardian. Maximian was their closest legitimate male relative (assuming that, on their father's side, their half-brother Constantine was not Constantius' legitimate son).[34] Hence Constantine may not have been legally in a position to prevent relocation to Rome and may in any case well have allowed it, since at this point his relationship with Maximian was amicable.

Prosopographical and topographical data point to interesting connections between Maximian and the spouses of Maximian's grandchildren. They are all recorded as coming from families that had provided political players during his and then Maxentius' reigns. These included individuals who had held the consulship or the urban prefecture, or who may have contributed to Maximian's or Maxentius' building projects. A Virius Nepotianus, possibly the father of Eutropia's husband, was consul in 301. He is also mentioned on an early fourth-century inscription found near the imperial palace of the Sessorium north of the Lateran and recording donations of 400,000 *sestertiae* each by a number of senators, probably for a building dated to either the time of Maximian or Maxentius. A member of the Nummii family, Nummius Tuscus, had been consul in 295 and urban prefect in 302-303, and is also mentioned on this inscription, alongside a [Numm]ius Albinus. Finally, a member of the Naeratii family, [Naeratius] Iunius Flavianus was urban prefect under Maxentius, in 311-312.[35] It is particularly remarkable that both the Naeratii and the Nummii families held property in the immediate vicinity of the Baths of Diocletian and thus may very well have been among those from whom Maximian had purchased land for this enterprise.[36] After his resumption of imperial power, Maximian, in turn, may have sought additionally to bind the destinies of these senatorial families to his own by offering his grandchildren in marriage. To be sure, if we assume that Theodora and Constantius had been married in 289, none of these children can have been older than sixteen, when they arrived back in Rome and most of them will have been much younger.[37] Yet the age of marriage and certainly of betrothal were very low at this social level, particularly for girls.[38] If her birth date of 298 is correct, their aunt Fausta could have been as young as nine when she married Constantine in 307.

All of this is, of course, purely speculative, and it might well be true that it was Constantine, not Maximian, who tried to bind senatorial families to himself in this way, as part of a wider strategy in these early years to create political stability through imperial connections to that most ancient Roman body of authority, the senate. After all, although Constantine had the opportunity in 312 to chastise those senators in Rome, who had supported Maxentius, he instead continued to appoint men who had served under Maxentius and Maximian to the urban prefecture and other high offices of state.[39] This shows that Constantine, like Maxentius and Maximian, was aware of the prestige that the support of the Roman aristocracy conferred upon his rule.

However, ascertaining definitively whether Maximian or Constantine had arranged these marriages is perhaps beside the point. In any case, they created a problem for Constantine: here was the potential for the memory of Maximian, already strongly interwoven with Constantine's own family through Fausta and Theodora, to be kept alive in the great senatorial families of Rome, who owed much to the old emperor, more so than to Constantius I. They will have valued the connection created through these marriages to legitimate emperors, but may not have forgotten that this connection was created through both the paternal (Constantius) and maternal lines (to Maximian, via Theodora) of the various spouses. They may also have remembered that it was Constantine who had removed (if not officially killed) the father of both his wife and his step-mother, as well as, more importantly, the grandfather of Theodora's children, and hence the ancestor of future senators. The inevitability of their continued presence in Constantine's imperial family meant that this could remain a divisive issue. Developments after Constantine's death, detailed further below, show that this was a very real possibility.

When Constantine entered Rome, then, he not only had to deal with the ghost of Maxentius, but also with that of Maximian, although for the above reasons this was less easily done (plus the fact that Maximian had once been a legitimate emperor). It is not surprising,

34. On guardianship over children: Arjava 1996, p. 89. On Constantine being illegitimate: Drijvers 1992, p. 18, but also see Barnes 2011, pp. 33-38 who disputes this.
35. *PLRE* I, Virius Nepotianus 6, p. 624-625; Nummius Tuscus 1, pp. 926-927; inscription: *CIL* 6.37118; for comment see also Dey 2011, p. 44 with n. 59; Steinby 1993-2000, vol. 3, pp. 290-291. For [Naeratius] Iunius Flavianus see De Benedettis 2010, p. 23.
36. Steinby 1993-2000, vol. 2, pp. 79, 144 and 146-147; see also Hillner 2004, pp. 281-282. The property of the Nummii was situated on the Alta Semita running along the west side of the baths. The properties of the Naeratii were on the Cispian to the east of the baths, and also on the Alta Semita.
37. On the date of Constantius and Theodora's marriage see Barnes 2011, pp. 41-42.
38. Arjava 1996, pp. 32-33.
39. Moser 2013, p. 26; Barnes 2011, pp. 83-84.

then, that Constantine did not include Maximian directly in the process of Maxentius' *damnatio memoriae*. While Maximian had been vilified before as a traitor, after Constantine took Rome in 312 he began to rehabilitate his memory.[40] Maximian's wife, Eutropia, was forced to declare publicly, apparently in Rome, where she thus may still have been living, that she had conceived Maxentius in adultery. This separated Maxentius from Maximian, and hence also from the Maximianic women who were now part of Constantine's family.[41] Yet Constantine may have adopted further strategies of propaganda in the city of Rome to influence how the position of these women was to be understood, as we shall now see.

The so-called *Domus Faustae*

While studies of Constantine's impact on the public and religious topography of Rome have already thrown significant light on his engagement with Maxentius' and Maximian's memory, one particular site in Rome has received much less attention. Yet arguably it adds to this picture and has the potential to provide evidence for the hypotheses outlined above. The site in question is a residence under the Istituto Nazionale di Previdenza Sociale (INPS) just west of the Lateran basilica, in the south-eastern part of the city. While the residence itself can be dated back to the 1st century, in the early 4th century a corridor was added, running east to west along a garden area to the south, featuring on its northern wall frescoes representing a procession of life-sized figures depicting the Constantinian family. The original excavator of the site, Valnea Maria Scrinari, identified them by the now very fragmentary painted inscriptions, which crowd on the porphyry band below them. The inscriptions were added to over time on at least four occasions between 315 and 350, the later ones obscuring the earlier. This puts the likely commission date of the frescoes between 312 and 315. The inscriptions record acclamations, popular expressions uttered at ceremonial events, which had been noted down as a sign of the acclaimed's legitimacy and then transcribed here. This was an imperial habit of which Constantine was particularly fond.[42]

The corridor is a remarkable example of imperial display, a "ritually guided viewing experience" meant for a larger audience.[43] The frescoes depict a ceremonial occasion on which the entire imperial family, men and women, came together in procession at what was probably meant to be a household cult activity under the leadership of the *paterfamilias* Constantius I. The figure identified as Constantius is holding a little statuette that may represent *pietas*, the quintessential virtue structuring ideal family relationships, but also relationships between human and divine, and between emperor and subject.[44] Constantius was followed by his wife Theodora, his son Constantine and his daughter-in law Fausta (and others unidentified, which may include Constantine's eldest son (from an earlier marriage), Crispus, and Crispus' wife Helena). The acclamations, invoking, in the oldest script, Constantius I as *pater patriae* ("father of the fatherland"), as well as the *spes* and *salus imperii* ("hope" and "safety of the empire") seem to connect the *pietas* of this family directly to the welfare of the Roman empire.

The residence incorporating the corridor itself has at times been identified as the property of Constantine's wife, Fausta. The later fourth-century Christian writer Optatus records that a synod, that gathered in Rome in 313 under the leadership of bishop Miltiades to discuss the case of the North-African sect of the Donatists, took place in the *domus Faustae* at the Lateran, which, it has been argued, was this house.[45] Fausta may have received the *domus* from her birth family, as part of her dowry in 307, or, since the house continued to bear her name, more likely as inheritance in 310, when Maximian died.[46] Of course she could only have taken possession of it, once Constantine defeated Maxentius in 312, but clearly did so.

If the house under INPS and the *domus Faustae* mentioned in Optatus' text can be deemed identical, promoting the Constantinian family within this space would have made a powerful statement. This was true not the least for Fausta, whom the frescoes depict as letting a new *paterfamilias* into her inherited space, annihilating her birth family, Maximian and Maxentius. Yet, although we can be fairly certain that, due to its location near the Lateran, it was imperial property, the INPS residence's link with the *domus Faustae* is a very tenuous one, and

40. Barnes 2011, p. 4.
41. *Anon. Val.* 1.4 (= *Origo Constantini imperatoris*).
42. *CIL* 6.40769; deciphered and dated by Scrinari 1991, pp. 162-222. The fresco programme is now freshly analysed in McFadden 2007, pp. 177-240 and McFadden 2013, pp. 83-114 (which treats Scrinari's conclusions with caution, but essentially confirms identification of the represented group as Constantine's family). The three best preserved frescoes (representing Constantius I, Theodora/Helena, Constantine) are in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, while the rest are still in situ. On Constantine's interest in acclamations, see Roueché 1984.
43. The quote is from McFadden 2007, p. 180.
44. On *pietas* within the family see Saller 1994, pp. 102-132.
45. Optatus 1.23. This identification goes back to the site's original excavator, Scrinari 1991.
46. On Roman women's ability to inherit property and its frequency see Arjava 1996, pp. 62-73. This conclusion rests on the assumption that Constantine did not confiscate Maximian's property after his suicide. Yet political suicide was usually chosen to allow for customary transmission of property to descendants. See Plass 1995, p. 93.

has the hallmarks of a "positivist fallacy".[47] Even if this house did not belong to Fausta, however, by inserting Theodora and Fausta, both under the rules of *patria potestas* more Maximianic than Constantinian women, into a procession led by Constantius I, at a time when Constantius had already been dead for nearly ten years, may have been meant to show that these two had transferred their loyalty, their *pietas*, to their family of marriage.

This reading of the frescoes matches with further pro-Constantinian propaganda of this earlier period of his reign. For example, in his *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (completed c. 315) Lactantius alleges that Fausta had revealed a conspiracy by her own father Maximian against Constantine in 310, which led to his downfall, thereby showing loyalty to her husband rather than her birth family.[48] To be sure, the fresco programme in the residence under INPS is not as blunt as Lactantius, who seems to have repeated a story put into circulation in 311, before the taking of Rome.[49] After 312, as we have seen, Constantine was more cautious about vilifying Maximian and needed to tread a fine line between distancing himself and his women from the old emperor and showing respect. Hence the frescoes may have tried more subtly to emphasise Theodora's and Fausta's positions as good Constantinian wives, rather than good Maximianic daughters. As such, they can perhaps be aligned with changes in Fausta's official portrait in these years, noted by Kathrin Schade and Manfred Clauss, which similarly tried to turn her into a "Constantinian" woman. At the time of her wedding to Constantine in 307, Fausta was represented as Maximian's daughter. An extant contemporary bust displays her with similar facial features to her father, including his famous "button nose". However, when Fausta started to appear on Constantinian coinage from 318 onwards, she was portrayed similar to her mother-in-law Helena, first with waved hair, and then in the 320s with the famous Constantinian braid-wreath hairstyle ("Zopfkranzfrisur"), and, also like Helena, with the captions *securitas* or *pietas*.[50] Thus in this early period there were literary and physical strategies at play for "claiming" Maximianic women for Constantine's family, into which the visual display in the residence under INPS fits well.

Who was the target audience for these representations of Fausta and Theodora as Constantinian women? The display in the residence under INPS was certainly not meant to be "private". Albeit in a domestic setting, it was situated in a space where visitors were received, who, by moving through the corridor, were almost invited to join this splendid family's procession.[51] Hence they must have been very privileged themselves to be considered worthy of inclusion in an intimate household activity. The presence of the acclamations, however, would have constantly reminded them of the public recognition of this family's cohesion, which – the acclamations suggested – resonated far beyond this house.

We should note that the inclusion of women in imperial representation marked a decisive shift away from tetrarchic custom. As the tetrarchy had foregrounded divine genealogy, there had been little room for imperial women in formal iconography. Under Constantine, by contrast, women played a powerful role in imperial ideology and were portrayed often, particularly on coinage.[52] Yet, as we shall see further below, on a general, empire-wide level this change only came into play fully from the mid 320s, when Constantine became sole emperor after the defeat of Licinius. After 324, the exaltation of the unity of the imperial family served Constantine as a reflection of his ability to guarantee the unity and well-being of his newly reunited empire, as it had done for emperors in the Principate. The early date of the Roman frescoes around 315, their unusual[53] household focus and above all the inclusion of Theodora – who is not known to have been portrayed in any other official imagery before Constantine's death[54] – suggests, however, that the images in the residence under INPS were aimed at a more distinctive audience, in the city of Rome. In this earlier period, the need to demonstrate unity, particularly of family, was perhaps most urgent in this city. Not only had Constantine just emerged from a brutal civil war that had threatened to tear apart the empire, but, as we have seen, his relationship to the defeated side through his women had the additional potential to alienate influential groups in the city.

In order to identify an audience for the display under INPS, it is also important to take into account the urban region in which this residence is situated, the Lateran. Of course, it was the site of Rome's new bishop's church, possibly commenced immediately after 312,[55] but, given the traditional, almost pagan, activity displayed on the

47. See of the dangers of marrying textual and material evidence Hall 2014, pp. 207-212, who also provides the quote. On the Lateran area being imperial property see Liverani 2004.
48. Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 30. It is perhaps also during these years that the confusion about Theodora's family relationship to Maximian arose, see n. 14.
49. Barnes 2014, p. 4.
50. Schade 2000, pp. 43-44; Clauss 2002, p. 352. See also Varner 2001, p. 84 for the "Constantinisation" of Fausta's image. Fausta's bust is now in the Louvre.
51. McFadden 2007, p. 250.
52. Clauss 2002, pp. 341-342.
53. McFadden 2007, pp. 226-230 stresses the uniqueness of an imperial dynastic statement in a domestic setting.
54. See Longo 2009, pp. 116-117.
55. For the date of the Lateran basilica see Johnson 2005, p. 283.

frescoes, it is doubtful whether the intended audience was Christian clergy. We should instead note that the residence lay on the south-eastern crest of the Caelian Hill. While most properties in this area had been incorporated into imperial property between the 1st and the 3rd centuries through confiscation or inheritance, the more westerly crest of the hill and its western and northern slopes towards the monumental centre of the city were traditional sites of the residences of the wealthiest senatorial families of Rome.[56] Thus it is not too far-fetched to argue that appearing to these neighbours in the right light mattered much to Constantine. McFadden has already argued that the "traditional themes of Roman piety" displayed in the frescoes were a "monument of appeasement" towards this still mostly pagan-minded senatorial aristocracy worried about the Christian basilica erected in their vicinity.[57] In addition, the display of Constantinian women in the frescoes may have responded to the connections between some of these aristocrats and the family of Constantine's step-mother and wife, be this as former political allies or indeed, as relatives by marriage. Shortly after Constantine's taking of Rome, both groups needed reminding that, even where Maximian could be held in honourable memory, he belonged to the past and that his daughters and hence also his daughters' descendants were now part of the Constantinian dynasty.

Helena and Rome

During the years following 315, the year in which the frescoes in the residence under INPS were completed, Constantine's family dynamics changed. In 316, Fausta gave birth to her first son, Constantine (followed by Constantius in 317 and Constans in 323). This event, as already mentioned, must have brought home to Constantine the chances for dynastic continuity through his direct descendants.[58] Indeed, as noted above, probably early in 316 Constantine banished his half-brothers Julius Constantius (married to the Roman aristocrat Galla) and Flavius Dalmatius from court, and had his brother-in-law Bassianus (husband of Anastasia) executed. As a consequence, Constantine may have become less anxious about representing how his half-siblings, their mother and their Maximianic legacy fitted into his family, which in any case may have mostly mattered only in Rome. On an empire-wide scale, the representation of Constantinian women now increased dramatically, in statuary and on coinage and jewellery, but it also substantially changed from what was shown in the residence under INPS in 315.

It is not surprising that the most important aspect of female imperial identity broadcast from this point on was motherhood, not wifehood as in the residence under INPS. Upon giving birth to sons, Fausta started to appear on coins for the first time in 318, with the title *nobilissima femina*. More remarkably, so did Constantine's own mother, Helena.[59] Helena was of course the woman whom Constantius I had left to marry Theodora in, probably, 289. She does not appear in any official record during the first decade of Constantine's reign. In 318, then, Constantine chose to pluck his mother from obscurity to make a dynastic statement, at a time when she must already have been approaching seventy years of age.[60]

Fausta's and Helena's prominence intensified even more after Constantine had defeated his co-emperor Licinius in 324, which left him as sole ruler. Each was made *Augusta* at that time, emphasising their importance within the dynasty, as we know from their increased representation on coinage, struck in almost all imperial mints, and frequently depicted with children on the reverse. On decorative items, such as cameos and statuary groups, a new choice was made compared to the earlier depictions in the residence under INPS, which now emphasised a narrow family-line over three generations: Helena, Constantine and Fausta, and Constantine's sons, with the noticeable absence even of Constantius I.[61] At the same time, the established strategy of claiming "outbranched" women for the Constantinian side of the family continued. Constantine's half-sister Constantia who had been married to Licinius and had to endure the killing of her husband (in 325) also started to appear on coinage from 324 onwards. Her coins bore the caption *soror Constantini* (sister of Constantine), which visibly suppressed her relationship to Licinius.[62]

In 326, however, a crisis hit Constantine's family that had further repercussions on the representation of imperial women, again, particularly, in the city of Rome. For reasons that are not entirely clear Constantine had his oldest son Crispus tried in Northern Italy and then executed on Pola in Istria, while the imperial court was *en route* to Rome for the celebration of Constantine's *vicennalia*. A short while later, and probably in Rome, his wife Fausta died of suffocation in an overheated bath.[63]

56. Hillner 2004, pp. 143-146.
57. McFadden 2013, p. 110.
58. Barnes 2011, pp. 102-103.
59. Fausta's and Helena's coins: *RIC* VII, p. 26. For analysis see Washington 2016, pp. 97-99 and 275; Longo 2009, pp. 85-129. For representations attributed to Helena and Fausta in sculpture and on other decorative items see L'Orange 1984, pp. 143-148, 152-155.
60. Harries 2014, pp. 200-201.
61. Clauss 2002, p. 343.
62. *RIC* VII Constantinople 15.
63. For the order of events and the locations see Barnes 2011, pp. 146-147.

The relationship between the two events is obscure, although later authors were quick to draw a link by accusing Fausta of having brought a false charge against Crispus, which, when revealed to Constantine after Crispus' execution, induced him to punish Fausta.[64] What is certain is that Fausta's death, possibly in disgrace, left Helena as the senior imperial woman of the Constantinian dynasty.

While Helena's new status applied to the empire as a whole, its significance may at first have been broadcast above all in and to the city of Rome. To begin with, Constantine now seems to have made Helena reside in Rome, in a palace especially designated for her, the Sessorian palace, north of the Lateran complex in the area formerly occupied by the Horti Variani. Here, Helena is recorded (ironically enough) as restorer of the palace baths that had been burnt down by a fire.[65] While this geographical area of Rome now seems remote, we should remember that the palace was situated on one of the highest points within the city walls, and, given that it was in an elite residential area with reasonably low-rise buildings, it must have made a striking visual impression. It had probably already undergone refurbishment under Maxentius.[66] Some historians argue that Helena's arrival in Rome can be dated as early as 312 (based on the tacit but unverified understanding that she accompanied Constantine to the city at that time). Yet our first actual record of her physical presence in Rome dates to only 326, when the imperial family assembled in the city and Fausta's tragic death occurred.[67]

It is useful, at this point, to return once again to the residence under INPS and its fresco display. It is here that we see a striking change in the conceptualisation of the Constantinian imperial family, towards the identification of Helena as its central woman, possibly datable to this time. While the frescoes themselves remained unaltered, at some point Fausta's inscribed name was erased underneath the panel of the woman that originally had depicted her.[68] The erasure of Fausta's name probably took place after she died (326), possibly in disgrace, although it should be noted that it seems to have been part of a general refurbishment of the written area, as the inscriptions as a whole seem to have been replaced by others at this (unidentified) date. The name of Theodora, Fausta's sister, was at this time overwritten with the same word, "Theod[ora]". Later, although we do not know how much later, it was replaced with "Hele[na]". At some point, then, the inscriptions and hence the attribution of the frescoes in the so-called *domus Faustae* changed from referencing women originally belonging to Maximian's family to foregrounding Constantine's mother exclusively.[69]

It is tempting to date this change to Helena's arrival in Rome in 326, as Valnea Maria Scrinari, the original excavator of the residence under INPS, has done.[70] If so, this might have been meant to continue the narrative for a senatorial audience described above. In 326 indeed, members of the Roman senate are reported to have been less than pleased with Constantine, mainly because the emperor allegedly refused to perform customary sacrifice at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, the most sacred pagan centre of the Roman empire.[71] In the eyes of some historians, the pagan Roman aristocracy's hostility caused Constantine to abandon Rome and focus his attention on his Eastern foundation, Constantinople. Yet, recently this orthodoxy has begun to be dismantled by Muriel Moser, who argues for a more wholesome relationship between the emperor and the senators of Rome even after 326, reflected in their continued employment in imperial government, including in the east. The placement of his mother in Rome, at exactly the same time that she had become the senior imperial woman, may in fact have played a role here, demonstrating to a Roman audience that, even though the emperor was occupied elsewhere, the city still mattered to him.[72]

Yet, while Roman senators may not have cared about Constantine's sacrificial habits – if these were even on show in 326 – they may have frowned upon the demise of Fausta, particularly if they came from families who had been connected to that of the late empress and her sister by marriage or alliance. The focus, after Fausta's fall, on Helena – and her residence in a palace connected to Maxentius – could thus have served Constantine to promote once again a break with the past, this time more pronounced, designed for the attention of the "Theodoran branch" of his family and their networks in the city. It should be noted that Constantine seems to have recalled his half-brothers from semi-official exile by 326, thereby perhaps reigniting the legitimacy issues arising from their superior double imperial ancestry.[73]

64. On Fausta's death and the speculation surrounding it see Drijvers 1992a.
65. *CIL* 6.1136. Barnes 2014 p. 43, dates the (fragmentary) inscription to 317-324, because Helena is not called *Augusta*, but see Merriman 1977, pp. 436-446, who connects rebuilding of the baths with building of the Aqua Augustea in the late 320s. The use of the phrase *avia...[caesarum]* makes it similar to other inscriptions from Rome and Southern Italy dated to after 324, see below n. 74.
66. A detailed description of the complex is in Colli 1996.
67. Zos. 2.29.3-4; see also *Epit. de Caes.* 41.11. For Helena's residence in Rome as early as 312 see Drijvers 1992b, pp. 30-34.
68. *CIL* 6. 40769. Scrinari 1991, p. 173.
69. Such replacement of Maximian women with Helena after 326 also happened in Southern Italy. See Drijvers 1992b, p. 49 on an inscription celebrating Fausta as *uxor* recarved with Helena's name and *mater* after 326.
70. Scrinari 1991, p. 167.
71. Zos. 2.29.2.
72. Moser 2013, pp. 14, 41-42 and passim with overview over the previous historiography at pp. 6-8.
73. Barnes 2011, p. 164.

Helena's celebration on monumental inscriptions indeed occurred above all in the former heartlands of Maximian's and Maxentius' power. Of the twelve known inscriptions that were set up for Helena after she had been made *Augusta*, eight were erected in Rome, Southern Italy and North Africa, and most of these dates from after 326.[74] On several of the inscriptions from Rome, she was styled as *genetrix*, implying the origins of Constantine's dynasty started with her. These same inscriptions and several of the others celebrated her as grandmother (*avia*) of the Caesars (Constantine and Constantius). All of this, according to Francesca Consolino, was "intended to contrast with the line of Theodora and her descendants".[75] In any case, it was a remarkable strategy to narrow down the Constantinian dynastic line even further than had been the case between 315 and the mid 320s. The fact that the inscriptions were displayed in Rome shows that Constantine wanted the old capital to take notice.

To be sure, Helena must have left Rome again soon after 326 to go on her famous pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[76] Yet, remarkably enough, when she died c. 330, her body was returned to Rome to be laid to rest in a mausoleum on the Via Labicana, three miles south-east of Rome, adjacent to a funerary basilica.[77] The choice of this area as Helena's final resting place must have been intended to send a message. There is little archaeological evidence that the focus of the complex was a Christian martyr cult, and dedication of the basilica to the Saints Marcellinus and Peter only came later.[78] Rather, the choice of place may have been connected, at least partly, to the memory of Maximian and Maxentius. The basilica and the mausoleum were situated on land called the *fundus Laurentus*, which had passed into Helena's possession at some point.[79] Perhaps not coincidentally, Maxentius had resided in his *villa publica* only three miles further down on the Via Labicana from Helena's future mausoleum before he usurped power in 306.[80] It is not inconceivable (but impossible to prove) that the whole area had belonged to Maximian, who had perhaps acquired it in his abdication settlement. It may then have passed to Maxentius, before Constantine confiscated it in 312 and then later gave it to his mother. The basilica on the Via Labicana, whose construction begun as early as 312, has been interpreted as part of Constantine's strategy to submit Maxentius to *damnatio memoriae*. Tombstones from the necropolis of the horse-guards, who had supported Maxentius, were incorporated into the walls of the basilica. Yet the building of the mausoleum itself may have only commenced in 324 or later, that is, during a time when Helena was probably residing in Rome.[81] This may show that still at that time it mattered to Constantine to manipulate the ways Maxentius was remembered in Rome, especially given the disappearance of his sister, Fausta, in 326.

Rome after Constantine: a woman's place?

Events following Constantine's death in Constantinople in May 337 painfully demonstrate that the incorporation of Maximianic women into Constantine's family created the risk of division trickling down the generations. By June, Constantius' and Theodora's surviving male children and many of their male descendants or in-laws had been killed in the new imperial city, possibly on the orders of Constantine's son, Constantius II. Due to their double imperial ancestry from Constantius and Maximian (later triumphantly emphasised by Julian, son of Julius Constantius[82]), they had presented a real threat to the sons of Constantine, whose ancestry was not as stellar and whose mother Fausta was probably disgraced. Furthermore, in the very last years of his life, Constantine had further reversed his strategy of sidelining the "Theodoran branch" by making his nephews Hannibalianus and Dalmatius (sons of his half-brother Fl. Dalmatius) *rex* and Caesar respectively alongside his own sons.[83] In the process, Constantine had tried to integrate the two branches of his family more closely. His son Constantius had married a daughter of Julius Constantius, his daughter Constantina Hannibalianus, and, perhaps, his daughter Helena had married Dalmatius.[84] Upon his death, however, Constantine's sons did not feel the same inclination towards honouring and rationalising these marriages as Constantine seems to have done with his half-siblings' marriages earlier in his reign.

The massacre of the summer of 337 in Constantinople shows that imperial actions, together with their male agents, had during the 330s decidedly moved away from

74. *CIL* 6.1134, 1135, 36950; *CIL* 8.1633; *CIL* 10.517, 678 (with Helena's name and possibly statue replacing Fausta's), 1483, 1484. For dating, see Washington 2016, pp. 255-259.
75. Consolino 2001, p. 146. *Genetrix*: *CIL* 6. 1134, 1135, 36950. *Avia*: *CIL* 6.1134, 36950; *CIL* 10.517, 1483, 1484. For the meaning of the term *genetrix*, see Drijvers 1992b, p. 52.
76. For the journey, see Drijvers 1992b, pp. 63-72.
77. Eus.,*Vit. Const.* 3.46-7; *Liber Pontificalis* I 182.
78. Diefenbach 2007, pp. 170-172.
79. *Liber Pontificalis* I 183. The *fundus Laurentus* extended from the Via Latina to the Via Praenestina, and hence incorporated the Via Labicana situated between them. It is unknown how far it stretched to the east, i.e. away from Rome.
80. On Maxentius' residence on the Via Labicana, see above n. 23.
81. On dating of basilica and mausoleum and the connection with Maxentius' *damnatio memoriae*, see Johnson 2009, pp. 110-118.
82. Philost., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.16a.
83. Harries 2012, p. 187, who suspects a plot by Constantine's Praetorian Prefect Fl. Ablabius.
84. Barnes 2011, p. 165.

Rome. According to older scholarship, Rome remained the playground of the Christian bishop or, according to more recent historians, the aristocracy.[85] It is notable, however, that the women of the Constantinian family, who were still living in 337, also survived the massacre in Constantinople. Even more striking is the continued presence of some of these in Rome. Perhaps best known in this context is Constantina, Constantine's daughter and Hannibalianus' widow, who founded the basilica of S. Agnese fuori le mura, next to which she and her sister Helena were later buried. However, before we turn to Constantina, it is worth redirecting our gaze to her maternal cousins and paternal aunts, Constantine's half-sisters and Maximian's granddaughters. There is good evidence that these played a role in the Christian and aristocratic transformation of mid-4th century Rome. While the extent of this role must remain speculative, its very existence suggests that even beyond Constantine's death these women provided a connection to both the Constantinian and the Maximianic legacy in Rome, which also helped to keep alive the imperial ambitions of Theodora's descendants in the city.

As seen above, Constantine's half-sisters Eutropia and Anastasia had been married to Roman aristocrats. Of the two, Eutropia's presence in post-Constantinian Rome is well attested (if little commented on) through the writings of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, the great champion of the council of Nicaea. Expelled from his see by the anti-Nicene Constantius II, who had succeeded his father in the eastern territories, Athanasius came to Rome in 339 to seek the support of the city's bishop, Julius. In Rome, he was hosted by Eutropia. Athanasius also later reports that Eutropia was killed in Rome by the usurper Magnentius, who seized the purple after the violent death of Constantius' brother Constans, who had been in charge of the west.[86] Since Eutropia was the mother of another usurper who emerged in Rome, Julius Nepotianus, her death must have occurred in July 350, when Magnentius suppressed Nepotianus' imperial claims amidst violent bloodshed in the streets of the city.[87]

Athanasius' story shows not only that Eutropia seems to have lived in Rome throughout the 340s, but that she was a key member of several influential political and religious networks. We do not know how Eutropia and Athanasius became acquainted, although it may be significant that her brother Fl. Dalmatius (father to Hannibalianus) had protected Athanasius after his condemnation at the Council of Tyre in 335.[88] Eutropia may have facilitated Athanasius' access to Constans, whom he met at Milan in 342.[89] Eutropia's closeness to the imperial court, but perhaps even more so her double imperial ancestry through her father Constantius and her grandfather Maximian, must have also kindled Nepotianus' hope for imperial power a decade later. Through Eutropia, then, the Maximianic legacy was alive among sections of the Roman aristocracy.

Equally importantly, Eutropia may have been a conduit for the dissemination of Christian knowledge among the elite of Rome. Athanasius clearly credits her with support for the Nicene cause and she may have solicited, or simply been among, those "wives of the great men [of the senate]", who, according to Palladius, took a deep interest in Athanasius while he was in Rome.[90] We know from Jerome that it was through Athanasius' visit to Rome that information about the Egyptian holy men and ascetics Antony and Pachomius began to circulate in the city, inspiring Roman aristocratic women to take up a celibate Christian lifestyle. Among these was Jerome's friend Marcella, whose mother Albina, possibly a Nummia, may have been related to Constantine via his half-sister Anastasia's marriage into the Roman aristocracy.[91] While we cannot clearly reconstruct how Athanasius' stories reached Marcella (or whether Jerome rather romanticised the whole affair), the possibility cannot be excluded that this was through Eutropia's female networks. Kay Ehling has recently emphasised the Christian convictions of Eutropia's son, the usurper Nepotianus, among whose supporters may have been Julius, the bishop of Rome, who was banished for a short period possibly after the usurpation.[92] It appears, then, that the household, in which Nepotianus grew up, was a vital space for the early Christianisation of the Roman aristocracy and the earliest recorded of the female Christian "salons" of fourth-century Rome. It is also tempting to see a long-term consequence of Eutropia's efforts to support the Nicene cause in the support given by the aristocratic women of Rome to their bishop Liberius, Julius' successor, when in 355 or 356 he also was banished by Constantius, this time for supporting Athanasius.[93]

Against this background, the Christian patronage activities of Constantina, Constantine's daughter, in Rome may appear in a new light. It is usually believed that Constantina lived in Rome between the murder of her first husband, Hannibalianus, in 337 and her second marriage to her cousin Gallus Caesar, son of Constantine's

85. For an overview of these debates, see Cooper, Hillner 2007.
86. Athanasius, *Apologia ad Const.* 6.
87. Eutrop. 10.11; *Epit. de Caes.* 42.3.; Zos. 43.2.
88. *PLRE* I, Fl. Dalmatius 6, p. 241.
89. Athanasius, *Apologia ad Const.* 4.
90. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 1.4: ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων.
91. Jerome, *Ep.* 127.5. On Marcella's family: Chausson 2002, p. 149. Marcella's imperial connections and their physical presence in Rome are alluded to in Ps.-Jer., *Exhortatio ad Marcellam* 2 (PG 11:51): *in tempore illo, quo domum tuam regalis affinitas ambiebat*.
92. Ehling 2001.
93. Theoderet, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.17.

half-brother Julius Constantius, in 351.[94] During this time, Constantina founded a basilica dedicated to the virgin martyr Agnes on the Via Nomentana close to the tomb of the saint, about two miles from the city in the north-western suburbium, either on imperial or her own land, but certainly with her own money.[95] In March 350, Constantina also interfered in the usurpation of Magnentius, taking a remarkable initiative in proclaiming a *magister militum* stationed in Illyricum, Vetranio, as Caesar. This move gave her brother Constantius, occupied on the Persian frontier, much needed breathing space to muster his forces successfully against Magnentius.[96] After marrying Gallus, Constantina relocated with him to Antioch, but upon her death in 354 her body was returned to Rome to be buried at S. Agnese, possibly in the still-extant rotunda at the south-eastern corner of the basilica known as her mausoleum by the 7th century (now S. Costanza).[97]

Constantina's close connection with Rome and her residence in the city in the 340s have rarely been explained. It has been suggested that she acted as the imperial representative of her brothers.[98] If true, it would be tempting to assume she was meant to fulfil a similar role to that of her grandmother Helena: to emphasise the imperial line of Constantine's sons against that of Theodora still present in the city. Alternatively, she may have been used as a figurehead to heal the divisions. After all, Constantine's three sons had sought to establish a link between themselves and the "Theodoran branch" of the family shortly after the massacre of 337 by minting posthumous coins in the three imperial cities Trier, Rome and Constantinople with Theodora's portrait, the first time she appears in imperial iconography outside Rome.[99] To be sure, Constantina seems to have resided, like Helena, close to the Lateran in the south-eastern corner of the city. Here, she may have commissioned the decoration of a Christian chapel, where she was honoured with a statue and inscription by an official of the imperial bureaucracy. Intriguingly, the chapel was located just a few metres north of the residence under INPS, which continued in use throughout the 4th century. Later hagiographical accounts locate Constantina's court officials in this area.[100] Her burial in a mausoleum next to a Christian basilica is also strikingly similar to that of Helena and there is some, admittedly late and unreliable, evidence that her mausoleum was built by Constantius II. If true, it must have been meant to be an official imperial focal point for the city.[101]

Nonetheless, evidence documenting the foundation of S. Agnese and Constantina's involvement in the usurpation of Magnentius gives the impression of a woman who forged a path independent of her imperial brothers, or at least closer to that of her senatorial relatives living in Rome, who were not only part of her paternal and maternal family lines but, through her marriage with Hannibalianus, also her in-laws. The dedicatory epigram, which was displayed on a marble slab in the basilica of S. Agnese, written (possibly) in the first person singular, portrayed Constantina as a confident, educated and pious Christian patron. The combination of the female voice, language borrowed from imperial victory monuments, and Constantina's name in the acrostic was a new departure for female members of the Constantinian dynasty, who so far had only appeared as passive pawns in male dynastic games.[102] Constantina's authority clearly derived from her alignment with the spiritual power of the chaste virgin Saint Agnes. Like Agnes, Constantina described herself as "dedicated to Christ" (*Christo dicata*). Epigraphic evidence derived from the near-by catacombs implies, if uncertainly, that she may even have founded a community of virgins at S. Agnese.[103] Study of the architectural position of Constantina's mausoleum relative to the basilica of S. Agnese has shown that the entire complex was less focussed on imperial commemoration than on the saint's cult. This makes it rather different to Helena's mausoleum at the basilica on the Via Labicana, whose dedicatory saint, if it had one, is not even known.[104] All of this betrays Constantina's understanding of female empowerment through Christian ideals and practices of celibacy emerging in Rome in the 340s (and incidentally points to herself as the commissioner of her mausoleum rather than her brothers).[105]

While it should not, of course, be assumed that ascetic knowledge was only disseminated through one channel, it is a remarkable coincidence that several female members of the Constantinian family writ-large, Constantina, Eutropia and Marcella, present in Rome at the same time, can be brought in connection with it. A relationship between Constantina and Marcella, with Constantina

94. Dirschlmayer 2015, p. 54.
95. Krautheimer 1937, pp. 14-39.
96. Bleckmann 1994.
97. Amm. Marc. 21.1.5; on the mausoleum: Johnson 2009, pp. 139-156.
98. Harries 2014, p. 212.
99. *RIC* VIII, Treveri 43, 48, 56, 65, 79, 81; Rome 28, 54; Constantinople 36, 50, 51.
100. On the Christian chapel: Dirschlmayer 2015, pp. 63-64; the inscription is *CIL* 6.40790; hagiography: *Passio Iohannis et Pauli* 1 (BHL 3242). On the continuity of the so-called *domus Faustae* in the 4th century, see Scrinari, as n. 42.
101. *Passio Constantiae* (BHL 1927). For Constantius as builder of Constantina's mausoleum, see Kleinbauer 2006.
102. *ICUR* 8. 20752 = *ILCV* 1768. The two editions diverge on whether the inscription was held in the first or third person singular. On its tone see Harries 2014, p. 211; Trout 2014, pp. 221-223.
103. Schmitz 1926, p. 198.
104. Diefenbach 2007, p. 174.
105. Jones 2007, p. 118.

influencing her younger relative, has indeed been postulated, including Marcella's alleged later residence at the hypothetical monastery founded by Constantina at S. Agnese.[106] Yet, given her friendship with Athanasius, it was more likely the older and well-connected Eutropia who facilitated the spread of new Christian ideas among the Roman aristocracy and, possibly, to Constantina, who cannot have been older than twenty when she arrived in Rome, and to Marcella, who must have been a very young girl in the 340s.[107] As is well known, Marcella was later approached by Naeratius Cerealis, Julius Constantius' brother-in-law, with a proposal for marriage, which she famously rejected. This shows that at least Marcella was deeply embedded in the Roman circles of the "Theodoran branch" of Constantine's family.[108]

One further piece of evidence adds to the picture of Constantina being closer to members of the Constantinian family resident in Rome than has hitherto been acknowledged. This is her astonishing proclamation of Vetranio as Caesar, which Bruno Bleckmann has argued came about through the interference of Vulcacius Rufinus, Roman aristocrat, member of the Naeratii family, consul in 347 and Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum at the time of Magnentius' usurpation.[109] What has been overlooked so far is that Rufinus was Constantina's kinsman, since he was also a brother of Galla, wife of Julius Constantius (Gallus Caesar's father). In fact, as Bleckmann speculates, Rufinus may subsequently have arranged Constantina's marriage to Gallus, who was his nephew, and Gallus' elevation to the rank of Caesar. Once again, then, we see Constantina under the influence of her powerful aristocratic relatives from Rome.

When we take into account her wider vertical and lateral family connections, Constantina appears more bound to the city of Rome through her links with the "Theodoran branch" of the Constantinian family than as an independent agent. This is not to say that she was not also an imperial representative of her brothers, or at least of Constans, which again would show that affairs in Rome continued to matter to the imperial centre even after Constantine's death. Nonetheless, her apparent long-term stay in Rome meant that Constantina was exposed to new religious developments in Rome centred on Christian female networks, which may have given her access to forms of power not previously experienced by imperial women. At the same time, however, and possibly through the same channels, Constantina seems to have been drawn into the political ambitions of her "Theodoran" relatives.

Conclusions

The list of women belonging to late Roman imperial dynasties with a connection to Rome, as presented in Appendix I, is impressive and deserves our attention. One objective of this article has been to assemble this evidence, which, compared to that for visits of imperial men to the city, is rarely, if ever, interrogated. One reason for this lack of scholarly interest may be that the itineraries of Roman imperial women are often linked to that of Roman imperial men without further examination.[110] This is problematic in itself, as it prevents us from fully understanding, for example, how late Roman imperial ceremony dealt with the empress travelling and residing alone. Yet, what I have also shown is not only that this evidence exists, but that it is significant for refining our understanding of imperial attitudes to the city of Rome.

This significance is thrown into sharp relief if we consider the women in question not just from the perspective of their respective relationship with the reigning emperor or emperors, but against the background of their entire family network, both male and female. Building on the premise that Roman women, particularly at the highest social level, were embedded in and movers between several families, such an approach reveals hitherto largely hidden connections between some imperial women and the urban landscape of Rome, both in the physical and the figurative sense. It further shows that the relationship between these women and Rome was diverse. It would be too simplistic to consider each one of these women as merely an official imperial representative in the city. Yet, it would also be misleading to think that their residence in Rome in the absence of emperors afforded imperial women independence from their families. Even though these women were far from court, they were, seemingly, usually close to other male and female relatives in Rome, which had an impact on their actions.

I have, in this article, concentrated on the situation at the time of Constantine and his sons up to the early 350s. We have been able to see that, over the course of Constantine's and his successors' reigns, there were key changes regarding which imperial women were visibly promoted – and possibly resided – in Rome. While Constantine celebrated his wife and stepmother in the early years after the taking of Rome from their brother Maxentius in 312, they made way for his mother Helena from the mid 320s. Finally, we see his daughter Constantina as the central imperial woman in the city in the 340s.

106. Letsch-Brunner 1998, pp. 41-48.
107. On Constantina's birth date see Barnes 2011, p. 152; Marcella only died in 410 at an advanced age: Jerome, *Ep.* 127.13-14.
108. Jerome, *Ep.* 127.2. On Naeratius Cerealis: *PLRE* I Cerealis 2, pp. 197-199.
109. *PLRE* I Rufinus 25, 782-783. Bleckmann 1994.
110. For example, Chausson 2002, p. 154 argues that "Helena [daughter of Constantine], mariée à Julien en 355, l'accompagna dans ses voyages", thereby dismissing that she could have been in Rome in 358, as suggested by *PLRE* I Helena 2, p. 410. In fact, we only know that she was with Julian in Paris in 360: Jul., *Ep. ad Ath.* 284c.

These changes were, of course, influenced by the changes in composition of Constantine's family (due to the birth of his sons, the removal of his wife, his own death etc.). Yet I have argued that the broadcasting of the female imperial body in Rome and its environs, rather than elsewhere, may also have responded to the close and, for Constantine, problematic relationship that one side of his dynasty, the descendants of his stepmother Theodora, entertained with the city and its senatorial aristocracy. This relationship had, in turn, been created through the presence of imperial women in Rome since the tetrarchy and strengthened through intermarriage with senatorial families. The influence of the semi-imperial, semi-aristocratic "Theodoran branch" of Constantine's family in Rome seems to have been a constant during the period studied. It may have extended to Constantine's daughter Constantina, when she was resident in Rome in the 340s. Constantina's imperial patronage of the virgin martyr Agnes is one of the first records of the celebration of female celibacy in Rome, which would become a defining feature of the Christian senatorial aristocracy later in the 4th century. Constantina's family connections in Rome show how such ideas, just like the women, could circulate across the boundaries between the "imperial" and "senatorial" spheres in late antique Rome.

If we extended our investigation into the family backgrounds of imperial women, we might be able to garner more insights into the reasons behind and impact of female imperial residence in Rome in later periods too. In particular, in the early 5th century we are presented with the similar, and perhaps similarly puzzling, residence in Rome by women of two hostile branches of the imperial family: of Serena, Honorius's adopted sister, and Galla Placidia, his half-sister, and granddaughter of Justina, who may, again, have been a descendant of one of the aristocratic families, who had married into the Constantinian family.[111] This is not to say, of course, that we will be able to establish with certainty why imperial women resided in Rome in each case or even how exactly in some cases the women in question were related to the imperial family. Some of the women are just names to us, such as a Constantia, wife of a man called Orfitus (Urban Prefect 353-355 and 357-359?), recorded on a gold-glass medallion, or an Anastasia, who with an unnamed husband decorated a space in or near St Peter's used as a baptistery during the episcopate of Damasus (366-384).[112] This Anastasia may be the same as the one whose son Gallus also was a patron of St Peter's, and both may have been among the ancestors of a family group, consisting of an Anastasia, her husband Marinianus (possibly the Praetorian Prefect of 422) and their son Rufius Viventius Gallus, who added even more decorations to the Vatican basilica in the 5th century.[113] The names "Constantia", "Anastasia" and "Gallus" suggest a relationship with the Constantinian dynasty. However, neither Constantia nor the several Anastasiae and the dates that can be deduced from the evidence fit into what else we know about this dynasty. Of the various explanations of their identities advanced, none is entirely convincing.[114] This shows that, given the fragmentary nature of much of the evidence and the relative disinterest of late Roman authors in the whereabouts of imperial women, our understanding of the phenomenon of female imperial residence in late antique Rome must, of necessity, remain approximate. Nonetheless, these last cited examples prove a major point made in this article: that Rome was a place where late Roman imperial women – defined in the widest sense – lived, married, had children and died, shaping the urban elite and perhaps its attitudes towards emperors over generations.

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111. On Justina's possible aristocratic background see Chausson 2007, pp. 160-178.

112. Constantia: Cameron 1996, pp. 295-301; Anastasia: *ICUR* 2.4097.

113. *ICUR* 2.4122; *ILCV* 1758, 1759. See Liverani 2008.

114. See e.g. Schumacher 1986 (on Anastasia); Chausson 2002 (on Anastasia and Constantia).

Appendix I
Female imperial presences in Rome, 289/298?-455

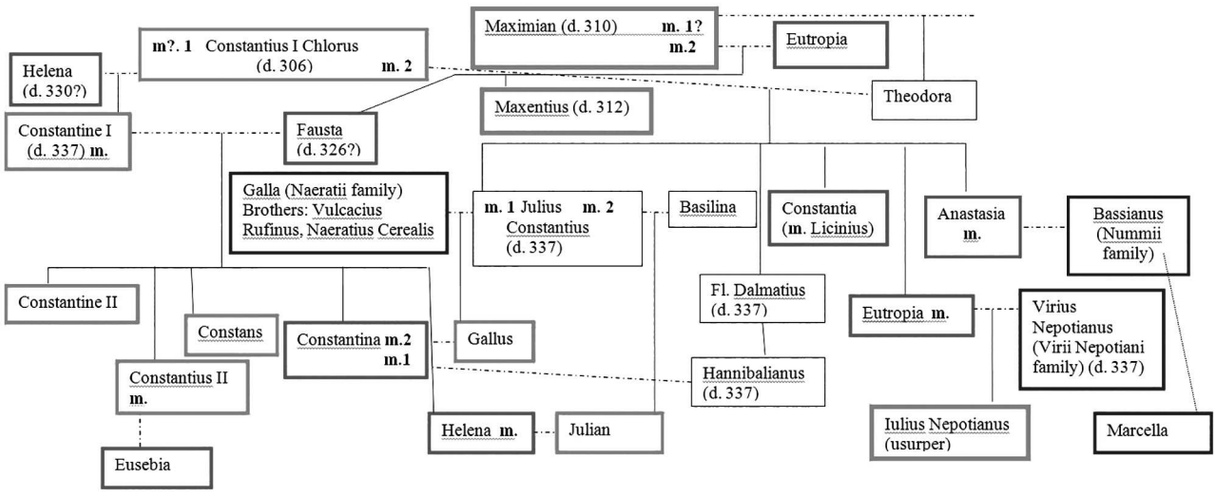
Date	Presence of imperial women in Rome
289/298?-307?	Fausta, Maximian's daughter and Maxentius' sister, is born in Rome and spends her childhood there (with her mother Eutropia?): Jul. *Or.* 1.5c.
305?-312	Valeria Maximilla, wife of Maxentius and daughter of Galerius, resides in Rome with Maxentius: *CIL* XIV 2826.
312	Eutropia, widow of Maximian, denounces Maxentius, possibly in Rome: *Anon. Val.* 1.4.
313	A Christian synod is held *in domum Faustae in Laterano*, house of Constantine's wife Fausta: Optatus 1.23.
Before 315/316	Eutropia and Anastasia, Constantine's half-sisters, are married to the senatorial aristocrats Nepotianus (Eutrop. 10.11; *Epit. de Caes*. 42.3; Zos. 2.43.2) and Bassianus (*Anon. Val.* 5.14); Constantine's half-brother Julius Constantius marries the senatorial aristocrat Galla (Amm. Marc. 14.11.27).
326?	Fausta is killed, possibly in Rome: Zos. 2.29.3-4.
326?-c. 330	Helena, Constantine's mother is in Rome in 326: Zos. 2.29.3-4; she restores baths in Rome:6.1136 (inscription may date from 317-324); and may donate a golden cross to St Peter in the Vatican: *Lib. Pont.* I 176. Helena is buried in Rome on the Via Labicana: Eus.*Vit. Const*. 3, 46-7; *Liber Pontificalis* I 182.
337?-351?	Constantina, daughter of Constantine, possibly founds a chapel near the Lateran (Dirschlmayer 2015, pp. 63-64) where she is honoured with an inscription: *CIL* VI 40790; and founds St Agnes on the Via Nomentana: *ICUR* 8.20752; *Liber pontificalis* I: 180.
339-342	Eutropia, half-sister of Constantine, hosts Athanasius of Alexandria in Rome: Athanasius, *Apologia ad Const*. 6.
c. 340-369	A Constantia, possibly a member of the Constantinian family, is married to Orfitus: Cameron 1996, pp. 295-301.
350	Eutropia, half-sister of Constantine, is killed in Rome: Athanasius, *Apologia ad Const.* 6.
After 354	Constantina, daughter of Constantine, is buried in Rome near S. Agnese, her foundation on the Via Nomentana: Amm. Marc. 21.1.5.
354?	Eusebia, Constantius II's wife, visits Rome: Jul. *Or.* 3.129b.
357	Eusebia, Constantius II's wife, and Helena, Julian's wife and Constantine's daughter, are with Constantius II in Rome: Amm. Marc. 16.10.18.
358	A sister of Constantius II, called (erroneously?) Constantia, possibly resides at S. Agnese: *Liber Pontificalis* I: 207.
After 360	Helena, Julian's wife, is buried in Rome at S. Agnese: Amm. Marc. 21.1.5.
366-384?	An Anastasia decorates a baptistery in or near St Peter's in the Vatican: *ICUR* 2.4097; Gallus, possibly her son (*Anastasiae natus*), also decorates another space at St Peter's: *ICUR* 2.4122.
387	Justina, widow of 1) usurper Magnentius, 2) Valentinian I, mother of Valentinian II, daughter of Iustus and sister of Cerealis (of the Naeratii family?) and her daughter Galla, fiancée of Theodosius I, are sent to Rome by Theodosius: Zos. 4.45.4.
389?	Serena, Theodosius I's adoptive daughter, gives birth to her son Eucherius in Rome, and is in Rome during Theodosius' visit to the city: Claudian, *de cons. Stilich.* 3.176-179.
394	Serena, Theodosius I's adoptive daughter, with Theodosius in Rome, desecrates a statue of Rhea in the temple of Magna Mater: Zos. 5.38.3.
404	Serena walks with her son in front of Honorius' chariot during his consular procession in Rome: Claudian, *de VI cons. Hon*. 552.
Before 408	Serena is in Rome, receives visit from Melania the Younger: *Vita Mel.* 11-14 (ed. Gorce).
	Thermantia, daughter of Serena and Stilicho, mentioned on a bronze tabella securiclata (a property plaque?) from Rome, before her marriage to Honorius in 408: *CIL* VI 36965.
408	Honorius' wife Maria (Serena's and Stilicho's elder daughter) buried in Rome at St Peter's: *ILS* 800.
408	Laeta, widow of Gratian, and her mother Tisamena help to relieve a famine in Rome: Zos. 5.39.4.
408	Thermantia is sent back to her mother Serena in Rome after Stilicho's execution; Serena's son Eucherius also flees to Rome: Zos. 5.35.3; 5. 37.5. Serena is tried and executed, possibly in Rome, with collaboration by Galla Placidia, Honorius' half-sister: Zos. 5.38.1-5.

Date	Presence of imperial women in Rome
Before 410	Galla Placidia is mentioned on a tabella securiclata from Rome: *CIL* VI 36964.
410	Galla Placidia is taken hostage by the Visigoths in Rome: *Chron. Gall. ann.* 452: 77; Hyd. Lem. 44; Jordanes, *Get.* 159-160, *Rom.* 323; Marcellinus *com.* a. 410; Olymp. frg. 3; Orosius 7.40.1-2, 43.1-2; Philost. *Hist. Eccl.* 12.4; Zos. 6.12.3; Prosp. Tir. 1259 (a. 416).
415	Honorius' wife Thermantia is possibly buried in Rome, at St Peter's: McEvoy 2013, 131.
423	Galla Placidia is banished to Rome after death of her husband, Constantius III: *Chron. Gall. ann.* 452: 90 (*Romam exilio relegata*).
423	An Anastasia, wife of consul Fl. Avitus Marinianus, sister of a Galla and mother of Rufius Viventius Gallus, perhaps of Constantinian family, is involved in decorating St Peter's: *ILCV* 1758, 1759.
425	Galla Placidia is in Rome for the coronation of Valentinian III: Olympiodorus frg. 43.1.
After 425	Galla Placidia decorates Sancta Hierusalem (S. Croce in Gerusalemme), together with her daughter Honoria and her son Valentinian: *ILS* 817.
441	Galla Placidia restores St Paul outside the Walls following an earthquake: *ICUR* 2.4780.
440-450	Eudoxia, Valentinian III's wife, fulfils a vow at the Titulus Apostolorum (S. Pietro in Vincoli): *ILCV* 1779.
After 449	Honoria, Valentinian III's sister, sent to her mother Galla Placidia in Rome when her plot with Attila is revealed: Priscus fr. 17.1.
450	In February of this year, Galla Placidia and Eudoxia, together with Valentinian, attend mass at St Peter's: *ACO* 2.1.1, ep. 2, 3. 4. 14.
450	Galla Placidia reburies her son Theodosius in Rome in 450 at St Peter's: Prosper, *Chron. Reich. add.* 12.
455	Eudoxia is forced to marry the usurper Petronius Maximus in Rome after Valentinian's death and is then taken from Rome by the Vandals in 455, as are her daughters Placidia and Eudocia: *Chron. Pasch. a.* 455; Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.7, 4.17; Hyd. Lem. 162, 167; Joh. Ant. frg. 200, 201.6 (= Roberto 293.1-2); John Malalas, *Chron.* 14.26 (ed. Thurn; Dindorf 365-366); Jord. *Rom.* 334; Marcellinus *com.*, *a.* 455; Procopius, *BV* 1.4.36-39, 1.5.3; Prosper Tir. 1375 (a. 455); Theodor *lector*, *epit.* 366; Theophanes AM 5947; Vic. Tonn. a. 455; Zonaras 13.25.19-30.

Appendix II: Genealogy

green: emperors; red: imperial women attested in Rome; blue: members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy

m. = married, descendant



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