




Piotr Kochanek (Lublin)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9702-548X>

## VIGNETTE OF CONSTANTINOPLE ON THE TABULA PEUTINGERIANANA. THE COLUMN OF CONSTANTINE OR THE LIGHTHOUSE

*Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>1</sup>, the original of which is dated for the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and its parchment copy from the 13<sup>th</sup> century preserved until our times, has 555 vignettes<sup>2</sup>. These vignettes were drawn in such a way as to make their hierarchy easily noticeable. Three of them are large and show Rome, Constantinople and Antioch, six others refer to important cities-fortresses of the Roman empire (Ancyra, Aquileia, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Ravenna, Thessalonica), whereas the remaining vignettes indicate small, provincial towns, lighthouses and other place names<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Tabula Peutingeriana*. • Source of the original: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 324 (Time of drawing the original: 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Parchment copy: 13<sup>th</sup> century; Size of the original: approximately 34 cm high and 674 cm long). • Text of the legends on the map: K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius, genannt Die Peutinger'sche Tafel in Farben des Originals*, vol. II, Ravensburg 1888; IDEM, *Die Peutingersche Tafel oder Weltkarte des Castorius*, Stuttgart 1916; A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Roma 1967 [= SMMIR, 7], p. 213–246; IDEM, *La "Tabula Peutingeriana"*, Bologna 1978; L. BOSIO, *La Tabula Peutingeriana. Una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico*, Rimini 1983 [= IMAC, 2], p. 83–120; E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324*, vol. I, *Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat*, Graz 1976; *Tabula Peutingeriana. Die einzige Weltkarte aus der Antike*, comm. M. RATHMANN, 2<sup>nd</sup> Darmstadt 2017 • Source of illustrations (tab. I/1–2 and 4–5): K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. II; <https://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html> [5 II 2019] – “*Tabula Peutingeriana*: real-size reproduction with permission of the National Austrian Library”. Cf. also notes 18–19.

<sup>2</sup> A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 65. Cf. G. TRONCONE, *I viaggi dipinti. Osservazioni sulla Tabula Peutingeriana*, [in:] *La via delle aquile nella terra dei lupi. Atti del convegno, Conza della Campania, 28 agosto 2012*, ed. C. GRASSI, Nusco 2013, p. 119. K. MILLER gave a slightly different number of vignettes on this map: *Wir zählen in Europa 311, in Africa 62, in Asien 161, zusammen 534 Vignetten* – IDEM, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius, genannt Die Peutinger'sche Tafel*, vol. I, *Einleitender Text*, Ravensburg 1887, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte der peutingerschen Tafel*, *MIÖG* 7, 1886, p. 209, 211, 215–216; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 89–97; O. CUNTZ, *Die Grundlagen*



**Tab. I.** Vignettes of lighthouses from *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

As far as the lighthouses are concerned, *Tabula Peutingeriana* has got two such vignettes: the lighthouse of Chrysopolis (tab. I/1) and the lighthouse of Alexandria (tab. I/2). These vignettes are identical. Konrad Miller (21 XI 1844 – 25 VII 1933) believed that also the lighthouse of La Coruña, called the Tower of Hercules as well (tab. I/3)<sup>4</sup>, located on the fragment of a map, which has been lost, showing the Iberian Peninsula and Western England, must have resembled the two lighthouses mentioned above. This type of lighthouse, however, was not the only one, which was presented by the drawer of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. For such a building is presented quite differently on the vignette of the port in Ostia (tab. I/4) and the

*der Peutingerschen Tafeln*, H 29, 1894, p. 588, note 4; H.F. TOZER, *A History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge 1897 [= CGSer], p. 310–311; K. MILLER, *Die Peutingersche Tafel...*, p. 2; W. KUBITSCHKEK, *Karten*, [in:] *RE*, vol. X.2, *Ius liberorum – Katochos*, Stuttgart 1919, col. 2138.36–2139.21; H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes*, Leipzig 1923 [= IHINW, N.F. 1], p. 6; A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 65–66; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, praef. P. LEMERLE, Paris 1974 [= BBE, 7], p. 57, 66; O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires*, [in:] *The History of Cartography*, vol. I, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. HARLEY, D. WOODWARD, Chicago 1987, p. 239; K. ZALEWSKA-LORKIEWICZ, *Ilustrowane mappae mundi jako obraz świata. Średniowiecze i początki okresu nowożytnego*, Warszawa 1997, p. 23; E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Poznań 1998 [= XP, 4], p. 20; B. SALWAY, *Travel, "Itineraria" and "Tabularia"*, [in:] *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, ed. C. ADAMS, R. LAURENCE, London–New York 2001, p. 45, fig. 3.3; p. 46, fig. 3.4; p. 47; IDEM, *The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map*, *IMu* 57, 2, 2005, p. 125; D. DRAKOULIS, *The Study of Late Antique Cartography through Web Based Sources*, eP 2, 3, 2007, p. [166]–[167] (= [https://www.e-perimetron.org/Vol\\_2\\_3/Drakoulis.pdf](https://www.e-perimetron.org/Vol_2_3/Drakoulis.pdf) [8 II 2019]); L. GRIG, *Competing Capitals, Competing Representations: Late Antique Cityscapes in Words and Pictures*, [in:] *Two Romes. Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. GRIG, G. KELLY, Oxford 2012 [= OSLA], p. 50; P. KOCHANEK, *Winiety metropolii Pentarchii na mapach średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych*, *VP* 34, 2014, p. 216; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column: The Column of Constantine in Early Byzantine Urban Landscape*, *METU* 33, 1, 2016, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Source of illustrations (tab. I/3): K. MILLER, *Die Peutingersche Tafel...*, the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text.



**Fig. 1.** Fragment of the eastern part of Mediterranean (Sea) of *Tabula Peutingeriana* (the reproduction by K. MILLER – 1888). Source: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula\\_Peutingeriana#/media/File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_Peutingeriana#/media/File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg) [5 II 2019].

alleged lighthouse, which was a part of the vignette of Aquileia (tab. I/5)<sup>5</sup>. The two first lighthouses are like three-storey towers with distinctly marked arcade entrances similar windows and a flame on top, whereas the two latter ones were presented as towers ending with conical roofs. The lighthouse at Ostia has two storeys, whereas the alleged lighthouse of Aquileia is a two-storey one.

As it has already been remarked in the title, the subject of this article is the vignette of Constantinople. Hermann Thiersch (12 I 1874 – 5 VI 1939), writing his dissertation on the lighthouse in Alexandria, found that also the vignette of Constantinople on *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows a lighthouse<sup>6</sup>, on top of which a naked male figure is standing, which is holding a spear in its left hand, and a globe – in the right hand. To confirm his thesis the author included a reproduction of that vignette in the text of his treatise<sup>7</sup>. However, the problem is that H. Thiersch used the vignette of Constantinople placed on the reproduction of *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which was made on the basis of the mediaeval copy in 1888 by K. Miller (fig. 3). The reproduction of the vignette made by K. Miller substantially differs from the drawing on the copy of the map from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, kept in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (fig. 2). K. Miller decided that the building crowned with the naked statue has windows on the first and second storey. Following that suggestion H. Thiersch believed it was a schematic presentation of

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. FRANZOT, *Aquileia e altri porti romani. Analisi della terminologia portuale nelle iscrizioni romane*, Aquileia (Udine) 1999, p. 55; B. GIARDINA, *Navigare necesse est. Lighthouses from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2010 [= BAR, 2096], p. 274, fig. 90.

<sup>6</sup> H. THIERSCH, *Pharos: Antike, Islam und Occident. Ein Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte*, Leipzig und Berlin 1909, p. 24: *Die Peutingersche Karte [...] vorstellt [...] einen dreifach horizontal abgetreppten Turm mit Fenstern und Türen, das oberste Stockwerk deutlich zylindrisch und oben darauf eine Kolossalfigur mit langem Zepter, ganz in der Haltung wie auf den Pharen der alexandrinischen Münzen und der Gemme von Aigeai. Es ist schwer verständlich, wie noch Miller in seiner Herausgabe der Karte und ihm folgend selbst Oberhammer [...] in diesem Turm ein Bild der Porphyrsäule Constantins sehen kann. Diese Säule hat einer solchen Darstellung niemals auch nur von ferne ähnlich gesehen.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 25, fig. 35.

a lighthouse, which reinforced his hypothesis, according to which the Alexandrian lighthouse was to be a model for the later lighthouses built in the Mediterranean Sea basin. H. Tiersch's mistake involved his trust in the accuracy of K. Miller's drawing and had not consulted it with the mediaeval copy from Vienna. Consequently, he became the godfather of the opinion that the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows a lighthouse. His thesis was adopted (among others) by Ferdinando Castagnoli (18 VI 1917 – 28 VII 1988)<sup>8</sup>, Annalina Levi (13 V 1913 – 5 XI 2008) and her husband Mario Levi (2 I 1908 – ? V 1976)<sup>9</sup>, and also by Michel Reddé<sup>10</sup>. Somewhat cautiously approached this issue Oswald A.W. Dilke (26 IV 1915 – 10 VII 1993), who wrote that it is [...] *a high column (rather than a lighthouse)*<sup>11</sup>, and Baldassarre Giardina amphasizing that *the structure (of this monument is) too slim to have been a lighthouse*<sup>12</sup>. However, H. Tiersch's mistake has not remained unnoticed. The reason for it was explained as early as a few decades ago. Probably the first one who noticed the difference between the drawing of Constantinople vignette made by K. Miller and the vignette on the 13<sup>th</sup> century copy of the map kept in Vienna was Hans Gross in 1913<sup>13</sup>, and then in 1917 Wilhelm Kubitschek (28 VI 1858 – 2 X 1936)<sup>14</sup>. In this context it is worth adding

<sup>8</sup> F. CASTAGNOLI, *Faro*, [in:] *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, vol. III, *Dan – Herc*, ed. R. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, Roma 1960, p. 596.

<sup>9</sup> A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 129; *ibidem*, p. 153–154: *Quello che ci spinge a considerare questo monumento come un faro piuttosto che come una columna [...] è il fatto che esso presenta dal basso in alto quegli stessi elementi costitutivi, vale a dire il basamento e le sezioni a larghezza decrescente che già abbiamo riscontrato presenti in varie rappresentazioni di fari, più sopra esaminate. E per di più, in questo caso, a riscontro delle varie finestre od aperture che in varie figurazioni di fari [...] sono state ricavate nelle pareti, possiamo tuttavia riscontrare delle tracce di aperture anche se ci riesce difficile stabilire che si tratti di vere e proprie porte o finestre. Quanto poi alla statua virile eretta alla cima del monumento, no riesce difficile riscontrarne la similitudine con varie figurazioni di questo tipo e soprattutto con quella del Faro di Alessandria.*

<sup>10</sup> M. REDDÉ, *La représentation des phares à l'époque romain*, *MEFR.A* 91, 2, 1979, p. 854, 871. Cf. M.-H. QUET, *Pharus*, *MEFR.A* 96, 2, 1984, p. 801, note 29: *La vignette qui caractérise Constantinople représente la Colonne de porphyre, mais non un phare, comme ont pu le penser A. et L. Levi et M. Reddé.*

<sup>11</sup> O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 239.

<sup>12</sup> B. GIARDINA, *Navigare necesse est...*, p. 74, 171. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 261, fig. 63 (Description of Constantinople's vignette): *The harbour of Constantinople and the column (or the lighthouse) of Constantinus in segment VIII of the Tabula Peutingeriana.*

<sup>13</sup> H. GROSS, *Zur Entstehungs-Geschichte der Tabula Peutingeriana*, [Bonn] 1913 [repr. Amsterdam 1980], p. 68, note 3.

<sup>14</sup> W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria Romana...*; IDEM, *Die Peutingerische Tafel...*; H. GROSS, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte... – GGA* 179, 1917, p. 9: [...] *Thiersch in seinem schönen und geistreichen Werk Pharos (1909) ein unfreiwilliges Opfer der Millerschen Kastoriustafel wird, deren ganz falsche Darstellung der neben der Vignette von Konstantinopel gezeichneten Säule er (statt der der Wiener Photographie, die 21 Jahre vor dem Pharos-Buch erschienen ist!) S. 25 Fig. 35 wiederholt und S. 24 kommentiert. Auf den Widerspruch zwischen der Wiener Photographie und der Kastoriustafel in diesem Punkt hat auch Groß, Entstehung S. 68, 3 hingewiesen; ein Vergleich des Originals zeigt, daß der Schaft der Säule durch keine Fenster oder Türen unterbrochen ist; vielleicht war er rot bemalt;*





**Fig. 2.** The Constantinople vignette on the 13<sup>th</sup> century copy (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). Source of the original: <https://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html> [5 II 2019] – “Tabula Peutingeriana: real-size reproduction with permission of the National Austrian Library”. Cf. note 1.



**Fig. 3.** The Constantinople vignette on the reproduction by K. MILLER (1888): *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. II (= [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula\\_Peutingeriana#/media/File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_Peutingeriana#/media/File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg) [5 II 2019]).

that the contemporary researchers most frequently reproduce the vignette, which is on the Vienna 13<sup>th</sup> century copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>15</sup>. K. Miller's version of the vignette, in turn, is copied much less frequently<sup>16</sup>.

It should, however, be reminded that K. Miller is not the author of that inexact scheme of Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*. For the graphic suggestion of such a scheme of the vignette could be found already in the *editio*

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*die von oben nach unten durchlaufende, nur durch die Gesimse unterbrochene schwarze zarte Mittel-  
linie muß noch ihre Erklärung finden. Cf. ibidem, p. 41.*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften...*, p. 6, fig. 3; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, tab. IV; L. BOSIO, *La Tabula Peutingeriana...*, fig. 22; R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Three Christian Capitals. Topography and Politics*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1983, p. 57, fig. 53; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. III.1, *Atherion – Eros*, Zürich–München 1986, p. 231, fig. 1; O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 240, fig. 14.2; J. ENGEMANN, *Herrscherbild*, [in:] RAC, vol. XIV, *Heilig – Hexe*, Stuttgart 1988, col. 982, fig. 2; J. MIZIOLEK, *Sol verus. Studia nad ikonografią Chrystusa w sztuce pierwszego tysiąclecia*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1991 [= SHS, 46], fig. 59; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus. Die Verchristlichung der imperialen Repräsentation unter Konstantin dem Großen als Spiegel seiner Kirchenpolitik und seines Selbstverständnisses als christlicher Kaiser*, Berlin–New York 1992 [= AKi, 58], fig. 6; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos*, Mainz 1996, tab. 19, fig. 2; E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana* (1998)..., p. 14, fig. 9; C. BERTELLI, *Visual Images of the Town in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G.P. BROGIOLO, B. WARD-PERKINS, Leiden–Boston 1999 [= TRW, 4], fig. 2; C. BARSANTI, *Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo: la testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, RINASA 56 (III serie – anno 24), 2001, p. 172, fig. 49; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce. Riflessioni su Costantino e il sole*, MEFR.A 115, 2, 2003, p. 1040, fig. 8; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2004, p. 193, fig. 19; *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. N. LENSKI, Cambridge–New York 2006, fig. 3; B. GIARDINA, *Navigare necesse est...*, p. 261, fig. 63; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge 2012, p. 37, fig. 24; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife of Constantine's Column*, JRS 27, 2014, p. 311, fig. 6; J. BROTTON, *Great Maps. The World's Masterpieces Explored and Explained*, London 2015, p. 29; p. 31, fig. 4; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 136, fig. 15; Δ.Π. ΔΡΑΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Η Κωνσταντινούπολη στη δυτική μεσαιωνική χαρτογραφία (εικονογραφημένα οδοιπορικά – παγκόσμιοι χάρτες – λιμενοδείκτες – νησολόγια)*, Βκα 33, 2016, p. 113, fig. 2; S. BASSETT, *The Topography of Triumph in Late Antique Constantinople*, [in:] *Der römische Triumph in Prinzipat und Spätantike*, ed. F. GOLDBECK, J. WIENAND, Berlin–Boston 2017, p. 519, fig. 17.4.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. K. GROSS-ALBENHAUSEN, *Zur christlichen Selbstdarstellung Konstantins*, K 78, 1, 1996, p. 173, fig. 1; A. BERGER, J. BARDILL, *The Representations of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's "World Chronicle", and Related Pictures*, BMGS 22, 1998, p. 37, fig. 12; B. SALWAY, *Travel...*, p. 45, fig. 3.3; *Tabula Peutingeriana. Le antiche vie del mondo*, ed. F. PRONTERA, Firenze 2003 (on the cover of the book); T. BARNES, *Constantine. Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Late Roman Empire*, Chichester 2011, fig. 9B; *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Warszawa 2011 (photo on the cover of the book); P. KOCHANEK, *Winiety metropolii Pentarchii...*, p. 216, tab. I, fig. [4]; IDEM, *Vignetten von Konstantinopel in den mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Karten. Die Entwicklung eines graphischen Topos der Stadt*, VP 38, 2018, p. 412, tab. I, fig. 13; p. 437, tab. VIII, fig. 13.

*princeps* of the map, prepared in 1598 by Marcus Welser (20 VI 1558 – 23 VI 1614)<sup>17</sup> – fig. 4. The new edition of that map was presented in 1753 by Franz Christoph von Scheyb (26 II 1704 – 2 X 1777)<sup>18</sup>. That edition also contained a new version of Constantinople vignette – fig. 5. The edition of *Tabula Peutingeriana* by F.C. Scheyb was repeated in 1824 (with some corrections) by Konrad Mannert (17 IV 1756 – 29 IX 1834)<sup>19</sup>, who also took over his vignette of the metropolis upon Bosphorus. In this way the Constantinople vignette made available to the 13<sup>th</sup> century European science by F.C. von Scheyb in 1753 entered the cartographic circuit, becoming a certain kind of standard. Its position was also strengthened by Ernest Desjardins (30 IX 1823 – 22 X 1886), who, in his work concerning this very map, published in the years 1869–1874 also used F.C. von Scheyb's edition<sup>20</sup>. K. Miller followed the authority of his predecessors and repeated the graphic scheme of Constantinople vignette, the author of which was, in fact, F.C. von Scheyb. H. Thiersch, in turn, interpreted one of the elements of this vignette as a scheme of a lighthouse. On one hand, it can be said that H. Thiersch's history of misidentification reaches back to the 18<sup>th</sup> and even 16<sup>th</sup> century and is closely connected with the history of the subsequent editions of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. On the other hand, however H. Thiersch's mistake was the result of his persistent aiming at the strongest supporting with iconographic material of his thesis about the history of lighthouses in the antiquity. Consequently, he interpreted the Constantinople vignette in such a way as to make it correspond to the needs of his dispute. In this situation the reproduction of the vignette made by F.C. von Scheyb, and copied by K. Miller, suited perfectly the idea of H. Thiersch.

Meanwhile, K. Miller himself never identified the above mentioned element of the Constantinople vignette with the lighthouse. His description of that vignette of the year 1887 is the following:

<sup>17</sup> *Tabula Itineraria ex illustri Peutingerorum bibliotheca quae Augustae Vindelicorum beneficio Marci Velseri septemviri Augustani in lucem edita*, Antverpiae: Apud Petrum de Hondt, 1598. History of editions of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, cf. K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 26–39; O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 238.

<sup>18</sup> F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Peutingeriana tabula itineraria quae in Augusta bibliotheca Vindobonensi nunc servatur accurate exscripta, numini maiestatique Mariae Theresiae Reginae Augustae dicta*, Vindobonae: Ex typographia Trattneriana, 1753 (the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text). Cf. *ibidem*, p. I–XII: *Index regionum, insularum, fluviorum, urbium & omnium locorum, quae in Tabula Peutingeriana adnotantur*. Cf. also W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria...*, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana primum aeri incisa et edita a Francisco Christophoro de Scheyb MDCCLIII denuo cum codice Vindoboni collata, emendata et nova introductione instructa*, Lipsiae 1824 (the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text). Cf. *ibidem*, p. 45–63: *Index nominum quae in Tabula Peutingeriana continentur*.

<sup>20</sup> E. DESJARDINS, *La table de Peutinger d'après l'original conservé à Vienne, précédée d'une introduction historique et critique*, Paris 1869–1874 [repr. Innsbruck 2015] (the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text). Cf. W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria...*, p. 41.



Fig. 4. The Constantinople vignette after M. WELSER (1598). Source of the original: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5962742p/f1.zoom> [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 5. The Constantinople vignette after F.C. von SCHEYB (1753). Source of the original: <https://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000000953> [30 IV 2019].



In *Konstantinopel* sehen wir das Bild eines Feldherrn, den buschigen Helm auf dem Haupte, die Linke auf den Schild gestützt und die Lanze zur Seite, die Rechte ausgestreckt, um seinen Willen kundzugeben. Daneben erhebt sich eine riesige Säule mit dem Standbild eines Herrschers, welcher die Lanze in der Linken und die Erdkugel in der Rechten hält. Obwohl Konstantinopel durch seine vielen Säulen berühmt ist, so ist es doch kaum möglich, hier an eine andere Säule zu denken, als an die Konstantins-Säule, [...] Porphyrs-Säule, *Columna purpurea* genannt, [...].<sup>21</sup>

Thus, according to K. Miller, it is not about the lighthouse, but about the Column of Constantine. The figure sitting on the throne, in turn, is *Feldherr*, that is, the supreme commander of the army, and the figure standing on the column is *Herrscher*, that is, the ruling Lord/Ruler. K. Miller did not state directly that the ruler was Constantine the Great (27 II c. 272 – 22 V 337 AD; Roman emperor: 306–337 AD). Instead, he used the phrase: *Standbild eines Herrschers* – statue of a ruler. However, using the expression: *die Konstantins-Säule* suggests that exactly this emperor is being mentioned. It is worth reminding here that the identification of the column that can be seen on the Constantinople vignette with the Column of Constantine appeared as early as before the publication of K. Miller's work in the text by Rudolf Hotz (13 XII 1852 – 13 II 1917) of 1886<sup>22</sup>. The thesis of these two authors was repeated in 1923 by Hermann J. Hermann (12 X 1869 – 10 V 1953)<sup>23</sup>, and four years later by Jan R. Wartena (30 I 1897 – 17 XI 1983)<sup>24</sup>.

Neither is K. Miller the first historian of cartography to describe the vignette of Constantinople. Before him at least a few other researchers had done so. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century these were, among others: a Jesuit Joseph B. Heyrenbach (24 V 1738 – 20 IV 1779), whose work was written in 1768, but it came out in print as late as in 1852, as his posthumous work<sup>25</sup>, as well as Gerard Meerman (6 XII 1722 – 15 XII 1771), whose text was printed in 1773. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in turn, the vignette was described i.a. by: the above mentioned Konrad Mannert in 1824; the Croatian Franciscan Matija P. Katančić (12 VIII 1750 – 24 V 1825), whose monumental work was also published in 1824; Johann N. Seefried in his article from 1870; another description is from 1874, and its author is Dionys Grün (8 I 1819 – 26 II 1896); ultimately, in 1886 R. Hotz presented his description of the vignette.

<sup>21</sup> K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50. Cf. IDEM, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana*, Stuttgart 1916, p. XXXII. Cf. also E. OBERHUMMER, *Constantinopolis*, [in:] *RE*, vol. VII, *Claudius mons – Cornificius*, Stuttgart 1900, col. 1013.4–8; W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria...*, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 215–216.

<sup>23</sup> H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften...*, p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> J.R. WARTENA, *Inleiding op een uitgave der Tabula Peutingeriana*, Amsterdam–Paris 1927, p. 91. Cf. P. ARNAUD, *L'origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l'archétype de la Table de Peutinger*, BSNAP 1988, p. 309.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. T.G. VON KARAJAN, [Einleitung], [in:] J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana. Ein nachgelassenes Werk*, Wien 1852, p. [3].

J.B. Heyrenbach's description is short. The author focused mainly on the vignette of Rome. He considered the drawing of Constantinople together with the scheme of the Eternal City and described both the vignettes in the following way: *Rom und Constantinopel in der Gestalt einer sitzende gekrönte Person, mit einer Lanze, in der Linken einen Schild, auf einem Thronstuhl [...]*<sup>26</sup>. The same author added a bit lower: *Die Bauart des Thrones bei den Hauptstädten ist [...] von einem Geschmacke des mittleren Zeitalters*<sup>27</sup>. J.B. Heyrenbach treated the description of Rome and Constantinople vignettes exclusively as one of the arguments, which was to help him prove his thesis. In accordance with this thesis *Tabula Peutingeriana* kept in a library in Vienna was not the original, which had been made in 393, as it was generally believed at that time, following the authority of F.C. von Scheyb<sup>28</sup>, but the copy from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. J.B. Heyrenbach claimed that it was this copy that had been mentioned in *Annales Colmarienses minores*, where a Dominican friar wrote, referring to the year 1265: *Mappam mundi descripsi in pelles 12 pergamini*<sup>29</sup>. The same fragment of *Annales Colmarienses minores* F.C. von Scheyb also quoted in his work of 1753<sup>30</sup>, but that researcher definitely rejected the hypothesis that this statement referred to *Tabula Peutingeriana*. J.B. Heyrenbach polemized with such a position of F.C. von Scheyb<sup>31</sup>. That polemic was inspired by Johann C. Gatterer's (13 VII 1727 – 5 IV 1799) opinion. In 1767 he assumed without any evidence that the Vienna copy of that map originates from the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>32</sup>. J.B. Heyrenbach got acquainted with the above opinion of J.C. Gatterer through the dissertation published in 1768 by August L. Schlözer (5 VII 1735 – 9 IX 1809), who, however, wrongly claimed that J.C. Gatterer dated the Vienna copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana* for the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>. Then J.B. Heyrenbach, in the same year

<sup>26</sup> J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Dissertatio de Tabula Peutingeriana*, [in:] IDEM, *Peutingeriana tabula itineraria...*, p. 15–29 (= Caput II: *Tabulam Peutingerianam Theodosii Magni cura & mandato A.C. CCCXCIII. adnotatam depictamque esse statuitur*).

<sup>29</sup> *Annales Colmarienses minores a. 1211–1298*, ed. P. JAFFÉ, [in:] *Annales aevi Suevici*, ed. G.H. PERTZ, Hannoverae 1861 [= MGH.SS, 17], p. 191.35; *Annales Basileenses a. 1266–1277*, ed. P. JAFFÉ, [in:] *Annales aevi Suevici...*, p. 200.8: *Mappam mundi correxi circa Margretae* (i.e. July, 20). Cf. J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 13. Cf. also note 37.

<sup>30</sup> F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Dissertatio de Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 14–22.

<sup>32</sup> J.C. GATTERER, [rec.:] *Wenceslai Hagek a Liboczan, Annales Bohemorum e Bohemica editione Latine redditi* – AHBM 4, 1767, p. 325: [...] sie [*Tabula Peutingeriana*] vielmehr ins 13te Jahrhundert gehört. Cf. IDEM, *Register über alle sechzehn Bände der Allgemeinen historischen Bibliothek*, AHBM 16, 1771, p. 304: *Peutingerische Tafeln [...] gehören nicht ins 3te, sondern 13te Jahrhundert*; IDEM, *Praktische Diplomatie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1799, p. 168: *Also ist die Peut. Tafel im 13ten Jahrh. geschrieben worden*.

<sup>33</sup> A.L. SCHLÖZER, *Probe Russischer Annalen*, Bremen–Göttingen 1768, p. 75: *Die Peutingerische Chartre, auf die sich Jordan so viel zu Gute thut, wird nächstens durch Hr. Prof. Gatterern ihr Ansehen*

– 1768 – wrote the text analyzed here, where he proved that the Vienna copy was created exactly in the year 1265. Unfortunately, his dissertation lay dormant in manuscript between the year 1768 and 1852. It cannot be excluded, however, that the thesis of J.B. Heyrenbach, in spite of having been presented in a manuscript only, was known to a small circle of researchers. However, its scope of effect is difficult to verify. Consequently, it should be recognized that until the year 1852 it did not function in the European science.

The Latin description of the vignette in turn, the author of which is G. Meerman, has the following wording:

Tab. VIII. igitur ad Bosporum Thracium repraesentatur mulier solio insidens, Minervaeque, ut videtur, induta habitu, qua Orientis Imperatricem designare sese voluisse autor ostendit adjecto *Constantinopoleos* indicio, itemque columna, cui imposita statua hominis nudi, dextra globum, sinistra hastam tenentis, quam indicare columnam Imp. Arcadii suspicor. [...]. Nulla vero Orienti femina praefuit ante Irenen [...]. Consequens est, huius Augustae effigiem non nisi ad Irenen referri posse.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, G. Meerman decided that a woman is sitting on the throne (*mulier solio insidens*) clad like Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom and warfare (*Minervae induta habitu*), whom he identified as the empress Irene of Athens (c. 752 – 9 VIII 803; empress regnant of the Byzantine Empire: 19 IV 797 – 31 X 802). He identified the column (*columna*) with a naked statue of man on top (*statua hominis nudi*) with the Column of Arcadius. In this way he silently suggested that this male statue is the statue of the Emperor Arcadius (1 I 377 – 1 V 408; Eastern Roman emperor from 395). Identification of the column on the vignette with the Column of Arcadius certainly is not accidental. For if G. Meerman saw the Constantinople vignette in F.C. von Scheyb's version, he might have decided that the column resembles the Column of Arcadius, which was demolished in Istanbul in 1719, of which he might have known that it resembled the Roman Trajan's Column, so it had internal, spiral stairs and, what is more important, small windows, lightening them up, as well as the entrance door in the plinth and the door leading to the upper "observation deck" of the column<sup>35</sup>. The Column of Constantine lacked these elements. In this case G. Meerman did not make a mistake, but interpreted the column, together with the statue, in accordance with what he saw on the Constantinople vignette presented twenty years before by F.C. von Scheyb. The

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verlieren, und aus dem dritten ins 12te Jahrhundert verwiesen werden. Cf. J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> G. MEERMANNUS, *Commentarius in epigramma anonymi vel potius Sedvlii presbyteri, de tabula terrarum ivssv Theodosii Ivnioris Imp. facta*, [in:] *Anthologia veterum latinorum epigrammatum et poematum sive catacleta poetarum latinorum*, vol. II, ed. P. BYRMANNI, Amstelaedami: ex Officina Schovteniana, 1773, p. 395.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym...*, phot. 16, 19; A. KOMPA, *Konstantynopolitańskie zabytki w Stambule*, AUL.FH 87, 2011, p. 181–182.

Column of Arkadius, in turn, as it is well known, was erected to commemorate the victory of that emperor in 400 over the rebellious Goths, led by Gainas. No wonder then that the patron of that victory is *mulier solio insidens, Minervae induta habitu*. It is only the identification of that woman with the empress Irene of Athens seems to be a sort of inconsistency in G. Meerman's reasoning. For he could restrict himself to stating that Minerva herself is sitting on the throne.

According to chronology, the next description of the Constantinople vignette by K. Mannert is the following:

Aequae insignis Segm. VIII alia se offert pictura qua orientalis imperii caput *Constantinopolis* ornetur. Eodem quo Romae modo throno insidentem vides viri figuram cum thorace et pallio, nec tamen coronatam, sed caput tectum casside alte crispata, qualem medii aevi equites aurati gestare solebant, sinistra manu hastam cum clypeo rotundo tenet, dextra indigens statuam altissimae turris apici instantem, ornatam globo in dextra, hasta longissimae mensurae in dextra [should be: sinistra] manu. Ejusmodi figuram Romanis haud convenire in aperto est, nec enim eum habitum, nec galeas plumatas, nec rotundos usui habebant clypeos. Et quo minus posterioribus Byzantinis imperatoribus huic ornatui simile quidquam fuisse cogites, impediunt quas habemus eorum effigies, alio sumptuoso habitu indutae, caput corona singulari forma tectae. Homo igitur medii aevi latinus artis suae specimen editurus simul suam prodidit aetatem. Vt enim formae minime quadrant in imperatorem graecum, ita omnino conveniunt equiti germanicorum populorum; temporis spatium indicant, quo Balduinus Flandriae comes imperatoribus sede imperiali deturbatis potitus est Constantinopoli. Qua de causa figura throno quidem insidet nec tamen coronata, nec globum manu tenens. Initium hoc latinorum regnum sumsit a. 1204, amissum a. 1261 per Graecorum conatus. Eodem igitur intervallo scriptor suam absolvit Tabulam. Ne prolata levioris putentur momenti, diligentius picturae locum consideranti patebit, ad omnia alia archetypo eum destinatum fuisse. Urbs *Perinthus* haut procul abest, antiquum nomen in Tabula retinens, quo Alexandri Severi aetate appellabatur, posteriore tempore *Heraclea* cognominata. Viae ab ea urbe Constantinopolim ducentes delendae erant, (et maxima sua parte deletae, sic tamen ut vestigia remaneant) ut figurae atque nomini satis amplum enasceretur spatium. In archetypo nomen urbis fuit *Byzantium*, coaevum Perinthus, quo deleto scriptor substituit *Constantinopolim*, ea tamen inscitia, ut agri *Byzantini* uncialibus literis expressi mentionem ex antiqua membrana suo loco reliquerit. Is ager ab Imp. Severo Byzantinis irascenti dono datus est Perinthus; mox nomen cum dono evanuit; seculo enim quarto insertum scimus provinciae quam *Europam* appellabant, insignitam jam Constantini M. tempore per Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum. Picturam igitur archetypo non adfuisse, sed illatam esse ab exscriptore vides, et quidem medio aevo, aspectu figurae id indicante [...].<sup>36</sup>

As it is clearly visible, K. Mannert not only described the Constantinople vignette very carefully, but he also interpreted it in a great detail. In his approach, the male figure (*viri figura*) on the throne symbolizes a Latin emperor, one of the rulers of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, who reigned there between the year 1204 and 1261. Thus, it is not the real Byzantine emperor (*imperator graecus*), but a usurper, characterized as: *medii aevi eques auratus, homo medii aevi latinus* and

<sup>36</sup> C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana...*, p. 18–19.



*eques germanicorum populorum*. Therefore, according to K. Mannert, the figure on the throne has no attire, nor insignia of power, typical of Byzantine emperors, but is wearing clothes of a rich, Teutonic knight from the mediaeval times. This figure indicates the statue (*statua*) with the gesture of its right hand. The statue is standing on a very tall tower (*altissima turris*). K. Mannert failed to give the identification of neither the tower nor the statue. He emphasized, however, that the original *Tabula Peutingeriana* did not have the Constantinople vignette, which, in fact, is, in his view, a work of a mediaeval copier (*Picturam [...] archetypo non adfuisse, sed illatam esse ab exscriptore vides, et quidem medio aevo...*). This extensive analysis of the vignette on account of its connection with the culture of the Middle Ages was to reinforce the arguing aimed at indicating the approximate date of the creation of the Vienna copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. However, the date of K. Mannert, who indicated the period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople as the probable time when the copy of the map was prepared, was based not only on the vignette of Constantinople. The German historian and geographer made an effort to make his dating of the copy of that map correspond with the text of *Annales Colmarienses minores*<sup>37</sup>, where under the year 1265 there is the text that had already been copied by F.C. von Scheyb and J.B. Heyrenbach: *Mappam mundi descripsi in pelles 12 pergamenti*<sup>38</sup>. For K. Mannert decided, just like J.C. Gatterer (whom he quoted) before him<sup>39</sup>, as well as J.B. Heyrenbach (whom he did not know) that the map referred to in *Annales Colmarienses minores* is in fact a copy of the Roman map, colloquially referred to as *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The Constantinople vignette was

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 2, 21–23.

<sup>38</sup> C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana*..., p. 20. This reference was later often quoted, cf. P. JAFFÉ, *Annales Colmarienses, Basileenses, Chronicon Colmariense*, [in:] *Annales aevi Suevici*..., p. 186.34–187.1; *ibidem*, p. 187.2–3: *licet cum his non senserim, qui illam pro certo dicunt tabulam fuisse Peutingerianam*; F.H. VON HUNDT, *Ueber die neue Ausgabe der Tabula Peutingeriana durch Desjardins und ihre Ergebnisse für Süddeutschland zur Römerzeit*, SKBAWM.HC 2, 1869, p. 586; D. GRÜN, *Die Peutinger'sche Tafel*, MKKGG 17 (N.F. 7), 1874, p. 468; F. PHILIPPI, *De Tabvla Pevingeriana: accedvnt fragmenta Agrippae geographica*, Bonnae 1876, p. 6; R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte*..., p. 210; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius*..., vol. I, p. 8; *idem*, *Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*, vol. III, *Die kleineren Weltkarten*, Stuttgart 1895, p. 151; J. STRZELCZYK, *Peutingeriana tabula*, [in:] *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. IV, P–R, Wrocław–Warszawa 1970, p. 68; P. ARNAUD, *Les villes des cartographes. Vignettes urbaines et réseaux urbains dans les mappemondes de l'Occident médiéval*, MEF.R.MÂ 91, 1, 1984, p. 539, note 4; *idem*, *L'origine*..., p. 319, note 55; M. WEGMANN, *Naturwahrnehmung im Mittelalter im Spiegel der lateinischen Historiographie des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Bern–Berlin 2005, p. 75, note 270; T. SZABÓ, *Florenz und die Vermessung Europas*, [in:] «Come l'orco della fiaba». *Studi per Franco Cardini*, ed. M. MONTESANO, Firenze 2010, p. 600, note 16; G. TRONCONE, *I viaggi dipinti*..., p. 118. Cf. also A. D'AVEZAC, *Mémoire sur l'Éthicus et sur les ouvrages cosmographiques intitulés de ce nom*, MAIBLIF I série, 2, 1852, p. 429; H.F. TOZER, *A History of Ancient Geography*..., p. 311; F. GISINGER, *Peutingeriana*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XXXVIII, *Petros bis Philon*, Stuttgart 1938, col. 1406.22–24. Cf. also notes 28–29.

<sup>39</sup> C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana*..., p. 38. He cites here J.C. Gatterer's publication from 1799: *Praktische Diplomantik* (p. 167).

for him, in turn, one of the most important proofs that was to confirm that thesis. That is why he devoted so much space to its description. F.C. von Scheyb analyzed the mention from *Annales Colmarienses minores* as it has been mentioned, already in 1753, but the researcher rejected the possibility of identifying the map referred to in *Annales* with *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>40</sup>. K. Mannert returned to that fragment of *Annales Colmarienses minores* and made it an important argument in dating the Vienna map for the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the context of the analysis of Constantinople vignette presented above by K. Mannert in 1824, it is worth paying attention to a certain silent suggestion contained in its description. Namely, K. Mannert claims that the ruler on the throne is one of the emperors of the Latin Empire of Constantinople – *Balduinus Flandriae comes*<sup>41</sup>. It is that Latin Emperor who points with his right hand to the statue standing on the tower. Following that suggestion we can say that the Latin usurper points to the statue of the legitimate emperor, who was the Greek Emperor. He, however, despite his awareness of his “inferiority” towards the real Byzantine emperors, rules, and his Byzantine predecessors reign from their monuments only. Even if its over-interpretation, undoubtedly the long divagation of K. Mannert contains many inspiring threads. It is also worth noticing that the thesis of K. Mannert that the vignette of Constantinople was absent from the original map and that it was added by a 13<sup>th</sup> century monk-copier, practically had never been used by the later examiners of the map.

In 1874 D. Grün presented the above analyses by K. Mannert translated in German<sup>42</sup>. As it is only a repetition of someone else’s theses, it was decided that they were not worth quoting here *in extenso*.

Also in the year 1824 a short description of Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* was published by M.P. Katančić:

Princeps, in throno sedens, caput galea tectus, pectore nudus, dextra protenta genium in turri stantem, nudum, dextra pomum, sinistra hastam tenentem, laeua in scutum recline hastam tenet, ad latus mitra; pictura purpurei et lutei coloris, pro ea aetate non inelegans<sup>43</sup>.

In his description of the vignette the figure sitting on the throne is the ruling Lord/Ruler (*princeps*), pointing out with his right hand to the tower (*turris*), where the genius of Constantinople (*genius*) is standing. Thus, M.P. Katančić, like K. Mannert, saw in the monument crowned with a statue not a column, but a tower.

<sup>40</sup> F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Peutingeriana tabula itineraria...*, p. 30.

<sup>41</sup> K. Mannert does not specify which Baldwin is concerned about. Baldwin of Flanders (1172–1205) reigned briefly as Baldwin I: 1204–1205. On the other hand, Baldwin of Courtney (1217–1273), or Baldwin II, reigned in the years 1228–1273. However, in the years 1261–1273, that is after regaining of Constantinople by the Greeks, he was only an emperor in exile.

<sup>42</sup> D. GRÜN, *Die Peutinger'sche Tafel...*, p. 465–466.

<sup>43</sup> M.P. KATANSICICH, *Orbis antiqvvs ex tabvla itineraria qvae Theodosii Imp. et Pevtingeri avdit ad systema geographiae redactvs et commentario illvstratvs*, p. 1, *Continens Evropam*, Bvdae 1824, p. 721.

The two figures drawn on the vignette in turn, he interpreted in an extremely different way than his German colleague, at the same time signaling a certain hierarchy: the reigning ruler was to sit on the throne, whereas on the tower the statue of the genius of Constantinople was to stand. Against the background of the descriptions by G. Meerman, K. Mannert and M.P. Katančić one can only notice the significant *novum* contained in K. Miller's description: the tower (*turris*) in the latter one transformed into the Column of Constantine (*die Konstantins-Säule, Porphyrs-Säule, Columna purpurea*), which suggests that the statue on the column presents Constantine the Great, referred to as the *Herrscher*. Thus, it is neither the *statua hominis nudi* (supposedly Emperor Arcadius) by G. Meerman, nor the anonymous statue (*statua*) by K. Mannert, nor the genius of Constantinople (*genius*) by M.P. Katančić. According to K. Miller, in turn, the person sitting on the throne is the supreme commander of the army (*Feldherr*), and not Irene of Athens by G. Meerman, nor *medii aevi eques auratus, homo medii aevi latinus, eques germanicorum populorum* by K. Mannert, or, finally, *princeps* by M.P. Katančić. What connects the descriptions of Constantinople vignette by those three authors is, in turn, the conviction that the relationship between these figures shown on the vignette is based on the principle of hierarchy.

In 1870 an equally short description of the vignette of Constantinople was presented in an article by J.N. Seefried:

[...] auf einem Throne sitzende Person gibt mit ihrer Rechten den Befehl zur Abmessung und Beschreibung des Erdkreises, indem sie auf einen Mann hindeutet, der auf einer Säule, Hochwarte oder einem Thume steht und in seiner Rechten einen Globus und in der Linken eine Ruthe oder ein Längenmaß hält<sup>44</sup>.

Besides, J.N. Seefried took over K. Mannert's thesis that the name Constantinople originated from the 13<sup>th</sup> century copier: [...] *die Interpolation Constantinopels für Byzantium* [...] <sup>45</sup>; and the thesis that *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a copy of the Roman map referred to in *Annales Colmarienses minores*<sup>46</sup>. He explained the change of the city name from *Byzantium* into *Constantinopolis* saying that [...] *jünger hat er [der mittelalterliche Kopist] die Tafel machen wollen und deßhalb [...] Byzantium ganz gestrichen und Constantinopol dafür gesetzt*<sup>47</sup>. This description of Constantinople vignette practically had not been noticed by science of that and later time. However, it is worth noticing, as it constitutes one of the links in the chain of interpretations of that vignette.

<sup>44</sup> J.N. SEEFRIED, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tabula Peutingeriana*, OAVG 29, 1869/1870, p. 343.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>46</sup> IDEM, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tabula Peutingeriana*, OAVG 31, 1871, p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> IDEM, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tabula Peutingeriana*, OAVG 29, 1869/1870, p. 344.

The description by the Swiss geographer R. Hotz<sup>48</sup> is the following:

Das Bild einer auf dem Throne sitzenden Gestalt, die in der Linken Schild und Lanze trägt, mit der Rechten aber auf einen daneben befindlichen Thurm hinzudeuten scheint, auf welchem eine Bildsäule steht, die in der Rechten die Weltkugel und in der Linken eine lange Lanze trägt. Diese Vignette nun erklärt Mannert als einen Hinweis auf die Gründung des lateinischen Kaiserthumes, und er identifiziert die auf dem Throne sitzende Gestalt geradezu mit Balduin von Flandern.<sup>48</sup>

In this fragment of his description of the vignette R. Hotz faithfully, just like D. Grün did, follows the description proposed by K. Mannert. However, in further parts of his analyses the author expressed the supposition departing from K. Mannert's theses: *dass die sitzende Gestalt unserer Vignette Constantinopels ursprünglich die Tyche dieser Stadt dargestellt habe*, and added: *Ich glaube aber ganz wol, dass man der Analogie der beiden anderen Vignetten [Rome and Antioch] diese Annahme als eine ziemlich gesicherte hinstellen dürfe*<sup>49</sup>. Stating that the figure on the throne is Tyche, that is the tutelary deity of Constantinople, is a significant *novum* in the interpretation of the vignette analyzed here. However, it is worth noticing that other researchers had been writing about the Constantinople Tyche (though not in the context of *Tabula Peutingeriana*) on the basis of Byzantine sources: i.a. in 1853 Jacob Burckhardt (25 V 1818 – 8 VIII 1897)<sup>50</sup>, and in the year 1879 Friedrich W. Unger (8 IV 1810 – 22 XII 1876)<sup>51</sup>. Their works, and especially the analyses of the Swiss historian of art J. Burckhardt, were sources of inspiration for R. Hotz, which he mentions in his article<sup>52</sup>. However, the other element of the vignette remained, which the author analyzed in the following way:

Was endlich das andere zu Constantinopel gehörige Bild, nämlich den röthlichen Thurm betrifft, auf welchen die Tyche hinweist, so stellt dieses ganz sicher ein bestimmtes Bauwerk Constantinopels vor, das eben, sei es vermöge seiner Grösse, sei es durch seine Pracht, ein Wahrzeichen dieser Stadt bildete. Constantin hatte [...] eine Säule errichten lassen [...]. Diese Säule war in der That ganz geeignet, als Wahrzeichen der Stadt zu dienen [...]. So dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass [...] die Constantinssäule vom Zeichner mit auf die Vignette sei gesetzt worden.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 210.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215.

<sup>50</sup> J. BURCKHARDT, *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen*, Basel 1853, p. 403, 469.

<sup>51</sup> F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen in Constantinopel*, RK 2, 1879, p. 116.

<sup>52</sup> R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 214–215.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215–216.



In this way in the interpretation of Constantinople vignette, besides Tyche on the throne there appeared the Column of Constantine. In spite of the fact that R. Hotz does not quote G. Meerman in his article, the echo of the logic of the scholar from the Netherlands can be noticed in it. For R. Hotz, just like G. Meerman assumes that the first element of the vignette, that is, the figure on the throne, is a woman, whereas the other element of that vignette is a column, not a tower. If G. Meerman identifies that column with the Column of Arcadius, R. Hotz writes about the Column of Constantine. On one hand it is possible that R. Hotz had seen not only the reproduction of F.C. von Scheyb's map, corrected by K. Mannert and E. Desjardins, but also the 13<sup>th</sup> century Vienna copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana* and that made him regard the column without doors and windows visible there as the Column of Constantine. On the other hand, in turn, R. Hotz assumes that the original *Tabula Peutingeriana* was created in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>54</sup>. However, at that time the Column of Arcadius did not exist, so the Swiss researcher was forced to correct the identification of G. Meerman and state that what is referred to here was the Column of Constantine. In this way, indirectly taking advantage of G. Meerman's theses, and directly – the opinion of his countryman J. Burckhardt on the Constantinople Tyche, R. Hotz presented the new interpretation of Constantinople vignette.

However, usually, when the Constantinople's Tyche referred to on *Tabula Peutingeriana*, it is not the revealing article by R. Hotz that is regarded as the most important, but the article published in 1893 by Josef Strzygowski (7 III 1862 – 2 I 1941), who, with reference to the Constantinople vignette actually summarizes the theses contained in the work by his predecessor:

Dieser Roma-Typus findet sich noch an der Tyche von Konstantinopel auf der *Tabula Peutingeriana*: sie ist thronend dargestellt mit entblößter Brust, in der Linken Speer und Schild haltend, mit der Rechten hinweisend auf eine Art Säule, die sich in mehreren Abstufungen erhebt und von einer Statue gekrönt ist – eine bemerkenswerte Combination, in der die Säule jedenfalls ein für die Stadt charakteristisches Denkmal, wahrscheinlich die Porphyrsäule Konstantin d. Gr., die er sich selbst auf dem Forum errichtet hatte, wiedergibt.<sup>55</sup>

However, J. Strzygowski considers the issue of Constantinople Tyche in a much broader comparative context, and the vignette from *Tabula Peutingeriana* is only one of the components of his analyses. Consequently, J. Strzygowski's article

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215.

<sup>55</sup> J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Tyche von Konstantinopel*, [in:] *Analecta Graeciensia. Festschrift zur 42. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Wien 1893. von Professoren der K. K. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz*, Graz 1893, p. 152.

seemed to eliminate R. Hotz's publication from the scientific circuit. It is also relatively frequently quoted and both in the narrow context of the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>56</sup>, and in the more extensive context, analyzing Tyche of that town as such<sup>57</sup>.

The description of Constantinople vignette was extremely simplified by Henry F. Tozer (10 V 1829 – 2 VI 1916), who in 1897 wrote: [...] *Constantinople* [...] is represented by a figure seated on a throne [...]; but [...] the figure of Constantinople wears a plumed helmet<sup>58</sup>. Thus, H.F. Tozer quite cautiously introduced the idea of personification of Constantinople.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike*..., p. 175: [...] die [Tabula Peutingeriana] als besonders markantes Wahrzeichen Konstantinopels neben der thronenden Stadttyche das Säulemonument mit der Statue Konstantins zeigt. Die Statue ist [...] nackt wiedergegeben. In der Linken hält sie einen Speer, die ausgestreckte Rechte trägt einen Globus; A. BERGER, J. BARDILL, *The Representations of Constantinople*..., p. 24: In 'Tabula Peutingeriana' [...] Constantinople was represented by an enthroned Tyche, whose laurel wreath had been reduced to two horn-like objects, and by Constantine on his column, naked and with a spear in his hand; T. BARNES, *Constantine*..., fig. 9B. Description of the plate is as follows: *The porphyry column with the statue of Constantine and the Tyche of Constantinople*; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor*..., p. X: *Constantine's statue upon the porphyry column beside the enthroned Tyche* [...] of Constantinople; *ibidem*, p. 37; P. KOCHANEK, *Winiety metropolii Pentarchii*..., p. 219: *winieta Konstantynopola przedstawia [...] przywołaną swego czasu przez J. Strzygowskiego Tyche* [the Constantinople vignette presents [...] Tyche once referred to by J. Strzygowski]; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column*..., p. 136: [...] the Tyche of Constantinople was standing in her throne and notably pointed to a monumental column on her left that was topped by a statue of an emperor in the figure of Apollo Helios; Δ.Π. ΔΡΑΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Η Κωνσταντινούπολη στη δυτική μεσαιωνική χαρτογραφία*..., p. 115; P. KOCHANEK, *Vignetten von Konstantinopel*..., p. 435–436: *Das zentrale Element dieser Vignette ist eine auf dem Thron sitzende weibliche Person, die Josef Strzygowski [...] als Tyche identifizierte, eine Schutzgöttin der Stadt. [...] Die auf dem Thron sitzende Tyche hält in ihrer linken Hand einen Speer und ein Schild, ihre rechte Hand ist jedoch in Richtung Säule ausgestreckt, an deren Ende eine nackte männliche Gestalt steht. Dieses Element der Vignette wird allgemein als die Porphyrsäule des Konstantin I. [...] identifiziert*. Cf. also B. SALWAY, *The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map*..., p. 120.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios*, H 36, 4, 1901, p. 463; V. SCHUTZE, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften*, vol. I, *Konstantinopel (324–450)*, Leipzig 1913, p. 8; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople*, EO 28, 1925, p. 188–189, note 2; F. DÖLGER, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*, ZK 56, 1937, p. 16, note 30; A. FROLOW, *La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine*, RHR 127, 1–3, 1944, p. 85; J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Rome and Constantinople in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365*, JRS 37, 1–2, 1947, p. 137, note 13; G. HERZOG-HAUSER, *Tyche* 1, [in:] RE, 2. Reihe, vol. XIV, *M. Tullius Cicero bis Valerius*, Stuttgart 1948, col. 1685.41–47; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale*..., p. 42, note 4; K.J. SHELTON, *The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence*, AJA 89, 1, 1985, p. 153–154; M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini in Konstantinopel. Gegebenheiten und Probleme*, BS 27, 2, 1986, p. 233; N. LENSKI, *Constantine and the Tyche of Constantinople*, [in:] *Contested Monarchy. Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century*, ed. J. WIENAND, Oxford 2015 [= OSLA], p. 339, note 23; E. RUSSO, *Costantino da Bizanzio a Costantinopoli*, AAAHP 29, 2017, p. 80.

<sup>58</sup> H.F. TOZER, *A History of Ancient Geography*..., p. 311.

Eugen Oberhummer (29 III 1859 – 4 V 1944) in turn, in his article of the year 1900, briefly repeated K. Miller's description: *So zeigt schon die Tab[ula] Peut[ingeriana] IX bei C[onstantinopolis] neben einem thronenden Feldherrn eine turmartige Säule mit Standbild. welche ich mit K. Miller [...] für die Porphyr-säule [...] halte*<sup>59</sup>.

In 1919 W. Kubitschek also gave a very short description of the vignette: [...] *die sitzende Constantinopolis; die Säule mit der Statue oben hat doch wohl nichts mit der Stadtgöttin zu tun; [...]*<sup>60</sup>. For this researcher the figure on the throne was, like for H.F. Tozer, a personification of Constantinople. What his predecessors referred to as tower (*turris*) or the Column of Constantine was for W. Kubitschek simply "die Säule mit der Statue". Thus, that researcher left the identification of the column as an open issue. However, he added that this the statue on the column cannot be identified with the goddess guardian of the city (*Stadtgöttin*). Thus W. Kubitschek took the idea of personifying Constantinople from H.F. Tozer, but he articulated it much more strongly than his predecessor. Besides, he introduced a certain novelty into the interpretation of the vignette analyzed here. For this researcher radically opposed the thesis of Hotz-Strzygowski about Tyche, writing: *die Säule mit der Statue oben hat doch wohl nichts mit der Stadtgöttin zu tun*. In this way he transferred *Stadtgöttin* from the throne onto the column, and then, (quite easily) negated the thesis that the statue on the Column was *Stadtgöttin*.

In the year 1923, the above-quoted H.J. Hermann returns to the thesis by Hotz-Strzygowski, writing:

Auf einem hellblau und gelb bemalten Throne mit hoher Rückenlehne sitzt auf einem roten Kissen die Stadtgöttin (Tyche) Konstantinopolis mit einem Helm mit zwei gelben Federn auf dem Haupte, in dunkelrotem, gelb gefüttertem Mantel, der den rechten Arm freiläßt. In der Linken hält sie Schild und Lanze, mir der Rechten weist sie auf einen dreigeschossigen Rundturm, auf dem die nackte Statue eines Herrschers mit der Lanze in der Linken und der Weltkugel in der Rechten steht, d. i. die Konstantinssäule. Zu beiden Seiten des Turmes die Beischrift: «Constantinopolis». Wenn auch keine antike Darstellung der Tyche Konstantinopels als Vorbild namhaft gemacht werden kann, ist nach der Analogie der beiden anderen Vignetten – wie Hotz mit Recht bemerkt – mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, daß die Vignette als Darstellung der Stadtgöttin zu deuten ist.<sup>61</sup>

On the top of the column, in turn, he places, as K. Miller once did, *Statue eines Herrschers*. Therefore, like his predecessor, he does not solve which of the emperors is standing on the column, but the term *die Konstantinssäule* seems to leave no doubts in this aspects.

<sup>59</sup> E. OBERHUMMER, *Constantinopolis...*, col. 1013.4–8.

<sup>60</sup> W. KUBITSCHEK, *Karten...*, col. 2138.44 – 2139.2.

<sup>61</sup> H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften...*, p. 7–8.

The description of the vignette analyzed here contained in the publication by A. and M. Levi is also worth presenting here:

[...] la rappresentazione di Costantinopoli compare in una vignetta che, se non identica, presenta comunque una ben stretta similitudine con quelle che identifica la città di Roma. Anche nel suo caso infatti ci troviamo di fronte ad una figura, seduta su di un trono, vista di fronte, e vestita di lunga tunica e mantello, con uno scudo a fianco e la lancia nella mano sinistra. Sulla testa però l'elmo si è sostituito alla corona. Ma la variante forse più significativa nell'aspetto delle due rappresentazioni messe a raffronto, è quella che, a differenza di Roma, Costantinopoli non regge nella mano il globo. Vale a dire che il disegnatore della *Tabula Peutingeriana* ha voluto così segnalare che [...] il primato sul mondo era stato lasciato alla capitale di più vecchia data.<sup>62</sup>

This description, as we can see, does not diverge from many earlier ones. The authors treat the sitting figure as the personification of Constantinople, as H.F. Tozer and W. Kubitschek did earlier. However, comparing the Constantinople vignette to the vignette of Rome allows the authors of the description for a seemingly obvious remark: *Costantinopoli non regge nella mano il globo*. However, this remark leads to an important conclusion: *il disegnatore della Tabula Peutingeriana ha voluto così segnalare che [...] il primato sul mondo era stato lasciato alla capitale di più vecchia data*. A. and M. Levi did not, however, develop that issue, though they had known the opinions of their numerous predecessors very well: namely, that *Tabula Peutingeriana* may be the same copy of the ancient map referred to in *Annales Colmarienses minores*, which they quote<sup>63</sup>. Thus, they do not write anything about the scope of the reinterpretation of the late-ancient map by a mediaeval copier, but they stop at signaling the idea of Roman political “primacy” to the reader.

In 1974 appeared a description of Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the author of which was Gilbert Dagron (26 I 1932 – 4 VIII 2015):

Quant à Constantinople, nous la voyons sous la forme d'un personnage coiffé de quelque chose qui devait être sur l'original une couronne d'une forme particulière, tenant la hache et le bouclier; il ne porte pas lui-même les insignes de la souveraineté, mais il désigne de la main droite une colonne surmontée d'une statue qui, elle, tient le globe. On reconnaît sans peine la colonne de porphyre et la statue de Constantin qui la surmontait; le geste signifie que Constantinople n'est pas une capitale, mais tient de son fondateur, par une sorte de lien personnel, une situation de souveraineté. Elle est la «ville de Constantin».<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 153.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 22. Cf. notes 37–38.

<sup>64</sup> G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 58.



G. Dagron recognizes, like H.F. Tozer, W. Kubitschek as well as A. and M. Levi before him that the figure sitting on the throne is the personification of Constantinople. However, the French researcher pays special attention to the gesture made by that figure, with which points to the other element of the vignette, that is, to the column and to the figure with the globe in its hand standing on the top of it. For G. Dagron there is no doubt that what is meant here is the Column of Constantine crowned with the statue of that Emperor. From the graphic system of these two elements of the vignette described in this way the author concludes that the vignette contains a certain symbolic message: Constantinople is not the capital of the empire, but it owes its high position in the hierarch of the imperial cities exclusively to the will of its main builder Constantine the Great. This is clearly indicated by the name of the city – *Constantinopolis*. This description, as a whole, is a certain *novum* in the long history of interpreting the vignette of this metropolis. For according to G. Dagron, the drawer of this vignette contained a graphic suggestion in it, which, in fact, degrades Constantinople to the rank of the second city in the Roman empire. Only Rome is “the City” (*Urbs*) *sensus stricto*. This conclusion is similar to the one presented a few years ago by A. and M. Levi, but the logic of reasoning, thanks to which G. Dagron came to the above conclusion is totally unique.

A very short description of the vignette, probably inspired by the tradition quoted above, based on the publications by H.F. Tozer, W. Kubitschek, A. and M. Levi, as well as G. Dagron, was given in 1986 by Micheal Vickers:

C[onstantinople] seated on a high-backed throne with cushion and footstool. Wears a double-crested helmet. She points to the l. with her r. hand, and in her l. holds a spear; a small round shield is at her l.<sup>65</sup>

For him, like for the researchers just mentioned, the personification of Constantinople is sitting on the throne. The vignette was described very similarly by other researchers: Oswald A.W. Dilke<sup>66</sup>, Joseph Engemann<sup>67</sup>, Garth Fowden<sup>68</sup>,

<sup>65</sup> M. VICKERS, *Constantinopolis*, [in:] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. III.1, *Atherion – Eros*, Zürich–München 1986, p. 302.

<sup>66</sup> O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 239: *Constantinople is represented by a helmeted female figure seated on a throne and holding in her left hand a spear and a shield.*

<sup>67</sup> J. ENGEMANN, *Herrscherbild...*, col. 982–983: *Selbst noch auf der Säule, die auf der ‘Tabula Peutingeriana’ als Wahrzeichen der Stadt neben der Personifikation der ‘Constantinopolis’ erscheint, steht eine nackte Gestalt mit Globus u. Sperr.*

<sup>68</sup> G. FOWDEN, *Porphyry Column: the Earliest Literary Allusion*, JRS 81, 1991, p. 125: [...] *the city’s personification, a seated female figure, as Constantinople’s visual symbol.*

Ekkehard Weber<sup>69</sup>, Sarah Bassett<sup>70</sup>, Sławomir Bralewski<sup>71</sup>, Pierre Maraval<sup>72</sup> and Robert Ousterhout<sup>73</sup>. Thus such a scheme of the description of Constantinople vignette today became almost a standard. However, in spite of frequent repeating of that scheme there are also other interpretations of Constantinople vignette<sup>74</sup>.

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The Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* consists, as we know, of two elements: a figure sitting on the throne and the column on top of which a statue is standing. Below we present identifications of these elements proposed within about 250 years. However, as in this article the gravity center is shifted towards that column crowned with the statue, so we should look closer at that element of the vignette. Assuming that this is the Column of Constantine, the fragment of this article below will be devoted to that column. In many studies the specifications of Byzantine sources about that structure can be found<sup>75</sup>. It was

<sup>69</sup> E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana* (1998)..., p. 20: *Besides the Constantinopolis deity [...] the so-called "burnt down column" is standing*».

<sup>70</sup> S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image*..., p. 193, fig. 19 (explanation under the vignette of Constantinople): *Constantinopolis and the Column of Constantine*; EADEM, *The Topography of Triumph*..., p. 519: *Personification of Constantinople with the Column of Constantine [...]*. Cf. *The Cambridge Companion*..., fig. 3 (also explanation under the vignette of Constantinople): *Personified Constantinople seated next to the Column of Constantine*.

<sup>71</sup> S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu i jej wczesnobizantyńska legenda*, VP 30, 2010, p. 95: *Kiedy na Tabula Peutingeriana [...] przedstawiono siedzącą na tronie personifikację Konstantynopola, po jej prawej stronie umieszczono wizerunek kolumny identyfikowany z porfirową kolumną Konstantyna Wielkiego [When on Tabula Peutingeriana [...] a personification of Constantinople was presented, sitting on the throne, on its right side the image of the column was placed, which was identified with the porphyry column of Constantine the Great]*; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople and the Relics of the True Cross*, SCer 1, 2011, p. 87: *When the Tabula Peutingeriana was made, [...], it showed the personification of Constantinople seated on a throne with an outline of a column on the right side, identified with the porphyry column of Constantine the Great*.

<sup>72</sup> P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand. Empereur romain, empereur chrétien (306–337)*, Paris 2011, p. 189: *[...] une personification de Constantinople [...]*.

<sup>73</sup> R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife*..., p. 311: *In (the Peutinger Map) a seated personification and the column serve to represent Constantinople*.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. K. ZALEWSKA-LORKIEWICZ, *Ilustrowane mappae mundi*..., p. 23: *rola Konstantynopola oraz Antiochii została podkreślona wizerunkami władców zasiadających na tronach [the role of Constantinople and Antioch was emphasized by the images of rulers sitting on thrones]*; J. BROTON, *Great Maps*..., p. 31, fig. 4 (explanation under the vignette of Constantinople): *The rank of that city (Constantinople) almost equal to Rome is clearly defined by the figure of the goddess Roma (similar to the personification of Rome itself...), indicating the column crowned with the statue of a warrior holding a globe and a spear- most probably an emperor, standing beside*. Cf. also notes 6 and 56.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. C.F. DU CANGE, *Constantinopolis christiana seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae, qualis exstitit sub imperatoribus christianis, ex variis scriptoribus contexta & adornata: libri quattuor*, Lutetiae Parisiorum: apud Ludovicum Billaine, 1680, p. 76 (= I 24, 6: *Columna porphyretica. Palladium*); A. BANDURI, *Imperium orientale sive antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*, vol. II, Venetiis: Venetiis

erected in the center of the round Forum of Constantine, on top of the second of seven hills included in the area of the city between the years 328 and 330. It dominated with its height over the second Rome, seen from the side of the sea, thus becoming its first symbol<sup>76</sup>. Simultaneously the Column of Constantine formed the skyline of the capital<sup>77</sup>. Made of porphyry, with its color alluded to purple – the hue commonly regarded at that time as the symbol of imperial dignity. Also sarcophaguses of rulers and their nearest and dearest were made of porphyry<sup>78</sup>. The original height of the column is not certain<sup>79</sup>. An enormous statue was on top of it.

Javarina, 1729, p. 372; *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. I, trans. F.W. UNGER, Wien 1878 [= QKKMR, 12], p. 151–158 (= nr 350–371); IDEM, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 110–118; T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien*, REG 9, 1896, p. 71, note 1; T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 457–469; I. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*, Hi 5, 3, 1956, p. 350, note 1–2 (= IDEM, *Kontantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*, [in:] *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. H. HUNGER, Darmstadt 1975 [= WF, 341], p. 122, note 47); G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 36–39; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1977, p. 255–256; C. MANGO, *Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine*, ΔΧΑΕ ser. 4, 10, 1981, p. 103–110; A. RYLL, *Über Probleme der kunsthistorischen und schriftlichen Quellen zur Konstantinssäule in Konstantinopel*, [in:] *Historisch-archäologische Quellen und Geschichte bis zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus. Beiträge des I. und II. Kolloquiums junger Wissenschaftler archäologischer und althistorischer Disziplinen der DDR*, Berlin 1983, p. 171–172; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Bonn 1988 [= PB, 8], p. 295–299; G. FOWDEN, *Porphyry Column...*, p. 122–126; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 12–17; M. JORDAN-RUWE, *Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen*, Bonn 1995 [= AMS, 19], p. 126–127; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 175–177, 415–416; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1039, note 151; p. 1039–1040, note 152; p. 1040, note 153; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 192–199; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, *passim*; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, *passim*; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 185–186; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 308–310; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthalios. Autorzy bizantyjscy o posągu Konstancyjna Wielkiego wieńczącym porfirową kolumnę a Konstantynopolu*, SDŚ 21, 2017, *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 109; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 297; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 295; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 12; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 168, 172–173; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1039; C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 2004 [= TM.M, 2], p. 25; R. OUSTERHUOT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 305, 307; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 134.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. T. THOMOV, *The Last Column in Constantinople*, Bsl 59, 1, 1998, p. 80; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 134, 137.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 111.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50: [...] 30 m hohe Porphyrsäule [...]; H. LECLERCQ, *Colonnes historiques*, [in:] *DACL*, vol. III.2, *Ciacconio – Cyzique*, Paris 1914, col. 2338: *La colonne dorique était, à l'origine, haut de 57 mètres depuis le sol jusqu'au sommet de la statue* [...]; R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris 1950 [= AOL, 4], p. 82. The author estimates the height of the column at 50 meters; H. DÖRRIES, *Konstantin der Grosse*, Stuttgart 1958 [= UB, 29], p. 58: [...] *Porphyrsäule zu über 30 Meter Höhe*; C. MANGO, *Constantinopolitana*, JDAI 80, 1965, p. 312–313. This author believes that the column

Byzantine sources agree as to the fact that it was the statue of Constantine the Great. However, they suggest that the statue of the emperor could have attributes of a specific deity. The first such subtle suggestion is in Hesychius of Miletus, surnamed *Illustrius* (6<sup>th</sup> century AD). His text indicates that the statue could have features of the god of sun – Helios<sup>80</sup>. Theodor Preger (24 V 1866 – 18 XII 1911) on the basis of this text and a few later sources<sup>81</sup> presented in 1901 the thesis, according to which the statue of the emperor crowning the column was stylized to look like Helios<sup>82</sup>. The beginnings of that thesis can be found already in the article by F.W. Unger of 1879<sup>83</sup>. However, the latter only mentioned the possibility of identifying the statue of Constantine with Helios, while T. Preger suggestively documented that thesis. His identification found many supporters<sup>84</sup>. In this context it

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was 37 meters high; M. JORDAN-RUWE, *Das Säulenmonument...*, p. 128. The German researcher believes that the column was not more than 40 m high, counting from the then ground level; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 200. The author, following C. Mango, gives the contemporary height of the column: 35.80 meters; C.M. ODAHL, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, New York 2004, p. 241: [...] a height of over 35 meters [...]; H.A. POHLSANDER, *The Emperor Constantine*, New York 2004 [= LPAH], p. 69: [...] its height was more than 36 m; F. KOLB, *Ideal późnoantycznego władcy. Ideologia i autoprezentacja*, trans. A. GIERLIŃSKA, Poznań 2008, p. 80. The author cites the data of R. Janin; B. LANÇON, *Konstantyn (306–337)*, trans. M. KAPELUŚ, Warszawa 2009, p. 72. The author repeats the data of R. Janin; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 97 (= IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 89). The author cites the data of R. Janin and C. Mango; A. KOMPA, *Konstantynopolińskie zabytki...*, p. 178. In his opinion the column was to have 35 m in height; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 185: [...] une colonne de porphyre de 50 m [...]; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 28: Originally, the column was some 37 m high [...]; R. OUSTERHUOT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 305: The 36-m-tall column [...]; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 125: For the overall height, Mango [...] suggests 34.8 m above the present street level, or 37 m above the original level of the Forum of Constantine. Jordan-Ruwe [...] argues for a maximum height of 40 m (from the original ground level); *ibidem*, p. 132: [...] the height over 45 m (with the statue); A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine in Constantinople: What Do We Know about Its Original Architecture and Adornment?*, GRBS 56, 2016, p. 731: The column (with the base) was approximately 37 meters tall, and the colossal statue may have added another six or more meters on top of that; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthaios...*, p. 129: 37 metrów, a niewykluczone że pierwotnie nawet 50 metrów [37 meters, and possibly originally even 50 meters].

<sup>80</sup> HESYCHIUS ILLUSTRIS, *Origines Constantinopolitanae*, 41, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 1, rec. T. PREGER, Lipsiae 1901, p. 17.13–15. Cf. *The "Patria" of Constantinople According to Hesychios Illoustrios*, I, 45, [in:] *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The "Patria"*, trans. A. BERGER, Cambridge Mass.–London 2013 [= DOML, 24], p. 26.

<sup>81</sup> LEO GRAMMATICUS, *Chronographia*, [in:] *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia. Accedit Eustathii De capta Thessalonica liber*, ed. E. BEKKER, Bonnae 1842 [= CSHB [34]], p. 87.17; THEODOSIUS MELITENUS, *Chronographia*, ed. G.L.F. TAFEL, Monachii 1859, p. 63; GEORGIUS CEDRENUM, *Historiarum compendium*, vol. I, ed. E. BEKKER, Bonnae 1838 [= CSHB [13]] (cetera: GEORGIUS CEDRENUM, *Historiarum compendium*), p. 518.5; THEODORUS SKOUTARIOTES, *Ἀωνύμου σύνοψις χρονική*, ed. K. SATHAS, Paris 1894 [= BGM, 7], p. 187.3–5. Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 460, 462.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 113.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. C. GURLITT, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. I, *Tafelband*, Berlin 1912, Plate XVII, fig. 5c; A. LISIECKI, *Konstantyn Wielki*, Poznań 1913, p. 106; F. STÄHELIN, *Constantin der Große und das*

is worth realizing that during the reign of Constantine the Great (and at least for a few subsequent centuries) the official language reigning in the empire was Latin. Thus, the deity referred to by Greek authors as Helios, was known in the official state nomenclature under the name of *Sol Invictus*<sup>85</sup>. It is the cult of that deity that was very popular in the late Roman empire and the allusion of Hesychius writing in Greek refers in fact to *Sol Invictus*.

However, Anna Komnene (1083–1153)<sup>86</sup>, John Zonaras (fl. 12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>87</sup> and John Tzetzes (c. 1100–1180)<sup>88</sup> writing in the 12<sup>th</sup> century are the first sources preserved until today, suggesting that the statue of Constantine placed on the column resembled Apollo. That idea was taken over by many contemporary researchers<sup>89</sup>.

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*Christentum*, ZSG 17, 1937, p. 411–412; J.A. STRAUB, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike*, Stuttgart 1939 [= FKG, 18], p. 130; IDEM, *Konstantins christliches Sendungsbewußtsein*, NBA 2, 1942, p. 386–387; H. KRAFT, *Kaiser Konstantins religiöse Entwicklung*, Tübingen 1955 [= BHT, 20], p. 117; J. VOGT, *Constantinus der Große*, [in:] RAC, vol. III, *Christusbild – Dogma I*, Stuttgart 1957, col. 350; M. SALAMON, *Rozwój idei Rzymu – Konstantynopola od IV do pierwszej połowy VI wieku*, Katowice 1975 [PNUŠK, 80], p. 53; H.A. DRAKE, *In Praise of Constantine. A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976 [= UCPCS, 15], p. 169; R. KRAUTHHEIMER, *Three Christian Capitals...*, p. 56; *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century. The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, praef., trans. et comm. A. CAMERON, J. HERRIN, Leiden 1984 [= C SCT, 10], p. 193; J. MIZIOLEK, *Sol versus...*, p. 20, 66, 67; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 15; B. BLECKMANN, *Sources for the History of Constantine*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 16; A.D. LEE, *Traditional Religions*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 174; M.B. LESZKA, M.J. LESZKA, *Konstantyn Wielki i założenie Miasta*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym...*, p. 33; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 318; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 129, 132, 133, 135, 137, 148.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. H.P. LORANGE, *Sol Invictus imperator. Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose*, SO 14, 1935, p. 113–114; J.A. STRAUB, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike...*, p. 129–134.

<sup>86</sup> *Annae Comnenae Alexiadis libri XV, XII, 4*, vol. II, ed. L. SCHOPENUS, Bonnae 1878 [= CSHB [3]] (cetera: ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*), p. 150.4.

<sup>87</sup> IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome historiarum*, XIII, 3, 25, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonnae 1897 [= CSHB [50.3]] (cetera: IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome historiarum*), p. 18.8–10.

<sup>88</sup> IOHANNES TZETZES, *Chiliades*, VIII, 333, ed. G. KIESSLING, Lipsiae 1826 (cetera: IOHANNES TZETZES, *Chiliades*), p. 295.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. C.G. HEYNE, *Priscae artis opera quae Constantinopoli extitisse memorantur*, CSRSG.CHP 11, 1790/1791, p. 10; J. BURCKHARDT, *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen...*, p. 420; R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 215; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50; T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique...*, p. 71; C. GURLITT, *Geschichte der Kunst*, vol. I, Stuttgart 1902, p. 334; H. LECLERCQ, *Colonnes historiques...*, col. 2338; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 306; H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *Historie konstantynopolitańskie*, Warszawa 1964, p. 148; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 38; C. MANGO, *Constantine's Porphyry Column...*, p. 108; M. KARAMOUI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini...*, p. 229; J. ENGEMANN, *Herrscherbild...*, col. 982; M. DI MAIO, J. ZEUGE, N. ZOTOV, *Ambiguitas Constantiniana: the Caelestium Signum Dei of Constantine the Great*, B 58, 2, 1988, p. 355; J. ENGEMANN, *Melchior Lorichs Zeichnung eines Säulensockels in Konstantinopel*, [in:] *Quaeritur inventus colitur. Miscellanea in onore di padre Umberto Maria Fasola*, vol. I, Città del Vaticano 1989 [= SACr, 50.1], p. 261; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 344; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1001; B. LANÇON, *Konstantyn...*, p. 73; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 731.



Slightly earlier, dated for the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (990–995), is the fragment important in the context of these analyses, which is contained in *Patria Constantinoupoleos*. It refers to the Column of Constantine and juxtaposes two deities: Apollo and Helios<sup>90</sup>. In English translation it has the following wording:

[...] Constantine the Great set up this lofty column and the statue of Apollo as Helios in his name, affixing nails from those of Christ<'s crucifixion> as rays on its head, shining like Helios on the citizens<sup>91</sup>.

In this way Helios and Apollo create a certain unity of terms on the level of Byzantine sources referring to the Column of Constantine. Many contemporary researchers allude to the comparison of the statue of Constantine on the column with the divine duet Helios – Apollo<sup>92</sup>. The two pairs on terms, that is Helios – *Sol Invictus* and Helios – Apollo, constitute the basis for three other combinations of notions. These combinations lead to the thesis that the statue of Constantine could have common features of the triad: Helios – *Sol Invictus* – Apollo, or the features of the duet Apollo – *Sol Invictus*, or the features of *Sol Invictus*. Due to well-known religious syncretism of the period of late empire, some of the contemporary researchers choose the first combination: Helios – *Sol Invictus* – Apollo<sup>93</sup>. Others advocate the second one: Apollo – *Sol Invictus*<sup>94</sup>. Still others mention only Helios and *Sol Invictus*<sup>95</sup>, that is, the ancient Roman god called *Sol*, who was identified

<sup>90</sup> *Patria Constantinoupoleos II*, 45, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 2, rec. T. PREGER, Lipsiae 1907, p. 174.7–11.

<sup>91</sup> The “*Patria*” of Constantinople: *On Statues, Together with a Chapter on Adiabene*, [in:] *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople...*, p. 79, 81; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 126. German translation: A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 295.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. E. OBERHUMMER, *Constantinopolis...*, col. 987.36–41; L. BRÉHIER, *Constantin et la fondation de Constantinople*, RH 119, 1915, p. 263; R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine...*, p. 82; R.P.C. HANSON, *The Christian Attitude to Pagan Religions up to the Time of Constantine the Great*, [in:] ANRW II, 23.2, Berlin–New York 1980, p. 968; C. MANGO, *Byzantium and its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, London 1984, p. 57; G. FOWDEN, *Porphyry Column...*, p. 127; F. KOLB, *Ideal późnoantycznego władcy...*, p. 80, 83; H.A. DRAKE, *Solar Power in Late Antiquity*, [in:] *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. CAIN, N. LENSKI, Ashgate 2009, p. 220; A. KOMPA, *Konstantynopolitańskie zabytki...*, p. 178; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 136.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. C. EMEREAU, *Notes sur les origines et la formation de Constantinople. Les grandes centres historiques de la ville*, RA 5<sup>ème</sup> série, 21, 1, 1925, p. 14–15; J. ELSNER, *Perspectives in Art*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 263, 264; K.M. GIRARDET, *Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen*, Berlin 2010 [= Mil.S, 27], p. 39.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. H. BLANCK, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern*, Köln 1963, p. 14–15; S. BASSETT, *The Topography of Triumph...*, p. 520.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. H. USENER, *Sol invictus*, RMP 60, 1905, p. 470; E. MARBACH, *Sol*, [in:] RE, 2. Reihe, vol. V, *Silacenis – Sparsus*, Stuttgart 1927, col. 911.52–54; R. DELBRUECK, *Antike Porphyrwerke* [Textband], Berlin 1932 [= SSK, 6], p. 26; C. LETTA, *Helios/Sol*, [in:] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. IV.1, *Eros – Herakles*, Zürich–München 1988, p. 622; C. MANGO, *Le développement*

both with Helios and Apollo, and as *Sol Invictus* he was especially worshipped during the reign of Aurelian (214–275; a Roman emperor: 270–275 AD), Probus (232–282; a Roman emperor: 276–282 AD) and Constantine the Great<sup>96</sup>.

However, the simplest answer to the question: whose statue is standing on top of the column, which is unanimously referred to by all the Byzantine sources is: it is the statue of Constantine the Great. However, which deity was that statue stylized to resemble, is in fact a matter of secondary importance. Thus, many contemporary researchers choose that basic identification: the statue on top of the column is the statue of Constantine<sup>97</sup>. Being on such position allows for avoiding divagations on whether the statue resembled Helios, Apollo, or *Sol Invictus*. However, that very general identification is used mainly by the authors for whom the Column of Constantine is only a marginal subject, not belonging to the main course of their divagations. Despite that Pierre Maraval gives an interesting justification of assuming such a point of view:

Il est [...] peu vraisemblable que Constantin [...] ait voulu réunir dans sa statue le culte du soleil et son propre culte, qu'il se soit lui-même divinisé en Constantin-Hélios, encore moins en Constantin-Apollon. [...]. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de voir dans une statue, à la date où elle a été élevée, un signe d'une duplicité, voire d'une ambiguïté religieuse de l'empereur, mise au service de sa politique. C'est plutôt la tradition byzantine qui a voulu conserver la symbiose du culte du Soleil et du christianisme dans la représentation du pouvoir impérial [...].<sup>98</sup>

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urbain de Constantinople..., p. 25; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 99; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 91; M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, *Cesarz, dwór i poddani*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym...*, p. 245; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 106, 109.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. E. MARBACH, *Sol...*, col. 901.45–913.35; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 9–25.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. L. VOELKL, *Der Kaiser Konstantin. Annalen einer Zeitenwende*, München 1957, p. 182; J. VOGT, *Constantin der Große und sein Jahrhundert*, <sup>2</sup>München 1960, p. 216; A. FROVA, *L'arte di Roma e del mondo Romano*, Torino 1961 [= AUA, 2.2], p. 601; P. ARNAUD, *L'origine...*, p. 309; G.P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington 1984 [= DOS, 19], p. 261–262; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 297; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 16, note 46; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 172, 175; J.C. BALTY, *Les villes de l'Occident Romain*, AIEG 36, 1997, p. 45; B. BLECKMANN, *Constantinus*, [in:] *NPA*, vol. III, *Cl – Epi*, Stuttgart 1997, col. 138; S. BRALEWSKI, *Konstantyn Wielki*, Kraków 2001 [= WLK], p. 22; C.M. ODAHL, *Constantine and the Christian Empire...*, p. 241; H.A. POHL-SANDER, *The Emperor Constantine...*, p. 70; A. BERGER, *Konstantinopel*, [in:] *RAC*, vol. XXI, *Kleidung II – Kreuzzeichen*, Stuttgart 2006, col. 445; T. WOLIŃSKA, *Sposoby upamiętniania władców wczesnochrześcijańskich w IV–VI wieku*, [in:] *SKaz*, vol. VII, ed. B. IWASZKIEWICZ-WRONIKOWSKA, D. PRÓCHNIAK, A. GŁOWA, Lublin 2010, p. 155; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 185; T. BARNES, *Constantine...*, description of the fig. 9B; K. CHRIST, *Historia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego od Augusta do Konstantyna*, trans. A. GIERLIŃSKA, Poznań–Gniezno 2016 [= SEGn, 25], p. 940; E. RUSO, *Costantino da Bizanzio a Costantinopoli...*, p. 79, 80.

<sup>98</sup> P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 187, 189.

However, there is yet another possibility of identifying the figure presented by the statue on the column. Such a suggestion is contained in the poem by Constantine of Rhodes (fl. 10<sup>th</sup> century), who quoted the contents of inscription on the column and dedicated to Christ<sup>99</sup>. This fragment of the poem was commented on by Théodore Reinach (3 VII 1860 – 28 X 1928) in 1896 in the following way: *L'inscription prouve que, dans la pensée de Constantin, la statue représentait le Christ, non l'empereur*<sup>100</sup>. Oskar Wulff (25 V 1864 – 23 I 1956)<sup>101</sup> and other researchers were of similar opinion<sup>102</sup>. That inscription, with slight changes, was repeated in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by George Kedrenos<sup>103</sup>. Nikephoros Kallistos (c. 1267 – after 1328) in turn, transmitted a very short text of that inscription, which, translated by S. Bassett has the following wording: “To you, Christ, O Lord, I dedicate this city”<sup>104</sup>. We also have to remember what Sozomen (c. 400 – c. 450) wrote: according to that historian of church Constantinople was to be devoted to Christ<sup>105</sup>. However, the identification of the statue with the Column of Constantine with Christ also has a biblical origin. The Book of Malachi in Septuagint version, in turn, contains a verse where the phrase ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης – “the sun of righteousness” – was used (Mal 3, 20). Christians gave messianic interpretation to that expression, referring it directly to Christ. The term ἥλιος also occurs in some verses of the New Testament in the same context (Matt 11, 2; Rev 1, 16. Cf. John 8, 12 and Rev 21, 23). In this way the notions Helios/helios and Christ were juxtaposed. The gilded statue of the emperor could therefore be easily associated with Christ understood as the sun of righteousness. Thus, it seems that Joseph Vogt (23 VI 1895 – 14 VII 1986) is right noticing that thanks to this statue *Constantinopel erhielt ein christlich*

<sup>99</sup> CONSTANTINUS RHODIUS, *Description des œuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople. Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien*, v. 71–74, ed. E. LEGRAND, REG 9, 1896, p. 38.

<sup>100</sup> T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique...*, p. 73, note 1.

<sup>101</sup> О.Ф. ВУЛЬФ, *Семь чудес Византии и храм св. Апостолов (с планом церкви)*, ИРАИК 1, 1896, p. 41; IDEM, *Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz und die Apostelkirche nach Konstantinos Rhodios*, BZ 7, 1898, p. 318.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 190: *La transformation de la statue d'Apollon rayonnant (ou plus exactement d'Hélios), transporté d'Asie Mineure suivant la tradition, en la représentation du Christ, ne fait ici aucun doute [...]*; A. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, [Komentarz], [in:] SOKRATES SCHOLASTYK, *Historia Kościoła*, trans. S.J. KAZIKOWSKI, praef. E. WIPSYZKA, comm. A. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, <sup>2</sup>Warszawa 1986, p. 111, note 97.

<sup>103</sup> GEORGIUS CEDRENIUS, *Historiarum compendium*, vol. I, p. 565.1–4. Cf. S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 198; S. BRALEWSKI, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 94. Cf. also IDEM, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 102; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 141.

<sup>104</sup> NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, [in:] PG, vol. CXLV, col. 1325D. Cf. S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 199; S. BRALEWSKI, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 94: “To you, Christ, God, I entrust the city”. Cf. also IDEM, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 102; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 141.

<sup>105</sup> SOZOMENES, *Kirchengeschichte*, II, 3, 7, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1960 [= GCS, 50], p. 53.2–4.

*geprägtes Gesicht*<sup>106</sup>. Before him a similar opinion was presented by Casimir Emereau (11 V 1889 – 28 XI 1937)<sup>107</sup>. However, Cornelius Gurlitt (1 I 1850 – 25 III 1938) went a bit too far in his interpretation, claiming that *die Statue [...] bedeutete Baal-Helios, Apoll, Christ und den Kaiser in einer Gestalt*<sup>108</sup>. The approach represented by C. Gurlitt is not in fact isolated in the studies on the epoch of Constantine the Great. For many researchers think that the emperor's conversion was not an individual, single act, but a long process, which, according to some of them lasted until the death of the ruler. Extensive literature was created around this issue, technical called "die constantinische Frage"<sup>109</sup>. Henri Grégoire (21 III 1881 – 28 IX 1964) was very radical in this matter, being of opinion that Constantine the Great had never become a Christian. The Belgian scholar presented his view in a cycle of publications consisting of four articles<sup>110</sup>. T. Preger, who has been quoted here many times, summarizing his article on the statue crowning the Column of Constantine wrote:

Der Kaiser, der die welthistorische Bedeutung des Christenthums erkannt hat, ist selbst so wenig Christ, dass er fünf Jahre nach dem nicaenischen Concil, dem er präsierte, sich selbst als Helios dargestellten lässt [...]<sup>111</sup>.

Ireneusz Milewski expressed a similar opinion quite recently<sup>112</sup>.

The Column of Constantine was important not only because the statue of the founder of the second capital of the empire was standing there. According to the Christian literary tradition Constantine the Great was to make his column a sort of "treasury of holy relics"<sup>113</sup>. For the emperor was to place fragments of the Holy Cross wood in his statue, and in the foundations of the column – numerous relics. The relics connected with the tradition of the New Testament, besides

<sup>106</sup> J. VOGT, *Constantin der Große...*, p. 216.

<sup>107</sup> C. EMEREAU, *Notes sur les origines...*, p. 15: [...] *la colonne se présente comme un monument à la fois païen et chrétien; elle peut recevoir les hommages de l'ancien et du nouveau culte. Un pur compromis, au demeurant. Et c'est là un des traits de Constantin de s'être appliqué à conserver sa foi chrétienne, tout en laissant aux pouvoirs publics encore païens la liberté de leurs pratiques et de leurs croyances.*

<sup>108</sup> C. GURLITT, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1908, p. 7.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. J. VOGT, *Die constantinische Frage*, [in:] *Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. H. KRAFT, Darmstadt 1974 [= WF, 131], p. 345–387; B. LANÇON, *Konstantyn...*, p. 77–78.

<sup>110</sup> H. GRÉGOIRE, *La conversion de Constantin*, RUB 36, 1930/1931, p. 231–272 (= IDEM, *Die «Bekkerung» Konstantins des Grossen*, trans. H. LAZARUS, [in:] *Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. H. KRAFT, Darmstadt 1974 [= WF, 131], p. 345–387); IDEM, *La Statue de Constantin et le Signe de la Croix*, AC 1, 1932, p. 135–143; IDEM, *Eusèbe n'est pas l'auteur de la «Vita Constantini» dans sa forme actuelle et Constantin ne s'est pas «converti» en 312*, B 13, 1938, p. 561–583; IDEM, *La vision de Constantin «liquidée»*, B 14, 1939, p. 341–351. Cf. J. VOGT, *Die constantinische Frage...*, p. 345, note 1.

<sup>111</sup> T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 469. Cf. I. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult...*, p. 341 (= IDEM, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult...*, p. 109).

<sup>112</sup> I. MILEWSKI, *Anthaios...*, p. 148.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 310: *Ce grandiose reliquaire.*

the already mentioned fragment of the True Cross included i.a.: the twelve great baskets (Matt 14, 10; Mark 6, 43; Luke 9, 17 and John 6, 13 – the first miraculous multiplication of bread); the seven baskets (Matt 15, 37 and Mark 8, 8 – the second miraculous multiplication of bread); the remains of the seven loaves, which Christ fed the crowd (Matt 15, 36; Mark 8, 6); the two robbers' crosses (Matt 27, 38; Mark 15, 27; Luke 23, 33; John 19, 18); the Holy Nails; a vase of holy oil (the chrism) and pots of perfume. The relics connected with the Old Testament tradition in turn are, i.a.: the handle of the Noah's ax (cf. Gen 6, 14) and the rock from which Moses had struck water (Ex 17, 6). What should be connected with the tradition of early Christianity are, in turn, the relics of saints, which were also to be found in the foundations or plinth of the column. Besides the Christian relics also golden coins with portrait of Constantine the Great were deposited there. However, the emperor placed not only Christian relics and coins with his own image in the column, but also *Palladium*<sup>114</sup>. What is meant here, is the famous wooden statuette of Pallas Athena originally kept in Troy. Aeneas was to take it to Rome, and Constantine from Rome to his new capital upon Bosphorus. According to Greek and Roman beliefs that statue was to provide prosperity first to Troy and then to Rome. Undoubtedly, by transferring the statue, Constantine wanted to emphasize his respect for the old religion of the empire and for its worshippers. In this way the column contained both fragments of the Tree of the Cross, the most worshipped relic for Christians, as well as *Palladium*, which is the greatest relic for hellenists. Thanks to that Constantine imprisoned in his column, as David Lathoud (21 IV 1892 – 10 VIII 1958) expressed it "l'âme de Jérusalem et l'âme de Rome"<sup>115</sup>. Much has already been written about the objects of worship contained in the column, when the preserved Byzantine sources were analyzed<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. E. WÖRNER, *Palladion*, [in:] *ALGRM*, vol. III.1, *Nabaiiothes – Pasicharea*, Leipzig 1902, col. 1301.1–1324.62; L. ZIEHEN, *Palladion*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XXXVI, *Palatinus – Paranatellonta*, Stuttgart 1949, col. 171.60–189.65; F. PRESCENDI, *Palladion*, [in:] *NPA*, vol. IX, *Or – Poi*, Stuttgart 2000, col. 192–193.

<sup>115</sup> D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 299.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 116; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50–51; T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 458; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 300–301, 306, 310; C. EMEREAU, *Notes sur les origines...*, p. 14; A. FROLOW, *La dédicace de Constantinople...*, p. 77; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 40; M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini...*, p. 222–223, note 19; A.P. KAZHDAN, «Constantin imaginaire». *Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great*, B 57, 1, 1987, p. 233; M. DI MAIO, J. ZEUGE, N. ZOTOV, *Ambiguitas Constantiniana...*, p. 356, note 127; S. MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics. Use, and Misuse of Sanctity and Authority*, JÖB 51, 2001, p. 41; H.A. KLEIN, *Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople*, Byz 5, 2006, p. 81; S. SKRZYNIARZ, *Ostatnia wędrówka trojańskiego Palladionu. Uwagi o genezie konstantynopolitańskiej legendy*, [in:] *Portolana. Studia Mediterranea*, vol. III, *Mare apertum. Przepływ idei, ludzi i rzeczy w świecie śródziemnomorskim*, ed. D. QUIRINI-POPEŁAWSKA, Kraków 2007, p. 121; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 101–102; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column*



The already mentioned Anna Komnene gave also three interesting pieces of information concerning the statue crowning the column: 1) the statue of the column was turned to the East<sup>117</sup>; 2) though Constantine the Great placed his own statue on the column, the inhabitants of the city called it Ἀνήλιος or Ἀνθήλιος<sup>118</sup>; 3) that statue was damaged by very strong winds blowing from the South<sup>119</sup>. The destruction of the statue took place on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of April 1106<sup>120</sup>. As to the first point R. Ousterhout expressed the following doubt in 2014:

[...] which direction did the statue face: east or west? Our only source on this, Anna Komnene, wrote that the statue faced east, but she was writing 40 years after the statue had fallen and is mistaken on other matters<sup>121</sup>.

That question seems to be important, especially in the context of the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which is referred to below. As to the terms Ἀνήλιος and Ἀνθήλιος in turn, practically until today T. Preger's thesis of 1901 is current until today:

*in Constantinople*..., p. 93; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife*..., p. 308–309; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column*..., p. 125, 135; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthalios*..., p. 134–135. Cf. also E. VON LASAULX, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus und die Einziehung seiner Tempelgüter durch die christlichen Kaiser. Ein Beitrag zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, München 1854, p. 48–49; T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique*..., p. 71; C. GURLITT, *Geschichte der Kunst*..., p. 334; F. DÖLGER, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*..., p. 16, note 30; H. DÖRRIES, *Konstantin der Grosse*..., p. 180, note 7; G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des «Patria»*, Paris 1984 [= BBE, 8], p. 90, 131, 144 (note 79); *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century*..., p. 198, 242, 263; S. BRALEWSKI, *Miejsca kultu w relacji historyków kościelnych Sokratesa i Sozomena*, AUL.FH 87, 2011, p. 24–25; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand*..., p. 189; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine*..., p. 733–734; S. BRALEWSKI, *The Pious Life of Empress Helena, Constantine the Great's Mother, in the Light of Socrates of Constantinople and Sozomen*, SCer 7, 2017, p. 31; E. RUSSO, *Costantino da Bizanzio a Costantinopoli*..., p. 77, 80.

<sup>117</sup> ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*, XII, 4, vol. II, p. 150.1. Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios*..., p. 458; I. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*..., p. 350 (= IDEM, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*..., p. 123); J. VOGT, *Constantin der Große*..., p. 216; M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini*..., p. 228; M. DI MAIO, J. ZEUGE, N. ZOTOV, *Ambiguitas Constantiniana*..., p. 355; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu*..., p. 97; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople*..., p. 89; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine*..., p. 731–732; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios*..., p. 129.

<sup>118</sup> ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*, XII, 4, vol. II, p. 150.4–11: Ἀνήλιος / Ἀνθήλιος. Cf. *Patria Constantinoupoleos II*, 49, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 2, p. 177.3: Ἀνθήλιος; p. 257.9: Ἀνθήλιος; IOHANNES TZETZES, *Chiliades*, VIII, 333, p. 295: Ἀνθήλιος; THEODORUS SKOUTARIOTES, *Ἀωνόμου σύνοψις χρονική*, p. 187.4: Ἀνθήλιος.

<sup>119</sup> ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*, XII, 4, vol. II, p. 150.11–13.

<sup>120</sup> *Patria Constantinoupoleos I*, 45a, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 2, rec. T. PREGER, p. 138.13–19.

<sup>121</sup> R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife*..., p. 317, 318. Cf. A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine*..., p. 731.

Die Statue [...] gegen Osten gerichtet strahlte [...] weithin, wenn die Sonnenstrahlen auf sie fielen. Man nannte sie deshalb Ἀνθήλιος, woraus der Volkswitz in späterer Zeit, als wohl der Glanz des Goldes verschwunden war, Ἀνήλιος machte<sup>122</sup>.

As to the third point: The destroyed statue has never been reconstructed, but instead of it Manuel I Komnenos (28 XI 1118 – 24 IX 1180, emperor from 8 IV 1143) ordered to put a cross on top of the column. The height of the statue is unknown. To define the size of the statue John Zonaras used the adjective *πελώριον* – colossal<sup>123</sup>. According to Jonathan Bardill the statue could even be more than 10 meters tall<sup>124</sup>. R. Ousterhout is slightly more careful, writing: [...] *the statue to have been perhaps 8–10 m tall*<sup>125</sup>. Anthony Kaldellis, in turn, is of opinion that the statue could have been more than 6 meters tall<sup>126</sup>, while I. Milewski specifies its height as more than 4 meters<sup>127</sup>. These estimations are in fact based on three sources: 1) fragments of Colossus of Constantine (Musei Capitolini, Rome); 2) Colossus of Barletta (Basilica del Santo Sepolcro. Prospetto Nord, Barletta) – total height of that statue is 5,11 m; 3) proportions between the statue and the column visible on the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

The Column of Constantine, though badly damaged, has been standing in Istanbul until today. A few researchers tried to reconstruct its original look. C. Gurlitt seemed to have done it as the first one (fig. 6A–B) in 1912. The statue of Constantine, crowning the column, has the features of Helios or Helios-Apollo. That reconstruction has encountered criticism from some researchers<sup>128</sup>. The author of the second reconstruction is the Turkish researcher Tayfun A. Öner (fig. 7A–B). His reconstruction was taken over by J. Bardill<sup>129</sup>. Here the Emperor occurs as *Sol Invictus* or as Helios-Sol *Invictus*. Certain corrections to the reconstruction suggested by T.A. Öner were introduced by R. Ousterhout (fig. 8). His statue of the emperor is also stylized to look like Helios/Helios-Sol *Invictus*. The corrections introduced by him concern the statue:

<sup>122</sup> T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 458. Cf. M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini...*, p. 229; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 299. Cf. also I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 139; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 732.

<sup>123</sup> IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome historiarum*, XIII, 3, 25, p. 18.6–7. Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 458. Cf. also S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 199.

<sup>124</sup> J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 31–33. Cf. I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 136, 138.

<sup>125</sup> R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 317.

<sup>126</sup> A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 731.

<sup>127</sup> I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 136.

<sup>128</sup> M. SCHEDE, *Archäologische Funde. Türkei*, AA 44, 1–2, 1929, col. 340.

<sup>129</sup> J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 31, fig. 17; p. 32, fig. 19; p. 33, fig. 19.

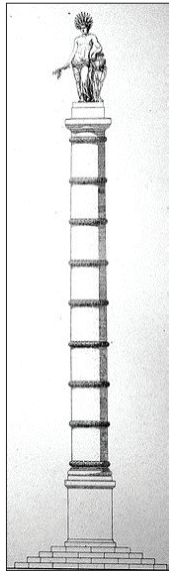


Fig. 6A



Fig. 6B

**Fig. 6A-B.** Hypothetical reconstruction of the Column of Constantine and the statue by C. GURLITT (1912). C. GURLITT, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels...*, Tafel XVII, fig. 5c.

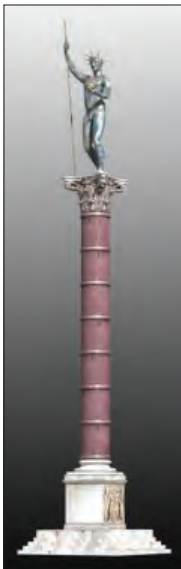


Fig. 7A

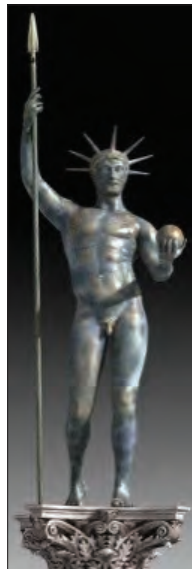


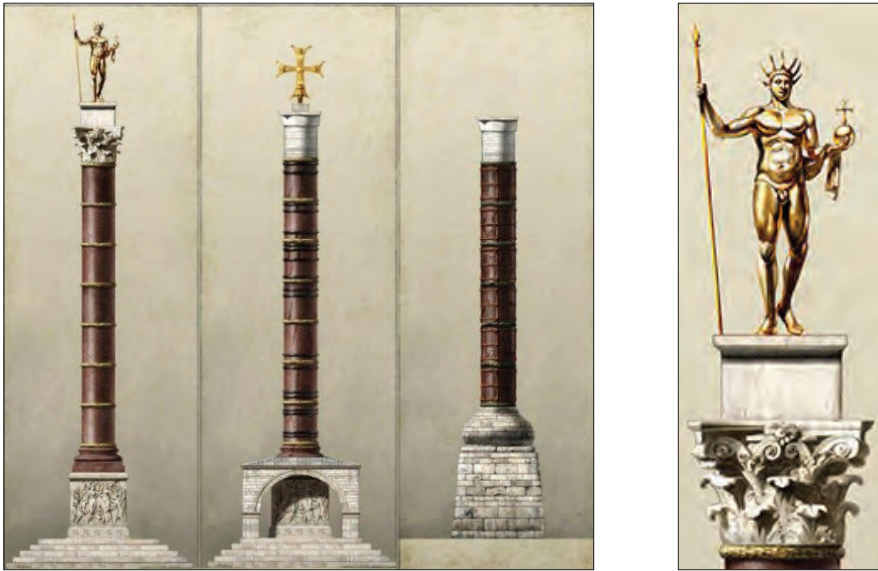
Fig. 7B



Fig. 8

**Fig. 7A-B.** Hypothetical reconstruction of the Column of Constantine and the statue by T.A. ÖNER (2004). Source: <https://www.byzantium.1200.com/forum-c.html> [8 II 2019].

**Fig. 8.** Hypothetical reconstruction of the statue by R. OUSTERHOUT (2014). R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and After-life...*, p. 317, fig. 16.



**Fig. 9A–B.** Hypothetical reconstruction of the Column of Constantine and the statue by A. HELBERT (2018). Source: <https://www.antoine-helbert.com/fr/portfolio/annexe-work/byzance-architecture.html> [8 II 2019]. Cf. H. LÉVY, A. HELBERG, *Byzance*, Poly 122, 2008, p. 68–69.

[...] the statue would have had a wide stance, with both feet firmly planted in the abacus, and very little *contrapposto* [...]. The capital would have had to be more solid and less delicate than Öner's reconstruction, and the statue itself would have been more firmly grounded<sup>130</sup>.

Finally, the author of the last reconstruction of the column presented here is Antoine Helbert (fig. 9A–B), who has been working on the graphic reconstruction of Constantinople as a whole and its particular architectural complexes at least since the years 2007–2008. So far his reconstruction of the column seems to be the best. For the author takes into consideration both literary and graphic sources, as well as the contemporary state of preservation of this monument. Important graphic sources include, among others, a drawing made by Melchior Lorichs (c. 1527 – c. 1588), showing the sculptured pedestal of a column (cf. fig. 9A<sup>1</sup>)<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 317–318. Cf. P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 125 and note 26.

<sup>131</sup> Storage place: Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. Dimensions of the drawing: 434 x 335 mm. Catalog number: KKSgb5473. Cf. I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1041–1042; N. WESTBROOK, K.R. DARK, R. VAN MEEUWEN, *Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople*, *JSAH* 69, 1, 2010, p. 66 and fig. 6; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 126; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 732–733. Cf. also J. ENGEMANN, *Melchior Lorichs...*, *passim*.

A. Helbert reconstructed the column, taking three phases of its history into consideration: the Constantine phase (328–330), after reconstruction phase during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) and the contemporary phase. The statue on the column is Constantine stylized to look like Helios-Sol *Invictus*-Apollo.

\* \* \*

The Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* is one of the three most important vignettes on that map, besides the vignettes of Rome and Antioch. In accordance with the geographic realities, it is between the two vignettes mentioned above. In this sense we can call it the central vignette of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Classifying the above-mentioned vignettes from the point of view of their graphic complicacy, the simplest one is the vignette of Rome, and the vignette of Antioch contains the most details. Therefore, the degree of graphic complexity of vignettes increases from West to East. Rome is the figure on the throne with a globe in its right hand. The scheme of Constantinople consists of two elements: the figure on the throne and a column with a statue on top. This statue also holds a globe in its right hand and a spear in the left. The vignette of Antioch is also a figure on the throne. However, it holds a spear, not a globe in its right hand, whereas its left hand is resting on the head of the figure sitting at the foot. Besides, this vignette is completed by the grove of Apollo in Daphne at Antioch, from where the aqueduct starts, which supplies the town with water. However, it is worth noticing that only the figures placed on the vignettes of Rome and Constantinople have the globe, as the attribute of power. Besides, on the vignette of Rome the globe is in the right hand of the figure on the throne, whereas on the Constantinople vignette the globe is in the right hand of the statue crowning the column. In this way the graphics of both these vignettes, as it seems, accentuates the hierarchy in exercising authority: the real ruler is in Rome, whereas in Constantinople there is only a symbol, if not to say a shadow of power. Because *Tabula Peutingeriana* is North oriented, the figures on the thrones from the vignettes of Rome and Antioch have their faces turned to the South. However, in the case of Constantinople vignette the figure on the throne has his face turned to the West, because he points to the statue on the column with the gesture of his right hand and head, and the statue is on its right, that is, western side. The face of the statue, however, is oriented to the South. Also this element of the Constantinople vignette does therefore suggest the hierarchical inferiority of that city compared to Rome. In Constantinople only the statue is looking to the South, which, in Christianity, is regarded as the side of the world connected with the Holy Spirit, while in Rome the ruler himself is doing it. The same Roman ruler turns his back to the North, which, as it is well known, in the Bible is regarded as Satan's domain. Meanwhile in Constantinople only the still statue of the ruler is standing with its back towards that direction of the world. In addition, that statue is naked, was [...] *nicht zur Ikonographie des*



*Kaisers [...] passt und deshalb als Missverständnis einer späteren Kopie der Karte angesehen werden muss*<sup>132</sup>. The statue might have been “stripped” by the mediaeval copier of the map, wanting to emphasize the distance dividing the “statue ruler” of the East even more strongly from the real Roman emperor of the West. Besides, that “statue ruler” from the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* has no features that would suggest any graphic allusion to Helios, Apollo or *Sol Invictus*. He is naked, like the biblical Adam, or rather a dead man, who cannot take anything with himself to the Other World. It might be somehow connected with the orientation of the statue along the North-South axis. However, the Byzantine sources claim that the statue was looking East, that is, it was positioned on the East-West axis. In this way the vignette also negates all the allusions to the terms Ἀνήλιος and Ἀνθήλιος. What remains is only a stone cutout of the former ruler of the empire with blind eyes, turned to the South, unable to notice the light of the Holy Spirit. Besides, it was placed on a high column, making of the (anonymous) statue of the emperor the caricature of Christian ascetics – Stylites. On the mediaeval copy of the map called *Tabula Peutingeriana* the author made a great effort to demonstrate the contrast between Rome and Constantinople. He had to modify these vignettes substantially to update the whole map geopolitically in this simple way. The question is, when and who might need such a graphic re-interpretation of history. As it seems, it might have taken place in one of two very important moments in the history of relationships of the Latin West with Byzantine, Greek East: or after the coronation of Charlemagne (c. 742 – 28 I 814; emperor of the Romans from 25 XII 800), that is, after the year 800; or during the reign of his son Louis the Pious (778 – 20 VI 840; emperor of the Romans from 28 I 814); or in the period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, that is, in the years 1204–1261. The map-itinerary from the Roman times might have served for the preparation of the “updated political map” during the reign of Charles I or Louis I, which was copied once again, probably introducing additional changes in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>132</sup> A. BERGER, *Konstantinopel...*, col. 445.

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## Netography

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**Abstract.** The article contains the analyses of 40 descriptions of the vignette of Constantinople in *Tabula Peutingeriana* created between the years 1768 and 2018. The number of these descriptions is not at all complete, however, it seems to give quite a representative survey of how has this vignette been interpreted throughout the last 250 years. Among these descriptions, merely five authors (H. Thiersch – 1909; F. Castagnoli – 1960; A. and M. Levi – 1967 and M. Reddé – 1979) believe that one of the elements of that vignette is a lighthouse. The article explains the origin of this erroneous interpretation on the basis of the edition of *Tabula Peutingeriana* from the year 1753, prepared by F.C. von Scheyb, and repeated by K. Mannert (1824), E. Desjardins (1869–1874) and K. Müller (1888), as well as of the observations in this field made by H. Gross (1913) and W. Kubitschek (1917). What is today regarded as the most probable interpretation of the element of that vignette, referred to as the lighthouse is the thesis that what is referred to here, is the Constantine's Column, on whose top there is the statue of the founder of the Second Rome. If we assume the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century as the time when *Tabula Peutingeriana* was created, then the Constantinople vignette would be the oldest graphic presentation of that column. However, the graphics of the vignette is far from the descriptions of Constantine's column in the Byzantine sources. That might result from a simple mistake made by the later copiers, or it can also be the effect of their conscious modifications of the most important vignettes on the map. For the Constantinople vignette, compared to the vignettes of Rome and Antioch, seems to contain a certain symbolic code, which allows for dating the copy of map stored today in Vienna. It seems that the original map could have been created, as it seems, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, as it is traditionally assumed. Probably it had been graphically retouched quite substantially (at least as far as the vignettes of Rome and Constantinople are concerned, joined in a strict mutual relationship) in the Carolingian period, and, more exactly, in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and then, for the second time, the map underwent modifications aimed at updating its contents in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** *Tabula Peutingeriana*, vignette of Constantinople, the Column of Constantine, lighthouse.

**Piotr Kochanek**

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin  
Faculty of Humanities  
Institute of History  
Department of Ancient,  
Medieval and Byzantine History  
Al. Raławickie 14  
20-950 Lublin, Poland  
lu2005harn@yahoo.de