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Christianizing the Skyline:

The Appropriation of the Pagan Honorary Column

in Early Constantinople

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Architecture

by

Pelin Yoncacı Arslan

2015

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2015

## **ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

Christianizing the Skyline:  
The Appropriation of the Pagan Honorary Column  
in Early Constantinople

by

Pelin Yoncacı Arslan  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in Architecture

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Diane G. Favro, Chair

The freestanding column with culminating statue is generally viewed as a relatively limited genre in Roman art and architecture. The purpose of such a column varies between glorifying a victory and honoring an individual for his or her achievements. While the best-known examples were created in Rome during the Empire, such columns were common in early Byzantine Constantinople as well. This dissertation examines four such monuments: the Columns of Constantine, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Justinian. These towering monuments were erected in imperial fora along the Mese, the main ceremonial thoroughfare passing across the city of Constantinople. The first part of the dissertation focuses on the art historical and material aspects of column monuments and illustrates the formal and urbanistic innovations applied in Constantinople. Comparison to other column monuments and monuments alike, both in the western and eastern Roman world, situates these built objects within their cultural contexts. The

second part of the study addresses the visibility of the columns in the ritual and daily experience, focusing on secular and religious urban processions held along the branches of the Mese. The analysis unfolds a transition process as the columns were transformed from pagan architectural elements to Christian urban monuments: the evolution from the simple and abstract porphyry Column of Constantine; to the hybrid, re-framed, cross-signed Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius embellished with spiral bas reliefs, and ultimately to the richly-decorated, intentionally Christianized Column of Justinian . Hence, the concluding sections explores the Christianization of the area ‘up in the air’ by presenting a hypothetical skyline where each honorary column under investigation constitutes a significant marker in a choreographed sequence. Although the beginning of this process is commonly assigned to the sixth-century adoption of the Virgin Mary as Constantinople’s protector, this study attempts to show that the conversion of the honorific column began earlier. The kinetic, sequential experience of colossal columns and their related fora offers the potential to reembody and enrich our understanding of the shift from the religiously-ambiguous foundation phase in the fourth century to an overtly Christian capital in the sixth century.

The dissertation of Pelin Yoncacı Arslan is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2015

To the memory of my grandmother

&

To my baby girl, Ela

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## **Presentations**

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## INTRODUCTION

Pope Sixtus V's redesign of Rome, in the sixteenth century, is usually characterized by the obelisks he removed and reerected as the termination points of long vistas. His plan, however, included using another ancient group of monumental posts as focal points: the historiated Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius (Figure 1.1). The open squares around these colossal columns, the Piazza Colonna and the Piazza St. Marco, were cleared and enlarged as plazas of the Christian Rome. To complete the visual expressions of these squares, Sixtus V "converted" these columns by erecting massive bronze statues of the patron saints of Rome, St. Peter (on Trajan's Column) and St. Paul (on the Column of Marcus Aurelius). Such appropriation of monuments to announce a city's new identity can be traced much further back—specifically, to fourth-century Constantinople. The architectural manifestation of Constantine the Great's transfer of imperial administration to the "New Rome," or "Second Rome," was a 50m column topped by a statue of the emperor in the form of Apollo. This column was situated in the center of the circular Forum of Constantine, which was built on a hill, known as the Second Hill, just outside the old city walls. It was made out of porphyry—the hardest and most "imperial" building material used for Roman monuments—which was utilized on an unprecedented scale to suit the New Rome. It stood right on the site where the old Byzantion<sup>1</sup> and the new Constantinian city met, reflecting a new imperial monumentality and a calculated topographic sensibility. Its formidable presence must have elicited awe and wonder from citizens and travelers alike. No wonder the column appeared in the contemporary *Tabula Peutingeriana* as an undeniable urban icon, along with Old St. Peter's Basilica representing Rome and the Temple of Apollo at Daphne representing Antioch (Figure 1.2).<sup>2</sup> Almost 1,700

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<sup>1</sup> Following the conventions of the Byzantine historiography, in this dissertation, "Byzantion" refers to the Greco-Roman town before it was refounded and renamed Constantinople by the emperor Constantine. "Byzantium" refers to the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a parchment roll of c. 30 cm height and nearly 700 cm width. Discovered by Konrad Celtes in 1507, the Tabula Peutingeriana, or Peutinger Table, was copied for Ortelius circa twelfth century and

years later, the column still amazes tourists in Istanbul as a unique relic of the city's Byzantine heritage (Figure 1.3).

The Column of Constantine was not the only large column in the city.<sup>3</sup> Between the fourth and sixth centuries, Constantine's column-in-the-forum design influenced further urban interventions. Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Justinian the Great, all adopted this design feature and constructed three more colossal columns in public spaces.<sup>4</sup> The first was built at the Forum of Theodosius, which was dedicated in 393, on the next hill to the west of the Forum of Constantine. This rectangular open space was lined with a basilica on one side. In the center stood a column decorated with a spiral band of relief topped by a statue of Theodosius. Reminiscent of the second-century Column of Trajan in Rome, this column remained standing until the end of the fifteenth century and was then completely destroyed. Fragments of the column were incorporated into the sixteenth-century Ottoman Baths complex. A decade later, Arcadius repeated his father's actions on yet another hill to the west and embellished his forum with his spiral-banded column. Its massive masonry base survives today, attached to an old Turkish house. When Justinian became emperor in 527, he slightly shifted the pattern as a result of the devastating fire that followed the Nika Revolt in 532. Instead of building a new forum, he repaired the old city center, known as the Augusteion, which was situated between Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace. As part of the renovation, he placed an equestrian statue of

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published immediately after his death in 1598 (the first printed facsimile of any ancient map, apart from those of Ptolemy). Since 1737, it entered the Hofbibliothek (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna). Scholars assume that the map either was a papyrus roll originally, based on the fact that papyrus sheets were typically max. 40 cm tall, or was designed to resemble one as telling a story in a linear fashion, like a frieze or a continuous band around an altar. It lists for example the city of Pompeii (destroyed 79 AD), the Column of Constantine and St. Peter's in Rome. This indicates that PT might have been drafted no earlier than fourth century AD, or any point thereafter. For further information, see Kai Brodersen, "The Presentation of Geographical Knowledge or Travel and Transport in the Roman World, *Itineraria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta*," *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, eds. C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.) (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 137-148.

<sup>3</sup> I should here note that I capitalize 'column' when describing a specific freestanding column in detail, but use the lowercase in general references either to all colossal columns in Constantinople, or to structural columns as components of buildings or monuments.

<sup>4</sup> In this dissertation, the 'colossal' defines the freestanding column monuments that are taller than 30m (with the pedestal). To give a frame of reference, the tallest obelisk in Rome (and the largest standing ancient Egyptian obelisk in the world) is the Lateran obelisk with 32.18 m (45.70 m with the pedestal).

himself on a column. Although demolished without a trace by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, the Column of Justinian became one of the most frequently described monuments in textual accounts of the city.

In each of these three columns, the new emperors manipulated Constantine's formula by introducing a diverse repertoire of new forms, meanings, and uses, some of which had Roman precedent while others did not. Each time, the emperor's triumphal claim was recast in different terms, and the monument attained new levels of elaboration and articulacy. Thus, with the emperors' encouragement, craftsmen of this period often built columns taller and wider than those built in the past. Choices of material for the shafts and the siting of the columns, for example, were never incidental. The shaft of the Column of Constantine was especially valued for its extraordinary height and the rarity and imperial splendor of its porphyry. Newly applied design features gave further delight to audiences, such as stepped bases, color differentiation, Christian symbols, inscriptions and reliefs in the bases, and the reuse of earlier statues. During the fifth century, the religious self-definition of the emperors began to dominate the visual culture, which further fostered the iconographic richness of these monuments. These articulations assigned the columns a new, or renewed, monumentality while rendering the triumphal claims of the emperors more persuasive. As such, a brief but significant triumph of the colossal scale characterized the fourth to sixth centuries in Constantine the Great's New Rome.

The same timeframe manifested another remarkable development in Constantinopolitan public life. It acquired a significant ceremonial aspect during the foundational years.<sup>5</sup> The city's east-west thoroughfare, the Mese, was developed during this time and evolved into a ritual axis

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<sup>5</sup> See, A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römischen Abteilung* 49, 1934, 79-118; A. Alföldi, *Die Monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt, 1970); T.D. Barnes, "The victories of Constantine," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 20 (1976): 149-55; Sabina MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (University of California Press, 1981); Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

used for public ceremonies. It extended from the Theodosian Golden Gate and bifurcated shortly before passing through the Capitolium. One branch running northwest ended at the Gate of Adrianople, and the other (more important) route heading southwest terminated at the Milion and the Augusteion (Figure 1.4). Remarkably, all four colossal columns and the fora in which they were built were constructed along the Mese, thus figuring prominently in the elevation of the ceremonial path, which hardly changed after 435.<sup>6</sup> In the late 1990s, scholarly interest in the layout of Constantinople's streets contributed greatly to this topic. Within this area of research, the individual columns have been examined from an art-historical perspective. The particular meaning of the columns in the context of early Byzantine urbanism, however, remains unexplored.

The early Byzantine Constantinople provides a great opportunity to investigate the urban presence of monumental columns in the city. These columns occupied significantly higher locations in the city, as did the fora, since the connecting line of the Mese sat on a natural ridge formed by the junction of several hills. This positioning emphasized the importance of the relationship between the columns and the topography. Despite the potency of the columns, evident in historical images and written descriptions, to date, no study has considered the colossal columns collectively as important urban components that defined the physical and processional shape of Constantinople and expressed urban, political, or religious ideas. Nor have any studies considered how the monuments were perceived during the daily outdoor processions that occurred along the Mese axis, in and around the columns.

This dissertation first contextualizes the column monuments within the Late Antique architectural scene. Then, the focus on colossal scale expanded here draws attention to the urban significance of these four column monuments on two fronts. First, a visual analysis of the columns within the fora and along the Mese reveals an early Byzantine urban emphasis on

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<sup>6</sup> Cyril Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 180.

privileged views and visual interrelationships between monumental public spaces. This in turn suggests a blend of conventional Roman orthogonal planning and a certain ‘new’ urbanism based on sightlines. The latter may be regarded as the approach of adapting inherited feasible precedents – both in terms of urban elements and design practices – to a particular time and place to articulate the urban visual experience.

Indeed, in such an approach, freestanding columns stood out from the near environments and were often visible from long distances - from far away on the sea or from the Via Egnatia right in front of the Golden Gate.<sup>7</sup> People could see the monuments on their daily business or entertainment routes, or when they exited the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) or the Hippodrome. The specific formal distinctions in the Peutinger Map’s rendering of the Column of Constantine—such as the lines representing the column drums and the purple coloring in the parchment roll—are noteworthy since they suggest that the monument was accessible and therefore visible to fourth-century audiences.<sup>8</sup>

The second context of the study dwells upon the visibility of the columns in the spatial and the experiential realm. Here the analysis of visuality will be interwoven into an examination of ephemeral ritual space. This leads to an investigation of ways to show that the columns were highly “present” in the urban processions that was held mainly along the branches of the Mese, and thus touched on every aspect of both secular and sacred life. It started with the Column of Constantine when the emperor Constantine ordered this column as the primary commemorative monument of the spectacular foundation ceremonies. Indeed, this column “fixed” the first stretch of the Mese from the Milion and since then articulated the sacred topography of

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<sup>7</sup> The Via Egnatia is one of the important Roman highways constructed around the second century AD. Starting at Dyrrachium on the Adriatic Sea, it followed the mountain regions of modern day Albania and Macedonia, and penetrated in the Balkan Peninsula until it reached the Aegean Sea at Thessaloniki. From there it crossed the plains of Thrace to the city of Byzantium (later Constantinople). It is a horizontal link between the southern regions of Adriatic and Northern Aegean, the Dardanelles and the Black Sea. See Richard Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World: Map-by-map Directory* (Princeton University Press, 2000), especially 749-750.

<sup>8</sup> Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 107.

Constantinople. Every year on and off until the tenth century, annual “birthday” ceremonies repeated the foundation rituals and cemented this column’s place in the city’s memory.

In the last decades of the fourth century, the Mese was elongated with the addition of the Fora of Theodosius and Arcadius. At the same time, with the advance of Christianity, this late Roman ceremonial route was evolved into a hybrid form that added Christian religious scenes to the path. Towards the end of the sixth century, the proliferation of churches and monasteries reshaped Constantinople’s official ceremonial path. The Church of the Holy Apostles (dedicated in 370) and Hagia Sophia (inaugurated in 537) became centers of attention for both the imperial entourage and the religious community. Consequently, these changes in the appearance of the city affected the socioreligious sphere as well. As Christianity became visually transparent and more available, the stational liturgy and the relic transportation processions began to occupy the public sphere—namely, all streets leading to the churches inside and outside the city walls. From then on, public ceremonies on the Mese followed the colossal columns as they figured prominently in the city’s emerging skyline. As given in the textual testimony, the majority of stations in both imperial and ecclesiastical processions stopped in front of the columns at the fora, where the emperor and the bishop, together or separately, were received and acclaimed. Various Christian symbols appeared in the decorations on the columns. As a result, citizens and visitors, having forgotten the original pagan overtones of the columns, began to interpret them in their own ways—as signs of divine visitation, as the platform of stylite ascetics, or, more generally, as symbols of the city’s survival in the face of natural disasters. In the sixth century, the architecture of the colossal Column of Justinian, featuring the emperor holding a *globus cruciger* (cross-bearing orb), furthered the Christian interpretation on an empire-wide scale. As such, the inescapable urban icons—once pagan “objects”—figured prominently in the processions and became Christian urban “instruments” during the remapping of the city’s sacred topography.

The first chapter is devoted to the topographical history of Constantinople. It investigates the socio-political and religious background that the emperors were playing against while constructing and transforming the New Rome. Having set forth the physical and cultural topography under investigation, and providing a closer look into the question of urban skyline; it underlines columns' capacity to go beyond the visual, by participating in both real and ephemeral topographies. The second chapter will review the historiography of column monuments before the late antiquity. It is a rather descriptive survey on the architecture of honorary columns including dimensions, materials, coverings, the tectonics of the shaft (the monoliths or drums), capital types, statues placed on the top, etc. This part reveals that Greco-Roman monumental columns were usually regarded as trophies or emblems of military or divine powers, in addition to their material value as precious artifacts, and to their documentary value as monumental recordings of the successes of the rulers. The third chapter focuses on Constantinopolitan column monuments in detail and illustrates formal and urbanistic innovations applied in Constantinople in comparison to the other column monuments and monuments alike, both in western and eastern Empire. The aim is to consider and compare their material properties, in particular the urban circumstances and visual priorities. It is hardly possible to draw categorical conclusions but there are certain similarities and differences not only between the Roman and Constantinopolitan examples but within themselves as well. However, each column proves itself as unique because of the distinct historical development and ethos of each imperial forum. Within both chapters of two and three, the visual evidence is at least as plentiful as its textual counterpart.

For the fourth chapter, the project turns to the column monuments in the ceremonial life of Constantinople; thus utilizes the relatively sparse visual evidence and provides a synthesis of this with the literary material and informed speculation brought through 3D modelling and visualization techniques. It establishes a broader framework for the understanding of how the

pagan column was appropriated through the act of viewing during the ceremonial movement. The analysis encompasses the column as the object of seeing, the viewer who moves and the act of viewing which renders the column meaningful. Three processional paths - the foundation ceremony, a possible imperial itinerary derived from partial accounts dating to the Theodosian dynasty, and the arrival ceremony of Justinian on August 559 - and will be analyzed under three categories: elements of the processional space, the sequential organization, and particular vistas. The latter covers both the view and the location from which the view is made possible. Besides a cautious re-evaluation of literary and archaeological evidence throughout the work, the methodology for this chapter involves the production of 3D sequential views and hypothetical storyboards to visualize spatial environments around the columns during ceremonies.

In conclusion, the fifth chapter explores the Christianizing ‘up in the air’ by presenting a hypothetical skyline where each honorary column under investigation constitutes a milestone. It aims to uncover a conversion process in a single frame: from the simple and rather abstract porphyry column of Constantine; to the hybrid, re-framed, cross-signed Trajanic columns of Theodosius and Arcadius, and lastly to the embellished and intentionally Christianized Column of Justinian. Although the beginning of such a process Christianization is commonly assigned to the sixth-century adoption of the Virgin Mary as the city’s protector, this study attempts to show that the appropriation of the honorific column predates the adoption and sets the initial phase of this rather slow process of Christianization back to the fifth century.<sup>9</sup> The aim is to piece together a long path towards a Christian monument, which was only completed in the 8<sup>th</sup> century when the base of the Constantine’s Column was transformed into a chapel dedicated to the sanctified emperor.<sup>10</sup> Thus, a further promise of this work is to contribute to the wider

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<sup>9</sup> Averil Cameron, “The Theotokos in sixth century Constantinople” *Journal of Theological Studies*, 29: 1 (1978): 79-108.

<sup>10</sup> For then Chapel of Constantine, see Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, IV (Aldershot, 1993).

discussion about the lack of the Christian credentials at Constantinople's foundation phase, from fourth to sixth century.

## CHAPTER 1

### Approaching Constantinople

#### 1.1 The urban development from the Constantine to Justinian

In the summer of 324, Constantine besieged the city of Roman Byzantium to capture Licinius after the Battle of Hadrianople. As noted by the historian Zosimus, during the two-month long siege, the emperor stayed in a military camp built on the second hill of the promontory, right outside the main land gate connected to the Via Egnatia.<sup>11</sup> At the time when the city was falling, Licinius escaped to the opposite shores of the Bosphoros to Chrysopolis (modern day Üsküdar). In the battle of Chrysopolis on September 18, 324, Licinius was defeated and lost his imperial titles in the East. With the elimination of his rival, Constantine became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire, as well as the sole defender of its borders. To perpetuate the memory of his naval victory, or what Krautheimer has suggested, to commemorate the unification of the Roman Empire under one ruler, Constantine decided to create his own capital and refounded the city of Byzantium.<sup>12</sup> It was renamed after the emperor, Constantinople, yet was also called New or Second Rome as early as 326, probably inspired by the desire to make the *new* able to stand comparison with the *old* Rome. Accordingly, builders and designers were established to create a proud material expression of the new emperor and the new imperial capital.

The city conquered by Constantine was not significantly different from eastern cities like Alexandria, Antioch, or Leptis Magna. The Roman Byzantium was a Romanized Hellenic city with columnar architecture (Map 1). The city encircling the Acropolis was oriented toward the Golden Horn, from the agora to the harbor. To the right of the tip was the main harbor of the

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<sup>11</sup> Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, II, 33-36

<sup>12</sup> Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (University of California Press, 1983), 42.

city, Prosporon/ Bosporion, the old Greek Harbor. The second harbor, the Neorion, was built next to it but outside the city walls.<sup>13</sup> Severus is known to have built an amphitheater as a venue for games involving wild animals. This building was later used as a prison after these spectacles ended in the sixth century AD.<sup>14</sup> He also rebuilt the temples in the Acropolis—those of Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Zeus, and Poseidon—and built a temple for Helios.<sup>15</sup> The existence of other public buildings essential for a town, such as the Bouleuterion and the Prytaneion, remains unknown for this period. Yet, a second agora, located further to the south, called Tetrastoon (later to become the Byzantine Augusteion, reaching its final configuration in Justinian’s sixth-century renovations) is thought to have been a crowded public space in this era. It was surrounded by colonnaded porticoes, as suggested by its name, which means “four stoas” in Greek. The Imperial Palace was probably established to the south of this area, which had previously been more or less empty. Close to the Tetrastoon were the Baths of Zeuxippus and a Hippodrome, both of which were left unfinished and completed later during the reign of Constantine or Lucius.<sup>16</sup> A grand avenue, the so-called Portico of Severus connected the Tetrastoon to the city gate built by Septimius Severus.

The realization of Constantine’s renovation plans lasted six years. Although exact dates vary in different sources, the city was founded in 324, two months after the battle of Chrysopolis, and Constantine dedicated it on May 11, 330, as *Constantinopolis Nova Roma* (Constantinople, New Rome).<sup>17</sup> In the renovations, the emperor first enlarged the city nearly

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<sup>13</sup> For the Byzantine waterfront around the Golden Horn, see Namik Erkal, *Haliç extra mural zone: a spatio temporal framework for understanding the architecture of the Istanbul city frontier* (Unpublished PhD. diss. Middle East Technical University, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> Dogan Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis* (Istanbul: Is Bankasi Yayinlari 23, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhundert* (Wasmuth, Tübingen, 1977), 64; Albrecht Berger, “Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 165.

<sup>17</sup> Themistius famously claims that Constantine began building the new city immediately after the naval victory. He provided his son with the purple (on 13th November 324) and his city with the wall. See, A. Alföldi, “On the Foundation of Constantinople: A Few Notes,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 12, note 9.

3km beyond the limits of the old wall. The new set of city walls followed the geographic positioning of the city on the Bosphorus, which demanded a unique alignment along the Propontis (Map 1). Constantine kept the urban scheme designed by Severus and the monumentalized the city core around Tetrastoon, involving the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Basilica, and the Hippodrome. He rededicated this plaza in honor of his mother and named it as the Augusteion, a word derived from her title *Augusta*.<sup>18</sup> The so-called Old Church (the later Church of Hagia Irene) was built to the north of this plaza. While the exact date for this building is unknown, Socrates assigned it to Constantine, and the church was represented in the fourth-century Peutinger Map along with the Column of Constantine. To the south of the Augusteion lay Constantine's palace, the earliest phase of the later Great Palace. It included quarters for the imperial family and guards, a throne room, official gathering spaces, and open-air courts.<sup>19</sup> To the west of the palace grounds was the Hippodrome, which had existed as early as the second century. During the Constantine era, it was finished and became a fully functional "Roman" Hippodrome with *carceres* (starting gates) and the *spina* on the central axis. An imperial seat overlooking the tracking platform box, known as the *kathisma*, linked the Hippodrome directly to the Great Palace. Across the starting gates of the Hippodrome, on the northern side of the Mese, was the Milion, a large four-way arched structure, occupying the connection between the Augusteion and the Porticus of Severus. It was considered the starting point of all roads. The distances to all the main cities of the Empire from Constantinople were inscribed on its base.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, this structure functioned as a symbol demonstrating the transfer of the navel of the Empire to the East, and as such, consolidated New Rome's place within the new Empire.

Following the course of the Porticus of Severus, the emperor built his Forum in front of

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<sup>18</sup> Augusta was an honorific title, the feminine form of Augustus, given to female members of the imperial family in Roman and Byzantine era. Constantine's mother Helena received the title in 325.

<sup>19</sup> Kuban, *Istanbul*, 24.

<sup>20</sup> It was thought to be conceived on the model of the Roman Miliarum Aureum, yet in a more ornamented and spatially complex way.

the old city gate and embellished it with his monumental Column and a Senate House. Beyond that complex appeared a public plaza called the *Forum Tauri* (Market of the Bull). The next stop on the Mese was the Capitol, a temple dedicated to the triad of Roman gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.<sup>21</sup> The Philadelphion (Temple of Brotherly Love) stood nearby, whose exact nature and location are still unclear.

Just past the Philadelphion, the main avenue split into two paths, one going north to the Adrianople Gate and the other continuing southwest and terminating at the main city gate. Along the northern arm was Constantine's own mausoleum, the later Holy Apostles, placed on the fourth and highest hill of the city. Originally it was the burial grounds for imperial family, yet as indicated by its later name, early Christian literature, Eusebius in particular, situated this site firmly within the Christian landscape of a New Rome.<sup>22</sup> Architecturally, it was a centrally planned domed structure that was either circular or octagonal in form with radiating niches for the placement of sarcophagi.<sup>23</sup>

Along the southern branch of the Mese, in the valley of the Lycus River, between the seventh and third hills, was the *Forum Bovis* (Forum of the Ox), identified by a hollow bronze statue representing the head of an ox.<sup>24</sup> Possibly a rectangular, colonnaded courtyard, this open square was known as a place for public executions and torture.<sup>25</sup> Heading west, the artery connected this Forum with the Constantinian Golden Gate, also called the Old Golden Gate. Situated on the southern slopes of the Seventh Hill, the Gate survived until the fourteenth

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<sup>21</sup> The architecture of this complex is unknown. Yet Bassett proposes that it could have been similar to the traditional Roman temple with a high podium. See Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31.

<sup>22</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.58–60. From the late fourth century on, the building was known as the Church of Holy Apostles. Besides the imperial sarcophagi, it contained relics of St. Andrew, St. Luke and St. Timothy.

<sup>23</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 32.

<sup>24</sup> Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 253.

<sup>25</sup> Raymond Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris, 1950; 2nd ed. 1964), 69–70; Ernest Mamboury, *Istanbul touristique. Edition française* (Galata, Istanbul, Çituri Biraderler Basımevi, 1951) 74. The brazen bull was a torture device used since the Greeks.

century. Today, the remains were incorporated into a small nearby mosque, *Isa Kapi Mescidi* (Mosque of the Gate of Jesus). A reconstruction of the Gate influenced by the Golden Gate of Diocletian's Palace in Split had a single opening topped by a six-columned stoa-like decoration.<sup>26</sup> On the north of the gate, outside the city walls, Constantine built a church for St. Mocius, a local martyr who was subjected to torture in the time of Diocletian.<sup>27</sup> Another church, recorded in the *Notitia*, was dedicated to St. Acacius, a fourth-century priest who was also executed during Diocletian's persecution.

In the overall view, Constantinople presented a mixture of the Empire's religious culture, as there were at least two temples to local deities, the Capitolium of the traditional Roman gods, and at least two churches, all accommodated within the city. Bassett suggests that they all shared the same visual language of *romanitas*, with rich marbles and columnar architecture, and thus created an urban ensemble unique to Constantinople, "a city like no other."<sup>28</sup> As a matter of fact, this picture represents a city image composed of buildings with different religious orientations. This same image in fact mirrors the idiosyncratic religious identity of Constantine the Great. He kept the ancient city cults, the Tyche and the Rhea in particular; built churches, although in smaller scale when compared to the ones built in Rome or Jerusalem, and promoted the new state religion; and supported the concept of "deified emperor" at the same time. The last one, in particular, reserved most of the architectural expression. First introduced to the city by Severus, the imperial concept of emperors with divine authority was still visible in Constantine's urban development program. It was manifested not only in naming of the city after the emperor,

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<sup>26</sup> See the reconstruction at <http://www.byzantium1200.com/oldgate.html> (May 24, 2014) that is based on the fact that the Gate's medieval name (H)exakionion means six columns. Also, Mango ("The Triumphal Way," 175-176) reminds that Manuel Chrysoloras described the gate as crowned by a kind of stoa.

<sup>27</sup> For churches existed in Constantine's era, see Bardill, *Constantine*, 253, note 184.

<sup>28</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 35.

but also in the two personal, large scale monuments, the Column of Constantine and the his mausoleum dedicated to his dynasty.<sup>29</sup>

In 380, Theodosius I made his entrance into Constantinople and began the next era of construction in the new capital. Fifty years after the official founding of the city, the Theodosian dynasty (Arcadius, Theodosius II, and Marcian) introduced significant building projects that reshaped Constantine's urban image (Map 2). Constantine's city, as found by Theodosius I, featured straight colonnaded avenues creating urban coherence among the monumental civic spaces of the Holy Apostles, Capitolium, Forum, Augusteion, Hippodrome, and Palace. In this way, unlike the meandering footpaths connecting the landmarks of Rome, the important monumental plazas in Constantinople were connected along the Mese. Following the Constantinian blueprint, two monumental public fora, the forum of Theodosius and Arcadius, with their colossal columns were indeed built along the western extension of the Mese. Both were close to the hills, and the natural elevation significantly articulated the experience.

In between these two new major attractions, the valley at the mouth of the Lycus River - an area formerly more associated with the Forum of the Ox—was monumentalized with a new harbor. Recent excavations in the area revealed the magnificent size of Theodosian Harbor and showed there was busy traffic with grain ships and other cargoes. *Horrea Theodosiaca*, Theodosian grain stores, were built nearby to provide logistical support to the harbor. To support the city's infrastructure, Theodosius I enlarged the Aqueduct of Valens, the major water-providing system built between the third and fourth hills and completed by his

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<sup>29</sup> Vasiliki Limberis suggests that such an operation within the religious landscape of the city aimed to diminish the effects of the ancient city cults, like Helios Zeuxippus, the Temple to Hecate, the cult of Dioscourii and the mythical founder Byzas. First, the concept of the “deified emperor” and Rome's imperial grandeur were underlined in the city during the Romanization process of the Greek city of Byzantium, and then, Constantine distracted the citizens from those cults by facilitating the great Roman building program. See, Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress, the Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London: Routledge Ltd., 1994), 12.

predecessor, Emperor Valens, around AD 368. Ancient testimony shows that the Nymphaeum Maius in the Forum of Theodosius was supplied with water from this waterline.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to these two monumental urban plazas, new imperial residences and public baths were built. The Hippodrome became the main ceremonial venue, used for both games and imperial celebrations, like military victories or other state occasions. This elevated importance led to major additions to the sculptural display on the spina, one of which was the Obelisk of Theodosius.

The Obelisk of Theodosius is an ancient Egyptian obelisk belonging to Pharaoh Tutmoses III that was re-erected in Constantinople (Figure 1.5a). It is about 25m high, including the square base that has reliefs carved on all four sides depicting members of the imperial household attending games in the Hippodrome; winners of the chariot races; spectators, musicians, and dancers participating in the celebrations; and, remarkably, the transportation of the obelisk to the construction site.<sup>31</sup> Around 60m far from this monument, stands another obelisk, known as the “Built” or “Walled” Obelisk.” While the exact date of construction is debatable, this monument is nevertheless remarkable as it was built out of rough-cut stones and decorated with gilded bronze plaques (Figure 1.5b).

The city’s urban developments during the Theodosian dynasty continued with the establishment or restoration of important ecclesiastical centers in the city. Gregory of Nazianzus, appointed bishop of the city by Theodosius I in AD 379, held services in the small chapel called Anastasia, slightly northeast of Constantine’s Forum in the Portico of Domninus.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 273.

<sup>31</sup>The Obelisk itself is of Aswan red granite. The lower part was thought as to have damaged during transport, so it measures only around 19m. The reliefs around the pedestal is considered as one of the typical examples of late roman art with symmetry and frontality in the composition.

<sup>32</sup> The Portico of Domninus was a colonnaded street leading up from the Golden Horn to the Mese. Its intersection point with the Mese was monumentalized with a tetrastoon. In the late Byzantine times, it was called *macro embolos*, the long colonnaded street. Today it is still visible within the Grand Bazaar area in Istanbul. See, Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos* Poikila Byzantina Series. (R. Habelt, 1988), 442-444. For the

As reported by Socrates, Theodosius I dedicated a church to St. John the Forerunner in Hebdomon in 392 and another to St. John the Evangelist sometime around the year 400.<sup>33</sup> Hagia Irene and Hagia Sophia, inaugurated by Constantius II on February 15, 360, were already in use.<sup>34</sup> In 404, the latter was damaged in the riots that followed the exile of the patriarch John Chrysostom. Theodosius II rebuilt the structure around 415.<sup>35</sup> Lastly, the construction of the Church of Theotokos Chalkoprateia was attributed to Theodosius II. This three-aisled basilica for the Mother of God (Theotokos) built in the Bronze District (*Chalkoprateia*) had become an important religious scene and ceremonial station for ecclesiastical processions.<sup>36</sup>

As discussed here, emperors of the Theodosian dynasty renovated and restored the areas east of the Forum of Constantine, and as such, directed the new urban development westward toward the higher grounds of the third, fourth, and fifth hills. This development included a series of monumental civic spaces, palaces, churches, monasteries, and utilitarian projects like harbors and cisterns. Completed in 413 by Theodosius II, a new city wall enlarged the city's territory up to 2km to the west and eventually replaced the old Constantinian wall. The new portal of the city, called the new Golden Gate, was shaped in a triumphal arch form with three openings.<sup>37</sup> The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, written during the reign of Theodosius II in 425, recorded all of these projects separately for each of the city's 14 administrative regions.

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Chapel of Anastasia, see Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantine. Le Siècle de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique* (Paris, 1969), 22-25.

<sup>33</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.6; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.4.

<sup>34</sup> The architecture of the first building built on the site of the later Justinianic church was thought as a basilica with columns and a wooden roof. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 472.

<sup>35</sup> Several marble blocks from the second phase of the structure are exhibited in the garden of the current building. One of the reliefs, originally part of a monumental pedimented entrance, depicts 12 lambs representing 12 apostles.

<sup>36</sup> See Thomas Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park - London 1971), 30.

<sup>37</sup> The structure was not integrated into the surrounding wall. This condition has caused numerous interpretations about the sponsor and the date of the gate as ancient sources related the gate with both the younger and the older Theodosius. For the discussion see Bardill "The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A triumphal Arch of Theodosius I" *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999): 671-696 and Bardill, *Constantine*.

The number of streets, colonnaded avenues, baths, bakeries, palaces, houses (*domus*), and civil officials responsible for each region are all identified clearly in this text.

By the end of the fourth century and throughout the fifth century, fires, earthquakes, and civil rebellions had begun to destroy the Constantinopolitan built environment. The events following the Nika Riot, for example, damaged churches such as Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene, the Great Palace, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the portico leading to the Forum of Constantine, the Chalke Gate, and the Senate House. With the reign of Justinian the Great (527-565) in the aftermath of such disarray, Constantinople witnessed another significant urban development phase.

As recorded primarily by Procopius in the first book of *Buildings*, emperor Justinian was engaged in rebuilding and restoring activities along with new construction projects (Map 3). He retained the city's basic organizing structure and added individual structures to it. The Augusteion was remodeled following the devastation of the Nika Revolt in 532. In fact, the buildings that surrounded the Augusteion changed greatly throughout the city's history. The open plaza was first planned by Septimius Severus; subsequent emperors reshaped it several times. During the Justinianic era, the area shrank into the square in front of Hagia Sophia and functioned more as a courtyard of the Great Church. Between 532 and 562, the emperor renovated and enlarged the collapsed dome of Hagia Sophia, making it more majestic than its predecessors. With its massive dome, it remained the largest cathedral throughout the Byzantine era. The emperor was proud of the magnificent scale of the basilica and famously claimed that he had even outdone Solomon. The square in front of this building, the Augusteion, was thus dominated physically and perceptually by the cathedral.

The Senate House and the renovated entrance of the Great Palace, the Chalke Gate (aka the Brazen House) occupied the other two sides of the Augusteion. The Chalke was first built by

Constantine, but its architectural form cannot be determined with certainty.<sup>38</sup> In the sixth century, Justinian's monumentalized the gate and covered the roof with tiles of gilded bronze.<sup>39</sup> In addition, he ordered that his colossal column monument be surmounted with an equestrian statue of himself and placed in the open area of the Augusteion.

In addition the Hagia Sophia, Justinian renovated the other key monument of Christianity: the Church of Holy Apostles. He added a new mausoleum nearby where the emperor's wife, Theodora, was laid to rest after her death in 548. Also, Justinian ordered the construction of one of the most important early Byzantine buildings in Istanbul, the Church of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus, while he was still a *caesar*. Because of its central dome plan, it is called "Little Hagia Sophia" in tourist literature. Many other churches and monasteries were built or rebuilt in this era. Churches like the Blachernai and St. Irene at Sykai revived the ritual life of the city. As such, Justinian's Constantinople attained a physiognomy that would prove its future characterization: a ceremonial city under Christian rule.

## 1.2 "Old" Rome versus Constantinopolis, *Nova Roma*

The relationship between Rome and Constantinople has been seen one of tension, or opposition, or emulation. Constantinople is perceived to have been modeled on Rome, and the freestanding columns are the obvious proof. Before arguing against such a correspondence and unfolding the unique features of Constantinopolitan columns, I will underline some specifics indicating significant differences between two capitals.

There are several, highly suggestive points of comparison between the two cities. In the early years of its foundation, Constantinople was designated *altera Roma* (the other Rome) by the Latin poet Optatianus Porphyrius in one of his panegyric poems addressed to Constantine in

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<sup>38</sup> Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959).

<sup>39</sup> Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum* I, 656-57; Mango, *The Brazen House*, 21.

commemoration of Constantine's defeat of Licinius in 324.<sup>40</sup> In AD 357, the pagan orator Themistius identified two metropolises: the city of Romulus and the city of Constantine, the second Rome.<sup>41</sup> The first official manifestation of this designation was heard at the Council of Constantinople in 381, which declared that the old and new Rome had comparable ranks. In the religious sphere, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and the historian Socrates used qualifications such as "young" or "second" when referring to Constantinople. A Constantinian inscription found at the Strategion calls the city the "second Rome."<sup>42</sup>

Sixth-century writers recording the presence of seven hills on the New Rome fostered such clear resonances of Rome.<sup>43</sup> In the fifth-century Notitia the city was administered into 14 regions in the reign of Arcadius (395-408) or Theodosius II (408-450), as had happened previously in Rome.<sup>44</sup> Many of the city's institutions were also modeled after Rome. The distribution of corn established by the founding emperor was a political move used earlier in Rome to keep the populace fed. Unlike any other Roman city, Constantinople had its own Senate and city prefect, a high state office responsible for city administration. At first, Constantinople's Senate was secondary to Rome's, but it gained equal rank in the 350s during the reign of Constantius II.<sup>45</sup>

From an architectural and urban perspective, there are many similarities. Both had a Senate House and a Capitolium. The latter in particular—a temple dedicated to the Roman state

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<sup>40</sup> Optatianus Porphyrius, *Carmina*. 4.6 and 18.34, as cited in B. Ward-Perkins, "Old and New Rome Compared: The Rise of Constantinople," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford University Press, 2012), 53 note 1. For further information about Porphyrius see, J. Stephan Edwards, "The Carmina of Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius and the Creative Process" in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History, Volume XII*, ed. Carl Deroux, (Brusselles, Collection Latomus, 2005), 447 – 466.

<sup>41</sup> Themistius, *Orations*. 184a, as cited in Glen W. Gowersock, "Old and New Rome in the Late Antique Near East," in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown*, ed. P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (Ashgate, 2009), 37-49.

<sup>42</sup> Grig and Kelly, "Introduction," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford University Press, 2012), 11.

<sup>43</sup> G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 a 451* (Bibliothèque Byzantine Etudes 7, Paris, 1974), 14-15.

<sup>44</sup> Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47 (1997): 352.

<sup>45</sup> Ward-Perkins, "Old and New Rome Compared," 53.

deities—manifested a link with Old Rome.<sup>46</sup> This was a common move among many other late Roman cities from the Republican period onward, to establish a connection with the eternal capital.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, emulating the relationship between the Circus Maximus and the palaces of the Palatine, the Great Palace in Constantinople was connected to the Hippodrome. The architecture of the Hippodrome, in fact, presents a closer resemblance. As Bassett explains, the latter followed the Roman model not only in terms of characteristic features—like starting gates (carceres) or the existence of the spina (a central barrier)—but also in the precise placement of obelisks on the spina.<sup>48</sup> The “Built Obelisk” in particular was the same height as Constantius II’s obelisk in the Circus Maximus. Ward-Perkins concludes that this act of building a fake obelisk with the same height as Rome’s tallest obelisk shows deliberate emulation.<sup>49</sup> Close to the Hippodrome, the Milion occupying the busy connection spot between the Augusteion, Mese, and Basilica, corresponded to the Milliarium Aureum in the Roman Forum. Like its Roman counterpart, it was a milestone marking the origin of all roads leading to the other cities of the Roman Empire, thus establishing Constantinople as the “new” center of the ancient world. Distances were measured relative to that point and inscribed on the body of the monument.

The last and the well-known similarity in the cityscape is found in the historiated columns in both capitals. Using the Column of Trajan as a model, the Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius reveal an obvious emulation. The urban setting of the first column, the Forum of Theodosius, was in fact derived inspiration from the Forum of Trajan in Rome. Besides the colossal column with spiral relief, the Forum included a basilica, equestrian statues of the emperor’s sons, and one (or two) arched gateways. Furthermore, the four-column piers of the Arch of Theodosius were carved in the form of Herculean clubs grasped by a fist. As noted by

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<sup>46</sup> Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV–VII siècle)* (Paris, 1985; 2nd ed. Paris, 1990), 30.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> See Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 25, Figure 4.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 60.

Croke, the decorative motifs of Hercules may have been a reference to Rome since Hercules was the patron deity of the Spanish emperors Hadrian and Trajan.<sup>50</sup> These columns and urban settings will be investigated thoroughly in the following pages.

All these features played on the natural affinity between the Old and the New Rome. Images of twinned personifications of both were found in many late antique objects, such as the fifth-century ivory Diptych, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Figure 1.6). The Tyches were only differentiated by their headdresses: Roma wore a helmet indicating the city's military past and Constantinople carried a crown referring to her regal future. The differences, however, were not limited to accessories that characterized the *Selbstverständnis* of these two capitals. Below, I discuss some points regarding how superficial the resemblances might be when examined within the local context.

The name Constantinople, the New Rome, is usually interpreted as signifying Constantine's intention to re-create the glory of Rome in Bosphorus. However, the first component of the name, "city of Constantine," clearly emphasizes the emperor's own rule. Naming the city after himself was a tradition that had a Hellenistic rather than Roman or Tetrarchic precedence. Thus, it is safe to suggest that the emperor might not necessarily have been responsible for the empire-wide proliferation of the "second Rome" designation.<sup>51</sup>

Although the city was clearly dissimilar from the Old Rome in topographical terms, it was forced to fit into the "seven-hills/fourteen-region" formula (Figure 1.7). The sixth hill, for example, which lay outside Constantine's city walls, formed a separate region in the *Notitia* and had its own fortification. Theodosius II's walls followed the tops of the sixth and seventh hills, which made them function as topographical edges rather than natural heights utilized within the

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<sup>50</sup> Brian Croke, "Reinventing Constantinople: Theodosius I's imprint on the imperial city," in *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians Later Roman History and Culture, 284–450 CE*, ed. Scott McGill et al. (Cambridge University Press 2010), 259.

<sup>51</sup> F. Dolger, "Rom in der Gedanken Welt der Byzantiner," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 56 (1937), 25–28.

city's urban plan, as in Rome. In the eternal capital, the meaning and symbolic extent of the city as the *caput mundi* did not allow an encapsulation within fortification walls for a long time in city's history.<sup>52</sup> The city of Constantinople, on the other hand, was fortified from the first day of its Roman occupation. The third-century Severan walls were subsequently replaced by the Constantinian and Theodosian walls. In time, these monumental wall circuits originally erected for defense became a defining feature of urbanism as they did in Constantinople.

As figured in Favro's investigation through the ancient urban iconicity, emulating structures and urban compositions of Rome was not unique to Constantinople.<sup>53</sup> Cities in the Eastern and North African regions built Capitolia and imperial open plazas for the sake of *romanitas*. The Senate House and Capitolium in Constantinople present a similar case. The former, for example, indicated not only a dichotomy in administrative issues but also shifted the balance in the architecture of imperial fora by strategically replacing the temple of the imperial cult with the senate building. Constantine's Senate House, different from the one in Rome, was one of the central components of his imperial Forum. In the Imperial Fora of Rome, this place was reserved for the temples of the deity, whilst the Senate House was in Forum Romanum, the oldest public area. The Capitolium, on the other hand, in the New Rome presents a further rearrangement. Its location within the urban fabric is suggestive in the sense that the temple was strongly connected with daily life by means of its relation with the Mese. In Rome, however, the temple was isolated and placed in a higher location.

The Milion, on the other hand, was more complex than its Roman predecessor. The architecture of this structure is not certain, but it is generally accepted as a tetrapylon with four arches topped with a dome. Unlike the relatively well-defined location of the Milliarium on the

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<sup>52</sup> As noted by Favro, the sprawling growth of the Imperial Rome virtually rendered the 10m high early Republican walls invisible and in time the walls were incorporated in the city. In the 270s, when the barbarian invasion challenged the invincible eternal capital and its military power, only then did the Emperor Aurelian construct a line of city walls between 271 and 275. Diane Favro, "The iconiCITY of ancient Rome," *Urban History* 33: 01 (2006): 34.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

Roman rostra, the Milion marked an important intersection in the city where multiple imperial and public interests must have been investigated and negotiated. Diverse sculptural decorations occupied the monument's surfaces and immediate environment, namely the statues of Constantine and his mother Helena with a cross; a statue of the Tyche of the city; a sundial; the statue of Justin II's wife Sophia, his daughter Arabia, and his niece Helena; and a bronze quadriga of Helios.<sup>54</sup> Such sculptural compositions paralleled the displays in the Forum Romanum in Rome as well as other imperial cities, yet the dominant Christian iconography found on a mile marker reveals a fundamental distinction between two monuments. Moreover, due to its location, the Milion became an important station for imperial ceremony. Each subsequent emperor renovated and redecorated the building, reflecting different personal agendas. Thus, it functioned more like a political display device marking relative distances from the "new" center.

Lastly, the organization of the Mese as a sequence of imperial ideological spaces dedicated to individual emperors—Constantine, Theodosius, and Arcadius—indicates another important difference in the urban concept. Unlike the cluster of Imperial Fora in Rome, the linear organization of Constantinopolitan fora was more integrated with the urban fabric (Figure 1.8). In Constantinople, the linear, singular thoroughfare crossed three fora along its journey and ended with a clear terminus, the imperial space for Justinian, the Augusteion. In fact, this flow reinvented the idea of the Roman imperial forum by incorporating it into the late-antique urban armature.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> For further information, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 216.

<sup>55</sup> For the definition of urban armature, see William Lloyd MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal* (Yale University Press, 1988), 20-30. This term will be investigated in Chapter 4.2.

In closing, it is worth noting what Krautheimer said about copying in the art of the Middle Ages.<sup>56</sup> Krautheimer argues that copies in this era did not imitate specific shapes and forms but reproduced and reinterpreted the elements and measurements of the originals. Constantinople, I would argue, was not modeled after Rome. It can only be considered as a *copy* of Rome in Krautheimer's sense of the word. The elements for building a capital were taken from Rome and reimagined, redesigned, and reinscribed into a unique topography. Further, the art collection that was legendarily collected by Constantine from the renowned sites of the Greco-Roman world could be considered as structural components as well, not different from the spoliated pieces integrated into his Arch in Rome. The artifacts, the material manifestations of Rome's power, richness and glory, were carefully inscribed into the cityscape of the New Rome. Probably the emperor's intention was to "copy" the "eternalness" of Rome. As Bassett points out, each piece of artwork brought a sense time, geography, and history to Constantine's city. In this sense, Constantinople was the "Next" Rome that dominated a broader terrain.

### **1.3 The state of the field**

There is a long, robust tradition in the historical research on Constantinopolitan urban development that responds to its unique topography and profound transformations in terms of territorial size, urban construction, population, economic power, administrative machinery, and religious landscape. It ranges from Byzantine scholars in the Renaissance (such as Manuel Chrysoloras, who compared New Rome to Old Rome), to Russian travelers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who described the city's antiquaries, to seventeenth-century armchair historian Charles Du Cange.<sup>57</sup> Mid-twentieth century academic archaeological interest, E. Gibbon's theory of decline and fall, and various narratives concerning the triumph of

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<sup>56</sup> Krautheimer, "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture." *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 5 (1942): 1-33, reprinted in: *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).

<sup>57</sup> For the detailed historiography see Bassett, *The Urban Image*.

Christianity helped situate Constantinople at the center of many discussions. Recently, exciting work on the new findings from the Harbor of Theodosius and digital visualization projects, mostly led by Albrecht Berger and his team, have aroused serious scholarly interest.<sup>58</sup> Among these studies, two primary types of scholarly research have informed this study: archaeological documentations and art historical investigations of sculpted urban displays.

In the nineteenth century, the development of classical archaeology and subsequent excavation campaigns triggered significant research on Constantinopolitan topography. Besides the Great Palace area, the sophisticated fortification walls of the city, Hagia Sophia and some other Middle Byzantine churches, and the course of the Mese started to attract scholarly attention towards the end of the century. The Swiss scholar Ernest Mamboury, started as a professor of French language and literature in 1909 at the Galatasaray High School in Istanbul, worked on the Byzantine structures of the city. Over the course of many years, E. Mamboury measured and sketched most of the scattered remains of the Palace-Hippodrome area. He followed the Divan Yolu (the Ottoman processional way set upon the course of the Mese) and performed excavations around and under the porphyry Column of Constantine from 1929 to 1930. His elevations and plans of the still-standing column have since become the standard for scholars.<sup>59</sup>

The rapid discovery of archaeological data during that time caused scholars to focus on the study of monuments situated on the Mese line. Studies of the individual features of early Christian and Byzantine church buildings appeared first. Field reports on Hagia Sophia were followed by studies of the churches of St. John the Studios near the Golden Gate and Hagia Irene, which was very close to Hagia Sophia. In the 1960s, the digging of an underpass in front

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<sup>58</sup> For the waterfront excavations see, Arzu Karamani Pekin and Selmin Kangal, eds. *Istanbul: 8000 Years Brought to Daylight (Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Excavations)* (Istanbul, Kultur A.S. 2007). For a short clip from the 3D model of 13<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople, see, <http://vimeo.com/24279450> (accessed May 06, 2014).

<sup>59</sup> E. Mamboury, *The Tourists' Istanbul*, trans. M. Burr (Istanbul, 1953).

of City Hall in Sarachane uncovered the remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos, which was situated on the northwestern arm of the Mese, close to the Column of Marcian.<sup>60</sup>

Research on utilitarian structures (aqueducts, harbors, urban plazas) started considerably later. In 1964, Rudolf Naumann excavated three portico shops along the Mese while searching for the Palace of Lausus and the Antiochos.<sup>61</sup> In 1955, R. Janin published his research on the Forum Bovis (whose form and function remain unknown) and the Forum of Theodosius.<sup>62</sup> This was the first study of open-air urban plazas. Around the same time, Guiland studied the Forum of Theodosius and published an article in 1959.<sup>63</sup> Janin's and Guiland's studies presented archeological data on the remains of the Column of Theodosius.

Meanwhile, the documentation of the levels of this palimpsest city became a passion for many historians. Literary testimony and survey reports with scattered material evidence, rather than in-depth archaeological work, dominated the field at the beginning of the twentieth century. Given the nature of the evidence, scholars tended to present the city as a catalog. Like an updated version of the *Notitia*, this "urban catalog" type of writing tended to categorize the city in some fashion and include all available information. Starting with Janin's *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et repertoire topographique* and Guiland's *Études de Topographie de Constantinople Byzantine*, this catalog series was concluded with Müller-Wiener's well-known *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, a "picture-encyclopedia of the built environment."<sup>64</sup> The latter offers comprehensive archaeological references with emphasis on architectural processes and building technologies for different types of public amenities. By

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<sup>60</sup> See, Richard Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace Church in Istanbul* (London: Harvey Miller, 1989); Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961): 243–247.

<sup>61</sup> N. Dolunay and R. Naumann, "Untersuchungen zwischen Divan Yolu und Adalet Sarayı 1954," *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yılığ* 11-12 (1964), 136-140.

<sup>62</sup> See Janin, "Du Forum Bovis au Forum Tauri: etude de topographie," *Revue des Études byzantines* 13 (1955): 85-109 and Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 27-29, 43-46.

<sup>63</sup> R. Guiland, *Études de Topographie de Constantinople Byzantine* 2 vols. (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1969).

<sup>64</sup> Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*.

categorizing monuments according to building type, as opposed to the geographical sorting of the *Notitia*, Müller-Wiener shifted the emphasis toward individual building histories, supporting them with extensive additional research ranging from old excavation reports to primary sources.<sup>65</sup> His inclusion of the Ottoman period helped portray the city's multilayered nature and the continuity of its urban topography. Although Müller-Wiener's main approach was to list and document the available evidence, rather than seek a synthesis, his work became a necessary preface to all later research on the city. The raw material and textual references in the present study are largely based on this excellent *Bildlexikon*.

The most recent and perhaps most distinguished archaeological work on Byzantine Constantinople concerns the unique findings from three waterfront areas in the Üsküdar, Sirkeci, and Yenikapı regions.<sup>66</sup> The latter in particular, is the area of the Port of Theodosius, the largest port of the early Byzantine period. It was closely connected with the Mese and the Forum of Theodosius. There, wooden shipwrecks dating from the seventh to eleventh centuries were found 1 to 6.5m below sea level. This large repository of Byzantine ships demonstrates that the harbor continued to operate as a port for small ships and boats, despite the fact that the silt carried by the Lycus River undermined its functions. There is only one shipwreck dating to the fourth and fifth centuries AD. It measures 15m long and 5m wide and contains various sizes of amphorae.<sup>67</sup>

The second strand of urban research, which I would describe as art historical, is the search for famous works of ancient art that are claimed to be present in public urban spaces of

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<sup>65</sup> Some other major sources for the study of Constantinopolitan topography shared the same methodology. See Mango, *The Brazen House*, and *Le développement urbain*; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*; Paul Magdalino, *Constantinople Medievale. Etudes sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996).

<sup>66</sup>These archaeological finds unearthed during the construction of Metro stations in modern-day Istanbul have revealed surprising data about the history of the peninsula and its sea frontiers. A rare example of a Neolithic wooden burial structure found in the Yenikapı Neolithic settlement dates the area's settlements back 8,500 years.

<sup>67</sup> These discoveries were presented in the exhibition *Istanbul: 8000 Years Brought to Daylight—Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Excavations*, displayed at the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, from June 26 to December 21, 2007. For the catalogue of the exhibition, see Pekin and Kangal, *Istanbul: 8000 Years*. Later in 2013, other finds were displayed in the exhibition *Stories from The Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı* in Istanbul Archeological Museums.

the city.<sup>68</sup> Ancient accounts describing the foundation years of the city commonly refer to various artistic objects that were brought from different parts of the Empire to manifest and legitimize the new capital to the rest of the world. Cyril Mango, the well-known British scholar of Byzantine art and architecture, was the first to articulate this agenda by investigating the reception of these art objects. After his dissertation on the Great Palace, *Recherches sur le palais impérial de Constantinople: La Chalce et ses abords*, was submitted to the University of Paris in 1953, he concentrated on classical statuary using both those discovered during excavations and those recorded in historical documents. Based on his research, Mango wrote the influential article "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder."<sup>69</sup> He claimed that in addition to classical ways of seeing, Byzantine audiences reinterpreted art objects by attaching power, knowledge, myth, and magical skill to them. Since these artifacts were located in the urban context, especially in the imperial fora along the Mese, topography and the built environment were key issues in his discussion.

Mango's interest in the perception and appropriation of classical statues in the urban environment informed many later studies of the architecture and statuary of Constantinople. One such study is Sarah Bassett's *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*.<sup>70</sup> She reconstructed imperial collections of artworks and their ideological backgrounds from the fourth to sixth centuries. The volume contains a catalog arranged alphabetically by location and subject matter, very much in line with the tradition of the *Notitia*.<sup>71</sup> In addition to her book, Bassett has

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<sup>68</sup> For recent examples see, R. Webb, "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in "Ekphraseis" of Church Buildings," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 59-74; A. Kaldellis, 'Christodoros on the Statues of the Zeuxippos Baths: A New Reading of the Ekphrasis', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47:3 (2007): 361-383; Helen Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century. Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens: Perpinia Publications, 2006), chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>69</sup> Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 55-75.

<sup>70</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*.

<sup>71</sup> The open spaces cataloged in Bassett's list are the Amastrianon, Artopoleion, Augusteion, the Senate House in Augusteion, the Basilica, the Baths of Constantine, Baths of Zeuxippus, the Chalke Gate, the Forum of Arkadius, the Forum of Cosmatntine, the Forum of Tauri/Theodosius, the Golden Gate, the Hippodrome, the Palace of Lausus, the Milion, the Palace of Marina, the Philadelphion, and the Strategion.

contributed greatly to our understanding of individual collections in the city through various articles.<sup>72</sup> More recently, she examined the characteristics and backgrounds of certain sculptures from the city's monumental urban displays and analyzed the urban aesthetic they created, concentrating on style and the period eye in the late antique context.<sup>73</sup> In these studies, however, Bassett rarely addresses the spatial qualities of display practices or the overall impact of statuary on the townscape. Nevertheless, her catalog of the sculptural content derived from literary, graphic, and archaeological evidence is invaluable for the present study; specifically, the sculptured arrangements in the plazas are crucial for envisioning the uses of the monumental columns within the cityscape.

Finally, this dissertation also follows the example of Mango and others in searching for the early Constantinopolitan street layout that is now almost completely lost. Mango's 1959 monograph on Constantinople's Imperial Palace vestibule, *The Brazen House*, was one of the first attempts to refer to the street system between Hagia Sophia and the palace.<sup>74</sup> In particular, his interest in the Augusteion was instructive for the present study as the honorary Column of Justinian figured prominently in this plaza. In addition, Berger reevaluated eighth-century studies from Byzantine literature for indications of street layout, and then published a map illustrating possible streets in fifth-century Constantinople.<sup>75</sup> He composed a system where in the Mese functioned like a bone fed by short parallel streets running toward the sea in the south and the Charisius (Adrianople) Gate in the north (Map 4).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Bassett, "Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1992): 82-9; "Historiae custos: sculpture and tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 100 (1996): 491-506; "Excellent offerings': the Lausus Collection in Constantinople," *Art Bulletin*, 72 (2000): 6-25; "Style and Meaning in the Imperial Panels at San Vitale" *Artibus et Historiae* 57 (2008): 49-57; "The Late Antique Image of Menander," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 48 (2008): 201-25.

<sup>73</sup> Bassett, "Sculpture and Rhetorical Imagination in Late antique Constantinople" in *Archaeology and Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, eds. O. Dally and C. Ratté (Kelsey Museum Publications 6), 27-41.

<sup>74</sup> Mango, *The Brazen House*.

<sup>75</sup> Berger, *Untersuchungen*.

<sup>76</sup> Berger, "Regionen und Straßen" and "Streets and Public Spaces." In his recent article, Dark challenged Berger's approach by showing the problems related with the assumption that the streets leading the gates ran in straight lines

In addition to Berger, Cyril Mango, Marlia Mundell Mango, and Franz Alto Bauer undertook important work on the architectural and social uses of streets in Byzantine Constantinople.<sup>77</sup> One of the foundation texts for my study, Mango's "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," used archaeological and textual evidence to present the Mese as a processional way designed and decorated with imperial monuments. Marlia Mango, on the other hand, focused on commercial life organized around the Mese and the related porticoed streets. Using artistic and textual evidence alongside material data from both Constantinople and other early Byzantine sites, she examined the size, scale, materials, smells, and sounds of streets and open-air public spaces; such information is very useful to modern observers wishing to reconstruct the actual spaces between the colonnades of the city. Lastly, Bauer compiled an enormous volume of selected urban plazas in late antique Rome, Constantinople, and Ephesus. He textually mapped the fora and statues in relation to topography on the basis of existing sources. Bauer specifically emphasized statue-on-column configurations and noted the importance placed on the possible visual dominance of these columns in the cityscape.

Constantinople's prolific column monuments have been frequent subjects for architectural historians since the early twentieth century. The modern interest in colossal columns, first appeared specifically in F. W. Unger's "*Über die vier kolossalen Säulen in Constantinopel*," published in 1879.<sup>78</sup> The columns of Constantine, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Justinian were examined in detail with textual references and on-site observations, with no

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within the walls. See, Ken R. Dark, "Houses, Streets and Shops in Byzantine Constantinople from the fifth to the twelfth centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 83–107.

<sup>77</sup> Mango, "The triumphal Way"; M. Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map"; Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (Mainz, 1996) and "Stadtverkehr in Konstantinopel: Die Ceremonialisierung des Alltags," in *Stadtverkehr in der antiken Welt*. Internationales Kolloquium zur 175-jährfeier des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom, 21-23 April 2004, ed. D. Mertens (Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2008), 193-213.

<sup>78</sup> F. W. Unger, *Über die vier kolossalen Säulen in Constantinopel* (Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft 2, 1879), 109-37.

contribution on their urban presence in the cityscape. Three decades later, C. Gurlitt added moderate-sized column monuments in his survey *Antike Denkmalsäulen in Konstantinopel*.<sup>79</sup> R. Janin's urban catalog has a "Les colonnes honorifiques" section that includes 10 columns: the Columns of St. Helene and Constantine at the Augusteion; the Column of Justinian (considered as the reused Column of Theodosius in the Augusteion); the Columns of Leo I and Eudoxia; the porphyry Column of Constantine; the Columns of Theodosius the Great, Arcadius, and Marcian; and the Column of Goths.<sup>80</sup> This section summarizes basic encyclopedic information about each column. In *La Colonna coclide istoriata*, G. Becatti investigated the Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius, along with the second-century colossal columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, to reflect on the tradition of the spiral relief around the columns.<sup>81</sup>

C. Mango wrote two articles on the columns of Constantinople. The first focused on the Column of Constantine. It appeared in the 1965 volume of the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, in which Mango examined old drawings of various monuments in Constantinople.<sup>82</sup> To comment on the Column, he considered two manuscripts: the *Freshfield Album*, which contains drawings of sixteenth-century Constantinople, and Charles Texier's *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, which includes a set of measured drawings created between 1833 and 1835. Mango examined architectural details such as the number of drums, the existence of a bas-relief, and the elevation of the pedestal. Later in 1981, he wrote another piece on the Column, mostly based on archaeological data presented by Mamboury in 1953. Excavations under and around the Column base showed that a long portico stood to the west, within the area of the Forum of Constantine. Mamboury related it to the Chapel of St. Constantine attested in written sources. Mango proposed a reconstruction of a chapel that sat on

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<sup>79</sup> Cornelius Gurlitt, *Antike Denkmalsäulen in Konstantinopel* (Callwey, 1909)

<sup>80</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*.

<sup>81</sup> Giovanni Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata, problemi storici iconografici stilistici* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1960).

<sup>82</sup> Republished in Mango, *Studies*, II.

the north side of the upper platform of the Column. His tentative plan for a chapel with dimensions of approximately 2.50 x 4m is the only scholarly hypothesis for this tiny chapel and will be discussed in the following pages.

In 1993, Mango published two more monographs on colossal columns: one called “Constantine’s Column,” and a more comprehensive one titled “The Columns of Justinian and His Successors.”<sup>83</sup> As a continuation of his 1965 article, the former furthered Mango’s analysis of the architecture of the Column, presented two more pictorial representations of it, and focused on the statue placed on top. The latter, on the other hand, surveyed all freestanding columns (seven in total); it discussed the literary and pictorial evidence for the Column of Justinian and further commented on the later Columns of Justinian II and Phocas. This piece contains the most detailed documentation on the Column of Justinian written thus far.

The only other work on columns, specifically the Column of Constantine, was Garth Fowden’s *Life of Elagabalus* in the *Historia Augusta*, in which the Column was the subject of a literary allusion.<sup>84</sup> While there are no dissertations specifically on columns, studies of the various aspects of Constantinople’s urban history usually (inevitably) touch upon columns as elements of the built environment. These references are mostly art historical readings discussing the monuments as isolated objects.

Martina Jordan-Ruwe challenged this approach in her 1995 volume, *Das Säulenmonument: Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen*.<sup>85</sup> She examined the column monuments of Greece, Rome, and Constantinople in chronological order—from the fourth century BC to the seventh century AD—as display tools to elevate ancient portrait sculpture. She situates these monuments within the ancient art of representation,

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<sup>83</sup> Both articles were published in the collected volume Mango, *Studies*, III and X.

<sup>84</sup> Garth Fowden, “Constantine’s Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 119-131.

<sup>85</sup> Martina Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument: Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen* (Habelt, Bonn 1995).

reflecting the political and ideological features of their timeframes. Her comprehensive list of Constantinople's columns includes 25 monuments of colossal and moderate scale, known from either archaeological remains or textual evidence (see Map 3). The book contains detailed archaeological information and original Byzantine texts describing the column monuments, to which I refer frequently, especially for the surveys in the two chapters that follow.

Lastly, several primary sources used in this study deserve a short introduction since they hardly concern cityscapes or topography. As P. Magdalino noted, Byzantine sources mentioning the built environment were rhetorical in nature, mostly focused on one particular interior and always aimed at "extravagant praise or lament or denunciation."<sup>86</sup> Besides the *Notitia*, which regarded the Columns of Constantine, Theodosius, and Arcadius as important monuments of their respective regions, no other text directly referred to the column monuments. In particular, I reviewed some sixth-century texts concerning individual buildings and their architectural features, such as *De Aedificiis* by Procopius, John Malalas's *Chronicle*, the ekphrasis of the statues in the Baths of Zeuxippos, and the ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia by Paul the Silentiary.<sup>87</sup>

There are, however, several later compilations that deserve mention. The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* is an eighth-century corpus of works devoted to the monuments of Constantinople.<sup>88</sup> The emphasis of the text, as a single body of work, is on sculpture as part of the everyday environment. It includes the names of monuments and local stories about them, offering insight into urban spaces where very little archaeological evidence has survived. The next source is the *Patria*, a four-book collection about the statues and buildings of the city. Recently translated by Albrecht Berger, the *Patria* includes short notes and anecdotes from

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<sup>86</sup> Magdalino, *Constantinople Medievale*, 45.

<sup>87</sup> Procopius, *Buildings*, Book I; John Malalas, *Chronicle*, mainly Book 18; Christopher of Coptos, *Ekphrasis of the statues in the Baths of Zeuxippos*; Epigram on the church of St Polyeuktos; Paul the Silentiary, *Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia*, lines 135-275.

<sup>88</sup> Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, eds. *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Brill Archive, 1984).

sixth to ninth century.<sup>89</sup> Both of these manuscripts are considered on low intellectual level yet still provide clues of possible eyewitness testimony. Constantine of Rhodes's tenth-century poem is another account of public monuments in Constantinople.<sup>90</sup> It mostly focuses on the Church of the Holy Apostles yet the beginning lines refer to colossal monuments and even reports about Theodosius climbing the upper terrace of the Column of Theodosius.

Three more compilations from the tenth century complete this picture. *The Book of Eparch*, the primary source for M. Mundell Mango's commercial map of the city, informs some of my conjecture on the sensory and spatial qualities of the Mese.<sup>91</sup> For rhetorical movement within the city, I rely on *De Ceremoniis* (The Book of Ceremonies) for the inbound and outbound itineraries of the emperors.<sup>92</sup> That work focuses on the exact procedures of these ceremonies and their specific urban and architectural settings. It was prepared by Constantine VII (945-959), but contains older descriptions, some of which date to the fourth century. Finally, the *Typikon of the Great Church* is a well-known reference on the religious calendar of the city and the particular practices of the office, including the Psalms, hymns, and recited prayers.<sup>93</sup>

#### **1.4 A proposal for the early Byzantine skyline**

The scattered nature of existing structures and the palimpsest quality of the urban fabric make it hard to study the early Constantinopolitan cityscape. Topographical studies have mainly relied on either textual descriptions to explore the urban context (Mango, Bassett), or they are rooted in the archaeological excavations revealing the footprints of various buildings and

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<sup>89</sup> Berger, trans. *The Patria: Accounts of medieval Constantinople* (Harvard University Press, 2013)

<sup>90</sup> Liz James, ed. *Constantine of Rhodes, On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles. With a new edition of the Greek text by Ioannes Vassis* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

<sup>91</sup> "The Book of the Eparch," in *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire*, trans. E. H. Freshfield (Cambridge University Press, 1938). For the map, Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 189-207.

<sup>92</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall (2 vols.) (Byzantina Australiensia, Canberra, 2012)

<sup>93</sup> Much of this source can be found in Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Liturgical Press, 1986).

complexes (Berger, Bauer). In the latter approach, in particular, scholars usually testify the evidence against the written testimony and offer possible layouts for nonexistent structures. The Forum of Theodosius, for instance, provides a useful example highly relevant to my discussion. Nothing significant remains of the Forum aside from the following: the columns and monumental bases of the Arch of Theodosius, the spoliated reliefs of the Column of Theodosius found in the basement walls of the Ottoman Bathhouse nearby, small-scale wall pieces of three unidentified basilicas, a peristyle, and a partial exedra.

Scholars suggest different layouts for this open space. A. M. Schneider in 1936 and P. Verzone in 1956 used a large rectangle to represent the borders of the Forum overlaid on a partial map of the city.<sup>94</sup> The former viewed the imperial arch as the eastern entrance of the Forum while the latter treated it as a freestanding triumphal arch. After his excavations in 1976, R. Naumann presented a reconstruction that partially followed Verzone's suggestions (Figure 1.9a).<sup>95</sup> He placed both the Column and the Arch on the western side of the Forum. In 1996, Bauer continued the study and utilized Cedrenus's testimony on the Forum, which noted that the Forum was built after the Forum of Trajan in Rome.<sup>96</sup> Bauer drew a diagram that situates the remains of the Arch as the western entrance and contextualizes the exedra as a separate but attached nymphaeum (Figure 1.9b). The same year, A. Berger published another diagram. In this case, the exedra constitutes the entire Forum whereas the Mese delineates its southern border (Figure 1.9c).<sup>97</sup> The Column of Theodosius stands in front of the exedra, and the Arch becomes the eastern gate into the Forum. Lastly, Kuban in 2004 proposed a plan similar to the Forum of Trajan in Rome, with four exedras and a wide opening on the southern side (Figure

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<sup>94</sup> For the images, see Alfons Maria Schneider, *Byzanz, Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archaeologie der Stadt* (Berlin, 1936), 19 and Paolo Verzone, *Il Tetrapilo Aureo, Contributo alla topografia dell'antica Constantinopoli* (Monumenti Antichi 43, 1956), 188-189.

<sup>95</sup> R. Naumann, "Neue Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 26 (1976): 133, fig.8.

<sup>96</sup> Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 194.

<sup>97</sup> Berger, "Tauros e Sigma. A proposito di due piazze a Constantinopoli," in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: Arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de'Maffei* (Roma, 1996), 29.

1.9d).<sup>98</sup> In all of these diagrams, the dimensions of the Forum differ significantly. The length of its southern edge, for example, ranges from 400m in Naumann to 120m in Kuban (equivalent to Trajan's Forum) and 55m in Berger.<sup>99</sup> No study provided sufficient clues about the "heights"—that is, the volumetric qualities of these spaces as all were plan-based explorations.

In recent decades, such 'experiments' were made using a different medium, 3-D modeling technology. Scholars in the field of digital humanities have offered unique opportunities to study the urban fabric of the nonexistent urban environments. Most such projects are detailed, computerized reconstructions used to visualize the physical condition of a single building or a complex as it was in situ. *Byzantium1200*, an ongoing web-based project created by Tayfun Oner, is a prime example for Constantinople. This impressive website (<http://www.byzantium1200.com>) offers computer reconstructions of about 50 buildings from AD 1200 that are either still standing or recognizable from archaeological data.<sup>100</sup>

All these drawings and schemes reveal that for decades now, Constantinopolitan urban history has been written on the basis of experiments in graphical visualization. In 1993, C. Mango stated that Constantinople "was never delineated, except the imaginative images from

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<sup>98</sup> Kuban, *Istanbul Bir Kent Tarihi* (Turkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfi, 2004), 83.

<sup>99</sup> Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 45.

<sup>100</sup> Created by Tayfun Oner under the supervision of Albrecht Berger, the project began in the 1990s and has expanded through the use of video clips and exhibitions in collaboration with prestigious museums. In 2010, for example, *The Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: Istanbul's Stage of History* exhibition, prepared and hosted by the Pera Museum in Istanbul, focused on the architectural history of this important Byzantine structure. The exhibition covered a wide span—from the fourth century to the twentieth century—and included artifacts, architectural drawings, photographs, and objects from everyday life. Between 2008 and 2010, Oner performed reconstruction works on the Byzantine Hippodrome in collaboration with Jonathan Bardill and produced an impressive collection of realistic 3D images. Oner's reconstructions of Byzantine Palaces were displayed in the 2011 exhibition *Byzantine Palaces in Istanbul* at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, along with small finds from the Museum's collection. Despite the inadequacies of the archaeological data and the small-scale findings, Oner presented images of the Great Palace and the lesser-known palaces of Boukoleon, Antigonos, Blachernae, Myrelaion, Rhegion, Mangana, Botaneiates, and Hebdomon. His images further enhanced the exhibition's catalog. See, Asuman Denker, et al., eds. *İstanbul'daki Bizans Sarayları / Byzantine Palaces in Istanbul* (Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yayınları, 2011). More recently in February 2014, the *Again, and New: World City Istanbul* exhibition, opened by the History Foundation in Istanbul, featured two intriguing models from the *Byzantium1200* project. The first was a 1:500 scale model that illustrates the Grand Palace/Hippodrome area, whereas the huge 1:2000 scale model represents the entire city of Constantinople in AD 1200.

the written sources.”<sup>101</sup> This situation has not changed yet in twenty years. Given the lack of concrete evidence, each scholar has experimented with different “imaginative images” based on different layouts. The visual appeal of Oner’s images and models is unquestionable. Yet, as an architectural historian, the metadata behind these reconstructions—like ancient texts, archaeological reports, drawings, maps, and photographs—are of great concern. None of these materials is available to the public, at least to my knowledge. Although the creator appears to have added some kind of an urban infill between the monumental structures, no urban or geographical context is visible. I assume, the missing parts necessitated speculative/conjectural representation (i.e., assumptions and reasoned guesswork based on secondary sources, archaeological data, and textual information) while modeling most of the city parts.<sup>102</sup>

The same is true of any research question about the early Byzantine skyline. A true analysis is hardly possible since the elevations of overlaid urban fabric—especially the domes and multiple minarets of the Ottoman mosques—do not allow for an isolated experience. Only one of the colossal columns, the Column of Constantine, is still standing yet hardly identifiable in the skyline of the modern-day Istanbul (Figure 1.10). Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to accurately visualize early Constantinople’s building elevations as most pieces of the puzzle are missing.

To overcome these factors limiting the scale and complexity of my research, I have first defined the elements of the skyline. The first component was the four colossal columns carrying larger than life-size imperial statues. My definition of colossal includes the freestanding column monuments that are taller than 30m (with the pedestal). Aside from those, the skyline was composed of the rooflines of the monumental churches, the Aqueduct of Valens, and the land and sea walls with various heights of 12 to 20 m. In addition, there are two obelisks placed on

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<sup>101</sup> Mango, *Studies*, XI.

<sup>102</sup> It is not my intention to criticize this comprehensive and well-regarded project; rather, I wish to clarify what I do not aim to accomplish in this dissertation.

the spina of the Hippodrome in Constantinople. Both monuments remain intact in Istanbul today (Figure 1.5).

A word about the relationship between the colossal columns and the obelisk is in order. Although the obelisks differ from column monuments in significant ways, they are used in this dissertation as potential sources of information about the early byzantine transformation of the pagan column monument. Formally, obelisks are usually monolithic, four-sided vertical posts that end in a pyramid-like shape at the top. As a dominant element of the ancient Egyptian architecture, they were mainly placed in pairs at the entrances of the monumental temples. Originally the obelisk symbolizes the sun god Ra, but when transported and re-erected in another location, it carries the connotation of victory spoils representing the Egyptian roots. Unlike the stand-alone monumental column, the obelisk supports a larger conception or design. It has a vertical emphasis but lacks a certain horizontal directional quality. Colossal columns, on the other hand, are site-specific and generally not monolithic, and they sometimes have architectural elements like internal staircases, stepped bases, doors, and windows. Besides the obvious verticality, the sculptural program on pedestals of these columns often implies a certain circumambulatory movement in the horizontal plane. Furthermore, the freestanding column carries a statue related to an individual, divine being, or spirit. This feature creates a monumental link between the statue the column carries and the site on which it stands. My interest in column monuments, has to do with the operational or functional aspects of appropriated/reconceptualized urban architectural elements. I situate the colossal column monument as a new paradigm in the study of early Byzantine urbanism—as an architectural and urban feature for reconstructing, analyzing, and interpreting the shifting identities of public open spaces.

Most remarkable for our discussion is that all four colossal columns were widely spaced along the Mese. They were not all precisely equidistant, but it was obvious that they followed a

certain pattern with respect to the topography. It was as if the skyline was fixed by the repetitive use of colossal columns. In a more fundamental sense, the colossal columns of Constantinople defined the skyline. The issue about the skyline is not only about the shape as it is about the ways in which the skyline presented itself and how it was experienced by the citizens and visitors of the city. The columns are the means to read these kind of questions. How would the columns—the flashy parts of the larger urban ensemble—be seen from inside or outside the city? What did Romans see when they walked down the Mese and in what sequence? How did the colonnades and columns shape perceptions of the forum vis-à-vis the relatively narrow ceremonial thoroughfare?

Consequently, to reconstruct the spectator’s visual experience, I designed a research path in which three-dimensional modeling is key medium for “knowledge representation,” as defined by Diane Favro, director of the UCLA Experiential Technologies Center (ETC).<sup>103</sup> She borrows the concept from the field of artificial intelligence and emphasizes the “state of knowledge” as a visualization concept. Favro also advocates treating digitally visualized environments as research labs to produce scholarly knowledge. I was fortunate enough to work as a research fellow at the ETC on various digital mapping and visualizations projects.<sup>104</sup> At the ETC, we used the models as a digital means to compile current knowledge and materials, and as a means for scientific presentation in a computer-based visual frame. Digital re-creations<sup>105</sup> of entire or partial cities allowed us to test different ideas and create diagrams or sketches to visualize previously unknown aspects of a certain historic environments. Our associate director, C.

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<sup>103</sup> For more information, see the Lab's website, <http://etc.ucla.edu>. (accessed June 23, 2015)

<sup>104</sup> One such project, titled “Visualizing Statues in the Late Antique Roman Forum” focused on several outdoor display practices for statues and inscriptions. It was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and presented online (<http://inscriptions.etc.ucla.edu>).

<sup>105</sup> I coin Favro’s differentiation between reconstruction and recreation. See Favro, “In the Eye of the Beholder: VR Models and Academia,” in *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation, Visualization, Imagination : Proceedings of the Third Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture, Held at the American Academy in Rome, the British School at Rome, and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, on May 20-23, 2004*, ed. Lothar Haselberger and Jon Humphrey, *Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series*. Portsmouth, R.I.: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 61 (2006): 322, note 6.

Johanson conceptualizes modeling as “a means of building scaffolding upon which one can hang the experiment.”<sup>106</sup>

Following his lead, I modeled the Mese as a digital scaffolding to situate columns inside (Figure 1.11). Extending about 5km from the Theodosian Golden Gate to the Milion and the Hippodrome, the Mese was a colonnaded avenue with a strong three-dimensional quality within the city. It was comprised of not only the approximately 26m wide road and sidewalk but also the colonnades, domestic or utilitarian buildings, colossal columns, and monumental forum arches that marked its length and continuous vista. The continuous colonnade on the edges promoted a sense of enclosure and delimited the territory, strengthening the perception of this particular street space as an “outdoor room.”<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, the Mese sat on a natural ridge formed by a junction of hills. By definition, then, it formed the baseline for the skyline. As such, I consider the Mese a bounded form that can be viewed as an individual entity and examined independent of the system of urban links; hence, it provides a framework for performing hypothetical space-based knowledge exploration.

However, this is an experiment, and the model is mostly conjectural since the original layer of street was 2 to 3m below the modern-day surface. The archaeological data of the Mese are limited to three street shops revealed in the excavations of the Palace of Lausus in 1964. Ancient testimonies provide only a few pieces of spatial evidence.<sup>108</sup> I used the following procedure to create the model. Berger’s street network map of the city constituted the base map

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<sup>106</sup> Christopher Johanson, “Visualizing History: Modeling in the Eternal City,” *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* 25:4 (2009), 410. One influential work for my methodological approach is C. Johanson’s doctoral study on visualizing the Roman aristocratic funeral in the Middle Republic. To test exploratory representations of funeral choreographies, Johanson used simple line drawings and diagrams to convey complex spatial ideas in a clear, precise, and efficient manner. An enlarged version of the study including both the Republican and imperial funeral processions is published in collaboration with Diane Favro. See, Johanson, *Spectacle in the Forum: Visualizing the Roman aristocratic funeral of the Middle Republic* (Unpublished PhD. diss. University of California Los Angeles, 2008); Favro and Johanson, “Death in motion: Funeral Processions in Roman Forum,” *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 69: 1 (2010): 12–37.

<sup>107</sup> T. Schumacher, “Buildings and Streets: Notes on Configuration and Use”, in *On Streets* ed. S. Anderson (Cambridge; Mass: MIT Press, 1986), 139.

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter 4.2

for the course of the Mese. Bauer's diagrams formed the footprints of the imperial fora and colossal columns. City walls and buildings like Hagia Sophia and the Holy Apostles were gathered from drawings published in Muller-Wiener's *Bildlexikon*, which is the main source most studies rely upon for the city's topography. While literary sources mention a second floor on the colonnades of the Mese, no information is available about the height or design of the upper floor. Thus, I surveyed similar structures from Apamea, Bosra, Sagalassos, and Ancyra.

The images were created by means of line drawings without renderings of shadows or painterly qualities. A realistic appearance was not desired; in fact, my intention was quite the opposite. This study is a diagrammatic analysis of the space of the Mese as an outdoor room. Color and texture were only included when available based on the current state of knowledge. Only the porphyry Column of Constantine, the bronze claddings of the Column of Justinian, and the spiral reliefs of the Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius are represented; such materials would have been visually appealing to anyone passing by.

As an architect, drawing is the tool I use to think spatially and structurally, and to communicate with others. With the 3D digital model, this study attempts to create a visual representation of my ideas regarding the "columnscape" of Constantinople and fosters dialogue on Istanbul's long-lost early Byzantine skyline. Today, it is impossible to present fresh knowledge, unless you are not a constructor working on the underground tunnels of the new subway line of Istanbul. Therefore, I believe, introducing new methods for using the available evidence is no less important. By defining the visual as a method and approach, rather than simply a field or subject, I believe, I am able to focus on interpretation as the measure of value.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Precedents: From Greek kingdoms to the Tetrarchy**

The ancient Mediterranean had many freestanding column monuments. Votive, funerary, honorary and triumphal columns were urban features that usually stood out from their near environment. Some were often visible from long distances as well, as the case in early Constantinople. Nevertheless, the significance of such columns, their impact on skylines and urbanscape has been relatively under-explored. Indeed, a brief historical exploration of column monuments will provide the necessary background for the Constantinopolitan examples discussed in detail in the next chapter. I should note, however, that the following discussion is not an exhaustive survey of all antique freestanding columns. Rather, the focus is on those instances and issues most relevant to the late antique appropriation of the column monument and its reflection in the city skyline.

The chapter comparatively analyzes columns according to their architectural features and urban context (if available) roughly in chronological order. Specifically, the emphasis is on commonalities and differences in formal appearance, scale, building techniques and materials. The framework is further shaped by the decorative programs of the base and shaft, dedicatory inscriptions, statues placed on top and immediate urban settings and their relation to the broader urban fabric. Questions about visibility and urban visual culture add further discussion points. This consideration of the broader spectrum of the antique world informs my understanding of the freestanding column in the late Roman era as an architectural instrument that served various purposes, usually under “eventful” circumstances.

#### **2.1 The Greek freestanding column**

The freestanding column with a statue erected on top to honor an individual is considered a relatively limited genre in Roman art and architecture. In his *Natural History*,

Pliny identifies the Greek columns as the precedents of such columns. He specifically notes the columns' honorary function, stating that by placing statues on tall columns, the Greek tradition raised honorary men above mortals.<sup>109</sup> Hellenistic city-states in particular honored individuals by erecting monumental columns topped with statues. Before the Hellenistic era, however, many archaic Greek examples of this type were in fact votive in nature. Surveys by H. Thiersch, W. Haftmann, and D. Wannagat provide comprehensive catalogs of many Greek examples used as sacred dedications from the sixth century BC forward.<sup>110</sup> Archaic vases are suggestive of the perception and use of such elements during offerings and festivals (Figure 2.1). Here, the columns supported tripods, bronze bowls, eagles, cocks, turtles, bulls, sphinxes, and so on, as well as statues.<sup>111</sup> Some of their physical characteristics included highly decorative shafts, fluted and carved with acanthus leaves or twisted serpents, and a bent circumference at the bottom of the shaft.<sup>112</sup> These columns were small in scale (tall enough to raise the offering above eye level) and were usually depicted as decorative elements embellishing the sacrificial scene, and thus denoting the sacrificial landscape, along with musical instruments and dancing bodies. It appears they were designed to be seen and appreciated from the ground level during these festive events and maybe afterwards as well.

Dating from the first half of the sixth century BC, the Naxier Column of Delphi is the earliest example of a Greek freestanding column (Table 1, no 1).<sup>113</sup> It was positioned prominently on the Sacred Way up to the Temple of Apollo. It had a 1.60m base, a 9.90m shaft. Its total height reached over 12m, including the sphinx at the top of the Ionic capital that is now

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<sup>109</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.27.

<sup>110</sup> Hermann Thiersch, *Pharos. Antike Islam und Occident. Ein Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte* (Leipzig-Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1909), 149-153; Werner Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument: Versuch z. Geschichte e. antiken Form d. Denkmals u. Kultmonuments u. ihrer Wirksamkeit f. d. Antikenvorstellung d. Mittelalters u. f. d. Ausbildung d. öffentl. Denkmals in d. Frührenaissance* (Gerstenberg, 1972).

<sup>111</sup> Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument*, 8-9.

<sup>112</sup> Frederick A. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas I: The architecture* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1996), 305.

<sup>113</sup> D. Wannagat, *Säule und Kontext: Piedestale und Teilkannelierung in der griechischen Architektur* (Munich, 1995), 12.

displayed in the Deplhi Archaeological Museum (Figure 2.2). Like many other sixth- and fifth-century votive columns that carried sacrificial ornaments and statuettes, the Naxier Column stood on a flat plate (instead of a socle) in direct relation to the ground and hence was immediately accessible to passersby.<sup>114</sup>

During the fourth century BC, the votive function began to assume honorary implications. Two significant monographs, W. Haftmann's *Das italienische Säulenmonument* and M. Jordan-Ruwe's *Das Säulenmonument*, refer to an enormous column monument in Olympia as the largest of all early Greek freestanding columns.<sup>115</sup> This private honorific column monument was designed by Kallikrates for Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe II (Figure 2.3).<sup>116</sup> It had two columns of 8.90m shafts comprised of eight drums 0.96m in diameter.<sup>117</sup> Both columns were placed on a 1m high podium in front of the Stoa of Echo within the Altis in Olympia. The placement of this monument is noteworthy. Like the Naxier Column, this freestanding column monument was located on the edge of the processional path within the precinct. The podium, symbolizing blood relations and marriage, was situated in a highly visible position with its inscriptions at eye level, cementing the relationship between the columns and the honored individuals. The 100m long stoa behind it occupied the full length of the eastern side of the precinct and provided a background of continuous Doric façade for this monument.<sup>118</sup> In addition to the busy activities of the "event space" in the front, the peculiar experience of an echo specific to the so-called Echo Hall behind it must have added to the "eventful" aura around this monument.

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<sup>114</sup> Another column with a stepped base appeared in Paestum, situated on the east side of the Athena temple, dating to the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. See Wannagat, *Säule und Kontext*, 15.

<sup>115</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 13. See also, C. Berns, "Ein Säulenmonument in der Necropole von Knidos," in Ramazan Ozgan'a Armagan/ Festschrift für Ramzan Ozgan, eds. M. Sahin and H. Mert (Istanbul, 2005), 29-43.

<sup>116</sup> John Ma, *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 184.

<sup>117</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 13.

<sup>118</sup> Frederick E. Winter, *Studies in Hellenistic architecture* (University of Toronto Press, 2006), 54.

Another familiar site in the Greek sacred landscape was the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. This complex presents a great case study for surveying Greek monumental columns built after the fourth century BC (Figure 2.4). Most of these were directly connected with international donations from Greek kingdoms, a characteristic marker of power across the Greek world. I chose to examine five monuments: the “two-column” monuments<sup>119</sup> of Aristaineta and Pleistainos from the second half of the third century, the Columns of Eumenes II and Prusias II carrying the honorands’ statues on horseback, and the Roman column monument of Aemilius Paullus, which dates to the late second century BC.

The first group is composed of two columns bonded by one enlarged base and a continuous frieze carrying the dedicatory inscription. These columns carried statues of family groups or individuals somehow related to each other. Instead of a podium as used in Olympia, these two-column groups stood on generously built, high-base structures. The Column of Aristaineta, for instance, has three steps (almost 1m) and a 3.5m long understructure made of grey limestone, the local material also used for the floor of the Temple of Apollo (Figure 2.5a). With six-drummed shafts, the overall height reached 9.50m (Table 1, no 2).<sup>120</sup> The monument stood on the temple terrace along with the Column of Pleistainos, which had a similar height. All were in close proximity to the temple and to other divine statue groups placed around them. In fact, between the Columns of Aristaineta and Pleistainos stood an Aetolian group monument dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Aetolian commanders that was erected on the occasion of the war against the Acarnanians in 260 BC.<sup>121</sup> Indeed, such a composition of column monuments and sculptural groups demonstrates a Greek local context of reception of these monuments – very different from isolated, colossal columns of late antiquity.

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<sup>119</sup> This is Jordan-Ruwe’s definition for the monuments composed of two similar columns. Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 22.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 23.

At the end of the third century BC, another vertical honorary element appeared: the freestanding plinth carrying an equestrian statue. Although tectonically different, its design is conceptually similar that of the honorary columns. There are two such monuments in the area. Placed close to the entrance of the temple terrace was the honorary monument of Eumenes II of Pergamon (ruled 197-159 BC). Responsible for the construction of nearly all the main public buildings in Pergamon, Eumenes II stood on his horse at the corner of the Altar of Chios before entering the temple terrace (Figure 2.5b). It had an extruded, three-step socle (almost 1m) and a 5.70m plinth with a 0.95m rectangular section (Table 1, no 3). The second monument belongs to Prusias II of Bithynia (ruled 182-149 BC). He was Eumenes's ally in the war against King Pharnaces I of Pontus (ruled 181-179 BC) and celebrated his victory over the Galatians in 182 BC. His votive monument, the Pillar of Prusias II, was dedicated by the Aetolians to honor this victory (Figure 2.5c).<sup>122</sup> The rectangular plinth is still intact at the northeast corner of the temple, a part of the modern-day experience of the precinct as well. Its base is 1.775m high, and it has a 7m shaft finished with an Ionic frieze (Table 1, no 4). The total height without the statue is estimated at 10m. Both were stone pillars without any surface decorations. The informative inscriptions were placed at the highest points on the shafts below the frieze. In contrast to the two-column monuments, the inscriptions were placed on the shorter sides of the plinths.

In 168 BC, Aemillius Paullus, the noted general and two-time consul of the Roman Republic, erected another plinth to support his equestrian statue shortly after winning the decisive Battle of Pydna, ending the Third Macedonian War (Figure 2.5d). It stood in front of the Temple of Apollo on the southern side, close to the two-column monuments of the Greek kings and visible from the *Via Sacra* up to the temple. This monument was nearly 10m tall as well but differed from the earlier examples in a few ways (Table 1, no 5). First, it carried a figured frieze whereas the others had minor decorations, if any, on their friezes. Second, it had an orthostat

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 35.

base instead of a stepped foundation. As noted by Jordan-Ruwe, this transformation quantitatively changed the monument (in terms of determining the height of the understructure).<sup>123</sup> It enhanced the monument aesthetically as well since the unbroken, narrow format may have produced a pronounced smooth, vertical appearance. Another notable change was the repositioning of the dedicatory inscription. Here, the inscribed texts were on the base at the eye level of the spectator. This, again, emphasized the importance of the base. It indicated that, in addition to its structural function, the base had become an important architectural feature by carrying the textual/informative component of the honorary claim manifested in stone.

In summary, the Greek freestanding column monument was at first votive in nature, embellished as part of the sacred offerings and rituals around it. As the columns gained honorary overtones and were thus monumentalized, their physical location mattered more. Third- and second-century columns - the ones located at sacred sites like Delphi and Olympia - were usually within a precinct, close to a sacred structure such as a temple or altar. Such proximity must have given the columns a dominant position within the visual and ritual landscape of the area. All were placed on the processional path, thus contributing to the event's atmosphere. They were situated on the sacred way along which hymns were sung to the gods and spoils were carried up to the temples. In addition, the examples above indicate that all benefited from the power of the site since proximity to a prominent monument would enrich the power of the honored. In Delphi, these columns were absorbed into the dramatic scenery of the limestone cliffs embracing the temple precinct. Around 10m tall, they must have dominated the view from afar. Monumental plinths carrying equestrian statues framed the temple visually and physically when one reached the temple terrace. Lastly, the inscriptions became a significant informative component toward the first century BC as they were taken from the upper frieze and

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 36.

moved down, closer to eye level. Since then, this replacement considerably enriched the monument's effect on the viewer.

## 2.2 Early Roman freestanding columns

As noted earlier, Pliny said the function of columns in the first century BC was “to elevate them [the subjects represented by the statues] above all other mortals.” Examining the history of Roman freestanding columns that fall under this definition, we find columns with funerary, honorary, and victory-related purposes. The following survey stretches the boundaries of these categories to some extent yet roughly follows chronological order.

As early as 439 BC, a column was erected in honor of L. Minucius Augurinus, the *praefectus annonae*, by the people and paid for by popular subscription.<sup>124</sup> Richardson suggests that this monument could have been the first statue raised on a freestanding column in Rome. It stood outside the Porta Trigemina (Porta Minucia). A representation on denarii from the second century BC shows this column composed of drums in a votive context with lion heads, grain ears, and bells hung on the capital (Figure 2.6a). It was surmounted by a togate figure with two togati standing by the column.

After C. Maenius achieved victory in the naval Battle of Antium, a column was erected in his honor in 338 BC.<sup>125</sup> Nothing is known about the architectonics of this column, which stood very close to the Curia Hostilia. Pliny states that the final hour of the day was announced when the *accensus consulum* standing in front of the Curia saw the sun pass the Columna Maenia moving toward the Carcer.<sup>126</sup> Cicero reported that in his time, the Column was used as a post for publicly announcing the names of people whose debts to their creditors were past due.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> L. Richardson, jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (JHU Press, 1992), 96.

<sup>125</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.20.

<sup>126</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 7.212.

<sup>127</sup> Cicero, *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium*, 50, as cited in Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 94.

Presumably, these were temporary notices on wax, painted boards, or papyrus. The Column stood at least until the fourth century AD as Symmachus referenced the procurator of this monument.<sup>128</sup> In fact, on the basis of these descriptions, Richardson suggests the possibility that the column had no inscription or statue that would have constituted an informative context. I would further argue that the Cicero reference provides a clue about the nature of the column, as it must have had a visually distinguishable size (or material perhaps) to function as a “signpost.” In addition, the notices on this post, might have transformed the spot of the column into a communal rallying point within daily urban life.

The significance here, as with all other Roman columns, is the fact that the Columna Maenia was located close to the Comitium and other ideological monuments such as the Statue of Attus Navius.<sup>129</sup> Unlike the Greek votive columns reserved for isolated sacred precincts, the Roman column monument was from the beginning a political instrument. It was located in the civic center of the city, which held major religious and prophetic significance. In addition, it was meant to be highly visible to every citizen, similar to a signboard, and was also used as a way of reckoning time in the city.

Lastly, it is known that as part of his victory celebration, C. Maenius affixed six warship rams to the front of his speaking podium situated in the southwest of the Comitium, most likely to strengthen associations between the victory and the related monuments. It is not clear whether the Columna Maenia had rams on it, but from that time on, the *columna rostrata*, a small-scale column adorned with the rostra (rams) of captured vessels, became a tradition in the honorary columns. Much of the descriptive information, in fact, has emerged from depictions on coins. For example, after the naval Battle of Mylae in 260 BC during the First Punic War, a

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<sup>128</sup> Symmachus, *Epistulae*, 5.54.3.

<sup>129</sup> Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 1.36.5. Navius's statue, a famous official during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (king of Rome from 616 to 579 BC) stood in the Comitium, next to the senate-house.

*columna rostrata* was placed on the rostra in the Roman Forum in honor of Gaius Duilius.<sup>130</sup> Another one was erected in 255 BC for M. Aemilius Paullus, not in the Forum but in the Capitoline.<sup>131</sup> Under Augustus, a freestanding column with beaks and anchors on the shaft was erected in the Roman Forum following his victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus in 36 BC.<sup>132</sup> It was depicted on a coin minted between 29 and 27 BC (Figure 2.6b). The coin showed a column adorned with rams and a Doric capital topped by a nude statue of the ruler holding a spear. Four more *columnae rostratae* were erected in Rome to honor the emperor and Agrippa after their victory over Egypt.<sup>133</sup> These were most likely built around the Temple of Apollo Palatinus on the Palatine Hill, but later taken to the Capitoline by Domitian.<sup>134</sup> Similar coins were minted under Vespasian and Titus (Figure 2.6c).<sup>135</sup>

As such, the freestanding column was a form of honorary monument, particularly related to the achievements of a victory, and placed in various public spaces like fora and circuses. In Pliny's terms, it was comparable to the triumphal arch in that sense, which is Roman in origin.<sup>136</sup> Both began as a means to show "higher" status by elevating the sculpture of the honorand. In this way, the image could have stood out from its near environment and at the same time, would have been visible from long distances. Furthermore, as argued by Haftmann, the column could even be related to state deeds; therefore, it was still connected with victory in the imperial period as well.<sup>137</sup>

Unlike the columns at Delphi, however, the function of the rostral column was not

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<sup>130</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.20. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 97: "Another rostral column celebrating the same victory was erected on the exterior of the carcares in Campus Martius."

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>132</sup> Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (University of Michigan Press, 1990), 41-42, fig. 32.

<sup>133</sup> *Servius Grammaticus Commentary on Virgil's Georgics* III. 29, as cited in Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument*, 27-28.

<sup>134</sup> Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 97.

<sup>135</sup> For another example see Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius*, 55 fig. 3.1

<sup>136</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.20-27.

<sup>137</sup> Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument*, 22.

merely to laud the virtues of an individual. As an architectural display instrument, the rostral column manifested the victory using actual pieces from captured and destroyed barbarian ships. Notably, such a configuration resembled to the tropea, the tree-shape monuments temporarily set up on the battlefield to commemorate a victory. Reportedly, the first tropaion was a stripped tree covered with captured shields and weapons. Later it took the form of a tree with a pair of armlike branches upon which various armories are hung. In a similar manner, the rams were tectonically added to the shaft of the rostral column, contributing to the visual realization of its meaning.<sup>138</sup> The emphasis of the display was not the narrative of the battle but the objects symbolizing its victory. Such additions—implying the value placed on the material, size, and place of origin—in fact rendered the column itself as booty. In this sense, the “cult object” quality the Greeks attributed to the column monument continued to some extent in the *columna rostrata*.

Its status as booty affected perceptions of the column as well. The rams added to both the body of the column and the speaking platform in the forum suggest a relationship between the two types of urban elements. It is known that rulers and generals gave speeches in front of these columns as well. Much like the objects carried along the triumphal processions—such as the paintings and three-dimensional tableaux in the early third century BC (e.g., the paintings shown by Messala Corvinus in 264 BC) or the “towers” representing cities captured by Scipio in 201 BC—the ram-installed columns provided the ideal background for a victory speech.<sup>139</sup> The column became a highly visible post, not only to announce public information but also to give an oration to citizens and visitors. Visibility in this case did not emerge from scale or distinguishing material, as with the Columna Maenia. Rather, it resulted from the column’s organic relation to the triumphal event formed by and around it.

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<sup>138</sup> It is important to note that some imperial built works had carved rostra rather than actual ones attached.

<sup>139</sup> For Messala Corvinus, see Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.22-23; for the triumph of Scipio Africanus, see Appian, *Punica* 66.

Freestanding columns were rare in the western part of the Roman world. The only major example is the Jupiter Column at Mainz from the early Imperial period (Figure 2.7). This 9m Column crowned with a statue of Jupiter dates from AD 58-67. It was architecturally unusual compared to Greek and early Roman examples (Table 1, no 6). It stood on a square stone depicting Juno, Minerva, Mercury, and Hercules on each side. This stone supported another base called a *Wochengottenstein*, which contained personifications of the seven days of a week. Upon this double base stood a column composed of five drums, which had horizontal bands of 28 relief works depicting Germanic and Roman gods, including the sun god Helios drawn by four horses. It is important to note that by the time of Nero, the practice of carving reliefs in the column drums developed to such an extent that the entire shaft of the Jupiter Column was carved in horizontal bands. The Corinthian capital carries a small pedestal-like base for the statue of Jupiter. The fragments that survive—a foot, a small finger, and a fragment of the lightning bolts held in the god’s hand—show that it was made of bronze covered with gold leaf. The dedication on the upper base indicates the Column was dedicated to Jupiter for the health of Nero, which means it cannot be considered as simply a votive column. With its monumental size and elaborately decorated shaft and base, it can be considered both votive and honorary. The urban context, on the other hand, is unknown.

In the Roman East, however, honorary column monuments were widespread. In Sagalassos, there were four 14m high honorary columns standing at the four corners of the Upper Agora (Figure 2.8).<sup>140</sup> This was the place for the *demos* (also called the *ekklesia*), the assembly of all men with Sagalassian citizenship who gathered to administer political issues. This “political” square of the city dates to the third century BC, but in its later form it was enlarged, reoriented, and paved under Augustus (25 BC-AD 14). Four honorific columns were erected to honor four members of the most prominent family in the city, who had rearranged the

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<sup>140</sup> I am grateful to Marc Waelkens and Joeri Theelen for allowing me to include their images in this manuscript.

Upper Agora at their own expense under Augustus. As explained in the web report of the 2012 excavation campaign, the GIS analysis revealed that the area and the columns were visible from more than 80% of all possible locations throughout the city.<sup>141</sup> Following these results, the team concentrated on the overall image of the Agora and began a series of reconstruction projects (Figure 2.9a). While the northeast honorific column was restored in 2011, the southwest column was only partially erected. The team is currently working on the column at the northwest corner of the Agora. The tall base is very well preserved and remarkably detailed. The pedestal of the column stands on a platform shaped into a sitting bench on all four sides (Figure 2.9b). This suggests that the immediate surroundings of the monumental column were possibly used during daily meetings.

The *Chronicle* of Malalas (a sixth-century reliable source on Antioch) describes a column of Theban granite, on which was represented an eye, supporting a statue of the Roman emperor Tiberius (ruled AD 14-37) (Figure 2.10).<sup>142</sup> This column was thought as a part of a circular or oval forum oval project dedicated by Tiberius to commemorate his return from an expedition against the Parthians.<sup>143</sup> The monument might fix the center of the forum since its location was considered the navel of the city.<sup>144</sup> Archaeologist Jean Lassus, however, proposed a different location for this granite column.<sup>145</sup> Instead of the Forum, Lassus addressed the round plaza on the colonnaded street attributed to Tiberius by Malalas as the possible location of the column. It

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<sup>141</sup> Marc Waelkens, "Web report of the 2012 excavation campaign," The Upper Agora, Sagalassos Archaeological research Project website (<http://www.sagalassos.be/node/2305>) (accessed Feb 18, 2014).

<sup>142</sup> Malalas, *Chronicle*, 233.3.

<sup>143</sup> See also, Russell Sturgis, *A dictionary of architecture and building biographical historical, and descriptive* (New York, Macmillan, 1901), 46-7, 57-60.

<sup>144</sup> For Tiberius's visit to Antioch and the column set up in his honor, see Warwick Ball, *Rome in the east: The Transformation of an Empire* (Routledge, 2001), 265, note 73.

<sup>145</sup> Jean Lassus, *Antioch on-the-Orontes, V, Les Portiques d'Antioche*. (Princeton University Press, 1972), 112.

is known that Tiberius sponsored the double-columned street colonnades, one of the earliest colonnaded streets in Asia Minor, along with the streets at Olba and Pompeiopolis in Cilicia.<sup>146</sup>

The oval plaza in Jerash may present a good contemporary example for visualizing the Column of Tiberius in a possible imperial forum in Antioch (Figure 2.11). Completed in the late first century AD in the Ionic order, the Jerash Plaza was designed as an entrance plaza for the monumental Zeus Sanctuary complex. Later in the second century, the area was widened and re-colonnaded in the Corinthian order.<sup>147</sup> There were two altars in the middle with a fountain added in the seventh century AD. Today, the circular square has an unusually wide, asymmetrical plaza of 80m by 90m, and is enclosed by 160 Ionic columns and a broad sidewalk (Figure 2.12). This square structure in the middle now supports a central column erected in the 1990s to carry the Jerash Festival flame. This column is most likely one of the Ionic columns of the colonnades, and despite being smaller in scale, it hints at the appearance of a column monument placed centrally in a huge oval plaza.

Such columns figured prominently in contemporary impressionistic depictions as well. This began in the last decades of the first century BC.<sup>148</sup> An Augustan landscape vignette that occupied the central panel on the north wall of the “Black Room” in the Imperial Villa at Boscotrecase features a small rural sanctuary with two aediculae leaning against a slender tower (Figure 2.13). An altar and a column surmounted by a statue mark the boundaries of this precinct. A stucco relief from the Villa Farnesina in Trastevere depicts a similar tower-column combination (Figure 2.14). In this instance, the column has some type of arched structure as its pedestal. In the Room of the Masks in the House of Augustus, Palatine, the composition focuses solely on a sacred column or pillar topped by an urn; it is not very tall and has trees growing

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<sup>146</sup> Ball, *Rome in the East*, 265.

<sup>147</sup> Ball, *Rome in the East*, note 7.

<sup>148</sup> Roger Ling, “Studios and the Beginnings of Roman Landscape Painting,” *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 67 (1977): 1-16.

around it.<sup>149</sup> Various sacred offerings are attached to it while others are placed at the bottom. This clearly represents a votive column in a dramatic context, almost dreamlike in quality.

An almost panoramic painting, the Yellow Frieze in the House of Livia shows another use of these sacredly “charged” architectural elements (Figure 2.15). In the painting, columns are depicted in a landscape with various other buildings, all scattered along a scene populated by people scrolling, fishing, sailing, shopping, and riding donkeys. The columns are unrealistically thin but still create a vertical accent in the painting. The image remains elusive as manmade and natural figures are vaguely placed; the people occupying the landscape go about their daily lives as opposed to being in a sacred moment. Roger Ling characterizes this painting as an example of “peopled architectural landscapes.”<sup>150</sup> In it, the columns are situated in an everyday setting, not as part of a stage setting or any other theatrical arrangement.

A review of other Third Style landscapes reveals that columns occurred quite often and were usually one of several types of sacro-idyllic motifs such as urns, statues, scholae, worshippers at altars, herdsmen, sheep, and goats.<sup>151</sup> Sacro-idyllic scenes are depictions of natural landscapes with sacred structures such as temples and rustic sanctuaries.<sup>152</sup> Statues and urns on columns are “sacral” elements situated in these types of natural environments. Columns with sacred/funerary connotations were used in both dramatic sacral scenes and scenes of everyday life. The important characteristic of the columns in these examples is that the landscape itself and the buildings within it form the background for daily activities. As such, the

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<sup>149</sup> For the image of the south wall of the Room of the Masks in House of Augustus, see Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 145, figure 150.

<sup>150</sup> Ling, “Studius,” 7.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>152</sup> For a survey on sacro-idyllic landscapes, see Susan Rose Silberberg, *A Corpus of Sacral-Idyllic Landscape Paintings in Roman Art* (Ann Arbor, 1985). For distinctions between Hellenistic and Roman sacro-idyllic landscapes, see, e.g., Karl Scheffold, *Vergessenes Pompeji. Unveröffentlichte Bilder Römischer Wanddekorationen in geschichtlicher Folge* (Bern, 1962), 72.

architectural elements chosen to represent this environment must have derived not from myth or legend but from everyday life.

In fact, a contemporary wall painting from Stabiae (AD 55-79) exemplifies a pure secular environment (Figure 2.16). It shows many honorarific columns carrying statues of different materials and in different poses. Many stand aligned with the harbor border and even on a jetty built on top of an arcaded substructure. The image is again impressionistic, and the forms are implied rather than carefully delineated. However, it convincingly conveys the ubiquity of such columns in other parts of the Empire. In fact, they were situated in the most visible areas of the cities, with the sea frontiers in harmony with the rest of the built environment. An emphasis on the column's relation to the ground is common to all of these images. The short ground lines in the Stabiae wall painting and the placement of the columns in the harbor image suggest the strong, supportive quality of the column. This also shows that column monuments appeared widely in public contexts and were ubiquitous urban and rural elements in the early Imperial Roman cityscape. It seems, therefore, that the moderate-sized freestanding column was both an element of sacred architectural imagery and a part of the urban aesthetic of early Roman times.

### **2.3 Second-century column monuments**

Monumentalization and funerary overtones became prominent during the High Empire. Columns were used as place markers or memorials to indicate where divinity or the deceased dwelled.<sup>153</sup> This was hardly a new association as columns had long been attached to burial contexts in Republican times. The cinerary urns placed at the tops of freestanding columns in Roman wall paintings indicate such an arrangement. In fact, Suetonius noted two columns used for the cenotaphs of Julius Caesar and Galba. The former was described as a monolithic column nearly 20 Roman feet (RF) high made of Numidian marble with the inscription “*parenti*

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<sup>153</sup> Columns were used as tomb markers in the Greek world as well, in the fifth and fourth centuries. Monumental sepulchral columns supporting statues of deceased appeared in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period. See K. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890).

*patriae* (“to the father of this country”).<sup>154</sup> Built in 44 BC, it stood on the site of Caesar’s funeral pyre. According to Suetonius, a pyre was erected on the Campus Martius, but the body was burned in the Forum instead. Afterward, the column became a place for sacrifices, vows, and settling disputes by swearing in Caesar’s name.<sup>155</sup> Later, the temple of Divus Iulius was built on this spot. It is not known whether the column carried a statue of Caesar on top, and there is no strong evidence to suggest it did. Suetonius further associated a statue of Emperor Galba with a specific column.<sup>156</sup> He said that after the death of Galba, the Senate decreed that a column should be placed at the site in the Forum where he was murdered. It was to carry a statue and was supposed to function as a cenotaph. However, Vespasian annulled the decree, and the column was never built, which again strongly indicates the political nature of the column monument.

There were columns with funerary associations outside of Rome as well. Several tomb monuments in Pompeii composed of semicircular seats with a built-in single column at the center. The monument of Aesquillia Polla, for instance, has an intact Ionic column that still holds a marble urn.<sup>157</sup> Such monuments were reserved for the highest social stratum and were strongly related to public funerals in the early imperial community of Pompeii. The Column of Septumia, a slender column of Nocera tufa on a large pedestal, stood outside the Porta del Vesuvio at Pompeii and had a sepulchral quality.<sup>158</sup> In a study of the inscriptions, Matteo Della Corte noted that most of these sepulchral monuments were at least in part constructed at the

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<sup>154</sup> Suetonius, *Caesar*, 85

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Suetonius, *Galba*, 20 and 23,

<sup>157</sup> Wendelijn van der Leest, *Female Visual Presence in the Forum and Burial streets of Pompeii* (Unpublished Research Master, Utrecht University, 2007), 53. See the image in Lise Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius* (Harvard University Press, 1973), 40, fig. 42.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 41.

public's expense, and they were reserved for females from wealthy families.<sup>159</sup> While the exact dates of these monuments are not clear, they were most likely built before the earthquake.

Although almost none of the column monuments are actual tombs, the cenotaph function created strong honorary overtones, along with earlier functions such as glorifying military victories and victorious emperors. Consequently, the freestanding column monument became a well-known funerary element during the Flavian period, the major example being the Column of Trajan in the Forum of Trajan in Rome (Figure 2.17). This Column was originally planned as a monument to honor the emperor's victories.<sup>160</sup> The Column was part of the large-scale imperial construction movement that included Trajan's new Baths, the adjacent Market, and the Forum within which it stood (Figure 2.18).<sup>161</sup> As its inscription indicates, Trajan's Column was dedicated in AD 113 by the Senate and People of Rome. It once stood in the middle of a small courtyard (23m x 16m) defined by the Basilica Ulpia on the southeast side and flanked by the Greek and Latin libraries. The brick-faced concrete libraries held the most important book and records collections in the form of *volumina*. On the north side of the Column's courtyard was the Temple of Deified Trajan, which is where scholars have traditionally located it. Roberto Meneghini, however, proposed that the Temple of Deified Trajan was not located in the area north of the Column; rather, a tall propylon attached to the libraries was situated in that area.<sup>162</sup> Excavations have shown that a colonnade occupied the area on the north side, which

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<sup>159</sup> Matteo Della Corte, "Sui monumenti scoperti fuori la Porta del Vesuvio," *Memorie dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli* II (1911), 200.

<sup>160</sup> For monographs, see Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule. Ein römisches Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spätantike* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1926); Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 238-239; 242-44; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Hacker Art Books, 1980), I, 283-86; I.A. Richmond, *Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column* (London, 1982); S. Settis et al., *La Colonna Traiana* (Turin 1988); F. Lepper and S. Frere, *Trajan's Column. A New Edition of the Cichorius Plates* (Gloucester, 1988); A. Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993): 5-22; M. Galinier, *La colonne Trajane et les Forums impériaux*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 382 (Roma, 2007).

<sup>161</sup> The debates about the Temple or the planning program of the whole construction will not be included in our discussion. See Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>162</sup> See R. Meneghini, "Templum Divi Traiani" *Bullettini della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 97 (1996): 47-88; R. Meneghini, "L'architettura del Foro di Traiano attraverso I ritrovamenti archeologici piu recenti," *Romische Mitteilungen* 105 (1998): 127-48.

in turn changes the side of the entrance to the entire Forum area.<sup>163</sup> In that case, the Column of Trajan would have been the first monument encountered by visitors. For now, I adhere to the traditional view and consider the latter possibility in the pages that follow.

The colossal column measured almost 38m, while the shaft was 100 RF (29.78m). It was a white Luna (Carrara) marble column with weapons and trophies sculpted on the base and a spiraling narrative frieze on the shaft. A square platform placed over a Tuscan capital supported a colossal gilded statue of Trajan standing on a low dome.<sup>164</sup> Inside the Column was a small rectangular room thought to be Trajan's burial chamber. To the right of this room was a staircase that rose 185 steps, lit by 43 small slit windows.

This highly sophisticated column monument served various functions. First, as its inscription indicates, the Column's primary purpose was to mark a certain topographical height.

The following inscription is found on the panel:

The Senate and People of Rome dedicate this to the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, son of the Divine Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power for the seventeenth time, imperator for the sixth time, consul for the sixth time, Father of his Country, to show how high was the mountain site that was cleared away for such great works.<sup>165</sup>

Later in the third century, Cassius Dio repeated the idea of the Column being a measuring device to represent a now-absent natural hill:

And he set up in the forum a huge column, to serve as his tomb and at the same time to be an indicator of the work throughout the forum. For, since the whole of that place had been hilly, he excavated it to a level as deep as the column is high, and thereby made the forum level.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> E. La Rocca, "La nuova imagine dei fori Imperiali. Appunti in magine agli scavi," *Romische Mitteilungen* 108 (2001): 171-213.

<sup>164</sup> Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor. Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28.

<sup>165</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) VI 960.

<sup>166</sup> Dio Cassius, 68.16.3.

Both the inscription and Dio's interpretation remind me of the nilometers used to measure the height of the water.<sup>167</sup> Yet, it has been established that no mountain site ever occupied the site of the Column; therefore, no significant clearing could have occurred during the construction and flattening of the Column area.<sup>168</sup> In fact, the Quirinal was cleared to build Trajan's Market. This led some scholars to suggest that the columns might have been a viewing point for the Market situated at the slope of the hill. However, when the relationship between the Forum ground and the Market's plaza is considered in section, it seems that the only way to view the Market was to climb to the platform and ascend the column via the spiral stairway inside the shaft. Even then, only the topmost floors would likely be visible due to the high rooflines of the Basilica Ulpia and the northern exedra of the Forum. Analyzing the topographical aspect of the inscription, Penelope Davies suggested that the Column could have functioned as a belvedere from which to view the Market and "the height of the mountain that was cleared away."<sup>169</sup> From the slender 40m high balcony, one could have a clear view of not only the emperor's monumental beneficence but also the magnificence of the *eternal mundi*. Yet, due to the narrow stair and adjacent tomb, the access to the column top must have been strictly regulated or limited to a certain privileged group of citizens. This fact considerably challenges Davies's hypothesis.

The Column's second function was that it was the final resting place for Emperor Trajan after 117. In my brief survey, the Column of Trajan is the only colossal column with such a strong funerary function, as the emperor's ashes were reportedly deposited in the burial chamber inside its monumental base.<sup>170</sup> There are earlier columns, like the Pompeian ones, marking burial grounds but none of them had an interior for funerary deposits. Usually they were

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<sup>167</sup> A further discussion about a possible relationship between the column and a nilometer will be included in reference to a column-like nilometer depicted in the Sepphoris mosaic. See chapter 2.4.

<sup>168</sup> G. Boni, "Esplorazione del Forum Ulpium," *NSc* (1907): 361-427.

<sup>169</sup> Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 129-135. See also Lepper and Frere, *Trajan's Column*, 207.

<sup>170</sup> The archaeological data for the innermost chamber of the base and its furnishings clearly support this function. See Boni, "Esplorazione," 368.

atopped with urns that could have held ashes. Against the Roman codes forbidding burial grounds within the pomerium, the Column of Trajan was a monumental “exception” in this sense, reserved for “great men.” Furthermore, as suggested by Davies, there was a formal correlation between the base of the column and the typical Roman funerary altar.<sup>171</sup> The latter usually had a double door with an inscription at the top and decorative elements like eagles, victories, and military weapons. For Davies, Trajan’s Column is “the superimposition of two traditional funerary elements: the altar and the column.”<sup>172</sup>

Third, the spiral relief around the column shaft functioned as a historical document, recording the victory in narrative form. Various scenes were carved spiraling upward from left to right. The lower half represented Trajan’s first war against the Dacians (AD 101-102), and the upper half illustrated the second war (AD 105-106). As a work of great originality, it has been the subject of many scholarly interpretations.<sup>173</sup> Issues explored in these studies include date, design, execution, historical reliability, and sources of inspiration for the relief’s general form.<sup>174</sup> For the latter, the most commonly cited sources are the literary scrolls that might have been housed in the imperial libraries flanking the Column. Coulston supported a papyrus roll as a precedent while Settis argued for a textile roll, recalling in particular those containing Trajan’s now-lost commentary on the Dacian Wars.<sup>175</sup> Coarelli insisted that reference to a *papyrus*

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<sup>171</sup> Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 32, fig. 23.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> Other scholarly discussions of the column focus exclusively on the construction techniques, the funeral nature based on the sepulchral chamber and the iconography of the spiral relief around it. See C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule* (Berlin 1896-1900); F. Florescu, *Die Trajanssäule* (Bucarest, 1969); W. Gauer, *Untersuchungen zur Trajanssäule I: Darstellungsprogramm und künstlerischer Entwurf* (Mann, 1977).

<sup>174</sup> For example, A. Claridge, "Hadrian's Column of Trajan," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993) 5-22, notes that when Trajan’s Column was dedicated in 113, the shaft was not sculpted. She therefore ascribes the commissioning of the column’s helical frieze to Hadrian. It was only after Trajan’s created remains were deposited sub columna that this decision was made and work did not start before 119/120 C.E. According to Claridge, it was probably Hadrian who proposed to mark the column’s new sepulchral function with a spiral relief. To her, the relief “wrecked the architectural character of the original building.” Mark Wilson Jones, "A Hundred Feet and a Spiral Stair: The Problem of Designing Trajan's Column," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993) 23-38, agrees with Claridge that Hadrian added the spiral frieze.

<sup>175</sup> J. C. N. Coulston, *Trajan’s Column: The Sculpting and Relief Content of a Roman Propaganda Monument*. (Unpublished PhD. diss., Newcastle University, 1988); Settis, *La Colonna Traiana*, 87-89.

*volume* “seems inescapable.”<sup>176</sup> Others considered the Pompeian wall paintings as sources of inspiration. For example, the cubiculum frescos in the Villa of P. Fannius Sinister at Boscoreale (mid-first century BC) had columns with spiral foliage rising from left to right.<sup>177</sup> The treadmill relief of the tomb of Haterii had columns with spiral coverage running alternately left to right and right to left.<sup>178</sup> Yet, neither example had figures on the spirals; they looked more like foliage or plants used to decorate columns, doors, tombs, or temples during festive days. In fact, some studies specifically refer to ribbon or cloth decorations to argue that the spiral relief was somehow an attempt to create a visual reference to decorated columns at religious ceremonies.<sup>179</sup> This reference might even applied to possible bands of cloth or other material with lists of debts hung on the Columna Maeniain the Forum Romanum. Lastly, the illustrated cartographic itineraries and paintings carried in triumphal processions have also been proposed as the inspirations for the individual scenes in the narrative sequence.<sup>180</sup> Regardless of its source of inspiration, the frieze significantly transformed the architectonics of the Column’s shaft. What could have been a mere decorative element challenged the strong, supportive quality of the shaft, and offered instead a monumentally executed story for audiences to “read.” In doing this, the windows, necessary to allow daylight into the column, lost their “architectural” meaning as they were masterfully concealed within the flow of the relief (Figure 2.19). Furthermore, there is the valid question about the visibility as the sculpted reliefs would have been nearly impossible to read from the ground. Even if the heights of the bands increased towards the top of the

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<sup>176</sup> F. Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan* (Rome: Editore Colombo, 2000), 11.

<sup>177</sup> For an image of the fresco, see, [http://lh3.ggpht.com/\\_TQGwJR7tPsk/TFsOEm6F3RI/AAAAAAAAAK4Q/3R9Ol7e\\_mhw/Villa%20of%20Publius%20Fannius%20Synistor%20-%20central%20shrine%20on%20west%20wall.JPG](http://lh3.ggpht.com/_TQGwJR7tPsk/TFsOEm6F3RI/AAAAAAAAAK4Q/3R9Ol7e_mhw/Villa%20of%20Publius%20Fannius%20Synistor%20-%20central%20shrine%20on%20west%20wall.JPG)

<sup>178</sup> For an image of the relief, see, <https://resources.oncourse.iu.edu/access/content/user/leach/www/c414/2005/newwater3.jpg>

<sup>179</sup> See Settis, *La Colonna Traiana*, 89-93; Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 11-16.

<sup>180</sup> For the influence of painted itineraries on the Column of Trajan, see Settis, *La Colonna Traiana*, 97-98. For the influence of triumphal paintings on the Column of Trajan, see Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, 2, 29; Coulston, *Trajan’s Column*, 124; Settis, *La Colonna Traiana*, 94-96; G. Köppel, “The Column of Trajan: Narrative technique and the Image of the Emperor,” in *Sage and Emperor: Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98-117 A.D.)*, eds. Philip Stadter and Luc Van der Stockt (Leuven University Press, 2002), 248-249.

Column, a spectator could have hardly differentiated and observed individual scenes whilst circling around the Column's monumental pedestal.<sup>181</sup>

In fact, in Davies's interpretation, such circumambulation about the shaft could have recalled imperial mausoleums and incorporated annular corridors in their circular design.<sup>182</sup> In a mausoleum, visitors could not directly access the burial chamber; instead, they were encouraged to move in a circle and thus pay honor to the dead emperor. For Davies, this helical relief was an "active work of architecture" that intentionally manipulated spectators into perpetuating the dead emperor's memory by walking around the tomb, as if to reenact the funeral ritual. As such, she believed the sculptural frieze was an architectural innovation to support the column's function as a tomb.<sup>183</sup> From my perspective, the use of decorative sculpture to promote movement in a certain direction was hardly an innovation if we consider monuments like *Ara Pacis*. Yet, it certainly supports the column's infrastructural function. This feature must have demanded the crowd gathered in the Forum to follow a prescribed path if they wanted to 'read' the narrative.

The position of the Column in the Forum and in the topography of the imperial city further complicates discussions about the Column's architecture. In the traditionally accepted plan for the Temple of Trajan on the north side, the layout of the complex and the shrunken courtyard of the monument, combined with the positioning and huge columnar façade of the Basilica Ulpia, greatly obscured the audience's view of the Column (Figure 2.20). Though it was situated on the main axis of the Forum along with the triumphal gateway and the equestrian statue, no visual vista was available that would have led the observer's eye toward the Column (Figure 2.21). In fact, the Pausanias's account supports this assumption. When he visited

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<sup>181</sup> For Brilliant, the upper floors of the flanking libraries or the Basilica Ulpia might have presented alternative viewing platforms. See, Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives. Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art: 90-123* (Cornell University Press, 1984), especially 90-94.

<sup>182</sup> Davies, "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (January 1997): 41-65; *Death and the Emperor*, 56-58.

<sup>183</sup> Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 127-135.

Trajan's Forum, for instance, he did not mention the Column at all. Rather, the Forum and the Basilica—its bronze roof in particular—garnered most of his attention.<sup>184</sup>

Likewise, the courtyard was very restricted and less visible as it was approached solely from the two doorways on the northeastern side of the Basilica. Thus, even within the courtyard, it was nearly impossible to fully view the column. In fact, the column arose abruptly when one stepped into the courtyard through one of the side doors of the Basilica without pausing to capture an overall view (Figure 2.22). Most likely, the colossal upper structure was barely noticed at first glance because of the peristyle around the base. Behind that, the 5.37m high northeast or southeast façades of the base, or the surmounting eagles at the corners of the plinth (square in plan, 6.18x 6.18m), must have drawn immediate attention. Then, the single doorway and the dedicatory inscription above supported by winged victories would have created curiosity and redirected attention to the southeastern side. The door below the inscription was flanked and topped by sculpted military equipment. The other three sides were covered with barbarian spolia presented in two horizontal panels, one above the other in an approximately life-sized scale. One could have then walked around the Column and recognized its scale and spiraling frieze, thus stimulating a counterclockwise circle. This movement could have been repeated at the upper galleries as well, as noted by Coulston and Settis who argued for the presence of viewing platforms lining the peristyle around the Column.<sup>185</sup> However, to follow the narrative along the spirals—from the ground, the upper galleries, and/or the roof—the viewer would have to circumnavigate the Column 23 times.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, v.12.6 and x.5.11

<sup>185</sup> Coulston, *Trajan's Column*, 13-14 and S. Settis, "La Colonna Traiana: L'imperatore e il suo public," in *Giornate filologiche "Francesco Della Corte" IV*, ed. F. Bertini. (Genoa, 2005), 70. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 177, believes that there is not much evidence supporting this argument.

<sup>186</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, 1; Coulston, *Trajan's Column*, 108; Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 27.

The La Rocca plan of the Imperial Fora in Rome remains debatable, yet it is worth considering here as it reverses the orientation of the Forum of Trajan.<sup>187</sup> If there was a colonnade/propylon on the north side, and it formed the main access to the Forum, then one could have entered the complex from the north, faced the monumental column, passed the peristyle around the Column, and progressed to the two side doors of the Basilica Ulpia (Figure 2.18). After leaving the Basilica from one of the three openings, he or she could finally reach the open court with the equestrian statue of the emperor placed in the center. In that case, the significance of the Column within the Forum complex appears obvious since it would have been the first element encountered by visitors (Figure 2.23). Still, the view of the Column would have been limited due to the rather small dimensions of the court or the entrance court in its new arrangement (Figure 2.24). Such an experience, however, seems to contradict Pausanias's and Marcellinus's observations of the Forum.<sup>188</sup>

After the tour around the Column, the visitor would have gone inside, mounted the platform following the counterclockwise spiral staircase, and viewed the entire Forum area from the top, as did Emperor Constantius II in AD 357. Ammianus described the Column as one of the "lofty columns rising up into a platform to which one can ascend," which influenced Davies's definition of the Column as a belvedere.<sup>189</sup> He pointed out the Column together with the Column of Marcus Aurelius, along with some other buildings that had a distinguishable urban scale like baths and Pantheon – without mentioning extreme heights or the reliefs around the columns. This visual statement causes me to question if Ammianus was standing on one of the hills or a higher place around Rome looking at the city skyline rather than standing in the Column's courtyard. If he had been in the courtyard, entering from north or south, it would not have been

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<sup>187</sup> E. La Rocca, "La nuova imagine dei fori Imperiali. Appunti in magine agli scavi," *Romische Mitteilungen* 108 (2001): 171-213.

<sup>188</sup> Here, Ammianus Marcellinus was recounting a comment by Constantius II, XVI.10.15-16. See Robert Owen Edbrooke Jr., "Constantius II and Hormisdas in the Forum of Trajan," *Mnemosyne* 28:4 (1975), 412-417.

<sup>189</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, 16.10.14.

so easy to develop an accurate idea of the Column's height or the "lofty" platform from the ground below.

Examining the same problem from a different perspective, Parker and Coarelli also searched for a possible explanation for the colossal scale. Their answer was, again, the Column's funerary function. Focusing on Pliny's statement about the elevation of heroes above mortals, Parker believed the colossal shaft "visually linked the position of the burial chamber to that of the massive bronze colossus above."<sup>190</sup> In similar terms, Coarelli referred to the relationship between the sky and the idea of the divine, suggesting that the colossal scale deified Trajan by "projecting him toward the sky."<sup>191</sup>

The second column built in the second century was the Column of Antoninus Pius.<sup>192</sup> It was a commemorative column dedicated to Antoninus shortly after his death in AD 161 by his sons Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The Column was erected on the northern Campus Martius and remained there until the early eighteenth century.<sup>193</sup> All that remains today are the white Italian marble base and the bottom of the red-granite shaft (Figure 2.25). The Column itself was a 14.75m red-granite monolith without any relief carved on its shaft. It had a diameter of 1.90m.<sup>194</sup> The surviving base does not contain a sepulchral chamber.<sup>195</sup> It was quarried in AD 106 as indicated by a mason's inscription on the lower end of the shaft.<sup>196</sup> Numismatic evidence

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<sup>190</sup> J. E. Packer, "Trajan's Forum again: the Column and the Temple of Trajan in the master plan attributed at Apollodorus (?)" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994): 168-169.

<sup>191</sup> Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 16. Coarelli also suggests that the funerary function of the column was loosely connected to the presence of the libraries. The contemporary example of the coexistence of the Library of Celsus and the tomb of Dio of Prusa supports this occurrence. Coarelli, *The Column of Trajan*, 10, calls it a sort of "intellectual hero-making."

<sup>192</sup> The history of the column and its restorations, the original site, the dimentios, all were documented in Vogel's monograph with references to the eighteenth-century accounts of the topographer Christian Hulser. See Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*.

<sup>193</sup> Besides the columns and ustrina of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, this part of the Campus Martius also held the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Horologium and the Ara Pacis.

<sup>194</sup> Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, 6.

<sup>195</sup> CIL VI 986. The cremated remains of Antoninus Pius were placed in Hadrian's Mausoleum.

<sup>196</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG), XIV. 2421.1.

shows a male statue holding a spear and an orb atop a Corinthian capital (Figure 2.26).<sup>197</sup> The same coin shows an openwork balustrade surrounding the pedestal, which corresponds to the marble balustrade confirmed by excavation accounts.<sup>198</sup>

The monumental base of the Column carries the narrative component. Three sides of the base have reliefs carved from the block itself, and the fourth side has a dedicatory inscription.<sup>199</sup> Two sides of the column pedestal, situated opposite one another, depict nearly identical scenes of Roman troops on horses encircling two groups of five infantrymen in a counterclockwise direction (Figure 2.25, the right side). One soldier in each group carries a Roman military standard. No pyre is depicted, yet this scene was accepted as a *decursio* or *decursus*, a part of the funeral ceremony in which the cavalry rode around the emperor's pyre.<sup>200</sup> The carving is very deep and presents a complicated spatial perspective. On the northern side of the pedestal is the apotheosis scene of Antoninus and Faustina (Figure 2.25, the left side). There, a winged personae carries the emperor and his wife to Heaven. The emperor is depicted as holding a scepter crowned with an eagle. Roma, in the form of a female figure, salutes the imperial couple from the right-hand side. On the left is a personified male figure representing the Campus Martius where the Column was situated. The next side contains the three-line dedicatory inscription that covers the entire surface, very different from the one for the Column of Trajan that fit within a *tabula ansata* over the door of the pedestal.

The urban context cannot be identified with certainty. Vogel argued that the Column was architecturally related to a monument located 25m to the southeast, because it stood at the same level and axis as the Column and the apotheosis scene faced that direction (Figure 2.27).<sup>201</sup> E.

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<sup>197</sup> Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, fig. 88; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 41-2.

<sup>198</sup> Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, 7, note 31, and p. 21.

<sup>199</sup> CIL VI 1004.

<sup>200</sup> Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, 56-81; Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 42.

<sup>201</sup> Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, 63.

Nash described this monument as a square podium surrounded by a double enclosure.<sup>202</sup> Originally, it was identified as the ustrinum of the Antonines when discovered by F. Bianchini in 1703.<sup>203</sup> It had a 13m outer wall of travertine pillars with iron facing, an inner wall of marble with a door on the northern side (facing the Column), and a solid central structure.<sup>204</sup> Later scholars, however, challenged this identification. Boatwright, for example, argued that it could not be an actual ustrinum mainly because the conflagration of an imperial pyre would have easily destroyed the structure's marble and travertine walls.<sup>205</sup> Instead, she interpreted the monument as a memorial to commemorate the spot on which the emperor was cremated. Richardson identified the monument as an altar to the deified Faustina the Elder.<sup>206</sup> This, he argued, was erected on the spot where her pyre stood while the Column of her husband Antoninus was erected where his pyre stood. Martin Beckmann furthered Richardson's argument using the twin altars found a very short distance northwest of the Column.<sup>207</sup> Architecturally similar to the ustrinum to the south, these altars had enclosure walls of travertine pillars and iron fencing with an entrance on the south side, inside of which was a marble wall measuring 10.5m per side. A vegetal pattern found on the eastern altar points to an Antonine date. In this composition, the structure directly aligned with the Column of Antoninus Pius as his altar, while the pair of altars might then be assigned to Faustina I and II, mother and daughter. Furthermore, the base of the

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<sup>202</sup> Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 487.

<sup>203</sup> F. Bianchini, *De kalendario et cyclo Caesaris ac De paschali canone s. Hippolyti martyris dissertationes duae ... Quibus inseritur descriptio, & explanatio basis, in Campo Martio nuper detectae sub columna Antonino Pio olim dicata. His accessit enarratio per epistolam ad amicum De nummo et gnomone Clementino auctore Francisco Blanchino Veronensi* (Roma 1703).

<sup>204</sup> For these remains see C. Hülsen, "Antichità di Monte Citorio." *Römische Mitteilungen* 4 (1889): 41–64, who published the records of the eighteenth-century excavations of the column of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>205</sup> M. Boatwright, "The 'Ara Ditis-Ustrinum of Hadrian' in the Western Campus Martius and Other Problematic Roman Ustrina," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985), 493.

<sup>206</sup> Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 295-296.

<sup>207</sup> Martin Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius: The Genesis and Meaning of a Roman Imperial Monument* (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome, University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 45.

Column, the nearby altar, and the twin altars were all aligned on exactly the same grid and stood close to each other, creating an “altar-column” complex.<sup>208</sup>

It is significant that the creators of the reliefs chose the 30m high red-granite obelisk to represent the open field of the Campus. Built as a sundial by Augustus, this obelisk stood to the north of the Column of Antoninus Pius and it was integrated with both the *Ara Pacis* and the Mausoleum of Augustus. The obelisk itself was another victory commemoration memorializing Augustus’s subordination of Egypt. In fact, to cite Vogel, the use of red granite in both monuments reveals a convergence of the tradition of obelisks and freestanding columns.<sup>209</sup> In his analysis, red-granite obelisks were brought to Rome as victory elements and were integrated into the funerary tradition by the end of the first century AD. This, indeed, went hand in hand with the contemporary funerary uses of the freestanding columns. Eventually, the designers of the Column of Antoninus Pius created the perfect combination.

Davies’s take on the urban context for the Column is that it could have been visually related to the main funerary monument of the area—the Mausoleum of Augustus and its red-granite obelisk. She suggests that the iconography of the Column supports and eventually strengthens the visual link with the obelisk to someone looking from the nearby altar to the south.<sup>210</sup> This only could have been possible if the area between the Column and the obelisk had been left open without any visual obstruction.

What is most important for the purposes of the present study is that the depiction of the obelisk defined the setting of the actual ritual event that was commemorated by the construction of the Column itself.<sup>211</sup> The setting of Emperor Antoninus Pius’s funeral events—the Campus—is

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, 31.

<sup>210</sup> See the figure in Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 164.

<sup>211</sup> No ancient record of the cremation exists but there is a similar description of the cremation of Pertinax on a three-story pyre in the Campus Martius, see Cassius Dio, *History of Rome*, LXXV.iii.3-v.5.

represented as a reclining figure on the relief. In addition, the artists' choice of the obelisk to represent the Campus area supports the idea that Romans already attributed an "iconic" quality to freestanding posts before late antiquity.

The third Roman column dating back to the second century is the Column of Marcus Aurelius, also erected on the Campus Martius, on the northeastern side of the Column of Antoninus Pius in clear sight of one another (Figure 2.28). It was situated along the Via Flaminia, and the orientation was similar to the *Ara Pacis* that stood on the same axis, far north of the Column (Figure 2.27). It still stands intact (except that a marble casing was added to the pedestal during the late sixteenth century under Pope Sixtus V). The original dedicatory inscription was lost, but an inscription dated AD 193 indicates a *terminus ante quem*, noting that the Column of Marcus Aurelius had a procurator named Adrastus whose quarters were nearby.<sup>212</sup> He had apparently been living onsite during construction of the Column. The inscription on his doorjamb, at least, indicates that his new house was intended to replace a smaller dwelling that had previously stood on the site.<sup>213</sup>

Architecturally, this Column is very similar to the Column of Trajan, except for the pedestal. The pedestal of the Column of Trajan, made of four courses composed of two blocks each, stands 5.27m; that of Marcus's monument, made of seven alternating one- and two-block courses, is exactly twice as tall (10.52m).<sup>214</sup> The pedestal does not contain a sepulchral chamber as the cremated remains of Marcus Aurelius were placed in Hadrian's Mausoleum.<sup>215</sup> The entrance to the shaft is on the eastern side, inaccessible today due to the elevated ground level. The height of the shaft, torus, and capital are roughly the same at 100 RF (29.77m). The total

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<sup>212</sup> CIL VI 1585.

<sup>213</sup> Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius*, 37.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>215</sup> CIL VI 984-95.

height reaches about 40m, including the pedestal. A staircase in the column's shaft leads to the top, where there once stood a bronze statue of the emperor.

The most recognizable similarity to Trajan's Column is the helical frieze that decorates the Column's shaft. The scenes of this frieze celebrate Marcus's campaigns against the Macromanni and Sarmatians in AD 172-75. Like Trajan's Column, the frieze reads left to right, bottom to top. Two different campaigns are depicted, and these are separated by a victory inscribing the achievements of Marcus on a shield.<sup>216</sup> The sculpture of Marcus's Column is set in higher relief.

There are several reconstructions regarding the Column's urban context. L. Richardson linked it to the Temple of deified Marcus, although no remains of the temple have been found in the area (Figure 2.27).<sup>217</sup> His argument was based on literary rather than archaeological references.<sup>218</sup> In such a schema, the Column must have been surrounded by a colonnade in front of the temple. Beckmann rejected this claim because the inscription regarding the "house" of the procurator stood to the west of the Column—the area that would have been covered by the temple complex if one had existed.<sup>219</sup> Another approach looked for a relationship between the Column and the twin altars previously mentioned, while researching the surroundings of the Column of Antoninus Pius. In fact, the marble enclosures were identified in 1907 as the Ustrinum of Marcus Aurelius because they appeared to share the same alignment.<sup>220</sup> Many scholars reject this relationship because the Column was about 130m (440 RF) away from the

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<sup>216</sup> D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (Yale University Press, 1992), 295.

<sup>217</sup> Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 95-96.

<sup>218</sup> See *Historia Augusta Aurelius*. 18.8; *Aurelius Victor, De Caesaribus*, 16.15.

<sup>219</sup> Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius*, 37.

<sup>220</sup> For a full discussion on this monument see Boatwright, "The Ara Ditis-Ustrinum of Hadrian," 490-493.

twin monuments.<sup>221</sup> This distance is out of scale if compared to the exact 100 RF separation between Pius's Column and its nearby altar.

In relating the altars to the Column of Antoninus, Beckmann presented an alternate urban schema. He first identified three events in the reliefs: the crossing of the Danube, the figure of Victory as she separates two different campaigns, and the Rain miracle. These are all on the east side of the Column where the door accessing to the base is located. Therefore, he reconstructed this side as the primary approach.<sup>222</sup> Moreover, this façade faced the Via Flaminia yet was set back from it by a couple meters. This positioning supports a plan with an open area or a colonnaded court that has a monumental column in the center.<sup>223</sup> In such a schema, there are few options. The entire side could be open to the street or separated from it by a barrier or a solid wall with an entrance arch. Visitors would approach from the Via Flaminia, seeing the Column before they even got close to the complex. If we assume that the access was open to all, which is very unlikely, they might enter the open area, go inside the Column, and climb the stairs. They would then see the two altars and the red-granite Column right as they step onto the upper platform. The fact that the upper doorway of the staircase directly faced the funerary altars and the Column of Antoninus Pius supports Beckmann's reconstruction.<sup>224</sup> As such, he proposed a calculated visual relationship between the Column and other funerary monuments to the west, accompanied by an unusual panorama of the city. Excavators found an ancient Roman gaming board incised into the top of the marble platform in front of the door that provided access to the upper platform.<sup>225</sup> For Beckmann, this suggests that the area around the Column

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<sup>221</sup> Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius*, 46.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>224</sup> For the orientation of the door, see Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 167–69.

<sup>225</sup> Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius*, 46: it is a *tabula lusoria*, an ancient Roman gaming board in the shape of a circle divided with pie-like slices. See, Martines 2000: 20. See, G Martines, "L'architettura," in *Autour de la colonne Aurélienne: Geste et image sur la colonne de Marc Aurèle à Rome*, eds. J. Scheid and V. Huet (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études section des sciences religieuses 108, Tournhout, Brepols, 2000), 19–88.

was a more open complex, accessible to casual visitors. For my purposes, this board suggests that the interior and the area close to the Column—right at its entrance, in fact—were voluntarily used by Romans for spending leisure time.

For Beckmann, the orientation toward the Via Flaminia was crucial to the true function of the colossal column. This road was the main access to the city to/from the north. The point of return to the city was essential for determining where an honorific monument was built. Such an association was already reinforced in Aurelius's time with victory monuments like the Arches of Claudius and Domitian, the *Ara Pacis*, and the Temple of Fortuna Redux situated along this road. The so-called Panel series, which illustrates scenes from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, has an *adventus* relief that shows a scene from the Campus Martius. On his way along the Via Flaminia, the Column was highly visible. In fact, one could imagine a sequence of "greats" visible at elevated platforms as one approached Rome from the north beginning with Augustus on his mausoleum, followed by Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius on their colossal columns.

## **2.4 Column monuments outside Rome**

Thus far, I have only focused on columns in Rome, yet there are other column monuments outside Rome providing relevant cases to compare with the Constantinopolitan examples. The first two are attributed to Hadrian (ruled AD 117-138) yet no significant archaeological data are available for them. One was situated in the center of the oval plaza just inside the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem, as depicted in the mosaic Madaba Map (Figure 2.29).<sup>226</sup> It was perhaps crowned with the statue of a pre-Constantinian emperor. While no information is available about the architecture of this column, it is the focal point of the mosaic and was probably the point from which distances from Jerusalem were measured.

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<sup>226</sup>The Madaba Map is a sixth-century map of the biblical Middle East, the Holy Land that was depicted as a floor mosaic in the early Byzantine church of Saint George at Madaba, Jordan. For a similar mosaic in the Church of the Lions, Umm al-Rasas (Kastron Mefaa) see, Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (American Center of Oriental Research, Amman, 1993), 336-337.

The second Hadrianic column was at Lambaesis in Africa, 27km west of Timgad (in modern-day Algeria). On his visit to Africa in AD 128, Hadrian addressed the Roman army here in the campus or parade ground of *Legio III Augusta*, approximately 220m<sup>2</sup> of fortified area.<sup>227</sup> There was a tribunal or platform in the center of the campus surrounded by a narrow paved area. On the tribunal stood a single, 9m high Corinthian column placed on a 2m high base.<sup>228</sup> Different scholars have provided slightly varying dimensions.<sup>229</sup> While the statue at the top is unknown (probably Hadrian's), the series of inscriptions on the base of the column recorded Hadrian's speeches to the African army during his visit. An imperial ceremony should have taken place on this training ground in front of the platform surmounted by the column. As suggested by Speidel, the addition of the column and its dedicatory base likely occurred prior to Hadrian's arrival in AD 128 and was approved by the emperor during his visit.<sup>230</sup>

The inscription represents the only substantial surviving text of an imperial speech to the Roman army during the High Empire. It consists of 16 pieces placed on four sides of the base. The content has three divisions: the dedication, the address to the legion, and the address to the auxiliaries. The dedication was located on the east side of the base, with the speech to the legion on the east and north sides, and the speech to the auxiliaries to the west and south. The text encircled the column's base in a counterclockwise direction, corresponding to the order in which the speeches were given to at least six different groups of soldiers over a two-week period.<sup>231</sup> The

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<sup>227</sup> M.P. Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches to the African Army – a New Text* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2006), 4.

<sup>228</sup> Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches*, 4. T. Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict* (British Museum Press, 2008), 87, states that the camp was built up by Hadrian from a small Flavian outpost into a main base of the legion. And the column is known to have stand "in the center of the local parade ground."

<sup>229</sup> In the reconstruction of Jean-Marie Gassend and Michel Janon in fig. 2.46, the column was depicted with an overall height of 18-19m. See J M Gassend and M. Janon, "La colonne d'Hadrien à Lambèse," *Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne* 9 (1977-1979): 239-256.

<sup>230</sup> Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches*, 4; Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1989), 369.

<sup>231</sup> Speidel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches*, 4.

placement of the speech in chronological order also temporarily mapped the event onto the column.

It is important to note that the depiction of an emperor's official address, known as the *adlocutio*, is one of the most widely represented formulas in Roman art. Typically, the emperor is depicted from the side standing on an elevated platform, with someone behind him (a *praefectus* or close advisor) and a soldier underneath. The emperor usually has an outstretched hand or a leg placed a step forward. This context articulates the emperor's role as imperator and leader of the army since it is a military oratory. Such scenes occurred in the colossal columns of Rome on more than one occasion. The emperor appears speaking to his troops a total of six times on Trajan's Column and five times on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. All of these represent the scene in figural terms, roughly similar to previous descriptions.<sup>232</sup> None, however, record the emperor's words as a monumental text as found on the base of Hadrian's Column in Lambaesis. As such, this Column not only commemorated the presence of Emperor Hadrian but also the actual content of his address. The erasures and rewritings found on the dedication indicate that the inscription continued to be read and retained its symbolic importance into the mid-third century AD.<sup>233</sup>

The third freestanding monument is a huge column from Alexandria, erected in honor of Diocletian as indicated by the inscription on the west side of its base.<sup>234</sup> The still-standing, single-piece column, inaccurately referred to as Pompey's Pillar, was built in AD 298 to

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<sup>232</sup> The scenes 8, 32, 38, 57, 79 and 103 of the Trajan's Column, and scenes 4, 9, 55, 83, and 100 of the Column of Arcadius has *adlocutio* reliefs. Also, many *adlocutio* scenes can be found in numismatic and iconographic representations of the emperors as well.

<sup>233</sup> Spiedel, *Emperor Hadrian's Speeches*, 6.

<sup>234</sup> On the column, J.S. McKenzie, et al., "Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 94 (2004): 73-121; C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395* (1962), 66-70; C. Vandersleyen, 'Le préfet d'Égypte de la colonne de Pompee à Alexandrie', *Chronique d'Égypte* 33 (1958), 113-34; F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (1994), 52-7 no. 15.

commemorate the emperor's victory over an Alexandrian revolt (Figure 2.30).<sup>235</sup> This Column was placed within the newly reconstructed site of the Roman Serapeum (Figure 2.31).<sup>236</sup> The concrete foundations indicate that the Ptolemaic colonnaded court was widened on the east side, across Street R8. This was the main road leading to the precinct from the city center. By adding the street into the complex, the Romans created a dead end that concluded with the Lageion (racecourse) built on the south end of the Serapeum in a perpendicular axis. The new Roman staircase covered over the entrance to the Ptolemaic Nilometer.<sup>237</sup>

Although contemporary with the other four-column monuments, this victory column is architecturally and contextually very different from the others.<sup>238</sup> The column is 20.75m high (26.85m including the socle and pedestal), with a diameter of 2.7-2.8m.<sup>239</sup> It has a single monolith shaft of red Aswan granite standing on a rectangular socle more than 6m high made of the same material. It is surmounted by a Corinthian capital, which apparently once supported a colossal statue. A piece of a porphyry statue in a cuirass found near the column base suggests Diocletian as the honorand.<sup>240</sup> The inscription is carved in the upper part of the base on its

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<sup>235</sup> Jean-Pierre Adam, "À propos du trilithon de Baalbek: Le transport et la mise en oeuvre des megaliths," *Syria* 54: 1/2 (1977): 31–63. Another possible occasion would be in 302 when Diocletian was possibly again in Egypt on the occasion of the granting of a corn supply for the people of Alexandria. See, <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>, LSA-874 (Ulrich Gehn).

<sup>236</sup> Between A.D. 181 and 217, the Serapeum was re-built by the Romans. The new version was larger than the Ptolemaic one of Ptolemy III Euergetes I. The temple of Serapis was re-built on a larger scale on the same spot, and the colonnaded court was widened to the east across Street R8. For more information see, J. S. McKenzie, et al., "Reconstructing the Serapeum," 98-99.

<sup>237</sup> The Roman Nilometer has not been found on site. But J. S. McKenzie, et al., "Reconstructing the Serapeum," 96, argues that it was transferred back to the Serapeum in 362, along with symbols and (tablets with) the ancestral customs, because Constantine had moved them to a church.

<sup>238</sup> W. Thiel, "Die 'Pompeius-Säule' in Alexandria und die Viersäulenmonumente Ägyptens. Überlegungen zur tetrarchischen Repräsentationskultur in Nordafrika," in *Die Tetrarchie. Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation*, eds. Dietrich Boschung and Werner Eck (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2006), 249–322, suggested that this Column was accompanied by one, or possibly three, similar columns carrying statues of Diocletian's imperial colleagues. The ancient testimony, however, clearly indicates a single monumental column, see Chapter 2.7 below.

<sup>239</sup> J. S. McKenzie, et al., "Reconstructing the Serapeum," 99.

<sup>240</sup> J. S. McKenzie and P.M.Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria II* (Oxford, 1972), 89.

western side, facing the area in front of the Temple.<sup>241</sup> No reliefs are seen in the faces of the base composed of re-used Egyptian blocks.<sup>242</sup>

The Column stands on the natural high ground within the Serapeum, Alexandria's most important sanctuary and one of the most famous pagan sanctuaries of antiquity. This temple was the center of a cult that spread across the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman periods and certainly in Diocletian's time as well. The Serapeum was destroyed in AD 391, two years after Emperor Theodosius had ordered the closure of all pagan temples throughout the Roman Empire. Diocletian's Column and the Roman court surrounding it survived, however, and remained intact throughout the Byzantine era. Under Saladin in twelfth century, the columns at the site were broken up, but Diocletian's Column was left standing.<sup>243</sup>

A possible representation of the Column and the statue was found in the Sepphoris mosaic laid in the fifth or sixth century (Figure 2.32).<sup>244</sup> Found in a public building in Sepphoris, this exotic scene depicts the festivities celebrating the Nile's annual high tide. The water level was represented through a column-like nilometer depicted in detail. On the left is the city gate of Alexandria with the Pharos (the famous lighthouse) represented by a taller round tower with a flame at the top. On the right is a column with a Corinthian capital and an attic base surmounted by a statue of a man. He holds a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. Two horsemen stand between the two monuments. The first one carries a torch perhaps a bouquet of flowers. A tunic-clad young man watching the horsemen appears behind them.<sup>245</sup> It seems likely that a

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<sup>241</sup> <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>, LSA-874 (Ulrich Gehn)

<sup>242</sup> J. S. McKenzie, et al., "Reconstructing the Serapeum," 108, note 192.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>244</sup> Netzer and Weiss date the mosaic to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries based on its resemblance to the mosaics in Antioch, Apamea and Beirut. The function of the building decorated with this mosaic is still unknown, yet the authors claimed that it was most probably a public building. They even suggested that this mosaic might be the floor covering for a stoa beside a road, like the ones in Caesarea Maritima, Beth-Shean and Ephesus. See E. Netzer and Z. Weiss, "New Mosaic Art from Sepphoris," *Biblical Archaeological Review* online 18:06 (1992) <http://members.bib-arch.org/publication.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=18&Issue=6&ArticleID=2> (last accessed Feb27, 2014).

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

group of men approaching the city (probably from the south) would have passed the column monument first since it stood alone outside the city walls in the Byzantine era.

It is noteworthy that the Column was built above the eastern end of one of two underground passages, while the other arm ended directly in front of the Temple of Serapis (Figure 2.31). The function of these tunnels was probably religious. The existence of Roman graffiti in them indicates a Roman use. The fact that the tunnel goes underneath the Column causes me to question whether there was a chamber inside or under the base of the Column.

The final point worth noting is the proximity of the Serapeum to the Lageion, a Hellenistic structure remodeled as a racecourse with a spina. It is known that the area functioned as a venue for long processions, such as the famous procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, which was described in considerable detail by Athenaeus. There, the procession passed through the “city stadium.”<sup>246</sup> In addition, Vespasian visited the Hippodrome when he consulted the oracle at the Temple of Serapis in AD 69-70.<sup>247</sup> His son, the future Emperor Titus, also visited the Serapeum and the Hippodrome in AD71.<sup>248</sup> On the day of the dedication of the Column, Diocletian could have also been in a similar parade and visited the ancient precinct. He could have then continued to the stadium/hippodrome to watch horse races or other games in his honor.

As such, the true significance of this Column for my analysis pertains to its setting and its relation to the rest of the urban fabric. Its architectural qualities and its location in a pagan sanctuary recall the Greek column monuments in Delphi in the sanctuary of Apollo, though situated in an urban context this time. The elevated approach to the precinct and the Column’s

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<sup>246</sup> On the procession, V. Foertmeyer, “The dating of the pompe of Ptolemy II Philadelphus,” *Historia* 37 (1988), 90-104.

<sup>247</sup> On Vespasian’s visit, A. Henrichs, “Vespasian’s visit to Alexandria,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 3 (1968), 51-80.

<sup>248</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXXIV.2725; J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (University of California Press, 1986), 92.

crowning of the skyline affirm a local style that emerged from the Greco-Roman history of the site. By placing the upright at the center of attention for all possible sides of approach, Diocletian, or his representatives in Alexandria, used local ways to announce the virtues of the emperor literally to everyone. It is also noteworthy that Christians left the Column standing in the aftermath of the destruction of the pagan Temple, which will be elucidated later.

In Arae Philaenorum, a border city of the provinces of Tripolitania, there was another column monument. Unlike the monumental stand-alone column, this one was composed of four columns built in a linear organization.<sup>249</sup> Drums of local sandstone and an inscription mentioning Diocletian survive from this four-column monument. As reconstructed by S. Stucchi and V. Purcaro, the columns are estimated to have been at least 6.85m (7.85m with capitals) with Corinthian capitals (Table 1, no 15). Two of the columns were slightly superior in height to the others. Stucchi and Purcaro consider the four column structure as a Tetrarchic monument (referring to the First Tetrarchy ruling between AD 285-305), in which a column was dedicated to each one of the four emperors with the higher ones belonging to the *Augusti*.<sup>250</sup> The size and the scale of this monument are not extraordinary but its style, as it was reconstructed, remarkably emulates the one column monument built in Rome by the same emperors, the so-called *Fünfsäulendenkmal*, that will be analyzed in the following section.

The last example of this selective survey is two sets of four-column arrangements appeared in the great Temple of Ammon at Luxor when the area was converted into a Roman military camp in the reign of Diocletian. Both were dedicated to the emperors of the first and second Tetrarchies. The composition, however, differed significantly from the freestanding columns. In both groups, the columns formed a Roman tetrakionion.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>, LSA-2832 (Ulrich Gehn)

<sup>250</sup> V. Purcaro, *Il monumento onorario architettonico in Cirenaica* (Pisa, 1998), 457-462.

<sup>251</sup> A tetrakionion is a version of tetrapylon where the four corners exist as separated structures. Thus the crossing in the middle is not roofed. See the examples in Aphrodisias, Palmyra, Gerasa, Anjar, and Ephesus.

Eight marble column bases from these two groups stand in situ today. The first set was dedicated in AD 300 to the Tetrarchs Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus by Aurelius Reginus, governor of Thebaid. This monument once marked the crossing of two colonnaded roads: one on a north-south axis leading to a northern city gate (E in Figure 2.33), the other running perpendicular from east to west, leading directly from the quay on the Nile to the western side entrance of the courtyard of Ramses II. All inscriptions faced the former street, probably to emphasize the importance of the waterfront, while the pairs close to the water belonged to the Augusti. Architecturally similar, but less detailed, the second set was erected in 308-309 for the second Tetrarchy. This time, the inscriptions faced the north-south street running parallel to the Temple (H in Figure 2.33).

For both sets, a rectangular pylon carrying the inscription stood on a three-step socle. On top of that were the column base and the shaft made of drums. The first drum was decorated with acanthus leaves or a similar decorative application. Nothing remains of the upper structure, but it is generally assumed that the columns once had Corinthian capitals. In fact this composition might reveal a local style as there is a remarkable resemblance to the early imperial four column monuments in Hermopolis Magna and Antinoopolis.<sup>252</sup>

Without specifying any particular column, M. El-Saghir estimated the overall height to be approximately 17-18m (base 4m, column 8-9m, capital 50-75cm).<sup>253</sup> P.Lacau recorded traces of color on these inscribed blocks. The letters were painted in red except for the imperial names,

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<sup>252</sup> The four columns of Hermopolis Magna in Egypt, was built during the Roman renovations of the city in the second century AD. It stood at the crossroads of Antinoe Street—the long-established east-west axis—and the main south-north street, which was lined with statues. This monument was dedicated in AD 176. In D. Bailey's reconstruction, there was a two-step socle and a rectangular base carrying the column shafts composed of relatively large drums. The first drum was decorated with acanthus leaves or a similar decorative application. In this reconstruction, it was similar in height to the later Column of Diocletian. The neighboring city of Antinoopolis, founded by Hadrian, had a very similar four-column monument at the intersection of two major roads. It was dedicated to Alexander Severus (ruled 222-235) and appeared to have been modeled after the one in Hermopolis, but on a smaller scale. For a comparative image, see E. Thomas. *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: architecture in the Antonine age* (Oxford University Press, 2007), fig. 14.

<sup>253</sup> El Saghir, M. et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor (Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français)* 83, (Cairo 1986), 12.

which were in yellow; the background of the epigraphic field was white.<sup>254</sup> Such color differentiation indicates a Tetrarchic concern for the legibility of the inscription.

Unlike freestanding columns, the groups in Luxor were interconnected with the street system that provided the main framework for movement in the city. The fact that they occupied the corners of the intersections of the two main avenues in all of these examples assigned them infrastructural functions. Here, the vertical movement expressed by the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius was translated into a horizontal orientation that was further articulated by the inscriptions of the Tetrarchs and framed perspectives for approaching pedestrians. As such, the four-column groups revealed their form by their high visibility and thus gave directions and showed the route, even from afar. From this point, they represent a different version in the Tetrarchic palette of columnar monuments.

This short survey in the North African region remarkably reveals that, aside from the Hadrianic column in Lambaesis, all column monuments in North African region date back to the Tetrarchy. The four-emperor regime deliberately selected freestanding columns to glorify military victories and placed them strategically significant suites like the Temple of Luxor or the Temple of Serapis in Alexandria. In both cases, columns very effectively gave the Roman identity and the imperial message to both citizens and foreigners.

## **2.5 The *Fünfsäulendenkmal* and column monuments in the Roman Forum**

In Roman world, the location of an imperial address was highly flexible. On a coin minted at the beginning of Nerva's rule in AD 96, the emperor speaks to a packed group of soldiers in front of a temple. The *adlocutio* of Trajan on his Column depicts the emperor in the Circus Maximus, a highly public setting for imperial speeches. Neither depictions show the specific architectural features of the stage. However, Hadrian's Column in Lambaesis created a

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<sup>254</sup> P. Lacau, "Inscriptions latines du temple de Louxor," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 34 (1934), 22, fig. 3; I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Imperial Chamber at Luxor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), 225-251.

significant link between the column monument and the public address by the Roman ruler. The emperor spoke in front of the column monument, which was later used to commemorate the very same event. In this sense, the Republican rostral column could have been a forerunner as it functioned as part of the highly visible public scenery. The next monument I discuss—the five-column monument of the Tetrarchy—solidifies such a relationship between the imperial address and the column. Significantly, scholars first identified this column monument from an *adlocutio* scene (Figure 2.34).

In the *adlocutio* scene on the Arch of Constantine—a very narrow, notably long frieze—Constantine the Great is depicted in the forefront, standing on a platform addressing the *senatus populus romus* and soldiers. Many features render this panel unusual. The emperor is in the city, not on military grounds; he is flanked by other official figures. Five columns bearing four statues of togati stand behind him.<sup>255</sup> These togati hold scepters on either side of a statue of a bare-chested Jupiter holding a spear. The latter column, taller than the others, is situated directly behind the figure of Constantine. The background of the scene is completed by façades of columnar buildings, clearly suggesting an urban setting.

L'Orange was the first scholar to identify the five-column monument in the frieze—the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*, as it is usually called in academia—with three marble column bases found during the Renaissance in the Augustan rostra. He associated the monument with the celebrations of 303 for the 20-year anniversary of Diocletian's reign.<sup>256</sup> The marble bases bear structural reliefs that are both contextually and epigraphically similar.<sup>257</sup> The best-preserved

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<sup>255</sup> H. P. L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal auf dem Forum Romanum," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 53 (1938): 1-34.

<sup>256</sup> Verduchi suggested that the five-column monument should be a part of the reconstruction of the Rostra in the aftermath of the fire of 283 AD. It is known that Diocletian restored the Basilica Julia and the Temple of Concord and the Temple of Saturn and rebuilt the Curia to its present day form. This program might have included the column monument as well. See P. Verduchi, "Rostra Diocletiani," in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* IV (Rome, 1999), 217-218.

<sup>257</sup> H. Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal für die Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum*. Monumenta Artis Romanae 3 (Cologne: Verlag M. Dumont Schaubert, 1964), 8-9; L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal," 14-15.

base, known as the *decennalia* base, bears the image of two victories holding a shield with the words *caesarum decennalia feliciter* (Figure 2.35). The victory on the left had just finished inscribing the shield. Behind each victory are trophies engraved with deep lines. Two captives kneel below the shield and look up toward it. As indicated in the inscription, this base was originally at the bottom of a column bearing a statue of a Caesar. This side faces the Via Sacra, continuing underneath the Arch of Septimius Severus.

The side looking to the Forum area has a procession of men, four of whom are in togas (*togae contabulatae*) (Figure 2.36). These have been interpreted as senators or four members of the Tetrarchy.<sup>258</sup> The figures advance toward the next scene on the left. The first figure is in the act of turning the corner of the base. Behind the four togati is a second row of men (three bearded and two beardless) representing another row of the cortege. In the background are four military standards (*vexilla*). On the upper flags of these are shields, inside of which would have been inscriptions or paintings.<sup>259</sup> On the opposite of this side is the *suovetaurilia* scene (Figure 2.37). Moving toward their right, a bull, sheep, and pig (together indicating the importance of the occasion) accompanied by a bearded man in front and two sacrificial servants carrying hammers are being brought for sacrifice.

The last side, in which two processional scenes going around the base are merged, depicts the libation scene, a ritual pouring of liquid as an offering to a god (Figure 2.38). The Caesar pours a libation into a tripod. On the left, the emperor is being crowned by a small winged victory. On the right, the toga-clad Genius of the Senate helps the victory with the crowning.<sup>260</sup> To the right, the personification of Roma is seated on a shield, and a radiant Sol

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<sup>258</sup> Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 8, considers them as senator, while Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 416-417, argues about them being emperors.

<sup>259</sup> Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 8; L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal," 10-11.

<sup>260</sup> Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 8.

hovers behind her from the inside of an arch. In front of the tripod are two figures, one holding an incense box and the other playing an *aulos*, a wind instrument.<sup>261</sup>

L'Orange combined the *decennalia* base with the records of two other (now lost) inscriptions commemorating the *augustorum vicennalia feliciter* and the *vicennalia imperatorum* recorded in Mazocchi's *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* of 1521.<sup>262</sup> Both inscribed blocks were found in the area around the Arch of Septimius Severus. The first had similar dimensions to the *decennalia* base and reportedly carried a scene of priests sacrificing a bull.<sup>263</sup> The third, referring to all of the Tetrarchs, was larger than the other two. The three bases were then connected to pieces found nearby of monolithic red-granite columns, marble fragments of column bases, capitals, and statue bases. Matching iron clamps and slots, as well as the corresponding widths, showed that both columns and bases came from the same monument.<sup>264</sup> The columns were topped by capitals, fragments of which included acanthus leaves, and two examples of Gorgon masks surrounded by double wreaths.<sup>265</sup> Kahler estimated that the column shafts were 10.53m (36 RF) and 12.1m (40 RF) tall; the capitals were 1.45m tall.<sup>266</sup> The capitals themselves supported architrave blocks that were 1.49-1.53m in height. This provided a square platform of 1.50x 1.50m for statues.

The positions of the large iron pegs on the remains of the architrave blocks suggest that they bore heavy stone statues rather than light bronze ones. Two fragments of larger-than-life-sized porphyry statues were found near the Arch of Septimius Severus in 1831.<sup>267</sup> They probably

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> CIL VI 1204 and 1205 (=31262)

<sup>263</sup> By Albertini quoted in CIL VI 1204 and 1205 (=31262)

<sup>264</sup> Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 9.

<sup>265</sup> The remains of small hands, attached to the wreath of one of the fragments, suggest that the masks were supported by flanking victories (Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 10, plate 11.1 -11.2).

<sup>266</sup> Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 9.

<sup>267</sup> These fragments are now in the Lateran collection of the Vatican Museum, see R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrywerke* (Berlin: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter, 1932), 56-58. Another over life size porphyry statue was found

once stood on top of the red-granite columns. Delbrueck estimated that the total height of the statues was 2.4m, though Kahler revised this to 2.70-2.8m.<sup>268</sup> Both belonged to an emperor dressed in an old-fashioned tunic, like the one worn by the figure making a libation on the *decennalia* base. Kleiner speculated that the statues on top of the columns could have been the *genii* of the emperors rather than the emperors themselves.<sup>269</sup> This is supported by the fact that they carried *paterae* and *cornucopiae*, typical attributes of the genius of the emperor.<sup>270</sup>

Although only one column shaft was found in the area, it is believed that each column must have had similar, if not identical, properties. All were pink-granite columns supported by white-marble plinths carved with narrative scenes on four sides. According to L'Orange's reconstruction, all five columns were in a straight line on the renewed Augustan rostra (as reconstructed by UCLA ETC Lab shown in the Figure 2.39).<sup>271</sup> The central, larger column carried a statue of Jupiter and bore the *vicennalia imperatorum* inscription.<sup>272</sup> This was flanked by a pair of *augustorum vicennalia* columns topped with statues of the two *augusti*, Diocletian and Maximian (or their *genii*). On their sides were the Caesar columns bearing statues of Galerius and Constantius Chlorus. The column bearing the statue of Jupiter could have had slightly different qualities, yet it is generally believed, in reference to the *adlocutio* frieze, that it could also have resembled the Tetrarchs's columns. The porphyry for the larger-than-life-sized statues

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in 1938 behind the curia in the Roman Forum. Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 9, argues that all three pieces could have come from the same workshop.

<sup>268</sup> Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrywerke* 56; Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulendenkmal*, 11.

<sup>269</sup> For a long discussion on the iconography of *genii* and their function on the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*, see H. Wrede, "Der genius populi Romani und das Fünfsäulendenkmal der Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum," *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* 181 (1981): 121-142.

<sup>270</sup> Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 414. The patera is a broad, shallow dish for pouring libations and the cornucopia is a large horn-shaped container overflowing with flowers or nuts.

<sup>271</sup> F. Cairolì Giuliani and P. Verduchi offered a slightly different reconstruction. Here, the columns stood atop the rostra in a straight rather than curved line. See F. Cairolì Giuliani and P. Verduchi, *L'area centrale del Foro Romano* (Florence 1987), 156.

<sup>272</sup> L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal," 19-20.

that represented the emperors was probably similar as well. As such, the “inner” hierarchic structure of the Tetrarchs was represented by the simple, concentric design of the columns.

This spot has many other topographical references due to its close proximity to the Curia, the Senate House, the Temple of Concordia, and the Temple of Saturn. All of these proximity relations explicitly embedded the monument in Roman history and topography. The Tetrarchs’s rebuilding of the Curia and the placement of this ceremonial monument nearby reveal their wish to be also in accord with the Senate. Anyone exiting the Senate or standing in anywhere of the public open plaza of the Forum would have immediately seen the five dominating columns and the ever-present Tetrarchs above. This urban arrangement shows that they made good use of the symbolic capital of Rome when they built their monuments in the ancient city.

Considering these spatial relations, Wrede viewed this particular installation spot for the honorific monument as an attempt to produce a location where the Tetrarchs “experienced the moment of their birth.”<sup>273</sup> As such, the birthplace of Rome, adjacent to both Umbilicus and the Lapis Niger, was the birthplace of the Tetrarchs as well.

What is most remarkable about the urban context of this monument is that the construction of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* triggered the building of other column monuments in the Roman Forum, and more significantly, it established the columns as focal points of civic events and processions. More columnar screens started to have been installed on other sides of the Forum space. As the first step, another rostral tribune was constructed by Diocletian in front of the Temple of Julius Caesar.<sup>274</sup> Five columns likewise crowned this structure, perfectly symmetrical to those of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* (Figure 2.40).

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<sup>273</sup> Wrede, “Der genius populi Romani,” 138.

<sup>274</sup> On Rostra Diocletiani, see J.P. Adam, *Roman Building: Material and Techniques* (Routledge, 1994); Giuliani and Verduchi, *L’Area Centrale*, 119-122 ; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 334-335; E.M. Steinby, “Rostra Diocletiani,” in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae II* (Rome: Quasar, 1995), 217-218.

Aside from these two platforms, a group of seven column monuments was added along the southern side of the Forum in front of the Basilica Julia, whose original date and donor is still debatable (Figure 2.41).<sup>275</sup> In late antiquity, each of these bases was at least 4m high and sheathed with marble slabs, as indicated by dowel holes. Two columns, one of pavonazzo and another of gray granite, were reerected in 1899 after their discovery near these monumental bases. Today, only the brick constructions of the massive square plinths are visible. Fragments of another pink-granite column were discovered nearby by Giuliani and Verduchi in 1987.<sup>276</sup> Since the other column monuments in the Forum supported statues, it is likely that *togate* sculptures once surmounted these seven columns.<sup>277</sup> Three different brick stamps from these plinths date variously to the reigns of Diocletian, Maxentius, and Constantine, indicating a *terminus post quem* for the installation of the columns. However, since both Maxentius and Constantine continued to use bricks fabricated under Diocletian, the seven columns might still have been part of the Tetrarchic campaign.

## 2.6 Comparisons and comments

Column monuments from antiquity reveal a wide diversity. The abundant visual evidence and the scarce textual counterparts reveal a rich palette of similarities and differences thus it is not easy to draw sharp conclusions from them. In relation to the study of the colossal columns of Constantinople, four aspects are of special relevance: architectural qualities, urban qualities, the impact of such qualities on skylines, and issues of representation.

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<sup>275</sup> A. Claridge, et al., eds. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 89, argued that “Constantine or Maxentius are more likely than Diocletian to have wished to erect another seven statues (and possibly eight, if we count the Phocas Column).” On the other hand, Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 43, asserted that the mix of Maxentius’ and Constantine’ brick stamps could be explained if Constantine reworked a preexisting set of honorific columns. Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 116, proposed that the seven columns suggested an imperial concept distinct from that of five-column monument; she speculates that the statuary lining the south side of the forum asserted an ideology associated with the propaganda of Maxentius.

<sup>276</sup> Giuliani and Verduchi, *L’area centrale*, 162-167.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-173.

Architecturally, there are some basic commonalities. A column monument essentially consists of five parts: the socle, the base or pedestal, a shaft (monolithic or composed of several drums), a capital, and some kind of support for the statue at the top along with the statue itself. Except for the Column of Naxos, the examples I reviewed carry statues of individuals (and gods). Bronze seems to have been a common medium for both Greek and Roman statues. There are examples where Ionic and Doric capitals (the Column of Aesquillia Polla and the coin representations of Republican rostral columns respectively) carry those statues, but the Corinthian style seems to have been widespread starting from the first century AD. Always rectangular, the bases of these monuments are sometimes combined with stepped understructures or placed on a platform of a certain height. Concerns related to visibility or the particular visual relations between nearby structures could have been the reasons for such arrangements, as we see in the monument of Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe II, the Column of Lambaesis, and the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*.

In earlier generations, when columns were praised, the scale was commonly stressed with being monolithic. A recent study by Yegül highlights a “boasting” column from the eastern colonnade of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis. The inscription carved on the bottom molding reads: “My torus and my foundation block are carved from a single block of stone ...”<sup>278</sup> The case was no different with freestanding columns. The shafts were usually monolithic. Precious materials were used in their construction, as the red granite was one of the most favored, especially for monolithic column monuments. The Column of Antoninus Pius (50 RF/14.75m), Diocletian’s Column in Alexandria (70 RF/20.75m), and the Columns of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* (36 and 40 RF/10.53 and 12.1m) are magnificent red-granite pieces.<sup>279</sup> The only other monolith is the textually documented Column of Julius Caesar, which was

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<sup>278</sup> F. K. Yegül, “A Victor’s Message: The Talking Column of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis,” *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 73:2 (2014), 204.

<sup>279</sup> Within the dissertation 1 RF (Roman foot) is about 0.295m.

constructed using Numidian marble, a golden-yellow stone crossed by purple veins. This marble was considered highly valuable as late as the Tetrarchic era; in the price edict of Diocletian (issued in AD 301), it was ranked third among the building stones, after red and green porphyry.<sup>280</sup> It seems likely that, beside the material value, being monolithic may indicate further meanings such as great technological skills or divine associations in emulation of the obelisks. In other monuments, however, reaching higher had the preference over other desirable ends. Shafts were composed of marble drums of various sizes. The size of the shaft, in turn, determines the dimensions and architecture of the base/pedestal.

The bases of column monuments function as more than appropriately scaled support structures. The base is at eye level with the viewer; hence, it has the advantage of directly communicating with the audience. Consequently, starting with the equestrian column monuments in Delphi, inscriptions became a part of the base architecture. Around the first century, the inscriptions became closer to eye level, thus enhancing the monument's effect of the on viewer. The text was sometimes inscribed in a *tabula ansata*, as in the Column of Trajan; in other cases, the text would occupy one whole side of the pedestal, as in the Column of Antoninus Pius. The readability and visibility of these inscriptions would have been enhanced by the addition of color and metal attachments, like that of the Tetrarchic columns in Luxor.

The differences between column monuments are as important as their similarities. First, size matters for column monuments (Table 1). Three of the columns, one monolithic and two drum columns, are colossal in scale. Diocletian's Column in Alexandria, on one hand, is one of the largest monolith columns ever erected at 70 RF/20.75m. Its diameter is 2.7-2.8m, and the total height with the pedestal reaches up to 26m. Including their pedestals and statues, the

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<sup>280</sup> On the edict see, E.R. Graser, "A text and translation of the Edict of Diocletian", in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome Volume V: Rome and Italy of the Empire*, ed. T. Frank (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), 305-421; S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284-324* (Clarendon Press, 2000), 205-233.

Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, on the other hand, measure over 40m in height. It is important to remember that the Pantheon's oculus is 43.3m tall and the height of the outer wall of the Coliseum is 48m.<sup>281</sup> According to Pliny the Elder, the colossal bronze statue of Emperor Nero was 106.5 RF (30.3m) in height, though Suetonius put it at 37m.<sup>282</sup> The colossal scale in turn lends autonomy to the respective parts of these column monuments. The individual components are also impressively scaled. The columns proper (including bases and capitals) of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius measure almost 100RF (29.5m) in height. The diameter of the very heavy column drums in both the columns is 3.7m. The pedestal of Trajan's Column stands at 5.27m; that of Marcus's monument is almost exactly twice as tall (10.52m). The latter pedestal is in fact taller than the overall elevation of the Column of Jupiter at Mainz.

In fact, several other remarkable features set these two columns apart from the rest. First, the complex interiors of these columns ensure that the parts, stairs, doors, windows, and balconies, remain committed to the whole. The interior of Trajan's includes three small rooms in the pedestal and a spiral staircase in the hollowed-out drums that runs up to the platform at the top. In Aurelius's monument, the extra chambers are missing but a vestibule led toward the similar staircase. In this method of subtraction, chunks of "solid" material were removed, creating space for the visitor, which would have been impossible with a monolithic column.

Next is the decorative program of both columns: the unprecedented spiral relief covering the entire exterior surfaces of the shafts. The continuous bands of narrative relief that wind around both shafts not only transform the perception of the columns but demand a new relation between the viewer and the architecture of the columns. The height of the columns makes it impossible to see the entire relief; to view even a portion of the narrative illustrated in succeeding scenes would involve continuous movement around the column. The form of the

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<sup>281</sup> Rasch, Jürgen "Die Kuppel in der römischen Architektur. Entwicklung, Formgebung, Konstruktion, *Architectura*". *Architectura* 15 (1985): 119.

<sup>282</sup> Suetonius, *Nero*, 31; Pliny, *Natural History*, 34. 45.

narrative frieze also emphasizes continuity, and the only way to view the relief is to repeatedly circle the column. This produces a significant spatial and visual limitation in experiencing the monument. Even today, people must go around the column when approaching it.<sup>283</sup>

Last differentiation concerns the reliefs on the pedestal. In the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, the pedestal was often used as a support to display symbols of victory: spoils taken from the enemy. Using spoils with the victory columns is hardly an innovation. Earlier, the shafts of the Republican *columnae rostratae* had carried the prows of enemy warships. The rams were tectonically added to the architecture of the columns, contributing to the visual realization of their meanings. This practice indicates the value placed on the material, size, and place of origin of the spoils. Such additions rendered the columns themselves as booty. However, with the second-century Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, it was important to display the narrative of the battle in addition to objects symbolizing the victory. The Forum of Trajan, for example, was built *ex manubiis*, meaning that the Forum itself can be visualized as a form of spoils. Within this composition, no real spoils are used in or near the Column but are clearly represented on the pedestal. A number of these representations cover the 5m facades of the Column's pedestal that stood in the viewer's direct line of sight. No such monumental setting was planned for the Column of Marcus Aurelius, yet its base also represents war spoils while the shaft is reserved for the continuous narrative of the war campaign. It is most certain that beneath these advertisements of the military campaigns lied the emperors' propagandistic concerns while building in the capital city, such as the justification of taxation, or maintaining political stability.

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<sup>283</sup> Beside these differences from the other column monuments, the two columns differ from each other in important terms. Some of them are as follows. The forerunner, the Column of Trajan, has shorter frieze than the one on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The Aurelian frieze was carved more deeply than the former, which in fact, is accepted as an attempt to increase the visibility. Another important difference lies in the degree of detail and the complexity of the scene composition. Trajan has a higher level of detailing.

Finally, I would like to discuss a few of the urban characteristics. First, all column monuments benefited from the power of the site since proximity to a prominent monument would enrich the power of the honored and the sponsor. The Hellenistic columns at Delphi dominated the view from afar, while monumental plinths carrying equestrian statues framed the temple visually and physically when one reached the temple terrace. In Roman cities, column monuments occupied political areas. It seems there was a relationship between the ruler's public address and the column monument symbolizing his victory. In the early Empire, warship rams that were once affixed to Maenius's speaking podium were attached to Augustus's rostral column. Remarkably, Hadrian's Column in Lambaesis was itself a monument commemorating the text of the speech. Finally, the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* appeared as the official background for Emperor Constantine's public addresses, which was not long after represented in the Arch of Constantine.

Second, a number of monuments suggest a certain link between the forum space and the freestanding column. Such columns include those of Sagalassos, the Republican columns around the Comitium, the Column in the Forum of Tiberius in Antioch, the Column at the City Gate of Jerusalem, the Column of Trajan within the Imperial Forum, the Column of Diocletian, the Tetrarchic installation of columns on the rostra, and the seven columns on the southern side of the Roman Forum. While these examples represented diverse urban functions, all of them affected phenomenological perceptions of the urban open-air spaces. They were situated as either focal points or boundary elements. The Sagalassos Columns, for example, formed the corners of the political agora and witnessed law courts and other city business. Although small in size, the Library Court at the Forum of Trajan created a monumental and dramatic setting for the emperor's column/tomb. As the focal point of the entrance court at the City Gate of Jerusalem, the column seen in the Madaba Map welcomed visitors to the city and immediately established the city's identity. The Column of Diocletian in the Roman courtyard of Serapeum

dominated the visual field from both approaches and functioned as a landmark, maybe even emulating the Pharaohs of Alexandria.

This brings me to my next point: the narrative component of the column monuments. Including the inscribed text, this category refers to any depiction of an event related to either the erection of the column or the reason behind its erection, such as a victory, a funeral, or a private accomplishment. The brief survey above showed that, from the beginning, most column monuments were related to an event. In fact, some columns were specifically involved in a processional event, and they depicted the memorable scenes from the event. Not surprisingly, such an event was usually held around or in front of the column monument. Some of these presentations hint at stationary occasions in which an ensemble of ritual actors performed on some kind of fixed stage, as found in the apotheosis scene of the Column of Antoninus Pius. Others recorded processional or ambulatory events in which ritual actors (with or without an audience) moved in a promenade or parade, as seen on the other two sides of Pius's Column.

Such a link can be traced in many of them. The column monument of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II defined the eastern edge of the processional ground in Olympia. The monuments in Delphi were placed on the sacred way, along which hymns were sung to Apollo and booty was carried up to the temple. The *columna rostrata* is by definition connected with triumphal celebration because it had warship rams attached to its body, and such spoils were perhaps thought of as key elements in Roman triumphal processions. In the Forum of Trajan, scenes from the victory procession—of soldiers and prisoners—were registered on the monumental column, while booty was placed on the pedestal. The same is true for that of Marcus Aurelius but with more deeply carved relief frieze—certainly an attempt to increase visibility. Along with other monuments along the Via Flaminia, this column greeted the victorious emperor and his procession walking toward the Forum. In Luxor, any procession determined to reach the temple would have passed one of the two Tetrarchic column groups. In Lambaesis, the Column

commemorated not only the presence of Emperor Hadrian but also the actual content of his address. On November 20, 303, Diocletian and Maximian both arrived in Rome to celebrate their *vicennalia* and the *decennalia* of the two Caesars.<sup>284</sup> To commemorate the event, the single freestanding column was multiplied by five—for the four Tetrarchs and Jupiter—and placed on the rostra in the Forum. On the day of the event, the emperors probably stood in front of their ceremonial monument, addressed the people, and continued with the rest of the celebrations in other parts of the city. The columns were smaller than some of the examples discussed here, yet the height of the rostra embellished with booty must have suffused them with added monumentality, in both literal and symbolic terms.

In fact, the self-representation of the Tetrarchs through column monuments differed radically from anything that had come before. The particular importance of the Tetrarchic columns that is of special relevance related to the differentiation of Constantinopolitan columns, besides their colossal scale, is the material characteristics and urbanistic and organizational principles. Seen in the Column of Diocletian in Alexandria or in the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* in Rome, the freestanding Tetrarchic column monument suggested new directions both by multiplying itself and by gaining urban functions such as volume and border definition - very different from the ornamental columns of early Rome, or the colossal columns of the second century. All these qualities generated precedence for several points to discuss in the following pages.

## **2.7 The Tetrarchic turn in the column monument – an evolving meaning**

The freestanding column was an architectural object shared by most of the Greek and Roman cities, yet the examples above indicate that the late antique transformation of the pagan column monument started with Tetrarchy.

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<sup>284</sup> *Panegyrici Latini*, 6.8.7.

By the time of Tetrarchs, the architecture of the monument clearly reflected the ideology of the Empire. Building programs specifically involved honorific monuments representing their desire to achieve a group identity and communicate their power and policies to a massive and diverse empire. This is also seen in various other programs such as the five statues standing on high pedestals at the Porta Aurea of Diocletian's Palace at Split—or the monument for the four Tetrarchs set up in front of the Temple of Hadrian in Ephesus.<sup>285</sup> The image of the four emperors was stamped on every coin and thus reached the most remote corners of the Empire. The four-column monuments of Luxor and Arae Philaenorum had similar purposes. Obviously, their congenial presence was meant to be felt in Rome as well. In fact, no purely honorific or triumphal monuments had been built in the Forum since the Arch of Severus in AD 203. The fire in 283 not only necessitated restorations but in fact made them possible. Diocletian had a personal interest in building honorific and ideologically charged monuments, as ideological stability and credibility were necessary for the government's continuation. In that sense, the Five-column monument had been illustrative of the political ideology of *concordia* in the first place. Multiple yet equal emperors dominated the main public space of the capital. The isolated use of the commemorative column, as with the Column of Trajan, was multiplied here with one reserved for each emperor. In addition, the solid, symmetrical composition with its internal relations (e.g., having the Caesar on the side of his Augustus, or the cross relation with the Caesar on the side of the other half's Augustus) strengthened faithfulness and bonding—all of these features suggested *concordia* in architectural terms. Moreover, placing the monument on the rostra also indicates the ruler's propagandistic approach—it even suggests the idea of branding. The rostra was a key monument highly visible to Roman citizens. It was the area where early Republican rulers usually stood and addressed the inhabitants of Rome, most likely in front of the rostral column. For centuries, it had been a well-established stage for imperial

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<sup>285</sup> For the palace, see Sheila McNally, *The architectural ornament of Diocletian's Palace at Split*. Tempus Reparatum, 1996. For Ephesus, see F. Miltner, "XXII. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesus," *Jahreshefte Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut* 44 (1959), 266-290.

power and power-claiming column monuments. Thus, it was the spot par excellence to announce the brand new imperial composition.

As seen in the first part of this chapter, during Republican times there were honorary columns supporting honored individuals, such as the gilded statue of Augustus on top of a rostral column. The monumental columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and the relatively stumpy Column of Antoninus Pius followed this tradition during the Imperial Period. All of these columns, the first two in particular, represented a magisterial solitude expressing the autocratic power of the emperor. Diocletian's contemporary Column in Alexandria, in fact, followed this tradition as well, of standing alone against the Temple of Serapis. Yet, in Rome, Diocletian and the Senate adopted the old genre—probably looking back to the rostral columns—and yet they multiplied the columns and presented a coherent design using the rule of *similitudo*. That is, all the Tetrarchs were meant to be represented in the same manner so that a certain homogeneity and balance would be achieved in the composition. The reliefs of the so-called Tetrarchs in Venice is a well-known example of this practice (Figure 2.42). It is a porphyry sculpture of four Tetrarchs who look roughly the same, except that two have beards, probably representing the older *augusti*, while the two without beards represent the younger *caesars*. A subtle hierarchy is implied within the similarities. The sculpture does not present four individual portraits but rather a united whole representing the concept of Tetrarchy. Mostly because of the hardness of the porphyry, the rigid figures with nearly identical faces and clothing are not realistic but geometric and abstract, which visually communicates a sense of structural stability. Similarly, the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* had similar, abstract characteristics with a symmetrical organization: pink-granite columns supported by white-marble plinths, porphyry, and over-life-sized statues—emphasizing *concordia* and *similitudo*.

Unlike the second-century honorary columns, the narrative component in Tetrarchic columns was placed at the bottom of the monument on the sides of the pedestal. Different from

the spiral reliefs, these column shafts were stripped of narrative and left naked. The red granite shaft of the Column in Alexandria, for example, did not have any relief or inscription. Neither the socle nor the pedestal had sculptural decoration. Instead it surmounts a molded base that was composed of a collection of reused building materials including blocks with hieroglyphics and Greek inscriptions.<sup>286</sup> There, the spolia integrated in the architecture of the Column was the means of narrative. In this way, as recently argued by Balzotti and Crosby, the Column rewrote a Roman victory narrative over the sacred Alexandrian landscape of Serapeum.<sup>287</sup> In similar manner, the narrative component of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* were reserved for the base, not around the shaft. The ritual events were summarized with four scenes representing real-life processions and sacrifices the emperors took part in. In these scenes, the observer could really see the emperor in action. Higher up, however, the porphyry statues of the emperors were situated in more abstract terms, without referring to repeating traditional events like the *souvetaurilia*, always in league with the guiding god Jupiter.

My interpretation of these two different characterizations draws upon Rees's reading of the pictorial representation of the Tetrarchs in the hall of the Temple of Luxor, Ammon (Figure 2.43).<sup>288</sup> In her reading, the walls of the temple hall were covered with depictions of the procession of the Tetrarchs, and the niche in the middle was reserved for symbolic representations of the emperors, which were not bound to a specific time or place. I suggest that a similar separation occurs in three-dimensional terms in the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*.

During ritual and more specifically political events, the statues on top of the columns were the center of attention representing the Tetrarchy in their strength, symbolic unity, and imperial power. At the bottom, the ritual events held around the monument were depicted on

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<sup>286</sup> For an image of the base, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/7945858@N08/2341148749> and [http://www.finerareprints.com/print\\_detail.html?stock\\_no=19507](http://www.finerareprints.com/print_detail.html?stock_no=19507).

<sup>287</sup> J. M. Balzotti and R. B. Crosby, "Diocletian's Victory Column: Megethos and the Rhetoric of Spectacular, Disruption," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 44:4 (2014), 323–342.

<sup>288</sup> Roger Rees, "Images and Image: A Re-examination of Tetrarchic iconography," *Greece & Rome* 40:2 (1993), 181–200.

the bases of the columns. Although placed at the top of the rostra, they still connected with the audience below, more so than the statues high in the air. The latter were more prominent to those spectators further away in the forum or to those approaching the Forum from the Via Sacra or from the Capitoline Hill; yet this was exactly the kind of perception required by the abstract quality of the statues. The material and location already communicated with the spectators without revealing the fine details or individual characteristics of each emperor. They symbolically expressed Roman grandeur and technique while embracing the diverse people below, promoting the idea that the Empire had a stable structure supported by four rulers and their divine patronage. What combined these symbolic and narrative representations was the vertical continuum achieved by the material quality of the tall column shaft.

My final point pertains to the way Tetrarchic column monuments radically transformed their immediate surroundings and the urban perception. For the Alexandrian column, this was achieved through the colossal scale and the consequent visibility in the skyline. This Column was placed within the newly reconstructed site of the Roman Serapeum. Access to the court was provided by two gates, one on the east side of the hill with a staircase of approximately 100 steps, and another from the north where Street R8 used to enter the area. By placing the Column at the center of attention for all possible sides of approach to the high grounds of the Serapeum, Diocletian, or his representatives in Alexandria, used local ways to announce the virtues of the emperor literally to everyone. Especially for anyone approaching from the Gate of the Sun - the spot where Diocletian placed his camp during the siege of the city – the Roman Column was highly visible. In fact, the Roman historian Aphthonius confirmed its effect on visitors in the second half of the fourth century AD:

And in the center, there rises a column of surpassing height that renders the location recognizable. Someone leaving would not at all know where he was heading, were he not to use the column as a reference point for his journey—and

the Acropolis visible to land and sea. The “beginnings of the world” (archai ton onton) are positioned around the capital of the column.<sup>289</sup>

The Column of Diocletian (70 RF/20.75m) was the largest freestanding column constructed outside Rome, so the idea of magnificence created with the height was architecturally associated with the victory over Alexandrian revolt. Consequently the new Column dominated other buildings in the Serapeum, even including the Temple, and changed the way the city and the precinct was seen from land and sea. Here, the visibility of the column extended the limits of the city and reached even to travelers on the land route or to ships on the sea miles away. This interpretation has a twofold character: one which refers to the extent to which the column was registered in the collective memory and became a landmark by rendering the city recognizable; and another which is more spatially oriented and focuses on the formal or informal ways in which people used the column as an orientation device. The column was as significant as the Acropolis.

The *Fünfsäulendenkmal*, on the other hand, had less scenic advantage over the Alexandrian column, yet was highly visible in and around the Forum. That is, in Diocletian’s Roman Forum, the column became a perceptual boundary element defining the volumetric space of both the ceremonial monument at the top of the rostra, and more importantly, the open area itself. The relatively less defined edges of the second-century Forum were redefined first by the columns of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*, then by the similar columnar arrangement of the eastern rostra, and finally by the Seven Columns later in the third century. As such, in addition to the Tetrarchs looming in the sky over the Forum, the two short ends were perforated with columns, assuming that the seven honorary columns on the southern side were established later. These screens along three sides of the Forum reframed the central area. It radically transformed the appearance and fixed its boundaries with a new rigidity. E. Marlowe suggests

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<sup>289</sup> Aphthonius, *A Description of the Temple of Alexandria in the Midst of the Acropolis*, trans., A. T. Reyes from Aphthonii Progymnasmata, ed. H. Rabe (1926), 38-41.

that the great Forum of Trajan with its axially ordered, porticoed vistas was the model for such a reconfiguration.<sup>290</sup> I would argue, however, that the immediate urban settings of these columns differ significantly. In the Roman Forum, the idea was to emphasize the borders to provide a sense of contained space—exactly like the space defined in-between the Venice Tetrarchs where the senior emperor’s arm is on the younger one’s shoulder. Likewise, this columnar boundary created a different spatial effect than that of the solid walls of Trajan’s Forum: not physical and exclusive but visual and inviting. Here, deployed on a more modest scale, the columns represented the whole ruling body together in a regularized and approachable public space.

As such, this limited survey demonstrated that the third century column monuments unfolds a Tetrarchic turn in the architecture of column monuments. This reevaluation was a prelude to the next chapter that will try to analyze and reveal the multivalent messages conveyed by the later columns in Constantinople. Two aspects will appear of special relevance: the colossal scale and the urban visibility, especially in the skyline.

Before passing to the next chapter, however, one last column, the lost Column of Diocletian in Nicomedia, deserves particular attention in both its temporal and geographical proximity to the Column of Constantine, the first colossal column erected in Constantinople. Lactantius (lived 250-325) noted that the ceremony of Nicomedia in 305, in which Diocletian announced his retirement and appointed the new Augusti and Caesars, took place in front of a “column with a statue of Jupiter.” When or how was it erected in the Tetrarchic capital is unknown. No archaeological data or other textual references are available, yet the middle column of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* might be suggested as a precedent (or successor) emphasizing the bond between Diocletian and Jupiter. In Rome, the idea of divine relation was embedded onto the four ruler discourse but in Nicomedia, in Diocletian's Tetrarchic residence,

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<sup>290</sup> E. Marlowe, “*That Customary Magnificence which is Your Due*”: *Constantine and the Symbolic Capital of Rome* (Unpublished PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004), 102.

relatively free from imperial conventional formulas, the emperor isolated the idea and most probably operated within a personal propaganda to be memorable even after he was retired.

Whether the Column was similar to the ones in the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*, or was it a superior column similar to the colossal Column of Diocletian in Alexandria is uncertain. However, it is likely that Diocletian's Column in Nicomedia was probably highly visible, not only in terms of scale or in terms of distinguishing material, but also due to its relation with the emperor's last speech. It is known that the freestanding column became a highly visible post, not only to announce public information – as the Column of C. Maenius, but also to give an oration to citizens and visitors – as it was the case with the Hadrian's Column in Lambaesis. The latter was later used to commemorate the very same event by recording the emperor's words as a monumental text on four sides its base. The soon to be sole ruler of the Empire, Constantine the Great witnessed (or not) Diocletian's retirement ceremony in Nicomedia but it is well established that for the reign of Constantine, Rome and Tetrarchic capitals could be well accepted as influential to his vision on urban landscape. I strongly argue this was particularly and increasingly relevant with regard to reinstalling the Greco Roman pagan freestanding column in his new capital.

## CHAPTER 3

### Constantinopolitan columns and the emerging “columnscape”

Although the Tetrarchic government collapsed a few years after Diocletian’s retirement, the manner in which the emperor was depicted was permanently changed when Constantine became the sole ruler of the western half of the Empire, as well as the sole defender of its borders. Despite keeping his father’s capital near the German border for himself, he was about to create his own capital in Constantinople. In a society where cultural knowledge and memory are to a large extent preserved, transmitted and exchanged by means of architecture, alongside with oral and verbal communication, copies or models can be described as the most powerful stylistic and literary devices employed by Constantine. This way, a certain narrative, a particular cultural context wider than those that were literally transferred from one to the other, would be conveyed more smoothly. The new sole emperor reframed and renewed the material fragments of Roman imperial history to relate his new city with *an* acknowledged history. Following the Tetrarchic era and its political motive to initiate new regulations, Constantine’s reign established radical ways of thinking on all levels of Roman society - not only in religious matters, politics, and philosophy, but also in architecture and urban design. He used formulas/familiar schemes to liken, or sometimes to equate, Rome or other Tetrarchic capitals, as well as to establish a connection between them. In 330, in the final phase of *the translatio imperii*, during the foundation of the Constantinople, one of the formative elements of his new urban agenda was announced ceremonially: an honorary column out of porphyry.

Unquestionably, the act of inscribing an imperial commemorative rhetoric onto a freestanding column monument was not a novel idea. Constantine transformed and inserted the Tetrarchic column monument into the urbanscape of his new spacious metropolis. More specifically, he combined the Alexandrian Column’s crowning of the skyline, which was a local style that emerged from the Greco-Roman history of the site, with that of the pure ideological

nature of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*; and built his Column as the ultimate imperial icon of the new capital (Table 1). I now examine the Constantinopolitan columns and investigate the innovative design principles of the “new” Constantinopolitan column.

### 3.1 The Column of Constantine

The colossal Column of Constantine, the oldest and most prestigious column in the city (Figure 1.3) was erected in 328 as part of the foundation rituals declaring Roman Byzantium as the *Nova Roma*, the new capital of the Roman Empire.<sup>291</sup> Still intact, it is located on Yeniçeriler Caddesi in Istanbul along the Divan Yolu (the old Ottoman ceremonial avenue that sat on the same course as the Byzantine Mese).

The monumental Column was mentioned in various textual sources and illustrations. Ancient testimonies, from Socrates in the fifth century to Byzantine poet John Tzetzes in the twelfth century, refer to different aspects of the Column.<sup>292</sup> Besides its contemporary representation in the fourth-century *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Figure 1.2), there are many other drawings of the Column. In the *Freshfield Album*, a sixteenth-century manuscript focusing on the architecture and ancient monuments of Constantinople, there is an image of the Column depicting the base and shaft in detail (Figure 3.1).<sup>293</sup> Another drawing representing the base was included among the drawings of Melchior Lorichs dating from 1561 (Figure 3.2).<sup>294</sup> From the seventeenth century, there are two anonymous watercolors found in Dresden’s Kupferstich-Kabinett, published in R. Delbrück’s *Antike Porphyrwerke*.<sup>295</sup> There is an anonymous engraving describing a Turkish festival in the former Forum of Constantine found in the National Library

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<sup>291</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 528 and 573.

<sup>292</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, 17; Hesychios, 41; Malalas, *Chronicle*, 321; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 125-126 and 222; George Harmatolos, 500; Patria II, 45; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 87 and 254, Anna Komnena in *Alexiad* XII, 4; Zonaras III, 17-18; Michael Glykas, 464; Nikephoros Kallistos VII, 49; John Tzetzes in *Chiliades* VIII, 192.

<sup>293</sup> Trinity College Library, Cambridge, MS 0117.2, folio I

<sup>294</sup> Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, Pen and brown ink. 434x335 mm. Inv. no.: KKSgb5473

<sup>295</sup> See, R. Delbrück’s *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1932), 142-143, fig. 58-59.

in Vienna (Figure 3.3).<sup>296</sup> The Column stood in the background. The monument was depicted in the Ottoman water distribution maps as well. In the Koprulu Map (ca. 1672), it was emphasized in elevation, though with some exaggeration in height, within the rest of the urban fabric (Figure 3.4). Remarkably, it was painted in its original color.<sup>297</sup> A similar but simpler representation was also included in the nineteenth-century Bayezid Water Distribution Maps, this time on an accurate scale (Figure 3.5).<sup>298</sup> Furthermore, the Column of Constantine figured prominently in Buondelmonti's well-known bird's-eye views of the city of Constantinople, dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Figure 3.6). In the nineteenth century, the Column appeared in many travel guides, memoirs and exhibition catalogs (Figures 3.7-8). In 1867, a drawing of the Column prepared by Philip Anton Dethier was published in the exposition book, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* prepared by Selahaddin Bey, the head of the Ottoman commission for the International Exposition of 1867 held in Paris.<sup>299</sup> In fact, this monument was among the most popular Byzantine buildings included in the late Ottoman survey books written about Byzantine Constantinople. In 1912, Celal Esad Arseven, one of the first Ottoman art historians, prepared a cross-section of the Column for his book *Eski İstanbul: Abidat ve Mebanisi* [Ancient Istanbul: Monuments and Buildings], published in Ottoman Turkish (Figures 3.9).<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Published in Mango, *Studies*, III, fig. 1.

<sup>297</sup> Koprulu Water Distribution Map, Koprulu Library, inv. No: 2441/1, 2 folios. See, Kazım Çeçen, *Halkah Suları*, Istanbul Municipality, Istanbul, 1991, map no: 8; B. Ar, "Osmanlı Donemi Suyolları Haritalarında Roma ve Bizans Yapıları," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* (Istanbul, 2010): 15-29.

<sup>298</sup> Bayezid Water distribution maps, 140x188 cm., The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul, inv. no: 3339. See, Çeçen, *Halkah Suları*, map no: 6,

<sup>299</sup> For the drawing see, Salahaddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867: ouvrage publié par les soins et sous la direction de S. Exc. Salahaddin Bey* (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1867), 152. Philip Anton Dethier was a German scholar who arrived in Istanbul around 1847 as the director of the Austrian School. For more information see, Semavi Eyice "İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin İlk Direktörlerinden Dr. P.A. Dethier Hakkında Notlar" *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yılıhı* 9 (1960): 45-52.

<sup>300</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Eski İstanbul: Abidat ve Mebanisi* [Ancient Istanbul: Monuments and Buildings] (Istanbul, 1912).

The Swiss scholar E. Mamboury and his Danish colleague K. Vett performed excavations around and under the Column between 1929 and 1930. They published their field report along with a detailed plan and a cross-sectional drawing of the understructure (Figure 3.10). According to the section, the white-marble Column base rises from a 2m high, five-step socle situated 2.35m under the modern-day surface. The lowest step is 11.25m x 11.25m. The width of the upper surface of the steps reaches 8.25m at the highest level. The square pedestal of the Column is placed on this level and has a side length of 3.8m and a height of 6.5m. In fact, its relatively smaller surface area makes the upper step function as a wide platform of about 4.55m on each of the four sides.

The pedestal was represented in the *Freshfield* drawings and in a separate drawing by Melchior Lorichs dated 1561 (Figure 3.2). Here, there is a figural relief, a scene of *aurum coronarium*, on the north side.<sup>301</sup> In the relief, two winged victories stand symmetrically in the center. Between their heads is a bust of an unidentified emperor framed by a laurel wreath. He seems to wear a radiant crown. Underneath the two main figures, barbarians render homage and carry vessels of gold.<sup>302</sup> Aside from this drawing, however, none of the accounts of European travelers describe the Column comment specifically on the sculptural decoration of the base.<sup>303</sup> To cite Mango, this could be because some temporary structures were built against the base of the monumental Column.<sup>304</sup> The sixteenth-century Vienna drawing mentioned above exemplifies one such use and renders the facades of the base invisible (Figure 3.3).

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<sup>301</sup> A scene of *aurum coronarium* is a motif common in Roman and Byzantine bas-reliefs and it shows barbarians paying homage to the Emperor. For some examples, see the bottom panel in the Barberini Ivory and the Obelisk of Theodosius.

<sup>302</sup> For the description and the dating of the relief, see Josef Engemann, "Melchior Lorichs Zeichnung eines Säulensockels in Konstantinopel," in *Quaeritur, inventus colitur*. Miscellanea in onore di Padre Umberto Maria Fasola, BI (Vatican City, 1989), 255-256.

<sup>303</sup> Some of these authors might be found in Mango, *Studies*, II, 310.

<sup>304</sup> Mango, *Studies*, III, 1.

Seven cylindrical porphyry drums with an approximate height of 3.2m and a diameter of 2.9m comprise the shaft of the Column. Each drum is wreathed with laurel crowns that conceal the joints with the upper and lower drums.<sup>305</sup> While the origin of these drums is debatable, most scholars argue that they were not reused and most likely carved in situ.<sup>306</sup> In 416, a piece of one of the lower drums broke off causing the addition of bronze braces around all the blocks.<sup>307</sup> Now, the Column has a built masonry capital added by Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80); the original upper structure was probably composed of a Corinthian capital and a smaller statue base.<sup>308</sup> For the overall height, Mango suggests it was 34.8m above the present street level, or 37m above the original level of the Forum of Constantine.<sup>309</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, however, argues for a maximum height of 40m (from the original ground level) without counting the statue at the top.<sup>310</sup> This colossal height made the Column the largest of its type ever constructed in the Roman world, which will be shown in a comparative analysis at the end of this chapter.

The Column is the centerpiece of the Forum of Constantine and was raised at the city's most important intersection, just outside the main gate of the Severen city of Byzantion.<sup>311</sup> Mamboury found funerary remains approximately 1.5m below the ground of the Forum, supporting the idea that this area was used as an extramural necropolis in accordance with the Roman practice of burying the dead outside the city walls (Figure 3.10). In 324, the area was

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<sup>305</sup> Some ancient sources (Leon Grammatikos, 87; Patria III, 132; Michael Glykas IV, 164) mistakenly referred to the column as a monolith, probably to support the idea that it was brought from Rome. For three stories about the transformation of a "monolith" from Rome, see Mango, *Studies*, III, 5.

<sup>306</sup> Bassett, "Excellent offerings," 201.

<sup>307</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 573.

<sup>308</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 77-80, argues for a statue base similar to the one at the top of the Column of Marcian.

<sup>309</sup> Mango, *Studies*, II, 313.

<sup>310</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 128.

<sup>311</sup> On the archaeology of the Forum of Constantine: Mango, *Studies* III and IV; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 167-186; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 256, fig. 288; N. Firatlı, "Short Report on Finds and Archaeological Activities," *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 11-12 (1964) 207-209; Mamboury, "Le Forum de Constantin: la chapelle de St Constantin et les mystères de la Colonne Brulée. Resultats des sondages opérés en 1929 et 1930," in *Pepragmena tu Diethnus Byzantinologiku Synedriu Thessaloniki 1953* (Thessaloniki 1955), 275-280. See also K. Boyd, "Pierre Gilles and the Topography of Byzantium," in *In Myth to Modernity I Istanbul. Selected Themes*, eds. N. Başgelen and B. Johnson (Istanbul: Archeology and Art Publications, 2002), 9-11.

already inscribed in the cultural memory of the city as a burial ground outside of the *pomerium*—a passageway to the other world—as in many other Roman cities. When Constantine first arrived, he, or his entourage/soldiers, most likely waited there just before entering the city. This extraurban area received a significant facelift and became the most prestigious open area of the newly founded city. As the first hill was reserved for the mausoleum of the founder, Constantine’s planners and architects flattened the area of the second-highest point in the city as the common grounds for the emperor’s new forum. This area was monumentalized and chosen as the place of power with imperial tools and institutions explicitly designed to impress wide groups of people—free men, visitors, the army, and the faithful—and remind them of the emerging birth of the New Rome.

[The city of Byzantium] had formerly a gate, at the end of the porticos, which the emperor Severus built after he was reconciled to the Byzantines, who had provoked his resentment by admitting his enemy Niger into their city. ... Constantine built a circular market-place where the old gate had stood, and surrounded it with double roofed porticos, erecting two great arches of Praeconnesian marble against each other, through which was a passage into the porticos of Severus, and out of the old city. Intending to increase the magnitude of the city, he surrounded it with a wall which was fifteen stadia beyond the former, and inclosed all the isthmus from sea to sea.<sup>312</sup>

And he also built a Forum which was large and exceedingly fine; and he set in the middle a great porphyry column of Theban stone, worthy of admiration, and he set on the top of the same column a great statue of himself with rays of light on his head, a work in bronze which he had brought from Phrygia. The same emperor Constantine secretly took away from Rome the Palladion, as it is called and placed it in the Forum built by him, beneath the column of his monument, as certain of the Byzantines say who have heard it by tradition.<sup>313</sup>

As described by the fifth century *New History* and the seventh century *Chronicon Paschale*, the Forum was circular in shape and surrounded by two-story colonnades in white Proconnesian marble (Figure 3.11). Arched entryways at the west and east sides connected the new space to the Mese, the main colonnaded artery of the city. Bauer offered a circular sketched

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<sup>312</sup> Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, II, 32.

<sup>313</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 528.

plan of the Forum (largely accepted today) based mainly on textual data.<sup>314</sup> There was a Pantheon-like round Senate House in the north and an attached nymphaeum in the southwest. The Senate House had four large porphyry columns in its pronaos. A tribunal of the emperor was placed at the southeast side of the circle. Textual sources mention a chapel of Anastasia “slightly northeast of Constantine’s Forum in the portico of Domninus.”<sup>315</sup> Somewhere near the southeast area of the Forum was the Praetorium, the office of the city’s governor, to which a prison was attached.<sup>316</sup> In reference to this, Bauer believed the Column would have been in line with the Severan city gate, which was the termination point of the colonnaded avenue leading east to the heart of Roman Byzantium. The textual sources records that a common name for the forum of Constantine was *Plakoton* (paved square).<sup>317</sup> In addition, Fıratlı identified some wall pieces as parts of a cistern said to be near the Forum.<sup>318</sup> Bauer believes these remains might be considered as a boundary providing evidence of the exact dimensions of the Forum.<sup>319</sup> Accordingly, he used the central column and these foundations as reference points and suggested a diameter of 140m to 150m for the circular forum.

The construction and completion of the Column of Constantine was a monumental task. First, designers, workers, column drums, and the necessary machinery had to be transferred to the construction site, which was located on the second hill of the city outside the Severan city walls. At a quarry in the eastern Egyptian desert, atop a 1600m (mile-high) mountain, workers quarried the components of the monumental Column: seven solid porphyry drums, each weighing approximately 60 tons; blocks of marble for the pedestal; and the solid block for the

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<sup>314</sup> For the diagram see, Bauer, “Urban space and ritual,” 31, fig. 4.

<sup>315</sup> John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship in Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople from the Fourth to the Tenth centuries: The Origins, Development and the Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Unpublished PhD diss., Yale University, 1982), 331. For the architecture of the chapel, see Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 22-25.

<sup>316</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 29; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 169.

<sup>317</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 63.

<sup>318</sup> Nezhir Fıratlı and Tülây Ergil, “Divanyolu (Milion) sondajı,” *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 15-16 (1969): 199.

<sup>319</sup> Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 168.

Corinthian capital. These were shipped up to the Hellespont and the Propontis. While none of the ancient evidence indicates a marble yard in Constantinople, there were two possible harbors for unloading heavy marbles: Neorion or Proosphorion (Map 1). The former was a shipyard and functioned as a navy base while the latter was used to cross the strait. I propose that Neorion could have been more appropriate for offloading due to its military history. Once the stones were unloaded, masons began refining the stapes to lessen the weight transported within the city and minimize on-site work; in this case, however, the solid porphyry drums did not need elaborate work.

When the load arrived at the harbor, there was the problem of transferring it to the Forum area approximately 30m above the waterside. For this, we have no contemporary source or archaeological evidence, except the relief on the base of the Theodosian Obelisk (Figure 3.12). On the northeastern side of it, the lowest scene depicts the transportation of the obelisk by workers and some ropes to be use to raise the monument. A similar technique could have been used to carry the drums. Two primary routes could have handled such transport (dotted lines 1 and 2 in Map 1). The first was the path leading up the valley between the first and second hills, the modern-day Alemdar Yokusu. Wheeled vehicles could have followed the road up through the city center, entered city traffic near the Milion, and entered the construction site over the broad, straight Mese. The shops along the colonnaded street would not have been a problem since the Mese was thought to have been 26m wide. In addition, the spectacular nature of the transport could have been utilized as imperial propaganda. In Rome, Hadrian and the architect Decriannus raised Nero's colossal statue to an upright position and then moved it using 24 elephants, obviously designed as a spectacle for citizens.<sup>320</sup>

The other option would have been an extraurban route. Loaded wagons could have followed the line of the Severan city wall and carried the load up until the Severan city gate.

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<sup>320</sup> *HA. Had.* 19.12

Unlike the steep slope of the previous path, the slope here was more gradual and could have eased the movement of the overloaded wagons. Considering the weight and the mode of transport, busy streets —like the Portico of Domninus leading to the Golden Horn or the Regia, the part of the Mese between the Augusteion and the Severan city gate— would hardly have been a safe option for the load-carrying wagons. Hence, I propose the second path as the more feasible option.

Once the pieces were brought to the construction site, the base must have been assembled first, and then the work of lifting the column drums would have begun. Remarkably, the ground level of the Forum of Constantine was elevated 2.5m to convert this old necropolis area to a flat surface for the new Forum.<sup>321</sup> In Rome, such a vaulted substructure under the Forum of Trajan has been interpreted as a substructure to reinforce the ground against settling problems that might have been caused by the extraordinary weight of the colossal column.<sup>322</sup> Similar precautions must have been taken by Constantine’s planners as well.

The colossal bronze statue that originally surmounted the Column is known to have had the following features: It represented a man wearing a crown with seven rays.<sup>323</sup> He was holding a “spear” in his right hand that fell during the earthquakes of 541-42 and 554; this was replaced in the aftermath with a scepter.<sup>324</sup> The scepter was probably held upright with its lower end touching the ground.<sup>325</sup> The left hand held a globe that fell during the earthquakes of 477 and 869.<sup>326</sup> Mango thinks the original globe could have been surmounted by a miniature victory, though it is known that later replacements (the second or third, or both) were topped by a

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<sup>321</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 222; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 255.

<sup>322</sup> L. Lancaster, “Building Trajan’s Column,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999): 423.

<sup>323</sup> Malalas, *Chronicle*, 320; *Chronicon Paschale*, 528.

<sup>324</sup> About the falling spear, see Malalas, *Chronicle*, 486-7; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 222; Cedrenus, I, 656. Mango, *Studies*, III, 2, notes that the scepter told by Anna Comnena might be misleading because she was writing more than forty years later after the statue had disappeared.

<sup>325</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 202.

<sup>326</sup> Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 126; and Leo Grammaticus, 254.

cross.<sup>327</sup> The only contemporary visual evidence is the fourth-century Peutinger Map depicting the Column topped by a nude statue with a globe in one hand and a lance in the other, but lacking the radiated crown. For similar representations, L'Orange refers to a fourth-century bronze statuette fully dressed and wearing a rayed crown.<sup>328</sup> Bruns highlights another fourth-century artifact, a cameo showing Constantine in military dress with a radiated crown, holding a spear and the Roman palladium.<sup>329</sup> As such, the evidence is not conclusive and thus there are several different reconstructions – all presenting continued discussion for scholars working on the Column. (Figure 3.13).<sup>330</sup>

A word about the idiosyncratic aspects of this statue is in order. On the one hand, the radiant crown is suggestive of Helios, the personification of the sun in Greek mythology, who was commonly identified with Apollo. Hellenistic monarchies favored the radiant crown for representations of power and a sense of epiphany.<sup>331</sup> There are, for example, radiant depictions of Alexander.<sup>332</sup> The nudity seen in the Peutinger Table was also familiar from Hellenistic ruler portraiture, which emphasized divine nature.<sup>333</sup> In Roman mythology, it refers to Sol—specifically, Sol Invictus. A statue of Octavian with a radiated crown was erected on the Palatine after his posthumous divinization. Sol Invictus figured prominently in Constantinian propaganda as well. On his arch in Rome, statuettes of Sol Invictus are seen on the reliefs. Further, he was represented as a sun god on coins as late as 326. However, the fact that such

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<sup>327</sup> Mango, *Studies*, III, 3, note 7.

<sup>328</sup> L'Orange, *Kleine Beiträge zur Ikonographie Konstantins der Grossen* (Opuscula Romana 4, 1962), 102. The statuette is in National Museum, Copenhagen, inv. No 8040, published in Bassett, *The Urban Image*, plate 21.

<sup>329</sup> G. Bruns, *Staatskameen des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt* (Berlin, 1948), fig. 11. For the image, see Bassett, *The Urban Image*, plate 22.

<sup>330</sup> I am grateful to Tayfun Oner for allowing me to include his reconstructions prepared for Byzantium1200 project in this manuscript.

<sup>331</sup> R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 33.

<sup>332</sup> A. F. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (University of California Press, 1993), 246.

<sup>333</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 2004, 203.

coins disappeared just before the erection of the Column challenges the use of this numismatic evidence in support of the presence of a radiant crown.

Second, the presence of the orb and lance can be considered evidence for the unifying rule and power of the emperor. A further indication comes from the statue's similarity to the colossal radiated statues in Rhodes and Rome.<sup>334</sup> The former is an over 30m tall bronze statue of Sun god Helios, placed on the harbor entrance and represented Rhodes's "dominion over sea and land,"<sup>335</sup> while the latter was the well-known landmark of the Neronian Golden Age. Marlowe even shows that the latter played an important role while situating the emperor's arch in Rome's cityscape.<sup>336</sup> In her analysis of the urban context of the Arch of Constantine, she argues that the arch was built in alignment with the colossal statue of Nero so that the central opening would have framed it when looking from the direction of the main approach. Seen in this light, it could have been effective in the design of Constantine's Forum as well.<sup>337</sup>

A few scholars argue for a Christian context for the statue. In 1956, Karayanopoulos identified the radiant image as the divine Constantine and used this as evidence of the Christian identity of the New Rome.<sup>338</sup> Likewise, Barnes rejected any pagan notion in the foundation of the city, referring to testimony found in later Christian sources.<sup>339</sup> Zonaras, for example, related the rays of Constantine's crown to the nails with which Christ was crucified.<sup>340</sup> Sozomen and Theodoret mentioned that Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, discovered the True Cross in Jerusalem, left fragments of it in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, and

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<sup>334</sup> Bardill, *Constantine*, 166.

<sup>335</sup> From the dedicatory inscription of the Colossus, see *Anthologia Graeca* 4, 171.

<sup>336</sup> Marlowe, "Framing the sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 223–242.

<sup>337</sup> See Chapter 4.2 and 4.3 in this dissertation.

<sup>338</sup> Johannes Karayanopoulos, "Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult," *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 5 (1956): 341–357.

<sup>339</sup> Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 222–223.

<sup>340</sup> Zonaras, III, 17–18; see also *Patria* Book II, 45.

brought the nails to Constantinople.<sup>341</sup> According to the apocalypse of Andreas Salos, the presence of these nails in the crown of the statue meant that the last thing standing in Constantinople would be the Column itself.<sup>342</sup> Reportedly, a room at the foot of the Column contained a piece of the True Cross from Jerusalem and the palladium of ancient Rome (a wooden statue of Athena from Troy).<sup>343</sup> This collection contained other relics, including “the adze with which Noah had built the ark, the rock from which Moses had struck water, and the remains of the miraculous loaves with which Christ had fed the multitudes.”<sup>344</sup>

Leo Grammaticus, writing in the tenth century, said the Column bore an inscription reading “To Constantine, shining in the manner of the sun.”<sup>345</sup> H. Derschwam saw the inscription on the Column base in the mid-sixteenth century, but we cannot be certain that it read as Leo claims.<sup>346</sup> Janin accepted the label of Constantine-Helios yet noted a now-missing inscription from the base of the Column dedicating it to the city of Christ.<sup>347</sup> Bardill believes there was very likely an inscription suggesting that the Column was dedicated to the emperor by the Senate and the People of Constantinople, in the same formula as it might have appeared in the Imperial Rome.<sup>348</sup> According to Bardill, the inscription might have referred to the emperor’s luminosity, like the statue base in Leptis Magna with text referring to Constantine “radiating with his divinity” (*suo numine radiantem*), and the evidence of an inscription hailing Nero as

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<sup>341</sup> Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.28, 2.31, 4.15; Theodoret, 1.23.

<sup>342</sup> *Vita S. Andreae Sali*, PG, 111, cols. 837 C and 868B, translation from Lennart Rydén, “The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 222.

<sup>343</sup> J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople; recueil d'études, d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris 1951) 71-3; M. Karamouzi, “Das Forum und die Säule Constantini in Konstantinopel: Gegebenheiten und Probleme,” *Balkan Studies* 27:2 (1986): 222-3 note 19.

<sup>344</sup> G. M. A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine: The Cities of Western Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times* (Michigan University Press, 1975), 90.

<sup>345</sup> Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 177.

<sup>346</sup> Bardill, *Constantine*, 197.

<sup>347</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 62.

<sup>348</sup> Bardill, *Constantine*, 199.

“the new Helios lighting the Hellenes.”<sup>349</sup> It was a statue of Constantine having the same attributes as Sol, but not a statue of the emperor as the sun god Sol.

Certainly, an inscription would be invaluable for determining a precise meaning. For now, the bronze statue can be read as either that of an emperor or a god, or as argued by Mango, as a god-emperor.<sup>350</sup> In the final analysis, however, it is almost certain that its message was conveyed in pagan terms: with the globe in one hand and the spear in the other, Constantine indicated that military victory and world rule were the rewards granted by his solar protector with the radiated crown on his head. He stood at the highest place in the city as an omnipresent sight. No wonder he was called “Constantine Augustus, the all-seeing sun” by the pagan citizens of Termessos in Pisidia when they dedicated a statue in his honor.<sup>351</sup>

Thus far, there is no archaeological evidence of a room containing Christian relics. In 2002, Turkish architect Abdulkadir Akpınar, representing the restoration firm that worked on the Column between 2001 and 2003, said there is a massive 2.5m tall porphyry block underneath the five-step socle that measures 11m x11m.<sup>352</sup> A small chamber must have been carved within this block. From structural perspective, this seems less likely since, to my knowledge, there is no porphyry example that was hollowed out to create an inside chamber. The hardness of the marble would not allow such an operation. Nevertheless, even the possibility of such a chamber has already triggered interreligious readings since the Column reportedly held pagan and Christian relics.<sup>353</sup> In this view, the colossal column could have been considered as both a display device for the imperial bronze statue of Constantine at the top and as a container for holy relics at the bottom. I believe this situation parallels a similar duality

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid., note 499.

<sup>350</sup> Mango, *Studies*, III, 6.

<sup>351</sup> There was a statue dedicated to Constantine in Termessos in Pisidia, see Bardill, *Constantine*, 199, note 528.

<sup>352</sup> Personal conversation with Abdulkadir Akpınar, Jan 25, 2014, Istanbul.

<sup>353</sup> For an example, see N. Erkal, *Constantinople: a study on the city of Constantinople as the artifice of Constantine the Great's imperial project* (Unpublished Master Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 1995).

observed earlier in the emperor's career. In 315, his image on a medallion carried a Christogram in his helmet, yet his triumphal arch in Rome, roughly built at the same time, did not feature any Christian elements, but rather featured a medallion depicting Sol-Helios. It is likely that for his ideological view, Christ and Sol were surviving for the same purposes.

Sometime before the ninth century, a chapel called the Oratory of Constantine was added to the northern side of the pedestal. Nothing is known about the architecture of this chapel except that a doorway and window are mentioned in the *De Ceremoniis*.<sup>354</sup> In the twelfth century, Manuel I Komnenos made another set of additions by placing a built masonry capital composed of 10 courses of marble. He put a commemorative inscription that reads, "Faithful Manuel invigorated this holy work of art which has been damaged by time."<sup>355</sup> The Ottoman government removed the cross after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the Column was renovated by Sultan Selim I in the 1470s. Later, Sultan Mustafa II (ruled 1685-1704) reinforced the Column with iron bands and built the pedestal on which it still stands today. The Department of Surveying and Historical Monuments of Turkey prepared four restoration reports for the monument over a 20-year period starting in 1950s (Figure 3.14).<sup>356</sup> Modern restoration projects were held in 1971-1975 and 2001-2009 by Istanbul Municipality. During these operations, the porphyry drums and the masonry were cleaned, cracks on the shaft and the base were filled and the metal brackets around the blocks were renewed. Today the monument is in a good condition.

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<sup>354</sup> Mango proposed a reconstruction, including a proposal for the four arches that were reportedly known to be added around the base, see Mango, *Studies* IV, 108, fig. 1.

<sup>355</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG) 8790. For more information see, Mango, "The Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople: A Bibliographical Survey," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55 (1951), 62.

<sup>356</sup> Aygen Bilge, "Çemberlitaş ve Kıztaşının Onarımları," *Mimarlık* 8 (1972): 54-62.

### 3.2 The Column of Theodosius

The Column of Theodosius was situated in the emperor's Forum on the south side of the third hill. Its construction began in 387, and the crowning statue was placed on top in 393, a year after the dedication of the Forum.<sup>357</sup> In 480, a strong earthquake damaged the statue, and in 506 a bronze statue of Anastasius replaced that of Theodosius.<sup>358</sup> The *Notitia* locates the Column in the seventh region. However, the exact location of the Column is in doubt as it is lost entirely, aside from some reliefs that were reused in the construction of the Baths of Beyazit, built in the first decades of the sixteenth century (Figure 3.15). The fifth-century *Notitia* describes it as “*columnam...intrinsecus usquead summitatem gradibus perviam*” (a column accessible by stairs inside up to the summit).<sup>359</sup> Ancient testimony confirms that this Column had an external spiral frieze and an internal spiral staircase running to the top.<sup>360</sup> In historiography, the Column is considered to have been explicitly modeled after the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome. Buondelmonti's city plan dating to 1420 (Figure 3.6) and the panorama of Vavassore have depictions of the Column (Figure 3.16). The latter labeled the Column as “*colonna istoriata.*”

An illustration today stored in the Louvre may represent the reliefs of the Column.<sup>361</sup> This 14.65m long, 0.43m wide anonymous drawing is thought to date from the Cinquecento. It does not have a label. According to Becatti's interpretation, it depicts the Column of Theodosius and

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<sup>357</sup> See Theophanes, *Chronographia* I.70.20 for the beginning of construction; see *Chronicon Paschale* 565.6–8 for the placement of the statue. See also, Jordan Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 141; Müller Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 263-265; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*. 49 n. 60; J. Kollwitz, *Ostromische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit* (Studien zur spatantiken Kunstgeschichte 12, Berlin 1941), 21-22.

<sup>358</sup> Malalas, *Chronographia*, 401.3.

<sup>359</sup> M. Beckmann, “The “Columnae Coc(h)lides” of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius,” *Phoenix* 56, no. 3/4 (2002): 352.

<sup>360</sup> *Parastaseis*, 66; Patria, Book II, 47. Constantine of Rhodes, *On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*, 202ff, and Cedrenus, I.566, mention the Column and the equestrian statue of the emperor. Gunther von Pairis and Robert de Clari saw the Column after the Fourth Crusade. For more information see, Gunther von Pairis, *De expugnatione urbis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. de Riant (1875), 6-12; Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph.Lauer (1924), 89-91.

<sup>361</sup> Louvre inv. No. 4951, 32264. For more information see, Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 264; B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in Plastic Arts: Studies in the so-called Theodosian Renaissance* (Odense University Press, 1993), 54, note 170.

shows scenes from an imperial procession.<sup>362</sup> Sande addresses similarities between the found pieces and the drawing. The scene with grazing horses (piece 2) in particular may be recognized from the drawing.<sup>363</sup> However, as Bauer points out, some other motifs in the drawing recall the *Freshfield* drawings of the Column of Arcadius (see the next section).<sup>364</sup> Neither view suggests a one-to-one correspondence, but the similarities easily catch the viewer's eye. Thus, the illustration could represent either the Column of Theodosius or that of his son. Kiilerich questions the reliability of these drawings as evidence for reconstructing a pictorial program for the Column.<sup>365</sup>

Architecturally, this Column probably looked much like the others, having a stepped marble socle, a marble pedestal, a shaft, and a marble Corinthian capital carrying a bronze statue of the emperor. Constantine of Rhodes and Cedrenus reportedly saw the reliefs “on all sides.”<sup>366</sup> Ancient sources mention that the shaft thinned toward the top and contained a spiral staircase inside.<sup>367</sup> When Gunther saw the Column, he noted that it was composed of very large blocks of stone combined with iron bands.<sup>368</sup> Harun ibn Yahya, a tenth-century Arab commentator, noticed that silver chains surrounded the Column.<sup>369</sup> Yet, how these rings were positioned against the relief frieze is unknown. Nicephorus Gregoras reported that at the top of the Column stood an equestrian statue three or four times bigger than life size.<sup>370</sup> Unger and Gurlitt followed this statement and testified accordingly in their works. Kollwitz, however,

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<sup>362</sup> Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata*, 111-113. He notes that the Column was already taken down at the end of the 1500s, so the drawing may be a copy of an older representation.

<sup>363</sup> See Figure 3.18, piece 2 of this dissertation

<sup>364</sup> Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 198.

<sup>365</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 54. For further discussion, see S. Sande, “Some New Fragments from the Column of Theodosius,” *Acta ad atrium historiam pertinentia* 1 (1981): 1-78, especially 73-78.

<sup>366</sup> Constantine of Rhodes, 202-218ff; Cedrenus, I, 566.

<sup>367</sup> Cedrenus, I, 566, 6.

<sup>368</sup> Gunther, *De expugnatione*, 6.

<sup>369</sup> A. Vasiliev, “Harun ibn-Yahya and his description of Constantinople,” *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932): 142.

<sup>370</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras, *Roman History*, I, 277, 1.

suggests that both writers misinterpreted the evidence.<sup>371</sup> He argues that an equestrian statue of the emperor was on the ground of the Forum, not at the top of the Column, in reference to Cedrenus, Constantine of Rhodes, and Patria. Cedrenus in particular mentioned that the gesture of the equestrian statue was similar to the one placed at the top of the Column. For my purposes, Bassett's reconstruction of the Forum's sculptural program will be accepted, which includes the standing statue of the emperor at the top of the Column and the equestrian statues of Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius on the ground.<sup>372</sup>

The Column was certainly one of the landmarks of the city, visible to everyone arriving by land and sea since many sources emphasize its height.<sup>373</sup> Buondelmonti described the statue as standing at the top of a 47.6m high column.<sup>374</sup> The height given by Harun bin Yahya was 100 (Ottoman) feet, approximately 29.6m.<sup>375</sup> The shaft was probably composed of marble drums and fastened with silver-plated bronze rings. Nothing is known about the transport, finishing, or building of the Column. A survey of late antique activity in the Proconnesian marble quarries, however, suggests some evidence about the quarrying of these monumental marble drums. After several survey campaigns in the harbor city of the Saraylar area—the main port of the Proconnesian quarries on the north shore of Marmara Island, N. Asgari published a series of articles about late antique building elements that were most likely cut during the Theodosian period.<sup>376</sup> The dating was fixed based on a column shaft having the same dimensions and

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<sup>371</sup> Johannes Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 3-16.

<sup>372</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 208-211.

<sup>373</sup> Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicle*, 506; Malalas, *Chronicle*, 401. 4.

<sup>374</sup> He gave the dimensions as 70 ells in Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* [The Book of the Islands of the Archipelago]. (An ell is an Ottoman unit of measurement and it is equal to 68cm)

<sup>375</sup> A. Vasiliev, "Harun ibn-Yahya," 142.

<sup>376</sup> For archaeological reports of the survey campaigns see N. Asgari, "Zwei Werkstücke für Konstantinopel aus den prokonnesischen Steinbrüchen," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 39 (1989), 50-53; N. Asgari, "Objects de marbre finis, semi-finis et inachevés du Proconnes," in Pierre éternelle du Nil au Rhin. Carrieres et prefabrication, ed. M. Waelkens (Brussels, 1990), 106-26; N. Asgari, "The Proconnesian production of architectural elements in late antiquity, based on the evidence from the marble quarries," in *Constantinople and its hinterland: papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, eds. Mango and Dagron (Variorum, 1995), 263-288.

decorations specific to the columns of the Arch of Theodosius from the emperor's Forum.<sup>377</sup>

Asgari suggested that a gigantic column drum that was 3.30m high and 4.45m in diameter, still lying at Silinte, 3km southeast of the Saraylar area, could have been prepared for the honorific Column of Theodosius.<sup>378</sup> A deep crack in the body of the drum is clearly visible today; Asgari believes that is why the piece was left behind while other drums weighing more than 100 tons were transported to Constantinople.

For the drums of the Column of Constantine, I have proposed that the Neorion harbor was the unloading site. For the Column of Theodosius, however, the Harbor of Theodosius presents an alternative venue (Map 2). Literary evidence suggests that soil excavated from the leveling and terrace work performed while flattening the surface of the imperial forum was carried to the Theodosian Harbor.<sup>379</sup> Such a path used for construction traffic could also have been used to drag the marble pieces over land to the new Forum's construction side. Neither the distance between the north shores of Marmara Island and the harbor nor the slope rising to the Forum from the waterfront would have been difficult for Roman workers to manage—shipping monumental pieces or large monoliths like obelisks were relatively routine tasks for them. In this scenario, cutting the drums to construct the spiral staircase inside must have been performed on site.

The architecture of the now-lost fora is uncertain. However, based on literary descriptions and scattered archaeological data, scholars have created diagrams to reconstruct the Forum of Theodosius, influenced by those of the Forum of Trajan. In fact, the first chapter of this study utilizes such attempts as examples showing the remarkable variety among scholars' visualizations of this space. As mentioned there, the reconstruction created by Bauer seems a

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<sup>377</sup> Asgari, "The Proconnesian production," 267.

<sup>378</sup> It is notable that the diameter of the drums from the Column of Constantine was around 3m while both historiated columns in Rome have a 3.7m diameter.

<sup>379</sup> Preger, *Scriptores Originum*, 184.

reasonable diagram for this study (Figure 1.9c). In his view, there was a pair of grand entrance arches, and it was lined with a basilica on its south side. The remains of one of these entrances, the so-called Arch of Theodosius, stand today in situ in Beyazit (Figure 3.17). Reconstructed as a triumphal arch with a triple opening, this arch has a particular decoration interpreted as a “tear-drop” or “peacock-eye” motif.<sup>380</sup> Krautheimer argues that the “drops” could have stood for the stylized trunk of the cypress tree. Associated with the classical iconography of power and victory, the-club-of-Hercules-shaped columns were presumably made of cypress wood.<sup>381</sup>

The decoration of the eyedrops and the traces of Hercules’s fingers around the club present a local idiosyncrasy. This certainly requires a detailed examination that falls outside the parameters of this dissertation. I do, however, offer another possible venue for interpretation. Looking at the victories attained by Theodosius, the Battle of the Frigidus presents an interesting case. It was fought September 5-6, 394—after the dedication of both the Column and Forum of Theodosius—between the army of Theodosius I and the army of the Western Roman ruler Eugenius. The battle was important since it was the last attempt at a pagan revival to be successfully dispatched by Theodosius I. In the battleground, Theodosius had collected his troops and marched under the Labarum—that is to say, the Cross of Constantine—which had been the ensign of the imperial army ever since the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. This ensign featured the cross combined with the first two Greek letters of the name Christ—the Greek chi and rho. On the opposite side of the battle line, on the Frigidus River in modern-day Slovenia, Eugenius had set up statues to the Roman gods, and his army carried banners with images of Hercules along with their standards.<sup>382</sup> The hands holding the “clubs” on the columns of the Arch, placed exactly between the shaft and the capital, could have represented the defeated army

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<sup>380</sup> For more information about the Arch, see Naumann, “Neue Beobachtungen.”; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Yale University Press, 1984), 70; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 258-265, figs. 295-298.

<sup>381</sup> Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, 70.

<sup>382</sup> Cynthia White, *The Emergence of Christianity: Classical Traditions in Contemporary Perspective* (Fortress Press, 2010), 171.

of Eugenius in a peculiar way. The architectural character of the arch already suggested a triumphal iconography with its three monumental openings. Furthermore, spoils, or representations of spoils as supportive components of a triumphal claim. The iconography of the gate utilized the weapon of Hercules, rather than statues of captured barbarians or representations of piles of booty, as had been displayed in the Forum of Trajan, for example. With the hands, the gate could have emphasized the power, strength, and even actions of Hercules that was victoriously brought down by the emperor. Notably, however, the language of victory symbolism was still Roman as late as the end of the fourth century.

It is believed that the Column stood in the center of the Forum, but toward the northern side. There is no archaeological evidence regarding the Column base or the capital. Nor were there drawings or travel accounts specifically describing the Column in detail. Some pieces of the relief are available for scholars, but they are not sufficient to make conclusive statements about the character of the relief or the nature of the depicted narrative. Eighteen pieces were found during several excavations around the area of the Forum of Theodosius.<sup>383</sup> Twelve of these were unearthed in 1927 during the construction work around the Ordu Caddesi in the foundations of the Beyazit Bath. The bath has been under restoration since 2006, and the restoration team has decided to keep these pieces in the foundation. Luckily, the pieces were placed on the outside surface, on the visible parts of the foundation wall (Figure 3.15). In 1973, five more pieces were found while working on the women's section of the bath.<sup>384</sup> One of these pieces is today exhibited in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, and another is kept in storage (Figure 3.18, piece 3 and 1, respectively). All of these pieces, with similar proportions and styles, were carved out of light-white Proconnesian marble from Marmara Island. The pieces in the bath building are darker due to a layer of patina, while the others found in the interior have

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<sup>383</sup> The following information is mainly based the monograph, Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*.

<sup>384</sup> S. Eyice, "Neue Fragmente der Theodosiussäule," *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 8 (1958): 144-147.

some sparkles of a pinkish color. Twelve of these contain substantial remains of figures while the rest are in a rather poor condition (Figure 3.18).

The remains of the Column show battle scenes with fallen or fighting soldiers. Piece 1 shows a battle scene with falling soldiers, piece 4 depicts three soldiers marching toward the right, piece 5 shows two soldiers, piece 9 has two marching soldiers with lances and shields, piece 10 depicts a marching soldier, and piece 13 shows soldiers aiming their lances at the enemy. The movement of the marching and fighting soldiers is always left to right. Scenes with the emperor must have been included, as piece 14 includes a ship indicating a battle at sea. In piece 2, the nature of the background is ambiguous. It shows four horses, as identified by Sande, on a landscape, but it is unclear whether the surrounding area is a pictorial countryside or a resting area for animals used in military campaigns.<sup>385</sup>

Although the overall picture is not simple, some conclusions can be drawn. Kiilerich notes, for example, that the detailing in the Column of Theodosius is simpler than that of the Column of Trajan.<sup>386</sup> In the Column of Trajan, there are miniature pictures depicting successive scenes. In Theodosius's, however, some natural elements and sketch figures are visible in a more simple composition. The sequences are not crowded; fewer characters are depicted as compared with the columns in Rome. The figures are mostly uniform (not only within a scene but among different fragments); their heads, bodies, and gestures are almost identical and repetitive. For example, the round helmeted heads in pieces 1 and 7 are similar.<sup>387</sup>

Piece 3 has an architectural representation in the background (Figure 3.18, piece 3). There are three soldiers holding lances and shields. Here, the soldiers are walking in front of an arched structure; the third soldier stands under an arch. Sande interprets the whole scene as

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<sup>385</sup> Sande, "Some New Fragments," 3.

<sup>386</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 53.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, 76. She looks at these heads as a type and compares them to some of the heads found on the southeast side of the Obelisk of Theodosius.

soldiers approaching a city gate or fortification wall, while the fine-cut stones are interpreted as a tower.<sup>388</sup> Kiilerich interprets the scene as the departure from a besieged town. The possibility of the depiction of a brick tower suggests that this could be a scene of *profectio*.<sup>389</sup> I propose that the curved line above the head of the soldier in the middle suggests a continuation of the arched opening above the first soldier. Thus, this scene might represent an arcade in the background. There is a foliate object loosely seen where one arch finishes and another begins; this could represent a Corinthian capital. As mentioned earlier, many such column capitals were found in the quarry. We might conjecture that the arcade in the background represents the colonnaded facade of the Mese as the soldiers walk along the victory parade. Furthermore, the soldier in the middle is bigger than the rest, recalling the bas-relief from the Obelisk of Theodosius where the emperor is drawn significantly larger to represent hierarchy. As such, the soldier in this scene could have held a higher position than that of the others.

Piece 4 is intriguing in the sense that Becatti identified it with a scene at the upper levels of the west facade of Arcadius's Column.<sup>390</sup> There, soldiers walking on the lower levels have their lances on the bellies of the soldiers walking on the upper level. Another interesting piece is number 7, embedded in the masonry of the Beyazıt Bath House (Figure 3.18, piece 7). Becatti and Sande interpret this as a scene depicting supplicant foreign soldiers.<sup>391</sup> S. Eyice argues that it shows soldiers receiving largesse.<sup>392</sup> Kiilerich, on the other hand, points out the *chrismon* on the shields; she concludes that the soldiers could be Roman and that the scene could depict Roman soldiers praying in front of the cross.<sup>393</sup> This scene could be part of a ceremonial

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<sup>388</sup> Sande, "Some New Fragments," 3, fragment B.

<sup>389</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 53.

<sup>390</sup> Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata*, plate 76b.

<sup>391</sup> Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata*, 108; Sande, "Some New Fragments," 46; Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 52.

<sup>392</sup> Eyice, "Neue fragmente," 146.

<sup>393</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 52, note 166.

narrative involving the emperor. As such, various scenes depicting details of a campaign could have been represented in a long succession of episodes.

The generic nature of the figures and the overall composition invite various interpretations regarding the *raison d'être* of the Column. Constantine of Rhodes mentioned that Arcadius ordered the construction of this Column to commemorate his father's victories.<sup>394</sup> Cedrenus, on the other hand, corrects this comment and argues that Theodosius himself sponsored the Column and the reliefs on the Column commemorate victories over Scythians and barbarians.<sup>395</sup> Buondelmonti mentioned that he saw the events and the emperor's activities represented on the Column, while Angiolello suggested there are victory carriages and ancient mythical stories accompanied by victory carts.<sup>396</sup> Kiilerich, on the other hand, argues that the Column commemorated the emperor's first victory against the Goths (379-82) as he made his triumphal entry into Constantinople on October 12, 386—the year in which the Column was begun.<sup>397</sup> She identifies the fragments of the Column as primarily showing marching Roman soldiers and foreign soldiers—scenes depicting the details of the campaign. The walking soldiers all move from left to right. While she says there are not enough pieces to evaluate the narrative of the relief, she still argues that these scenes could have been the last scenes of the Column.<sup>398</sup> Accordingly, the relief may in fact have represented both the campaign and the victory.

The colossal column remained standing until the end of the fifteenth century, then fell during a hurricane in 1517.<sup>399</sup> Because of the Column of Theodosius's close resemblance to the Arcadian Column built next, I will consider the latter as a "type." There is relatively ample

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<sup>394</sup> Constantine of Rhodes, 202-218.

<sup>395</sup> Cedrenus, I, 566, 4-9.

<sup>396</sup> Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum* and I. M. Angiolello, *Ses manuscris ineditis publics et annotes par I. Reinhard* (1913), 53, as cited in Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik* 4, note 4.

<sup>397</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 51, notes that Theodosius I won a victory against Goths and returned to Constantinople in October 12th of 386. See, Cedrenus, I, 566, 13.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

evidence for the appearance of the Column of Arcadius, which will be analyzed in the next section.

### 3.3 The Column of Arcadius

The second historiated column in Constantinople, the Column of Arcadius, was the central piece of the last imperial forum along the Mese toward the Golden Gate. Sources report that Arcadius, the son of Theodosius I, ordered the building of the Column to commemorate the victory over Gainas in 402. At the time, Arcadius held a joint councilship with his brother Honorius. He died, however, in 408 before the completion of the Column. The construction took 20 years, and Arcadius's son Theodosius II dedicated the Column in 421 by putting his father's statue at the top of the monument.<sup>400</sup> Textual descriptions testify that this Column was very similar to its predecessor and featured a similar continuous spiral frieze around its colossal shaft. The fifth-century *Notitia* describes it as "*columnam...intra se gradibus perviam*" (a column accessible by means of stairs inside it), confirming that it had a staircase similar to the Columns of Theodosius, Marcus Aurelius, and Trajan.<sup>401</sup> The source places the Column in the twelfth region, in the area called Xerolophos.<sup>402</sup> The statue fell during an earthquake on October 26, 740, but the Column itself remained standing.<sup>403</sup> In 1715, it was demolished after having been damaged by the fires of 1633 and 1660.<sup>404</sup> Today, the remains of the Column are in a poor state of preservation (Figure 3.19). The monumental marble pedestal still stands in situ, yet four- to six-story modern buildings are attached to it on all sides except for the eastern façade, which is hidden behind dense greenery. The pedestal is a 10.825m tall cubic structure with a 6m side length. The upper torus and the first relief band are partially visible to a curious eye (Figure

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<sup>400</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 579.

<sup>401</sup> Beckmann, "The "Columnae Coc(h)lides," 352.

<sup>402</sup> Cameron, *Constantinople in the Eight Century*, 195, describes Xerolophos as the site of the Forum and the Column of Arcadius on the seventh hill. In some cases the term itself refers to the Forum.

<sup>403</sup> Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 222, 25-20.

<sup>404</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 55.

3.20). In addition, the Archaeological Museum has a piece in storage from the spiral relief (Figure 3.21).<sup>405</sup>

Ancient eyewitness testimony exists regarding the spiral frieze. The fifth-century historian Zosimus saw the Column on his way to St. Studios monastery and said the Column depicted everything about world history.<sup>406</sup> The historian Cedrenus's comment on the similarities between the Xerolophos and Tauros (the area occupied by the Forum of Theodosius) probably implies the resemblance between the Columns.<sup>407</sup> It is very possible that the designers of the Column of Arcadius took inspiration from the Column of Theodosius. The Columns were so close in time that certain architects and artists likely worked on both projects.<sup>408</sup> P. Gilles is the oldest modern source describing the Column in detail. He measured a 3.10m socle and an 8.30m high pediment.<sup>409</sup> Regarding the spiral relief, however, he only mentioned that the base had trophies on three sides and the spiral bands depicted "various battles."<sup>410</sup>

Unlike the Column of Theodosius, there are many drawings of the Column of Arcadius. Two belong to Melchior Lorichs, drawn in 1559.<sup>411</sup> One depicts two bands of the relief, which was identified as the top bands on the southeastern side (Figure 3.22).<sup>412</sup> Second, Lorichs's famous panorama of the city depicts the Column within the cityscape (Figure 3.23). He labeled the Column as both "colonna istoriata" and "Avrat Pazari," which means "Women's Bazaar" in

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<sup>405</sup> Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 24, plate 9/1; Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata*, 250-251, plate 59a.

<sup>406</sup> Zosimus, II, 31 as quoted in George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 184.

<sup>407</sup> Cedrenus, I, 567, 3; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 198.

<sup>408</sup> Beckmann, *Column of Marcus Aurelius*, 232.

<sup>409</sup> Pierre Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor. Lyon, 1561: Leiden 1632*, as quoted in Ozlem Ersin, *Istanbul Beyazıt'taki Theodosius Forumu Gec Antik Donemden Osmanlı Donemine Kadar Forum ve Yapılarınin Degisimi* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2007), 26.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> Küllerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 53, underlines the documentary value of these drawings based one of her study focused on the reliefs of the Obelisk of Theodosius. When she compared the relief of the base of the Obelisk to the drawings of the same monument by Lorich, there appeared significant discrepancies, such as the numbers of figures, sex of some imperial figures, etc. She suggests having a critical approach to the drawings.

<sup>412</sup> C. B. Konrad, "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrahpasa - 'Arkadiossäule', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 51 (2001), 357.

Ottoman Turkish—this was the name given to the area once occupied by the Forum of Arcadius. A third drawing comes from Wilhelm Dilich, dating from 1606 (Figure 3.24). It was based on the drawings of Vavassore and Lorichs but includes more details and explanations in textual form.<sup>443</sup> Another set of drawings is found in the *Freshfield Album*.<sup>444</sup> Labeled “Columna cochlidis Arcadii,” these images depict the Column from three sides, excluding the north façade (Figure 3.25). Contemporary with Dilich, the English traveler George Sandys came to Constantinople in 1610 and drew the southwest side of the Column, writing “historical columna in Avrat Basar” underneath (Figure 3.26). This is a sketchy drawing and hence does not have informational value, except that it confirms the 13 spirals on the shaft. An Ottoman miniature shows the Column and its immediate urban setting in the 1650s (Figure 3.27). A drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris also provides a total view, but only of the southwest side of the Column.<sup>445</sup> This image dates to the end of the seventeenth century and has similarities with the *Freshfield* drawing. Two more drawings show the Column base after the shaft was taken down (Figure 3.28). These were drawn by L. Cassas in 1784 documenting the houses attached to the Column.

As for archaeological data, a large fragment in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum is said to be a relief piece that fell from the Column (height: 1.03m, length: 1.07m, thickness: 0.50m, figure height: 0.80m).<sup>446</sup> Found in the sea in Old Seraglio, it shows three men dressed in short tunics with an animal in the background, probably a horse (Figure 3.21).<sup>447</sup> Similar to the scenes of Theodosius’s Column, this is probably a scene of marching soldiers since one of the figures carries a helmet and a lance while the other holds a shield. The figures move left to right,

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<sup>443</sup> Berger, “Zur sogenannten Stadtansicht des Vavassore,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44 (1994), 329.

<sup>444</sup> See note 292 in this chapter.

<sup>445</sup> Roger de Gaignieres Collection, no. 6514, 242cm x43cm, Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

<sup>446</sup> Istanbul Archaeological Museums, inv. no. 364.

<sup>447</sup> G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines (Musees Imperiaux Ottomans) II* (Istanbul, 1914), 443, no 660.

ascending a “spiral ground line.”<sup>418</sup> Kiilerich further points out that the figures on the fragment are slightly taller than those on the extant base. Thus, she considers the piece as belonging to one of the top drums.<sup>419</sup> In 2001, C. B. Konrad took up the *Freshfield* folder and the drawing in the Bibliotheque Nationale and tested them against the remaining figures visible on the Column’s pedestal in situ.<sup>420</sup> Published as an article, his analysis is the most comprehensive monograph ever published about the Column. The reliefs of the base found in situ are faded but still allow a reconstruction.

As calculated by Konrad, the pedestal sits on a 2m tall, three-step understructure and measures 7.88m in height.<sup>421</sup> While it has a similar architectural form, it is broader (approximately 4.1m) than the Columns of Trajan (3.67m) and Marcus Aurelius (3.8m). For the shaft, Konrad estimates a height of 31.92m. The Column had only 13 (broad) spirals of decoration, as opposed to the 23 and 21 narrower bands of the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, respectively. There was a dramatic increase in the height of the bands in the Column of Arcadius. If the drawings are reliable, they had a height of 2.3m, which made them more “readable” than the 1.25m high bands of the Aurelian Column and the 0.90m-1.25m (at the top) bands of the Trajanic Column. Kiilerich estimated the height of Theodosian relief bands around 2m based on the sizes of extant fragments and the disposition of the figures on the reliefs.<sup>422</sup> For the upper structure of the Column of Arcadius, Konrad proposes an 8.5m statue standing on a 4.29m tall supporting base.<sup>423</sup> Such dimensions for the statue seem large, yet Peschlow indirectly

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<sup>418</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 56.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>420</sup> Konrad, “Beobachtungen.”

<sup>421</sup> All the measurements are taken from Konrad, “Beobachtungen,” 370, fig. 15b in 339, in, and fig.11 in 335.

<sup>422</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 51.

<sup>423</sup> Konrad, “Beobachtungen,” 383.

supports Konrad's estimation when she argues that the proportions of this Column require a statue that must have been taller than the 5.11m bronze statue of Barletta.<sup>424</sup>

A peculiar feature of this colossal column is the fact that the spaces carved into the monumental pedestal have been archaeologically documented. Again, as investigated by Konrad, the interior of the Column was composed of an entrance area, two small chambers, and a staircase to the upper platform.<sup>425</sup> This plan is similar to Trajan's Column since, once inside, one could turn right to climb the stairs or left to enter the two-room chamber (Figure 3.29). Unlike Trajan's Column, however, the chambers were not lit by slit windows, as with the stairwell on the western, southern, and eastern sides. No information exists about the use of these dark rooms—no lamps or furniture—but they were certainly not burial chambers. One remarkable and very telling decoration is a *chrismon* with the apocalyptic Alpha and Omega on the ceiling of the vestibule (Figure 3.30).<sup>426</sup> A similar one is found on the south side of the pedestal relief.

To comment on the sculptural program of the Column, scholars have analyzed the drawings and tested them against the pedestal in situ. Regarding the monumental base, three of the four sides were depicted in the *Freshfield* drawings. The north face has the entrance door, and no more decorations appear above the doorframe, as depicted in the drawing. The other faces are covered with relief sculptures organized in four zones (Figure 3.31).<sup>427</sup> On the east side, the top band has two hovering female victories holding a tabula with a cross. The figures holding the cross are emperors, as suggested by the scepter they carry.<sup>428</sup> In the second zone, there are two emperors standing in the center between Columns. Most likely Honorius and Arcadius, they

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<sup>424</sup> U. Peschlow, "Eine wiedergewonnene byzantinische Ehrensäule in Istanbul," in *Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Kunst I*, eds. I O. Feld and U. Peschlow (Bonn, 1986), 31.

<sup>425</sup> For the drawings see, Konrad, "Beobachtungen," 366, figs. 12, 13, 14.

<sup>426</sup> J. Strzygowski, "Die Säule des Arcadius," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 8 (1893), 230.

<sup>427</sup> The following analysis of the pedestal is based on the detailed description in Kiilriech.

<sup>428</sup> Kiilriech, *Late Fourth Century*, 61.

stand in “*toga contabulata*.” They are flanked on each side by several other togati. This is a consular scene representing the imperial entourage. The right side of the third zone is highly damaged and missing, but the left side depicts 11 senators in togas, with the foremost holding a wreath in his hand. At each end is a personification of Rome and Constantinople, respectively. Kiilerich reads this scene as the senates of the two Romes, Old and New, acclaiming the emperors. They agree on and celebrate the emperors with the “*aurum oblativum*.” The last zone on the bottom has two seated mourning prisoners surrounded by spolia and armory. Among these trophies are two *labari* (imperial standards) with the Chi-Rho monogram. At both ends, two victories write the date of the victory on a shield. This, as noted by Kiilerich, is a common motive used in the Columns of both Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, yet in both cases it decorated the middle of the shaft, not the base. In fact, such a formula can be seen on the *decennalia* base of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*. There, the victory on the left has just finished inscribing the shield.

On the west side, the themes are the same but the execution changes slightly. At the top zone, there are two hovering angels (not victories since they are dressed in a male tunic and a pallium) supporting a wreathed cross between them. On the sides are two figures, each on a chariot, probably Sol and Luna. Kiilerich notes that this indicates a cosmic symbolism in connection with the emperors. In the second zone, emperors are represented in military costumes with their officials at their sides. In the middle of the third zone, there is a tropaion flanked by kneeling oriental prisoners (or victories as interpreted by Kollwitz) who are writing the name and date of the victory on a shield.<sup>429</sup> By displaying an image of this temporary structure, the sculptors transformed it into a permanent trace of the victory. There are tropaion figures in Trajan’s Column as well.<sup>430</sup> Next to the tropaion on both sides were Persian and Germanic soldiers led by Roman soldiers. The last zone on the west side repeats the east side to some extent. Trophies, two labara, and a few prisoners, some with children, are represented.

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<sup>429</sup> Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 45. For the definition of tropaion, see Chapter 2.3 in this dissertation.

<sup>430</sup> It figured on the western side where barbarian soldiers are humiliated in front of a Roman trophy.

On the south side, overlooking the Propontis, the first zone at the top contains the armory frieze, which was usually placed at the lowest zones of the east and west sides. It has similar items, such as helmets, cuirasses, spears, shields, and labarum. Two hovering victories hold a wreath with the *chrismon* and the apocalyptic Alpha and Omega. In the third zone, we see the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius with two prisoners kneeling before each of them. The emperors are flanked by dignitaries and imperial guards. The last zone has two victories holding trophies. They are surrounded by 16 figures with city-wall crowns, which leads to the interpretation that they are personifications of the provinces.<sup>431</sup> Kiilerich also suggests that this last scene and the victories could have been similar to the base of Constantine's Column, as drawn by Lorichs.

While its base represented emperors in conventional situations conveying imperial majesty and executing power, the shaft was reserved for a continuous narrative of a military campaign. It is generally accepted that the shaft consisted of 13 bands at a total height of 30.3m, exactly the same as the shaft of the Column of Trajan (100 RF).<sup>432</sup> The average height of each relief band was 2.30m. Based on the *Freshfield* drawing, scholars like Kiilerich and John Matthews have tried to create a line of sequence for the relief.<sup>433</sup> It starts on the east side with a sketch of the early Constantinopolitan cityscape viewed from the Great Palace to the Forum of Constantine, the most prestigious and old section of the Mese (Figure 3.32). Several statues of standing figures in civilian dress placed on modest pedestals appear first. Among these statues, Kiilerich identified one of Scylla that is known to have stood at the spina on the Hippodrome.<sup>434</sup> A monumental column carrying a chlamys-clad figure with an outreached right arm on a

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<sup>431</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 63, note 208.

<sup>432</sup> The builders of the Column was probably using the Byzantine foot that is equal to 31.23cm. In that case the Column could have measured as 100BF long.

<sup>433</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century* and John Matthews, "Viewing the Column of Arcadius at Constantinople," in *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, eds. David Brakke et al. (Ashgate, 2012), 212-225.

<sup>434</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 59.

Corinthian capital accompanies these statues. Behind these is a building with a pedimented front façade (perhaps the Senate House). Matthews identified this area as the Augusteion.

Further on is a man on an elephant, various buildings, and the circular Forum of Constantine with the Column of Constantine. Although the statue at the top of the Column does not have any of the features attributed to the statue of Constantine (no radiated crown or nudity), the circular form and the presence of a monumental column in the center have prompted scholars to identify the image as the Forum of Constantine.

This is the only contemporary representation, and it matters a great deal for the purposes of this dissertation. Doubling the periphery line of the circle and the hatching inside might represent the wall and colonnades around the Forum. There is only one entrance connected to the arcades reaching the Forum. This colonnaded and double-roofed structure is identified as the Regia, the oldest part of the Mese between the Milion and the Forum of Constantine. Neither the Senate House nor the second entranceway is on the image. The Forum is depicted as a busy plaza. Inside is a man on horseback, a man carrying a load on his back, two more freestanding columns, people chatting and doing business, and animals. It seems like a representation of typical everyday life in the Forum. Around the Forum, there are independent representations of various functions and buildings. At the left, two figures seem to be drawing water from a cistern, and above them is a statue of Hercules fighting Cerberus.<sup>435</sup> To the left of the Forum of Constantine, moving toward the west, is a small structure with columns and pediment built above or behind a stone base/wall—the bronze Tetrapylon as identified by John Matthews—and another column monument with a statue on top.<sup>436</sup> A couple walking on the route aligned with the Mese points out the Forum or the Column to their child; this possibility recalls the representation in the Peutinger Map. There, the female personification in the form of

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<sup>435</sup>In the fourth century, Servius, *Aeneid*, 6.395, had described Hercules' return from the underworld as representing his ability to overcome earthly desires and vices and show his strength. See Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography: From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, A.D. 433–1177* (University Press of Florida, 1994), 91-2.

<sup>436</sup> Matthews, "Viewing the Column," 221.

Tyche points to the Column as the most recognizable feature of the fourth century city. Notably, beside this pictorial parallel, a textual correspondence is found in the fifth century when Procopius of Gaza explained the reception of the image of the emperor Anastasius:

“Our city, having received her benefactor himself by [receiving ] his image, like some eager lover, is raised up by the sight and arouses her citizens by young and old; the father points out [the emperor] to his son, the old man to the young, and they rejoice together at the sight.”<sup>437</sup>

In the first band on the southern side, the array of statues continues, and the arcaded façade of the Mese is observed on the upper edge as a continuous armature (Figure 3.31b). The second spiral depicts soldiers departing from a city as represented by a city wall and a gate flanked by towers. The troops are most likely marching from the city to a campaign. The next two bands continue with the marching troops. They continue with images of rural life, roads, and battles on water and land (Figure 3.31c). The fifth band has pastoral scenes with shepherds and various animals, implicitly recalling the relief fragments of the Column of Theodosius. The marching soldiers carry trophies, prisoners of war, and an elephant, which Kiilerich suggests could have been a gift from a Persian emperor.<sup>438</sup> The marching of the Roman army continues in the sixth spiral as well. Here, the emperor appears in a lofty portico-like structure surrounded by dignitaries and troops (Figure 3.31c). The emperor is likely at the gates of a riverside city. The soldiers pay homage to the emperor with a sea and ships in the background. The next three bands concern a sea battle. In the middle of the tenth band, the battle seems to come to an end as two seated figures (emperors perhaps) are depicted in a ciborium-like structure (Figure 3.321d). Kiilerich identifies this structure as the *kathisma* (imperial chamber) of the Hippodrome.<sup>439</sup> The next two bands depict other battle scenes featuring cavalry and walking

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<sup>437</sup> Procopius of Gaza, I, 28-30 as cited in MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 69.

<sup>438</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 59.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*

soldiers. Band 13 is the finale. There (on the south side), the victory crowns Emperor Arcadius (Figure 3.31e).

Archaeology may confirm some of these interpretations. Konrad proposed a partial reconstruction for the first band of the relief.<sup>440</sup> Here, figures walking in a procession, some in frontal view with others in three-quarter profile, are seen moving toward the right. Some are dressed in long chlamyses while others have shorter dresses. There are also remains of horse-drawn, four-wheeled wagons, as well as horses and riders. The height of the figures varies from 0.50m to 0.70m. The positioning of the figures and their frontality correspond with the one fragment found at the Old Seraglio (Figure 3.21).

Scholars have interpreted the spiral relief as a representation of victories won over the commander Gainas by Arcadius's troops in 400 since the construction of the Column is dated to 401-402. Becatti, for example, explained the written evidence of the downfall of Gainas.<sup>441</sup> Gainas, who was the "master of soldiers" (*magister militum*) in the East, entered Constantinople as a victorious commander, yet his Gothic origin and Arian identity caused discontent in the city. As a result, he left the city with his relatives and troops. Socrates reported a riot against the remaining Goths in the city on the night of July 12, 400.<sup>442</sup> Those who left with Gainas continued toward the Hellespont but encountered the Roman fleet there. After long naval battles, Gainas was captured and beheaded. His head was sent to Constantinople and paraded on a stake on January 3, 401.<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> Konrad, "Beobachtungen," 353, fig.28.

<sup>441</sup> Becatti, *La colonna coelide istoriata*, 164-251.

<sup>442</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.6.

<sup>443</sup> The story around Gainas differs in different sources. For other versions, see Unger, *Über die vier kolossalen Säulen*, note 121; Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 28; Becatti, *La colonna coelide istoriata*, 164-187; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., London, 1923 (repr. New York, 1958), 1, 132-135; O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, 1920) V, 322-569; for the parade of Gainas' head, McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, note 96.

Corresponding to this narrative, the second band on the south side is usually interpreted as depicting Gainas departing the city with a hovering angel leading the way out (Figure 3.31b). In Kiilerich's analysis, this angel may also represent the celestial army mentioned by Philostorgos or the divine providence mentioned by Socrates.<sup>444</sup> Dagron interprets this angel as help from God to push the Goths out of Constantinople.<sup>445</sup> A. Grabar, however, asserts that the scene represents the emperor being crowned by a victory.<sup>446</sup> Likewise, Sande suggests that a triumphal procession is depicted in the lower bands.<sup>447</sup> Kiilerich insists on the departure of Gainas and his gang in reference to the clothing of the image of the German ambassador found on the northwest side of the Obelisk of Theodosius. Men in both scenes are dressed in short furcloaks.<sup>448</sup> J. Matthews, however, views Gainas's event as a civil rebellion and interprets the scene as a continuation of the first band (starting on the west side), which illustrates the protest against the Gothic general held in the Augusteion. In the second band on the south side, then, Gainas leaves the city with a victory showing the way out. Another female figure stands at the city gate with a bar in her hand to prevent his return. Matthews interprets her as the Tyche of the city. This combination of the victory and the Tyche recalls Ammianus Marcellinus's statement that the existence of both ensured the eternity of the city.<sup>449</sup> In his reading, the represented city gate is the Gate of Charisius/Adrianople on the road leading toward Thrace. The physical remains of the gate, with a single, modest-scale opening and brick construction, correspond well with the image in the scene. This identification, however, contradicts the idea of a triumph since Arcadius or his son would have used the Golden Gate, not the Gate of Charisius, for a triumphal entrance.

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<sup>444</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 59; Philostorgos, *Epit.* XI, 8; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI, 6ff.

<sup>445</sup> G. Dagron and J. Paramelle, "Un texte patriographique, le recit, merveilleux, tres beau et profitable sur la colonne des Xerolophes," *Travaux et memoires* (1979), 491-523.

<sup>446</sup> A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantine: Recherches sur l'art Officiel de L'Empire d'orient* (Paris, 1936), 42f.

<sup>447</sup> Sande, "Some New Fragments," 73, note 111.

<sup>448</sup> Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century*, 60.

<sup>449</sup> Marcellinus, 14. 6.3; Matthews, "Viewing the Column," 214.

For Matthews, the frieze ends at the summit of the Column with a scene showing the emperors sitting on a council of war with other military officials and advisers (Figure 3.31d). At the top of that side, the emperor with the shield and spear receives a crown, while the other, Honorius, sits next to him and witnesses the event (Figure 3.31e). For Matthews, however, it looks like the emperor stands on a plinth rather than a platform or rostra. Based on this observation, he suggests that the image could represent the dedication of a statue of the emperor at the top of his monumental column instead of representing the emperor himself. The figure sitting on the right could be Theodosius II watching the dedication ceremony.<sup>450</sup> In this line of thought, the narrative of the shaft concerned the campaign of 402, and the uppermost bands recorded the commemorative events of 421 that resulted in the dedication and placement of the statue of Arcadius by his son Theodosius II. Moreover, this could also mean that the monument had its own image engraved on its body.

Another important feature represented in the *Freshfield* drawings is the door at the top of the Column opening out to the platform. It functioned as a balcony for those who went up the spiral staircase inside the Column. If the drawing is accurate, the view would have been of the harbor of Theodosius and the Mese since the Column stood on the northern side of the Forum of Arcadius. This led Matthews to conclude that the southern side of the Column was the primary façade. Passersby, or anyone in the procession, would have passed close to this side.

One final observation is of interest. In Roman columns, the spiral reliefs depict the stages of military campaigns with the emperor appearing in each scene as the central figure. The continuous narrative flow strengthens historical credibility. Unlike its Roman counterparts, however, the Column of Arcadius did not have such documentary value since the emperor was never on war campaigns. The scenes illustrating battles on sea and land were probably stereotypical representations. Likewise, as argued by R. Grigg, the reliefs on the Column base

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<sup>450</sup> Ibid.

did not represent specific historical scenes but “generalized scenes of imperial majesty.”<sup>451</sup> The depictions were consistent in the composition of the base, as the order of the western and eastern sides were the same, but there were no episodes from a continuous event. The chosen themes functioned like a visual panegyric following a well-known pattern: the acclamations of the emperors by the Senates of Rome and Constantinople, the submission of foreign ambassadors bearing gifts, and the humiliation of barbarian soldiers.

### 3.4 The Column of Justinian the Great

The last colossal column erected between fourth and the sixth centuries was the Column of Justinian the Great. Located in the Augusteion, it was dedicated by the emperor in 543 in honor of several victories.<sup>452</sup> The Column survived intact until late Byzantine times and became one of Constantinople’s greatest marvels because of numerous references recorded by European and Arab travelers.<sup>453</sup> It was topped by a colossal bronze equestrian statue of the emperor in triumphal costume—a “dress of Achilles (the hero of Troy),” as Procopius called it—and a plumed helmet of peacock feathers. The right hand of the emperor pointed east, and the left hand held a *globus cruciger*.<sup>454</sup> The Column was erected in the aftermath of great disasters like the immense fire following the Nika Riot in 532 and the great plague of 543. Evans considers the monument as commemorating two victories of the year 530—the victory at Dara won by his

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<sup>451</sup> Robert Grigg, "Symphōnian Aeidō tēs Basileias": An Image of Imperial Harmony on the Base of the Column of Arcadius," *The Art Bulletin* 59: 4 (1977), 469.

<sup>452</sup> On the Column, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 224, 13; Cedrenus, I, s. 656, 18; Ioannis Zonorae Annales, 157, 8; Brian Croke, "Justinian's Constantinople," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 66-87.

<sup>453</sup> For the long list and bibliographies of the traveler's accounts see, F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Braumuller, 1878), vol. I, 137-146, in notes 5, 6, 8; Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, 40, note 5.

<sup>454</sup> Procopius, *Buildings*, I.2.1-11

general Belisarius and another won by Moundos over the Bulgars.<sup>455</sup> To these successes, Mango adds the capture of Ravenna in 540 as a possible triumph commemorated by this monument.<sup>456</sup>

Crusaders stripped the Column of its bronze cladding around 1204, and sometime between 1422 and 1427, the *globus* fell.<sup>457</sup> Based on Pedro Tafur's confirmation in 1437-38, Mango suggests that scaffolding must have been erected around the Column in the 1430s for the orb to be replaced.<sup>458</sup> After the conquest of the city, the Ottomans first removed and dismantled the statue and then destroyed the entire Column around the 1520s during the reign of either Sultan Selim (1512-20) or Suleyman (1520-1566).<sup>459</sup> Indeed, the Column is no longer visible in Matrakci Nasuh's city view of Istanbul of 1537-38.<sup>460</sup> Pierre Gilles saw the remains of the Column in the Topkapi Palace gardens around the 1540s and described how the pieces were melted to produce cannons.<sup>461</sup>

While no archaeological remains are available today, there are three very detailed descriptions: Procopius in the sixth century, G. Pachymeres in the thirteenth century, and Nicephorus Gregoras in 1317.<sup>462</sup> The latter provided some measurements of the statue.<sup>463</sup> Several illustrations accompany this relatively rich textual evidence. The Column and its equestrian statue figured prominently in many drawings: replicas of the fifteenth-century city views of

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<sup>455</sup> James A. S. Evans, *The Emperor Justinian and the Byzantine Empire* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005), 53.

<sup>456</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 2.

<sup>457</sup> For the cladding, Unger, *Quellen*, 135). For the globus, Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 240.

<sup>458</sup> Mango, *Studies*, XI, 9.

<sup>459</sup> Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror and the Equestrian Statue of the Augustaion," *Illinois Classical Studies* XII (1987), 310.

<sup>460</sup> W. Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," *Orientalis* 8 (1970), 49-63.

<sup>461</sup> Gilles, *De Topographia*, 105 as quoted in Mango, *Studies*, X, 3.

<sup>462</sup> Procopius, *Buildings*, I.2.1-11 (written around 560): "And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war." G. Pachymeres, "Ekphrasis of Augusteion," as translated in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents*, trans. C. Mango (University of Toronto Press, 1986), 111-112; Nicephorus Gregoras, I, 275-77.

<sup>463</sup> *Parastaseis*, 65, 17; *Patria*, Book II, 17.

Buondelmonti (Figure 3.33), the Latin and German editions of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* printed in Nuremberg in 1493 (Figure 3.34), and O. Panvinio's view of the Hippodrome (without the stepped socle and equestrian statue) (Figure 3.35).

In 1993, Mango summarized the available information about the architecture of the Column.<sup>464</sup> It was placed on a seven-step structure, a monumental socle forming a square of unknown dimensions. Pachymeres defined it as made of brick and mortar in the form of a cube: "It consists of three tapering courses of white marble upon which was placed a circular torus."<sup>465</sup> Each side of the pedestal was decorated with an arcade, and each corner had a colonnette and "another set forward or opposite," which does not hint at a clear reconstruction.<sup>466</sup>

The shaft of the Column was made of brick with single courses of white stone inserted at wide intervals, a technique characteristic of the Justinianic period.<sup>467</sup> It was covered with panels and garlands of bronze without any figural decoration. Procopius noted that the metal sheeting extended to the top and the bottom as well (the base and the capital). This bronze-covered capital was composed of nine courses of marble creating a kind of impost block, upon which was placed another course of marble, square in plan, to create seating for the statue. Such a composition might have resembled the Column of Leo I with regard to the found impost block with holes at the periphery indicating metal sheeting. Other possible local predecessors for such a construction technique, as noted by Mango, could have been the Bronze Colossus in the Hippodrome and the Bronze Tetrapylon.<sup>468</sup>

A passage in the tenth century *Patria* indicates "a master builder" called Ignatios as the architect of the Column or the sculptor of the statue. The story explains that Justinian feared the

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<sup>464</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 3-4.

<sup>465</sup> Pachymeres, "Ekphrasis of Augusteion," in *The Art of the Byzantine*, 111.

<sup>466</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>468</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 5.

capabilities of the builder and decided to leave him on top of the Column when he finished his job. Then the scaffolding was removed so that he would have died from hunger:

“When Ignatios had finished it and set up the statue of the emperor on the horseback, he realized that he had been left behind there, and after some lamentation, when it had already become evening, he had a splendid idea. He found in his bag a thin robe, five fathoms long, pulled out his knife, and cut his garment and underskirt and pants, his belt and headgear into thin strips, tied and knotted them together, and tested to see whether they would reach down to the ground. When he had just found out that < this was the case >, his wife came with great moaning and wailing, and he called out to her, while all the people of the city were sleeping, saying: I have been left here to die, but you should go and secretly buy a thick rope as long as the column, rub it with liquid pitch, and come again in the middle of the night.” She came the following night and he let down what he had, she bound to rope to it, and he pulled it up. Above, he fixed it to the horse’s leg, held on to it, and descended safely.”<sup>469</sup>

As noted by Berger, the same story appeared in the report of the Harun ibn-Yahya from 912 but the name of the builder was changed to Stylianos, probably meaning as “the builder of the *stylos* (column).”<sup>470</sup> Also remarkable is the length of five fathoms, which equals to 9.14m. For a column as tall as the Column of Justinian, this measurement seems questionable.

In 444, Buondelmonti estimated a height of 60 *arsin* (an Ottoman unit of measurement; 60 *arsin* is equal to 41m).<sup>471</sup> In addition, P. Gilles reported that he measured some pieces of the statue; among them were a leg that was taller than a man’s height, a nose around 23cm, and a horse’s hoof of about 22cm.<sup>472</sup> In 1907, E. M. Antoniades and C. Gurlitt published two different reconstructions (Figure 3.36a-b). The former used the drum architecture of the Column of

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<sup>469</sup> Patria, Book 4, 31.

<sup>470</sup> Berger, *The Patria*, 330, note 73.

<sup>471</sup> Gurlitt, *Antike Denkmalsäulen*, 109.

<sup>472</sup> P. Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, trans. John Ball (London 1729), ch 17: “[This ill treatment of Theodosius by Justinian, was revenged upon him by the Barbarians]; for they used his Pillar in the same manner, and stripped it of the Statue, the Horse, and the Brass where with it was covered, so that it was only a bare Column for some years. About thirty years ago the whole shaft was taken down to the pedestal, and that, about a year since, was demolished down to the basis, from whence I observed a spring to spout up with pipes, into a large cistern. At present there stands in the same place a water-house, and the pipes are enlarged. I lately saw the equestrian statue of Justinian, erected upon the Pillar which stood here, and which had been preserved a long time in the Imperial Precina, carried into the melting houses, where they cast their ordnance. Among the fragments were the leg of Justinian, which exceeded my height, and his nose, which was above nine inches long. I dared not publicly measure the horse’s legs, as they lay upon the ground, but privately measured one of the hoofs, and found it to be nine inches in height.”

Constantine (and probably that of Leo I) and suggested a Column with 11 drums. The latter estimated the height of the Column as 43m based on the ancient testimony of Codinos and proposed a Column with a spiral relief.<sup>473</sup> Gurlitt himself stated that the scenes of the frieze were guesswork. The reconstruction published by W. Stichel in 1988 used a simple approach and presents a diagram of a seven-drum Column with a Corinthian capital. More in line with the other colossal columns of Constantinople, it has an impost block and a second block supporting the equestrian statue. In this version, the equestrian statue seems more than twice life-size yet smaller than in earlier reconstructions. The drawing lacks details about individual pieces, but it seems acceptable in terms of presenting proportional relationships between the individual parts of the Column and between the Column and its surroundings, especially Hagia Sophia. The recent reconstruction by the Byzantium1200 project creates a synthesis combining earlier versions (Figure 3.36c). Here, the brick construction of the shaft is concealed behind the metal sheeting. Regularly placed wreaths, similar to the ones covering the joints between the drums of Constantine's Column, create an illusion. Surfaces of the white-marble riveted pedestal are covered with an arcade, somewhat similar to Gurlitt's version.

The fate and reconstruction of the equestrian statue on top of the Column are controversial issues among scholars. Some Russian travel accounts identified the lost statue as that of Constantine the Great.<sup>474</sup> Cyriacus of Ancona recorded the statue as Heraclius.<sup>475</sup> Luckily, the statue is shown in a Renaissance drawing discovered in 1864 in the Topkapi Palace Library of Istanbul and later transferred to Budapest (Figure 3.37).<sup>476</sup> The traditional view of the statue, depicted in the image as "the imperial rider," was that it was a reused statue from the

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<sup>473</sup> Codinos Curopalates, *De officii saulae Constantinopolitanae*, 1839.

<sup>474</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 239.

<sup>475</sup> Cyriacus of Ancona, in *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444-1445*, ed. and trans. E. Bodnar and C. Mitchell (American Philosophical Society, 1976), 111-112.

<sup>476</sup> For the bibliography on the drawing see W. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *The Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 40, note 5.

Theodosian period because it had an inscription referring to Theodosius I or II. Discrepancies between the textual evidence and the drawing further challenged the identification of the image. Both Procopius and Pachymeres stated that the rider's headdress was a helmet, while the drawing shows a jeweled diadem surmounted by peacock feathers. On that basis, several scholars expressed the view that the statue was not of Justinian but of Theodosius I or II. Moreover, in 1959 P. W. Lehmann argued that the drawing does not represent the famous equestrian statue at all, but a lost gold medallion of Theodosius I. There are bronze coins of Theodosius I, issued between 392 and 395, that bear an equestrian figure of that emperor similar in many respects to the Budapest drawing. The most striking point of resemblance is the disproportionately large right hand. Mango rejects this view, referring to contemporary evidence showing that Justinian appropriated to himself an equestrian statue of the Theodosian period. Malalas stated that Justinian took the equestrian statue of Arcadius that stood in the Forum Tauri "on a low altar-shaped pedestal."<sup>477</sup> For Mango, the reference to Arcadius could have been a misinterpretation since only Theodosius I and II had equestrian statues in the Forum.<sup>478</sup> The latter could have been the reused one. A partial marble statue base found 300m from the Forum had a bilingual inscription mentioning Theodosius. Mango suggests that this pedestal could have been the discarded base of the equestrian statue reused and reerected by Justinian.<sup>479</sup>

As discussed in Stichel, there could have been one more column monument dedicated to Justinian. Three ancient references by Theophanes, Malalas and Michael the Syrian refer to an imperial statue on a porphyry column in Hebdomon that fell down in an earthquake in 550.<sup>480</sup> Standing in front of the so-called palace *Iucundiana* (also known as the *Secundiana*), it was probably dedicated to Justinian, who reigned in the year when the earthquake happened. Stichel

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<sup>477</sup> Malalas, *Chronicle*, 482.

<sup>478</sup> Mango, *Studies*, XI, 13.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 231, 14, Malalas, *Chronicle*, 489.2.

notes that this column could be the same monument in John Lydus's passage when he informs that the porphyry column he saw at the Hebdomon was a re-used shaft brought from the *Plakoton* (the name for the Forum of Constantine).<sup>481</sup>

### **3.5 “Non-colossal” column monuments of Constantinople**

In addition to the colossal columns, there were several other column monuments in the city. The following is a brief review of their architectural qualities to help the reader picture the visual environment of the city and situate the colossal columns in their local context.

#### **3.5.1 The Columns of Eudoxia and Theodosius II**

A monumental socle was found in 1847 on the northeast side of the Augusteion (Table 1, no 20). The Latin inscription accompanying the monument indicates it was a column monument erected by consul Simplicius in 403 in honor of Eudoxia, the wife of Emperor Arcadius and the mother of Theodosius II.<sup>482</sup> The inscription is composed of two parts, a four-verse section in Greek and a shorter one in Latin. As mentioned in the Greek version, the shaft was made of porphyry and surmounted by a massive silver statue of the empress. The dedication of a porphyry column by a public official not only demonstrated public support for the empress but also helped highlight her elevation to Augusta in 400, right after the dismissal and execution of Eutropius in 399. Eudoxia was now permitted to wear the “purple” and the imperial diadem.<sup>483</sup> During her time, Eudoxia exercised independent authority in the ecclesiastical realm. She became a patron to the faction of the Christian Church accepting the Nicene Creed, and she

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<sup>481</sup> Lydus, *De Magistratibus* III, 35.481. John Lydus or John the Lydian was a sixth-century Byzantine administrator and writer.

<sup>482</sup> CIL III 738 = ILS 824. Mango, “The Byzantine Inscriptions,” 63; J. Gottwald, “La statue de l'impératrice Eudoxie a Constantinople,” *Échos d'Orient* 10 (1907): 274-6.

<sup>483</sup> Eudoxia saw her imperial image disseminated on coins and other media throughout the provinces. On her personality and reign, Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (University of California Press, 1989), 22-44, 53-8.

reportedly sponsored the nighttime anti-Arian procession in the city.<sup>484</sup> She also presided over public celebrations concerning the arrival of new relics of Christian martyrs to the city and joined nightly vigils over the remains by herself.<sup>485</sup> Due to her presence in much of the public and religious life of the city, she was honored with a Column in one of the most prestigious plazas of the city. In fact, the only other column monument commemorating a female figure was the porphyry Column of Helena, Constantine's mother.<sup>486</sup>

Relocated today to the garden of Hagia Sophia, this is an unusually narrow pedestal with a side length of 1.45m and a height of 7.95m.<sup>487</sup> Based on the dimensions of the upper surface, Jordan-Ruwe estimates an 8.5m high column shaft for this Column, very close to the Column of Marcian (see below). Jordan-Ruwe also notes that Socrates and Sozomen gave very detailed descriptions of this Column, with the empress wearing a chlamys, but described a taller understructure as the pedestal of the Column.<sup>488</sup> Thus, Jordan-Ruwe suggests the possibility of a bigger understructure, part of which could have been the piece that is on display today. I take the argument one step further and propose that the monumental Column carrying a chlamys-clad figure on the initial reliefs of Arcadius's Column might have represented this Column (Figure 3.31a).

The *Patria* states that Eudoxia's son, Theodosius II, had a statue at the top of a column monument in the open area called Sigma that lied on Mese, just outside the Old Golden Gate, on the south of Exakionion.<sup>489</sup> Based on a statement by Marcellinus Comes, Mango suggested the

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<sup>484</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.8; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.8; Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 54.

<sup>485</sup> Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 55-8.

<sup>486</sup> Malalas, *Chronicle*, 321; *Chronicon Paschale*, 528-529.

<sup>487</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 163.

<sup>488</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.18; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.20; Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 192.

<sup>489</sup> *Patria*, II, 57; R. H. W. Stichel, *Die römische Kaiserstatue am Ende der Antike* (Roma 1982), 98.

possibility that the Sigma could have been identified with the Forum of Theodosius II.<sup>490</sup> In this view, the name Sigma, which is a late antique definition of a semi-circular colonnade, might have referred to the architecture of the portico in the Forum. Regarding the architecture of the Column, on the other hand, Jordan-Ruwe suggests that it could have stylistically stood between the Column of Constantine and that of Marcian.<sup>491</sup>

Mango mentions another column attributed to Theodosius II erected in Hebdomon.<sup>492</sup> A grey granite monolith and an inscribed marble block with traces of fixings for a bronze statue was found in the area, and Mango and Makridou associated them with a column monument. The shaft was of 11.25m tall (the same granite of the Column of Marcian) and 1.5m in diameter.<sup>493</sup> The 56cm tall block has a width of 2.35m and a depth of 1.95m. The inscribed text reveals that his sisters dedicated this Column to the emperor in the Hebdomon where the emperor himself was proclaimed. One possible occasion, as suggested by Makridou, could have been the readmission of Pulcheria to court in 449, after she had been exiled to the Hebdomon in 448.<sup>494</sup> There is no clue about the urban context of the column except the fact that the area where the column was set up was paved.<sup>495</sup> It is known that Hebdomon was the gathering and preparation area for most of the processions and triumphs before entering the Golden Gate. Therefore this column and possible other monuments there could have functioned the same manner as their successors in the Mese.

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<sup>490</sup> Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 212, note 483.

<sup>491</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 169-170.

<sup>492</sup> Th. K. Makridou, "Kion kai Andrias Theodosiou tou Neoterou," *Thrakika* 10 (1938) 170-173; Mango, "The Byzantine Inscriptions," 52-66, 52-66; 66 Hebdomon no. 1; Mango, *Studies*, X, p. 2 note 3

<sup>493</sup> Makridou, "Kion kai Andrias," 170; Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 173.

<sup>494</sup> Makridou, "Kion kai Andrias," 171-2.

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid.*, 173. Ref for the image of the granite column lying where discovered: Makridou, "Kion kai Andrias," 165, fig. 7.

### 3.5.2 The Column of Marcian

The Column of Marcian was the last column of the Theodosian dynasty erected in Constantinople. Although it survives today in fairly good condition in the Fatih district of Istanbul, its original urban setting remains in question since it is not documented in any late Roman or Byzantine source (Figure 3.38). Only the exact location—aligned perfectly with the northern arm of the Mese, oriented northwest/southeast—and a dedicatory inscription are available for researchers.

The Column is composed of a red-grey granite shaft and a white Proconnesian marble pedestal encased by four slabs (Figure 3.39). The base sits on a one-step understructure with a height of 2.35m.<sup>496</sup> One side of the base is decorated with two winged victories, or *genii*, supporting a globe. The east and west sides display a Christogram inscribed in a wreath and the south side a cross within a wreath. Remarkably, the former seems similar to the ones carved on the sides of the Column of Arcadius. The image of winged victories carrying a shield, on the other hand, recalls the *decennalia* base from the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*.

Upon the pedestal stands an 8.74m Egyptian granite shaft.<sup>497</sup> At the top of the Column is a 1.5m tall Corinthian capital. This supports a second block with a side length of 1.52m, formed by four gigantic eagles at the corners carrying the base of a statue of the emperor. The monument has a total height of 15.79m without the statue.<sup>498</sup> Some sources indicate a statue of the seated emperor.<sup>499</sup> This seems less plausible, however, since there is no example of an honorific column carrying a seated statue, and the dimensions of the last block at the top do not seem appropriate. A dedicatory inscription is engraved on the north side of the pedestal facing the Mese, at the top of the two victories. It reads, “See this statue of the emperor Marcian, and

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<sup>496</sup> All measurements are taken from the drawing in Müller Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 55.

<sup>497</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 2.

<sup>498</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 171, gives a total height of 16.52m.

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid.*

his forum, a work which the prefect Tatianus dedicated.”<sup>500</sup> As noted by Mango, the lettering was originally filled with bronze, which has since been removed.<sup>501</sup> The text reveals that the monument was erected by the city prefect Tatianus and dedicated to the emperor Marcian (ruled 450-457). Peculiar to this Column monument, the alignment of the capital differs from that of the pedestal. In fact, the former was placed on a north-south axis, possibly so that the statue at the top could look directly toward the nearby Church of Holy Apostles.

### 3.5.3 The Column of Goths

Another monument in Constantinople that has survived intact from the late Roman period is a 15m high monolithic Proconnesian marble column erected on the far northern end of the tip of the peninsula (Figure 3.40).<sup>502</sup> It stands on an approximately 4.3m high elevated base and carries a Corinthian capital decorated with a coat of arms depicting eagles.<sup>503</sup> The total height is given as 18.5m.<sup>504</sup> It stands on a small plateau in the second region, labeled in the *Notitia* as the area of the Acropolis, in the modern-day gardens of Old Seraglio. Its name, the Column of Goths, derives from the Latin inscription on its base that mentions a victory against the Goths.<sup>505</sup> However, U. Peschlow has shown that this inscription replaces an earlier one whose content cannot be specified.<sup>506</sup> The other side of the Column bears a cross with the inscription *IC XC NIKA*. The urban context is uncertain since no other ancient remains have

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<sup>500</sup> CIL III 738 = ILS 824.

<sup>501</sup> Mango, “The Byzantine Inscriptions,” 62.

<sup>502</sup> The main source about the architecture of the column is U. Peschlow, “Betrachtungen zur Gotensäule in Istanbul,” in *Tesserae. Festschrift J. Engemann. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband 18* (Münster 1991 [1992]), 215-228; R. H. W. Stichel, “Fortuna Redux, Pompeius und die Goten: Bemerkungen zu einem wenig beachteten Säulenmonument Konstantinopels,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 49 (1999): 467-492.

<sup>503</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 174.

<sup>504</sup> Müller-Wiener estimated 15m for the column’s shaft, while Peschlow, “Betrachtungen zur Gotensäule,” 217, gives a height of 14m.

<sup>505</sup> The inscription reads, *Fortunae reduci ob devictus gothos*: “To Fortuna, who returns by reason of victory over the Goths.”

<sup>506</sup> U. Peschlow, “Betrachtungen zur Gotensäule,” 215-28.

been found around the Column.<sup>507</sup> Nor is it possible to assign a date or an original dedication since no contemporary ancient source mentions this monument. The earliest source is Lydus, who observed in the sixth century that the Column carried a statue of Tyche in his day.<sup>508</sup> The Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras wrote in the thirteenth century that the monument once carried a statue of Byzas, the semilegendary founder of Byzantium.<sup>509</sup>

Given the lack of evidence, there are several different views about the Column and its statue (Figure 3.41). Mordtmann thinks it goes back to the Gothic Claudius II who ruled 268–270.<sup>510</sup> Janin argues that it must have belonged to the spina of the Great Theater built by Septimius Severus.<sup>511</sup> Mango claims the Column might be a victory monument erected to celebrate Constantine’s triumph after the victory over the Goths in 332.<sup>512</sup> Muller-Wiener favors for a date of Constantine the Great or Constantius II, based on the forms of the letters used in the inscription.<sup>513</sup> Peschlow identifies it as a Theodosian honorary monument, arguing that two spoliated parts were reused in its construction: a Severan Corinthian capital and a Constantinian pedestal.<sup>514</sup> Jordan-Ruwe furthers Peschlow’s idea and argues for a much later date—the era after Justinian the Great.<sup>515</sup> She points out that the smaller scale of the Column (compared to colossal columns) and its location on the eastern side of the city, which became more popular only after the sixth century, can be considered indicators of a later use. This

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<sup>507</sup> A large curvilinear hollow can be seen as a grass-covered earthwork around the base yet this is a modern addition.

<sup>508</sup> Lydus, *De mensibus*, 4.132. *Chronicon Paschale*, 530, John Malalas, *Chronicle*, 322 and *Parastaseis*, chapters 5, 38, 56, presented the Tyche as a significant element of the city’s creation and emphasized its protective role for the city. *Chronicon Paschale*, 629, describes people praying the tyche after an earthquake in the reign of Justinian. Julian sacrifices at tychaion: Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.4.8. Julian sacrifices at the statue of Tyche: Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.2. The Tyche statue in the sixth century: Procopius, *History of the Wars*, Book 5, 1.15.9–14. Maurice destroying Tyche of city: *Patria* 2.131.

<sup>509</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras, I 305 B.

<sup>510</sup> A. D. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), 50, note 87.

<sup>511</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 89.

<sup>512</sup> Mango, “The Triumphal Way,” 177.

<sup>513</sup> Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 53.

<sup>514</sup> Peschlow, “Betrachtungen zur Gotensäule,” 228.

<sup>515</sup> Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 176.

dissertation takes issue with Peschlow and chronologically situates the Column within the Theodosian dynasty.

### 3.5.4 The Column of Leo I

During excavations on the historical peninsula in 1959 and 1962, two pieces of a monumental shaft of grey granite, a gigantic capital with acanthus leaves, an impost block, and a smaller block were found in the second courtyard of Topkapi Palace.<sup>516</sup> The last three pieces are Proconnesian marble, and their findspots were very close to each other. It has been conjectured that these pieces derived from the Column of Leo I (ruled 457-474), and the area around the Column was the Forum of Leo I described in the fifteenth-century *Synkrisis* of Manuel Chrysoloras. The source situates the Forum and the Column inside the Forum on “the hill of the Byzantium (Acropolis), to the right of the temple of Peace (the Church of Holy Peace-Hagia Irene).”<sup>517</sup> The formal configuration and the other buildings of the Forum are unknown, except for archaeological data indicating a large-aisled basilica with a polygonal apse and a small narthex attached to it.<sup>518</sup> Dark and Harris has identified the area as “the latest example of an imperial forum in the Roman Empire,” and argued that the basilica church could be an original part of the Forum. They further commented on the fact that the presence of a church in a forum space might prove increasing Christianization of Constantinopolitan public space as early as the fifth century. This argument, however, is not convincing since it is difficult to imagine a

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<sup>516</sup> N. Firath and A. Rollas, “Topkapi sarayından yeni buluntular,” *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 11-12 (1964), no 96-103, plate 27/1, 29/1, 30/1-2; K. Cig, “1960-1969 seneleri arasında Topkapi Sarayında yapılan restorasyonlar esnasındaki buluntular,” *7. Türk Tarihi Kongresi, Ankara 1973*, vol 2 no 693; Ezher Özkardaşler, *İstanbul'un Bizans devrine ait abidevi anıtları* (Unpublished MA Thesis, Istanbul University, 1976, 211-213).

<sup>517</sup> Peschlow, “Eine wiedergewonnene byzantinische Ehrensäule,” 23–33; C. Mango, *Studies*, III, “Addenda.” On the Forum of Leo I, see K. Dark, and A.L. Harris, “The Last Roman Forum: the Forum of Leo in Fifth-century Constantinople,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 48:1 (2008), 57-69; K.Dark, “The Eastern Harbours of Early Byzantine Constantinople,” *Byzantion* 75 (2005), 152–163; K.Dark, “The New Post Office Site in Istanbul and the North-eastern Harbour of Byzantine Constantinople,” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 33 (2004) 315–319.

<sup>518</sup> For archaeological data about the Second Courtyard of the Topkapi Palace, see Aziz Oğan, “Les fouilles de Topkapu Saray,” *Bellesten* 4 (1940) 317–335, pls. LXXII–LXXXIII; T. H. Bossert, “Istanbul Akropolünde Üniversite hafriyatı,” *Universite Konferansları 1939–1940* (Istanbul, 1940), 206–231; A.M. Schneider, “Grabung im Hof des Topkapi sarayı,” *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts* 54 (1939), 179-82; S. Eyice, “Les basiliques byzantines d’Istanbul,” *Corso di cultura sull’Arte ravennate e bizantina* 26 (1979), 115-149.

rectangular or circular regularized plaza that would embrace all remains that were highly scattered within a 200km<sup>2</sup> of area. The identification needs further substantial archaeological evidence.

The architecture of the Column—as reconstructed by scholars like Peschlow and Mango, and recently by Oner with the Byzantium1200 project—looks very similar to the Column of Constantine (Figure 3.42). This resemblance derives first from the granite blocks, suggesting a monumental shaft consisting of drums. The blocks are 1.90m tall and 1.83m in diameter. The upper edge of the block is decorated with a 0.30m wide collar decorated with acanthus leaves. In the middle of the collar, there is an *IX* monogram within a medallion. The second piece from this monument is another column drum very similar to the first. One side is broken, but it has the same diameter (1.80m) and the same 0.50m collar decorated with laurel leaves and an *IX* monogram placed within a medallion (diameter: 0.23m). This time, the medallion is surrounded by a laurel wreath. The collar of the Column of Constantine, seen in Lorichs's drawings, carries a laurel wreath as well.

The impost block found nearby is 1.25m high and 2.95m wide at its upper edge.<sup>519</sup> It has four holes at the upper face. The other marble block (height: 0.95m, width: 1.65m, depth: 1.70m) is thought to have sat at the top of the impost block. The holes at the periphery of the impost block suggest that the last part could have been covered with metal sheeting. The last piece, the capital, is 2.35m tall, its lowest diameter is 1.82, and it reaches 2.12m at the upper edge. The decoration of the capital—the style of acanthus leaves, abacuses, and human masks—very much resembles the Column of Marcian.

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<sup>519</sup> All measurements are taken from H. Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeojisi* (Istanbul, 1989), 166-171.

Peschlow reconstructed the Column as an eight-drum column, reaching a height of 26m without the statue.<sup>520</sup> Following this assumption, Mango includes it among the colossal examples.<sup>521</sup> Oner's reconstruction put eight drums on top of each other, making a 13.3m tall shaft.<sup>522</sup> In both versions, the order of the upper structure (the capital-impost block and the statue-supporting block) is similar to Marcian's Column. Likewise, the style of the capital dates the Column close to Marcian's reign, albeit slightly later.<sup>523</sup> Interestingly, if considered in terms of proportional relations based on the drum dimensions, the Column of Leo I appears to be about 1.64 times smaller than the Column of Constantine and 1.60 times bigger than the Column of Marcian. A 4m height can be estimated for the pedestal if the same ratio is applied to the 6.5m tall pedestal of Constantine's Column. This makes for a total height of 22.3m without the statue (4.55m upper structure + 13.30m shaft + 4.00m pedestal).

Regarding the statue of the emperor, Peschlow suggests that this Column could have been the original location of the bronze Barletta Colossus.<sup>524</sup> This is a large bronze statue with a height of 5.11m and currently located in Barletta, Italy.<sup>525</sup> It is considered as an artifact brought from Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade in 1204. In fact, the identity of the statue is not certain, although the imperial diadem and the commanding gesture—with his raised right arm holding a cross—implies an emperor delivering a speech. The cuirass over the short tunic, the draped cloak over the arm, and the jewel placed over the diadem recall well-known conventions used in Roman statues, especially in formulas documenting the military function of the

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<sup>520</sup> Peschlow, "Eine wiedergewonnene byzantinische Ehrensäule," 23.

<sup>521</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 2.

<sup>522</sup> No explanation accompanies the images in the website. Seven drums might have come from the seven drums of the Column of Constantine.

<sup>523</sup> Peschlow, "Eine wiedergewonnene byzantinische Ehrensäule," 28.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid*, 32. For the description of the statue, see chapter 1.4.

<sup>525</sup> On the statue, F. P. Johnson, "The Colossus of Barletta," *American Journal of Archaeology* 29:1 (1925), 20-25.

emperor. Peschlow dates the statue to the second half of the fifth century based on the fact that there is a tendency toward linearity and geometrical forms, which addresses the Theodosian dynasty.<sup>526</sup>

### 3.5.5. Columns of the Justinianic Dynasty

Two more columns are known to have been erected in the sixth century by Justinian's successors. First, Emperor Justin II (ruled 565 to 574) had a column (or a pair) in the Deuteron, the Second Milestone, of the city that was situated beyond the Walls of Constantine to the northwest of the Church of Holy Apostles.<sup>527</sup> The area was known as the site of the emperor's palace, and as reported by John of Ephesus, the emperor ordered two brass statues for himself and his wife Sophia.<sup>528</sup> Mango suggests that the Column might have been placed at the entrance of the palace rather than inside the complex. It could have faced the upper arm of the Mese leading to the Gate of Adrianople. Several other sources mentioned the Column in the ninth century and later.<sup>529</sup> Mango further points to the five colossal columns shown in Buondelmonti's bird's-eye view of the city (Figure 3.6). The fifth column appears behind the Church of Holy Apostles. For Mango, the Column of Justin II could be the fifth great column counted and drawn by Buondelmonti as being 60 cubits high (around 27.5m).<sup>530</sup> Further, Berger has argued that Michael VII reused this Column when he ordered a great column topped with a statuary group of himself and St. Michael in front of the Church of Holy Apostles.<sup>531</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> Peschlow, "Eine wiedergewonnene byzantinische Ehrensäule," 31-32.

<sup>527</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 9.

<sup>528</sup> John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 24.

<sup>529</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 10, notes 27-29.

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>531</sup> Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 484-86.

The last recorded Constantinopolitan column, a column of marble drums, was the Column of Phocas completed in 609 east of the Church of the Forty Martyrs.<sup>532</sup> No record of the statue of the emperor was found in the ancient testimony, except that in 612 Emperor Heraclius fixed a cross at its summit and added an inscription that read, “Heraclius set up the God-pleasing work of a great emperor.”<sup>533</sup> Berger points to a cistern built by Phocas on the Mese between the Fora of Constantine and Theodosius.<sup>534</sup> He identifies a still-existing cistern near Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasa Medresesi and argues that the Column was standing in a paved court at the top of the cistern. Berger marks the area as being close to the Bronze Tetrastyle in a district called the Bread Market. Mango, however, disagrees with this geographical location on the grounds that the dimensions of the cistern (223.95m x 16.60m) are too modest to attract the attention of a chronicler.<sup>535</sup>

### **3.6 Column monuments outside Constantinople (fourth to sixth century)**

#### **3.6.1 The Column of Julian the Apostate in Ancyra**

In Ankara, there is another freestanding column known as the Column of Julian (Figure 3. 43). Recently in a broad publication about the Roman archaeological remains of Ancyra, M. Kadioğlu published measured drawings and a comprehensive historiography about this relatively neglected monument (Figure 3.44).<sup>536</sup> Today the Column stands in the eastern corner of the Government Square in Ulus, Ankara’s old city center, but city archives shows that in 1934 the monument was dismantled and removed from its original location to 10m further east due to unstable ground conditions. The removal process revealed a 3m deep subterranean structure

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<sup>532</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 698-9.

<sup>533</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 15.

<sup>534</sup> Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 316-8, plan on page 310.

<sup>535</sup> Mango, *Studies*, X, 15.

<sup>536</sup> M. Kadioğlu, “Column of Belkiz (So-called Julian? Column),” in *Roman Ancyra* eds. M. Kadioğlu et al. (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2011), 225-238. I am grateful to Prof. Kadioğlu for allowing me to include his drawing in this manuscript.

with walls of mortared stone, over which is an andesite platform built out of 3m x 3m blocks. Unlike the Column of Constantine or Justinian, this socle does not have steps. The base, shaft and the capital, all were built out of white grey limestone. The shaft has 14 drums (one was lost during the removal of the column) and its average height becomes 8.4m.<sup>537</sup> Remarkably, each 0.6m (around 2 RF) tall drum is fluted with horizontal *torus* and *trochilos* profiles. The Corinthian capital is decorated with large acanthus leaves on four sides and has traces of lead and dowel holes suggesting that all sides could have been adorned with bronze crosses or an anchor.<sup>538</sup> Without the 3m structure on the base, the overall height of the column reaches up to 11.5m. The area around the original location of the column is thought as the agora of Ancyra yet the archaeological data is insufficient for further interpretation.

The Column has been accepted as a monument commemorating the visit of the emperor Julian when he passed through Ancyra on his way to Constantinople around 361-363.<sup>539</sup> This assumption was based on an inscription found on the city walls by eighteenth century traveler J. Pitton de Tournefort (1701).<sup>540</sup> Yet in 1977, Foss explained that the inscription in question belonged to a statue erected for the emperor Julian, not to a column.<sup>541</sup> Hence, Kadioğlu reviews other important historical events related to the city and proposes to date the Column either to the reign of Aurelian (ruled AD 270-275) or Constantine (306-337).<sup>542</sup> Aurelian, for example, regained the city from Zenobia in 271 and gave the region its prosperity back by initiating extensive road constructions. Such operations might include a commemorative column as well. Also, Constantine is another option for Kadioğlu, since he was known to have permitted large scale construction and reconstruction activities in the city. Certainly, both arguments need

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<sup>537</sup> Ibid., 229

<sup>538</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>539</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, 22. 9.8.

<sup>540</sup> CIL III 247.

<sup>541</sup> Clive Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 41.

<sup>542</sup> Kadioğlu et al., *Roman Ancyra*, 238.

additional evidence. One last comment relevant to our discussion is the fact that a similar column shaft with horizontal flutes and identical dimensions is found in the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, yet no further information is available about that piece.<sup>543</sup>

### 3.6.2 The column monuments in Ephesus

There are two sets of four-column monuments in Ephesus, both in the form of Roman tetraklion like the Tetrarchic groups in the Temple of Ammon at Luxor. The first group was identified by Jobst in 1989 when he found four similar Ionic capitals close to the western gate of the Lower Agora (Figure 3.45).<sup>544</sup> The dimensions of the capitals indicate a four column monument, each about 7.5m-8m high. Whether these columns were placed on a line or in a tetrapylon form is unknown but Jobst adds that they were probably surmounted by over life-size bronze statues. Based on the rather classical style of the Ionic capital, he dates the monument to the fourth century by suggesting a resemblance between these capitals and the ones of the columns in Theodosian Hagia Sophia.<sup>545</sup> The original place could have been either the findspot, or somewhere along the so-called Western street combining the Agora to the Arkadiane. Interestingly, unlike any other column monument covered so far, Ionic capitals appeared here as a local variety.

The second and well-known group, so called *Viersäulendenkmal*, is located approximately half way to the city on Arkadiane that is the harbor street extending from the Harbor to the Great Theater in a straight line.<sup>546</sup> The street is 11.5 m wide and at its both sides

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<sup>543</sup> Kadioğlu et al., *Roman Ancyra*, 230, note 24, mentions another column shaft located in the Museum's storage the inventory number 89.73. It was found near the west side of the Gate of Adrianople. Based on the dowel holes seen in this shaft's attic base and its resemblance to the Column of Julian in Ankara, Kadioğlu believes that the column shaft in Istanbul could have been a part of an honorary monument carrying a bronze statue.

<sup>544</sup> W. Jobst, "Ein Spätantikes Säulenmonument in Ephesos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 39 (1989): 245-255.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid, 253.

<sup>546</sup> On the Arkadiane, see Peter Schneider "Bauphasen der Arkadiane," in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien 1995*, eds. H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 467-478; P. Buyukkolanci, "Harbor Street (Arkadiane)," in *Ephesus*, ed. S. Erdemgil (İzmir: Do-Gü Yayınları, 2004), 48-52.

stood galleries with mosaic floors, behind which were rows of shops. The columnar monument was placed at the intersection of a perpendicular street connecting the Arkadiane to the Lower Agora. Today, four socles are still in situ and one of the original columns was reconstructed in 1964 (Figure 4.46).

The four-column monument was first identified in 1900s and dated to the sixth century AD to the reign of Justinian.<sup>547</sup> Each column is composed of a three-step socle, a round base (3m high) and the column shaft with a Corinthian capital.<sup>548</sup> The base has eight semicircular niches separated with Corinthian colonnette. The overall height of the columns was estimated around 10 to 12m. The upper bands of the bases have floral ornaments, crosses and a continuous inscription band. Heberdey identified the script style as Justinianic, while Deichmann specifically points to the second half of the sixth century based on the stylistic analysis of the capitals.<sup>549</sup> About the statues at the top of the columns, Wilberg refers to four Evangelists showing the Christianization of the city.<sup>550</sup> Yet some of the scholars are still skeptical about this interpretation as all column monuments reviewed so far had an imperial statue. None of them was surmounted by a Christian individual. Thus, the columns could have had statues of emperors and/or his entourage as well.

### 3.6.3 The Column of Phocas in Rome

Cataloged as the last column monument of antiquity in Jordan-Ruwe's list, the Column of Phocas in Rome was placed at the central area of the Roman Forum, close to the Augustan rostra. The exact date of the Column is debatable, yet it is usually accepted as a monument from

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<sup>547</sup> R. Heberdey, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos III," *Jahreshefte Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut* 2 (1899), 37-50; R. Heberdey, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos IV," *Jahreshefte Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut* 3 (1900), 83-96.

<sup>548</sup> W. Wilberg and R. Heberdey, "Der Viersäulenbau auf der Arkadianestrassen" *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Band. I) (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1906), 132-140.

<sup>549</sup> IvE IV, S. 166, For the interpretation see Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos* I, 141, and Deichmann, *Zur spätantiken Plastik von Ephesos* (a. O.) 92. I/I: O. Benndorf et al. (Vienna 1906); II: R. Heberdey et al, *Das Theater* (Vienna, 1912).

<sup>550</sup> W. Wilberg and R. Heberdey, "Der Viersäulenbau," 138.

the reign of Emperor Phocas (602-610), who is honored in the inscription.<sup>551</sup> It remains today in its original location (in situ) and in fact became the ultimate icon for the Roman Forum (Figure 4.47).

The Column is elevated over a stepped base 5m high. It consists of masonry surrounding an inner concrete core faced with brick. Steps survive today on the south and west sides. The shaft is fluted white marble surmounted by a Corinthian capital. Both are reused architectural elements dating to the second or third century.<sup>552</sup> The Column reaches about 17m in total. It had a gilded statue at the top. The inscription occupies the north façade of the monumental pedestal, facing the entrance point of the Forum when approached from the Argiletum (Figure 4.48).<sup>553</sup>

Many scholars confirm that the remains suggest a column monument composed of spolia. Thus, the dating of the Column occupies most scholarly discussions. The traditional view is that the Column and the pedestal were built first, and the steps and the inscription were added later. In fact, in the nineteenth century, F. M. Nichols noticed traces of an earlier inscription beneath the extant one and tentatively pointed to the reign of Theodosius I for the original Column.<sup>554</sup> Giuliani and Verduchi analyzed the physical evidence in 1984 and argued that the Column was contemporary with the other column monuments of the Forum, but it seemed to have been constructed using a different technique. The solid bases of brick used in the pedestals of the seven column monuments were not repeated for the singular Column. The latter stood on a base of concrete faced with brick and masonry. However, this dating to the early years of the fourth century is challenged by Jordan-Ruwe's urban analysis. She notes that the

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<sup>551</sup> CIL VI 1200.

<sup>552</sup> Jordan Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 187.

<sup>553</sup> The Argiletum was a main route combining the Roman Forum with the cluster of Imperial Fora, the Forum Transitorium in particular. For more information, Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 39.

<sup>554</sup> F. M. Nichols, *A revised history of the Column of Phocas on the Roman Forum* (Westminster, 1890), 192; F. M. Nichols, "The Column of Phocas before Phocas" *Journal of the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome* 3 (1888-89), 174-178.

Column must have been a later addition since it was not aligned with any of the seven columns or with any of the rostra.

The original date is important for interpreting its importance in urban terms as well. Bauer analyzes the Column and supports an original date of the fourth or fifth century. He implicitly argues that the widening of the pedestal by means of 12 steps could have been a part of subsequent alterations. Furthermore, Bauer suggests that this Column might have functioned as an agent showing the transfer of some Constantinopolitan urban principles to Rome. More specifically, he views the freestanding column as a tool to create sightlines between important urban spaces. In this case, the Column of Phocas forms a visual connection between the Roman Forum and the Imperial Fora through the Forum Transitorium.<sup>555</sup> There is, however, one further piece of evidence to be considered. Right before the steps of the Column, on the trajectory of the intersection of the Argiletum with the Sacred Way, stood another monument traced by two travertine foundation stones that remain embedded in the Forum pavement. Reconstructed as an arch dedicated to Emperor Honorius by G. Kalas, it might have featured a large-scale sculpture as well. Certainly, the architecture and height of such a structure is open to discussion, but it is plausible that such a monument could have obstructed the clear and uninterrupted sightline of the Column or at least of its pedestal (Figure 3.49).<sup>556</sup>

### **3.7 The “New” freestanding column as the “milestone” of the early Byzantine skyline**

Scholars have viewed Constantinopolitan column monuments as city ornaments emulating Roman examples. Recently, B. Ward-Perkins examined the Column of Arcadius while

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<sup>555</sup> Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 343. Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 120, also considers the column monument as a visual connector between significant urban spaces in Constantinople.

<sup>556</sup> G. Kalas, “Visualizing Statues in the Late Antique Roman Forum: Reconstruction Notes,” in <http://inscriptions.etc.ucla.edu/index.php/statues-and-memory/reconstruction-notes/>

comparing the architectures of Rome and Constantinople.<sup>557</sup> Compared to its first-to-third century antecedents, however, the freestanding column of the fourth to sixth-century Constantinople exhibits markedly distinctive features (Table 2). Certain differences may be judged cosmetic, but others suggest a transformative shift in the architecture of the column. The following discussion focuses on their colossal scale, distinctive architectural features like inscriptions and stepped understructure, and most significantly, gradually increased Christian symbolism.

The most obvious peculiarity among the four colossal columns is the subordinating scale. The architecture of the Roman freestanding column persisted unchanged in principle, yet it was represented on a colossal scale, that is taller than 30m. The columns were not monolithic but composed of several drums. In the first example, Constantine the Great took up the Tetrarchic freestanding column and re-created it with a previously unattempted size and splendor. This solemn and almost “abstract” architecture was characterized by simplicity, coherence, and grandeur of scale; it most likely had a certain sublime general effect when one approached the city from land or sea. The “Roman” historiated columns of the Theodosian dynasty followed Constantine’s monumental approach and added a large-scale, spiral narrative component. Several other relatively modest column monuments further contributed to this columnar landscape. As such, the colossal scale infused the freestanding column with an inescapable iconic quality. By the sixth century, height gained such primacy over the material value of the marble that the last colossal column, the Column of Justinian, was not composed of marble. Instead, it was built out of brick and mortar to reach a grand scale. As final touch the whole column shaft and capital was covered in bronze.

It is important to notice that in all columns, the type of marble used in the shaft differed from that of the pedestal. Hence, the purple porphyry and white marble base; or the glittering

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<sup>557</sup> Ward-Perkins, “Old and New Rome Compared,” 58, fig.3.1.

bronze cladding of Justinian's column shaft standing on Proconnesian marble arcades decorating its pedestal's surfaces must have provided an eye-catching color contrast. The extreme example of this aesthetic experimentation is the rather smaller Column of Eudoxia with the white marble base, the porphyry shaft and the silver statue.

Accompanying the monumental scale of the column was the presence of an imperial forum. The columns of the surrounding porticos in these large spatial urban plazas revealed a significant contrast in scale and thus made the size of the colossal columns more explicit. This in turn exaggerated the visual and symbolic force behind these monuments.

No inscriptions were reported for colossal columns except for the dedication reportedly seen on the Column of Constantine reading, "To Constantine, shining in the manner of the sun," yet no textual or pictorial evidence is available today. Regarding the historiated columns of Theodosius and Arcadius, there could have been an inscription modeled on the Roman precedents. The inscription of the Column of Trajan, for example, was framed inside a *tabula ansata* and placed at the top of the pedestal's door. But the northern face with the entrance door of Arcadius's Column depicted in the *Freshfield* drawings shows an empty surface.

Among the non-colossal columns, an inscription was known on the Column of Theodosius II in Hebdomon. The four lines in Latin reads, "To our lord ...us the emperor ... of the sisters ... having pacified ... Celsus avoids."<sup>558</sup> A better-known example, the Column of Marcian has a Latin dedication, too. It was placed at the upper edge of the pedestal on the northern side, supposedly the main side of the Column and records the dedication of the statue of the emperor and "its base," not explicitly referring to the Column. It reads, "See this statue of the emperor Marcian, and his forum, a work which the prefect Tatianus dedicated."<sup>559</sup> The use of the bronze lettering is a unique feature. The Column of Goths, on the other hand, has a more

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<sup>558</sup> See Chapter 3.4.1

<sup>559</sup> CIL III 738.

conventional formula. The dedicatory text was carved over an earlier erased inscription laid out in eight lines (possibly an epigram).<sup>560</sup> It reads, “To [the goddess] Fortune of Good Return, because of the defeat of the Goths” in three lines. The letters are around 10cm and the inscription completely covers the surface of the pedestal’s eastern side. Overall, each column indicates a certain stylistic departure and thus prevents one to draw conclusions about possible inscriptions for colossals.

Remarkably, however, there are inscriptions found on some other monuments might provide comparative cases. For example, a *tabula ansata* framed the inscription on the Theodosian Obelisk base - which in fact strengthens the argument about a possible *tabula ansata* for the colossal column. The dedication was bilingual and texts were placed in two parts on opposite sides, below the bas-reliefs of the marble pedestal. The Latin version facing the *kathisma* was written in the first person singular and explained the dedication and the process of the construction. "Formerly difficult, I was ordered to obey the peaceful masters and to raise/the palm after the tyrants were dead. Everything gives way to Theodosius and his eternal offspring. In this way conquered and mastered in three times ten days, under Proclus the Prefect, I was raised to the high air."<sup>561</sup> The western side has the Greek version, shorter and in the third person singular: "Only Emperor Theodosius dared to erect the four-sided column which had lain heavy on the earth for a long time. Proclus was summoned, and this so enormous column was put up in thirty-two suns."<sup>562</sup>

In a similar composition, there are two more monuments with bilingual inscriptions. The inscription on the base of the Column of Eudoxia has two versions—one in Greek and one in Latin—on opposite sides. The Latin inscription in two lines reads, "To our mistress Aelia

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<sup>560</sup> Peschlow, "Betrachtungen zur Gotensäule," 222-3.

<sup>561</sup> CIL III 737 = ILS 821.

<sup>562</sup> CIG 8612.

Eudoxia, forever Augusta. Simplicius, of clarissimus rank, prefect of the city, dedicated [this].<sup>563</sup> The Greek inscription in four lines reads, “See the porphyry column and the silver empress, in the place where the emperors give rule to the city! Of what name is she, you might ask? Eudoxia. Who set her up? Simplicius, offspring of mighty consuls, the noble prefect.”<sup>564</sup> The other inscription belongs to a statue base of Theodosius (I or II).<sup>565</sup> One of the sides has a fourteen-line text (four lines in Latin and ten in Greek), and the other side has another partially preserved Greek text in nine lines. The text is highly damaged but Schneider proposed a partial translation of the Latin part: “To our lord Theodosius ... and ... made this work ... ---us, prefect of the city ... [set this up].”<sup>566</sup> Finally, it is important to note that the seven bases of the bronze statues of Porphyrius the Charioteer, erected in the spina of the Hippodrome between 500 and 550, has multiple inscriptions, yet only in Greek.<sup>567</sup>

In short, it is a matter of speculation as to whether there were inscriptions on the colossal columns, and if so where. However, it is still reasonable to claim that there can be two historical precedents, the Roman imperial columns or the local version of bilingual inscriptions. The fact that non-colossal columns had Latin texts in traditional styles makes one suggest that the Latin epigraphic formula of dedication was probably common in colossal columns as well. A Latin text could have been placed in the historiated examples, maybe by using a *tabula ansata* - even though the pictorial evidence suggest the opposite. The panels could have been inserted as surmounting pieces above the pedestals. However, with the Theodosian dynasty, the local ways of dedication and monumental addresses appeared more dominant. As reviewed above, after the

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<sup>563</sup> CIL III 736.

<sup>564</sup> CIL IV 8614.

<sup>565</sup> A. M. Schneider, “Archäologische Funde aus der Türkei im Jahre 1939,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1940), 589-92 fig. 18-20. The base was found near the Laleli Mosque (between the Forum of Theodosius and Forum of Bovis) and is now in the forecourt of St. Sophia.

<sup>566</sup> <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>, LSA-30 (Ulrich Gehn)

<sup>567</sup> Two of the bases are in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (inv. no. 5560 and 2995). For further discussion, see Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), esp. 222-258.

fourth century, the inscriptions were usually accompanied with Greek translations. Notably, the Greek versions were not literal translations of the Latin versions. In some cases, the Latin is far too short and generic than the more specific Greek version. In fact, one would suggest that the type of the inscription could have changed depending on the identity of the awarder or the place of the monument. The Column of Eudoxia or the Theodosian statue base, for example, was set up, not by the emperors, but by the local officials and therefore used both the official imperial language of Latin and the Greek of the citizens. The same is true for the statues of Porphyrius the Charioteer sponsored by both the Green and Blue fractions. Moreover, it is remarkable that the honorary monuments set up on the *spina*, including the Obelisk, had long Greek texts, revealing a particular concern to promote public participation in the Hippodrome games.<sup>568</sup> In fact, such an analysis was made for the obelisk by L. Safran in 1993. In her comprehensive article, she argues for the possibility that the languages of the inscriptions corresponded with the literacy of the audiences, since the inscription in Latin faced the *kathisma* while the Greek version faced the circus partisans. In this perspective, the obelisk base was designed to communicate certain messages and to elicit certain responses.

Similar analyses could have been performed for the columns of Eudoxia or Theodosius II as well, if we accurately knew the physical settings. However, it is still possible to suggest that fourth-century colossal columns - and maybe the Column of Arcadius as well - could have carried Latin inscriptions reflecting the language of power, the emperor, the court, and bureaucracy. The southern side of the Column of Constantine, if not the northern side looking at the Senate House - could have had an inscription. Approaching the sixth century, however, as the people called themselves Romans – “Romaioi” in Greek, the Column of Justinian could have had either a Latin or a bilingual inscription.<sup>569</sup> Certainly, the absence of inscriptions may well

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<sup>568</sup> L. Safran, “Points of View: the Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 34:4 (1993), 419-420.

<sup>569</sup> It is known that the language spoken in the streets of Constantinople was Greek. Individuals and groups used Greek when addressing to the Senate, and more importantly, the Church was speaking Greek. However, the massive

reflect the fact that these columns did not need “nametags” for the prominent local settings already identified them.

One other essential addition to the column’s architecture is the stepped understructure. The five steps of the Column of Constantine, the three steps of the Column of Arcadius, and the seven-step socle of the Column of Justinian reflect local appropriation. In fact, this particular design emerges as a significant commonality, especially for the sixth-century columns. The three-step base of the Ephesian four-column monument in Arkadiane and the twelve-step structure under the Roman Column of Phocas can be included in the list.<sup>570</sup> Using steps instead of a walled substructure, designers created a habitable space for passersby. This arrangement first reminds the underground foundation of a Greek temple consisting of several layers of squared stone blocks. These smoothed and levelled blocks were employed as seating on the outside. Utilizing the bottom of a column monument for seating is hardly a new idea. As mentioned earlier, the columns of Sagalassos sit on a platform shaped as a bench on all four sides.<sup>571</sup> Furthermore, the ancient Roman gaming board incised into the top marble platform on the eastern side of Marcus Aurelius’s Column suggests a sitting area in front of the door of the monumental pedestal. In Constantinople, planners and designers recast this feature to create a mid-ground between the column and the forum space.

The symbolic relationship between the rostra and the column monument that existed in earlier Roman examples, however, disappeared in Constantinople. The only known speaking platform, a tribunal in the Forum of Constantine, was separated from the column and situated on the southern side of the Forum. While an organic relationship with the speaking platform was missing, the columns became the monumental post manifesting the programmatic identity

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volume of the *Codex Theodosianus*, completed in 437, was in Latin. In the time of Justinian, the language was Greek in the court as well.

<sup>570</sup> There is a fourth column monument standing on a stepped base in Constantinople that is reported to have been seen by Gilles on the fifth hill. Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus* (Leyden, 1561).

<sup>571</sup> See Chapter 2.2, Figure 2.9b.

of the forum space, therefore, the steps created an alternative to the rostra. In the Forum of Constantine, for example, the 5m wide top level created a 2m high platform in the middle of the Forum without visually separating the viewers from the ground. The short run of steps might have had different intentions, such as symbolizing the higher status of the emperor or contributing to the dominant presence of the column and its visibility (from the sea, for example). The steps might have also provided a stage area (as seen later with the erection of the Chapel of Constantine on the upper step of the Column) or contributed to the sculptural quality of the object. Furthermore, the steps provided a ceremonial base enhancing the spatial experience of the column. The ziggurat-like rising of the stairs created a sensual effect that accelerated the movement of the eye toward the sky. For the Column of Justinian, Procopius noted that “the people who gather there [in the Augusteion] can sit upon them [the stairs] as on seats.” In such an arrangement, the visibility reverts even to touchability and the pedestal even became an urban surface to lean against. In that case, the stairs might have had larger treads and smaller risers. This would have encouraged spectators to step up more leisurely and linger on the stairs, absorbing the nature of the Augusteion and its spatial and decorative qualities.

Procopius’s statement indicates a common use without any restrictions. However, the eight-century transformation of part of the Constantine’s pedestal into a chapel dedicated to the sanctified emperor suggests the opposite. In the reconstruction of the chapel, Mango also discusses the position of people vis-à-vis the chapel/the base of the Column and identifies the stairs as a sacred place reserved for an altar.<sup>572</sup> Thus, opposite to the regular use of the citizens of the sixth century, in the eighth century or later, the mid-ground was only ever penetrated by the imperial entourage or panegyrists to give the imperial addresses, or the priests for praying. The worshippers stood below on the forum ground. Therefore, even if the stairs supported social

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<sup>572</sup> Mango, *Studies*, IV, 108.

connection and spontaneous encounters in the sixth century, the situation might have changed by the eighth century.

Another very important difference is that Christian symbols became significant components of the sculptural programs of the columns. A *chrismon* was seen on the shields of the soldiers depicted in the spiral relief of the Column of Theodosius. On the Column of Arcadius, all sides had dominant Christian symbols. These included the large-scale monogram of a cross with the alpha and omega carried by victories or *labari* (imperial standards), with the Chi-Rho monogram illustrated within the war trophies. It is worth noting that the sign was centralized visually in all three bas-reliefs. The same symbol appeared inside the Column, carved in the ceiling of the vestibule.<sup>573</sup> The IX monogram was observed on the wreaths around the drums of the Column of Leo as well. Among the “non-colossal” columns, the east and west sides of the Column of Marcian display a Christogram inscribed in a wreath, and the south side has a cross within a wreath.

The symbolism related with the Christogram was established by Constantine the Great, and was associated with his vision at the Milvian Bridge.<sup>574</sup> It was used in the labarum by the Constantine the Great, and then transferred to the emperor’s helmet and the imperial diadem. This theme is adopted in many other media as well. There is an antique silver medal depicting the same labarum as a symbol commemorating his victory against Licinius. The so-called Sariguzel sarcophagus (found near Istanbul) is a late fourth-century example where the angels carried the XP monogram. For early Christians, the cross and Christogram was the mysterious signs of Christ.<sup>575</sup> John Chrysostom, the archbishop of Constantinople between 397 and 407, described the cross as “the wonderful and the glorious sign of the victory” and “the spoil of war

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<sup>573</sup> In contrast to the pedestal, the opening scenes of the spiral lacked Christian imagery. Given the fact that these scenes depicted the visual environment of the Augusteion and the Forum of Constantine before the additions of Justinian the Great, it is safe to assume that these spaces were filled with classic statues, column monuments, and colonnades - thus lacking any obvious Christian reference.

<sup>574</sup> A. Alföldi, “The helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 22 (1932), note 9.

<sup>575</sup> For the bibliography on the symbolism of the cross see, Grigg, “Symphōnian Aeidō tēs Basileias,” 477, note 57.

of our king.”<sup>576</sup> He continued: “ ... everywhere our symbol of victory is present. Therefore both on house, and walls, and windows, and upon our forehead, and upon our mind, we inscribe it with much care.”<sup>577</sup>

The symbolism was seen in the west part of the Roman world as well. Later, in 406, an example of Christogram appeared on a diptych depicting the emperor Honorius. Notably, in all examples, the symbolism brought by the Christian signs provided the religious foundation behind the imperial power. The message, given in a language borrowed from imperial Roman triumphal ideology, was quite clear: it was Christ who brought the victory to the emperor.

The same note was monumentally inscribed on the colossal columns, but very uniquely this time: it was packed within meticulously sculpted figures and invaluable booty. In the historiated columns, as shown by the pedestal of the Column of Arcadius, the Christian sign was flanked by the armories and war spoils depicted on all three sides of the pedestal. If we accept the possibility of a hidden chamber, then the Column of Constantine functioned as not only a display tool but also a container for both pagan and Christian “spoils.” Visible or not, those objects were protected inside the column; thus, were dependent on the architectural envelope in which they were bound. In the case of Justinian, the statue was an “internalized” spolia in and of itself. The reused statue of Theodosius presented Justinian as the victor over the Persians, although he never campaigned in person. In fact, Justinian created a whole urban tableau around the Column to support its Christian triumphal claim. To emphasize this illusory success further, he placed three shorter columns on the right side of the Column, all surmounted barbarian kings presenting gifts to the emperor. A mosaic adorning the ceiling of the Chalke

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<sup>576</sup> John Chrysostom, Homily II on the Gospel of Matthew, 7.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid.

Gate completed the triumphal composition by depicting Justinian receiving the submission of the Vandals and the Goths.<sup>578</sup>

The statues of the emperors played a pivotal role in the gradual Christianization of the columns' architecture. All reflected a wide variety of styles including the Greek god Apollo/Helios, the Colossus of Barletta depicting a bearded Roman emperor in a military costume standing in Augustan pose, and the equestrian statue of a triumphal emperor in the dress of Achilles. Holding an orb in the left hand was the only common gesture among all three statues. However, each globe was different. The plain round globe in Constantine's hand symbolized the ancient Roman message of the ruler's dominion over the world. The Barletta's globe was, however, accompanied by a cross held in the other raised arm of the emperor. The larger scale of the latter indicated a certain importance relative to the globe. In the last colossal statue, Justinian, first time in an equestrian pose, held a *globus cruciger*—an orb topped with a cross.<sup>579</sup> It explicitly sent a message about the triumph of Christianity and the Christian God's dominion over the world. As such, already in the early sixth century, the colossal column was incorporated into the Christian triumphal urban iconography. Remarkably, the last column recorded in Constantinople, the Column of Phocas, had a cross added to it by the emperor Heraclius. This paved the way for later replacements of imperial statues with crosses, such as the one placed on top of the Column of Constantine by Manuel I Komnenos in the twelfth century.

This path from the imperial statue to a monumental cross clarified the colossal column's crucial role not only in anchoring the ruler's statue in relation to the urban vision, but its active role in constructing the sculpture's value and its meaning in the religious landscape of the city. There, the colossal object was the mediating link between the statue and the city; between the

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<sup>578</sup> Procopius, *Buildings*, I.10.15-19.

<sup>579</sup> The first use of the cross symbol in Constantinople dates to the fifth century, to Emperor Arcadius. Coins from his reign and that of Theodosius II displayed the Christian symbol of world dominance. Thus, when Justinian's designers planned the statue, this symbol had already proliferated in the visual environment and was readily available.

earth and the heavens. The column in this sense was a symbolic marker pointing the imperial power “dimly felt to preside over both nature and humanity.”<sup>580</sup> In that, the colossal scale was not seen as separating and isolating but it acted as a strong concrete-bonding agent between the ruler (representing God in the sixth century), the community and the city. As such, the function of commemoration moved into communication.

The unique medium of this conversation was the skyline. That is, each column as a non-figural abstract form, offers up an immediate legibility and created an identity of its Forum. The family of columns linked together by the ceremonial Mese made it evident that each colossal column was never entirely independent. The colossal columns offered a new legibility as singular objects, but also worked as catalysts activating the entire ceremonial landscape. Although not being geographically accurate, the columns appeared as if they were placed in equal distances. If people were walking along the procession, they would immediately perceive the logic of the geometry that shaped the skyline as well. It is not all about the immediate, but rather the range from the immediate to close reading that people experienced and apprehended them. This was not really the case with the Roman colossal columns. As noted by Favro, the buildings in Rome were crowded and did not allow the columns to appear as visible landmarks.<sup>581</sup> In Constantinople, however, it became the formative element in the new urban representational system. As a result, for the first time in history, the skyline became an identifiable urban feature that was visible and memorable mainly due to the unprecedented scale and the rhythmic repetition of these vertical imperial posts.

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<sup>580</sup> Kartsen Harries, *The ethical function of architecture* (MIT Press, 2000), 140.

<sup>581</sup> Favro, “The iconiCITY,” 35.

## CHAPTER 4

### Colossal columns and the ritualization of the city

The ceremonial aspect of public life in Constantinople in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages has been widely recognized since the 1970s. Many scholars have justified the application of the label of “ceremonial city” to Constantinople.<sup>582</sup> In the late 1990s, a developing interest in the city’s street layout contributed greatly to the use of the term. Berger, along with others, mapped the primary routes for public and religious processions and underlined the imperial fora with monumental columns as proper station stops where the emperor and the bishop, together or separately, were received and acclaimed.<sup>583</sup> During these events, the columns marked performative stages, prominently rising in the center of large, open urban spaces and strung along lengthy ritual routes. Hence, the colossal column was integral to the imperial ceremonies staged in front of, at the top of, or behind the lofty upright. The significant role of the colossal column in ceremonies shifts the terms of the debate from the monumental post as a piece of architecture to the onlooker’s experience of it. In this line of thought, the column became a performative structure whose effect could be felt both on the ground and in the skyline of Constantinople from the fourth to the sixth century.

This chapter investigates the interrelation between ceremonies and the imperial colossal column. The investigation encompasses all facets of public events—whether imperial, ecclesiastical, disaster-related, or spontaneous gatherings—as well as many facets of the city’s architecture, such as the colonnaded avenues, monumental fora, urban furniture, freestanding statues, sidewalks, side streets, and connecting structures. After a brief introduction to the urban processions of the era, the Mese is examined as a late example of a Roman urban

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<sup>582</sup> See, Alföldi, *Die Monarchische Repräsentation*; MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*; J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*.

<sup>583</sup> Berger, “Imperial and Ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople,” in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Brill, 2001), 87, plan 1.

armature.<sup>584</sup> Cutting through virtually the entire city, was the main avenue of traffic running through or alongside almost every major monument. Three-dimensional model of the Mese is used to analyze the visual impact of the colossal columns upon public processions as they moved through the fora and colonnades along the Mese. In particular, the discussion focuses on various interactions during three specific periods of the city: the foundation ceremony in 330, which is described in detail in several written sources; an imaginary imperial itinerary derived from several partial descriptions; and the arrival ceremony of Justinian on August 11, 559, which is the only sixth-century procession described in *De Ceremoniis*. Answers to the following questions are explored: how did the processions' choreographies relate to the geometries of the fora; how the architecture of open spaces in each fora impact visibility of the colossal columns; and how did the visual, aural, and olfactory language of the processions (e.g., the imperial and official costumes, music, singing, acclamations, scents, psalms, hymns, and victory booty, including the heads of defeated enemies or relics) affect the overall atmosphere surrounding the visually dominant colossal columns.

#### **4.1 Urban processions in Constantinople**

Urban processions in the Roman world had a long history, from Hellenistic-influenced rites of passage to triumphs in imperial Rome. The triumph in particular, the official entry of a victorious general into Rome, was the most popular form of urban processions.<sup>585</sup> The rituals involved in a triumph included a formal greeting beyond the city walls, public acclamations, and an address from the emperor. These were followed by an urban procession from the Campus Martius, around the Palatine Hill to the Forum Boarium and Circus Maximus and finally to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. In the Imperial Rome, this sacred rite was celebrated

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<sup>584</sup> See MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 30.

<sup>585</sup> As calculated by Mary Beard, the triumph was celebrated more than three hundred times in the thousand-year history of ancient Rome, mostly during the Imperial period. By the Late Imperial period, however, triumphs were few in number due to the itinerant lifestyles of the emperors. See M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Harvard University Press, 2007).

only in the city of Rome, which set both the eternal city and the event apart from other cities and ceremonies. After 293, under the tetrarchy and the regional residences network, Rome's privilege was challenged by many other imperial capitals and their ceremonies. When the emperors were not on the road, they occupied these capitals, where they provided local administration and raised troops to defend the frontiers. Rather than celebrating triumphs, however, they staged various formal processions including the *adventus*, the ritual of welcome by which cities greeted incoming dignitaries en masse, or the *profectio*, the formal ritual for the departure of the emperor from a city.<sup>586</sup> Both ceremonies were mainly secular in nature and were most concerned with the administrative roles of the local officials.<sup>587</sup> The situation was no different in New Rome. The *adventus* and *profectio* ceremonies and triumphs in Republican and Imperial Rome set a precedent for imperial public events. The proclamation ceremonies, public events celebrating every fifth anniversary of the emperor's reign, the imperial marriages and funerals, the translation of the bodies of the deceased emperors, and the victory announcements, all created a busy calendar for the imperial processions in Constantinople.<sup>588</sup>

The other type of urban movement in the city was the liturgical ceremonies. In Late Antiquity, cities reinforced their Christian identity by inscribing routes connecting churches, sanctuaries, and other religious sites. After Constantine's conversion to Christianity, an elaborate liturgical network was established in Constantinople's streets and public spaces as well. These ceremonies, defined as urban stational liturgy by J. Baldovin, were services of worship in a designated church "in or near a city, on a designated feast, fast or commemoration, which is presided over by the bishop or his representative and intended as the local church's

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<sup>586</sup> S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 67-68; MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of *Adventus*," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 21: 4 (1972): 721-752.

<sup>587</sup> MacCormack argues that the *adventus* can also be considered an event with religious overtones, since in some cases; the emperor was welcomed as a savior, benefactor, or lord. See "Change and Continuity," especially 722-725.

<sup>588</sup> For lists of occasions, see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 67-98; Croke, "Reinventing Constantinople," 249-257.

main liturgical celebration of the day.”<sup>589</sup> First started in Jerusalem and practiced in Rome and then in Constantinople, the urban stational liturgy involved a certain predetermined, ritual movement from one point in the city to the designated church or sanctuary.<sup>590</sup> The term “statio” or station represented the place of liturgical assemblies.<sup>591</sup> Roughly between 450 and 550, these urban liturgical processions proliferated with the building of new “stations, i.e. churches and monasteries, as Constantinople aspired to become the new capital of Christianity.<sup>592</sup> As a result, the development of the stational liturgy and other peripatetic spiritual traffic, such as the transportation of sacred relics through the city, emerged as a highly visible socio-religious practice. As a result, the streets of Constantinople leading to churches inside and outside the city walls, and the lengthy Mese from the city gate to the Palace, all were occupied by religious institutionalized movement.

The basic source for Constantinopolitan ceremonies is *De Ceremoniis* (Book of Ceremonies). Written in the ninth century under the supervision of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus (913–959), this work reflects the emperor’s ideology situating imperial ceremonies as important demonstrations of a cultural order. Scholars consider the two-volume manuscript a deliberate revival of the Roman tradition, partially fixed and harmonized from different versions of earlier written records of the Empire.<sup>593</sup> In fact, Constantine VII explicitly stated that he mainly confined himself to the mechanical work of arranging preexisting

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<sup>589</sup> J. F. Baldwin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987), 137.

<sup>590</sup> Ibid., 36-37. See also, Baldwin, “Worship in Urban Life: The Example of Medieval Constantinople,” *Civitas: Religious Interpretations of the City*, ed. P.S.Hawkins (Atlanta, Ga., 1986), 57-67.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>592</sup> Mango, *Studies*, I, 125.

<sup>593</sup> A. Cameron, D. Cannadine and S. R. F. Price, eds., *The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 111.

materials into a logical order.<sup>594</sup> Thus, *De Ceremoniis*, although a later document, gives important information about the earlier centuries of the city.

In *De Ceremoniis*, there are explanations about both ecclesiastical and imperial ceremonies. The first chapter of Book I begins with a description of the imperial processions, including the Easter Sunday procession from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia, the feast of the Birth of the Theotokos, and the feast of the Annunciation and Easter Saturday. Chapters 2 to 9 list the acclamations during the feasts of the Nativity, Epiphany, Easter, the Monday of the Renewal Week, the Sunday of the Renewal Week, the Mid-Pentecost, the Ascension, and the Pentecost. Chapters 10 to 18 give the general order of the processional ceremonies on the Great Church festivals and the acts of the factions on these occasions.<sup>595</sup> The chapters also cover the movable feasts from Easter Sunday to Ascension Day. Chapters 19 to 35 contain descriptions of the special ceremonies for special feasts such as the feast and procession of St. Demetrius (October 26), the feast and procession of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14), the feast of St. Basil (January 1), the eve of Epiphany, the feast of Orthodoxy, Easter Thursday and the emperor's visit to the homes of the aged, and Good Friday.

In Book I, the final sections (36–97) record the secular ceremonies:

- Chapters 38 to 59 present the ceremonies connected with the emperor, his entourage, and his court appointments.
- Chapter 60 discusses the imperial burial ceremony.
- Chapter 61 discusses the imperial birthday ceremony.
- Chapters 62–67 are about the receptions in the Fountain Courts of the Great Palace.

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<sup>594</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, Preface to Book II. R516.

<sup>595</sup> The circus factions in Constantinople, as A. Cameron noted in his monograph *Circus Factions, Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976), were originally four groups of sportive performers and supporters from the athletic world and the hippodrome contests. But the role of these factions changed over the centuries. By the sixth century, these groups became political parties and pressure groups representing different social strata and religious views. The Green and Blues were the most influential factions, whereas the other two, the Reds and the Whites, were less powerful.

- Chapters 68–73 are about the hippodrome ceremonies (the Gold Hippodrome Festival (chapter 68); the chariot race for the anniversary of the city, called the Vegetable Festival (chapter 70); the Torch Ceremony (chapter 71); the Festival of the Vow (chapter 72); and the Butchers’ Festival, called the Lupercal Acclamation (chapter 73).
- Chapters 74–83 give various other secular ceremonies.

Chapters 84 to 95 are attributed to Peter the Patrician from the sixth century. The first few chapters contain descriptions of the receptions for the ambassadors and a variety of other officials, as well as what was appropriate for each occasion. In addition,

- Chapter 91 presents the proclamation of Leo I (ruled 457–474) in the Hebdomon.
- Chapter 92 presents the proclamation of Anastasius I (ruled 491–518) in the Hippodrome.
- Chapter 93 describes the proclamation of Justin I (ruled 518–527) in the Hippodrome.
- Chapter 94 describes the proclamation of Leo (II) the Younger (ruled 473–474).
- Chapter 95 presents the proclamation of Justinian the Great (ruled 527–565) in the Great Palace. The text explains how the emperor should have been greeted ceremoniously when he returned from an expedition or a long journey (R495–R466) and then describes Justinian’s return to Constantinople on August 11, 559.

The description of events in *De Ceremoniis* follows more or less a typical format. The chapters present the protocols for imperial processions to and from specified churches in Constantinople and the imperial palace, with fixed stopping places (stations) and rules for ritual actions or acclamations at these points from specified fractions and officials. Aside from the imperial procession to or from the Great Church for regular prayer visits by the emperor, *De Ceremoniis* concentrates on the parades that occurred around Easter, beginning on Palm Sunday and continuing for a week after Easter, when numerous processions moved between the

Great Church, the Palace, the Hippodrome, and various important churches. Elements common to most of the descriptions are the movement, either real or symbolic, between sacred and profane contexts, explanations about appropriate costumes, the identity of the participants, the nature of acclamations, and food served during the events.

As counted by Baldovin, *De Ceremoniis* listed sixty-eight processions that were held during the liturgical year.<sup>596</sup> Imperial court involved twenty-six of these processions while on seventeen other occasions the emperor appeared in public. There were five yearly services related to the city's history, such as birthday ceremonies. In addition, the tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church mentions liturgical responses to catastrophic events and their annual commemorations. The text lists nine earthquake memorials and five commemorations of the city's salvation from sieges.<sup>597</sup> These responses are clear indications that the streets were filled with a processional cortege almost every other day in ninth-century Constantinople. But such processions may have been even more frequent in early Byzantine Constantinople if other accounts are taken into consideration. For example, the fifth-century church historian Sozomen mentioned that the Arian community proceeded "on all solemn festivals and on Sundays and Saturdays."<sup>598</sup> Theodore Lector, writing in the sixth century, recorded that the emperor Anastasius (ruled 491–518) ordered a city eparch to control all the ecclesiastical processions in order to ensure control over the "seditious crowds."<sup>599</sup> He also referred to a liturgical procession that was initiated by Patriarch Timothy of Constantinople between the years 511 and 518 and was held on a regular basis. The procession took place every Friday.<sup>600</sup> Therefore, it is safe to assume that urban processions for both secular and sacred purposes were already a crucial part of the daily life by late fifth century.

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<sup>596</sup> Baldovin, "Worship in Urban Life," 19.

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>598</sup> Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.8. See Chapter 4.3, note 729.

<sup>599</sup> Theodore Lector, 468, as cited in Baldovin, "Worship in Urban Life," 20.

<sup>600</sup> Theodore Lector, 494, as cited in Baldovin, "Worship in Urban Life," 20.

S. MacCormick and M. McCormick have led the recent upsurge in publications and conferences dealing with political and ideological aspects of late Roman and Byzantine ceremonies.<sup>601</sup> MacCormick has focused on artistic and literature genres while McCormick has investigated middle and late Byzantine texts to create a portrait of court rituals. Both scholars address the full spectrum of ceremony-related artifacts, from illustrated historical chronicles portraying parades to contemporary texts describing the rituals, rules, inscriptions, and coins issued to commemorate particular events. However, neither author has closely considered the urban experience. For an architectural historian, it is important to ask questions about how such complex ceremonies helped to shape the Constantinopolitan urban space and the aesthetic and urban qualities of architecture. However, previous research on the *De Ceremoniis*, with the exception of partial descriptions of specific events and overviews relating parade itineraries to Constantinople's street system, has not attempted to interrogate the urbanistic evolution, form, and experience of the Mese.

The only way to reach comprehensive answers about the urban ritual forms in the Byzantine city is through extensive archaeological exploration along the course of the Mese. Given the impossibility of such a costly and disruptive undertaking, I have focused my research on the large and commanding colossal column, which provides a basic physical frame for breaking down and analyzing about 10 km of urban armature. Four colossal columns represent four particular moments of pause along this long avenue of the metropolis during highly structured imperial and Christian ceremonial events in Late Antiquity. The kinetic, sequential experience of these monuments and their related spaces offers the potential to reembody and enrich our understanding of the potent exchange between communal action and urban form.

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<sup>601</sup> MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony* and McCormick, *Eternal Victory*.

## 4.2 The Mese as a ceremonial venue

Ancient cities such as Athens or Rome grew and evolved over the course of many centuries. However, the greater part of Constantinople's design was executed within a relatively short period, between 324 and 330. Late additions such as the Theodosian walls and several imperial fora, churches, and monasteries enhanced the strong and forceful lines of the Constantinian planners' original concept. Within this urban scheme, it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Mese, the one urban element that shaped and defined Constantinople's early Byzantine urbanism (Map 4).

Extending in a straight line from one end of the city to the other, the Mese perfectly fits William MacDonald's definition of urban armature: "main streets, squares, colonnaded avenues, gates and essential public buildings linked together across cities and towns from gate to gate, with junctions and entranceways prominently articulated."<sup>602</sup> In the preface of the monumental work *The Architecture of Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal*, MacDonald examines defining features of the Roman city in the Mediterranean basin during the period of imperial expansion in the first and second centuries. He posits that every Roman city was given form by an urban armature that evolved over time through gradual elaboration and extension guided by shared architectural, functional, social, and aesthetic mores. Flexible and adaptable, it has the potential to project across the Empire an urban image that is recognizably Roman. As individual architectural monuments or groupings, armatures organize the physical structure and the urban narrative. MacDonald writes,

Varying in configuration and numbers of parts within the frame of an empire-wide conceptual order, urban armatures were physical counterparts of Roman rule, mainstay of imperial urbanism and the bedrock of architectural unity.<sup>603</sup>

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<sup>602</sup> MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 28.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid.

MacDonald allows that there were local variations, but not regional differences. He further argues, “What was seen and experienced of the architecture of connection (thoroughfares and plazas) in any given location did not differ substantially from that to come.”<sup>604</sup> Urban armature works in grid cities such as Timgad and in cities with irregular layouts such as Djemila. Armatures existed in many other cities of the Roman Empire, both in the East and West, but continuous occupation in the West largely abolished any evidence. In this respect, the design of Constantinople resembled that of other large cities of the Roman East. The Mese performed the same function as the great colonnaded street of Palmyra, the Street of Herod and Tiberius in Antioch, and the Straight Street in Damascus. Even more evocative is the similarity of Constantine’s design to that of two other late antique ports, Alexandria and Thessaloniki. Both cities were largely the creation of Hellenistic urban planners who laid down a great boulevard (the Caponica in Alexandria and Via Egnatia in Thessaloniki); however the ports were reinforced and given identity through architectural articulation in the Roman imperial period.

MacDonald argues, “[T]he seventy odd colonnades [of Constantinople’s Mese] record the last grand response in the fifth century” to the essential requirements of Roman architecture. The purpose of the colonnades was to create a “strong effect of a united whole free of any suggestion of egregious fragmentation, of unresolved diversity.”<sup>605</sup> However, although the response was grand, it was not traditional. Unique in Constantinople, colossal columns were incorporated into the design of the Mese as fundamental architectural elements in order to endow the new capital with a unifying infrastructure that was monumental in its composition and fluidity.

This 5km thoroughfare from the Theodosian Golden Gate to the Milion was built piece by piece. As a result, it continued to change throughout the Byzantine era. Limited information

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<sup>604</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>605</sup> MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 256.

suggests that it was a monumental colonnaded avenue built over a period of two centuries under more than ten emperors. Despite the fires and earthquakes that destroyed the quarters through which the axis ran, the various new constructions that changed the monuments' surroundings, and the renovations of complexes that reflected the different planning ideas of various rulers, the Mese maintained its original layout. This was mostly due to its topographical privilege since it occupied the high ridge leading to the easternmost points of the promontory. It remains, with a considerable degree of confidence, the only archeologically traceable street of the late antique/early Byzantine capital, but no significant pictorial depiction is available except one restitution prepared by Celal Esad with a caption "Mese Street and Column of Constantine in the 10<sup>th</sup> century - the author's own imaginative drawing" (Figure 4.1).<sup>606</sup> Probably based on the photographs of the street in the early twentieth century, this drawing shows 'arcades' of the Mese (replacing the Çemberlitas Bath built by Mimar Sinan in 1584 on the former grounds of the Forum of Constantine) and the 'Byzantines' walking with the Column and the statue of Constantine in the background.

The oldest part of the Mese was the street also known as the Regia, or "imperial road" in Greek. The path ran over the crest between the summits of the first and the second hills, parallel to the shoreline of the Propontis, almost for 500m. It was probably the continuation of the Portico of Severus, the grand avenue connecting the Tetrastoon to the city gate that was constructed during the Severan refoundation of Byzantion (number 11 in Map 1). Nothing is known about the architecture of this early phase. The buildings of civil significance—the Baths of Zeuxippus, the starting gates of the Hippodrome, and the porticoes of the Tetrastoon—and domestic structures that were probably low and uniform in height might have created a connected urban configuration around this axis. A similar project was the construction of the colonnaded avenue of Lepcis Magna, which had a width of 40m (with 10m sidewalks) and a total

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<sup>606</sup> Celal Esad, *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul*, (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909), 121.

length of 400m.<sup>607</sup> It would not be presumptuous to suggest that similar characteristic spatial qualities might have been seen in the Regia as well.

After 324, Constantine continued the transformation of the city by widening the boundaries of the old town to the west and by subsequently enlarging the Mese to the Capitolium and the Philadelphion area, with a total length of 1.8 to 2 km (Map 1). Shortly after passing westward through this region, the street bifurcated with one branch heading southwest and ending at the ceremonial Golden Gate, where it passed the city walls and joined the Via Egnatia. The other extension ran northwest, past the Mausoleum of Constantine, which occupied the highest hill of the peninsula, and terminated at the Gate of Adrianople. Distinct from the Regia, the Mese was now the organizing tool for city's expanded regions. It created visual and physical permeability through the city. Ancient testimony states that from the times of Constantine, porticoes lined the Mese, starting from the Milion and continuing at least up to the Capitolium. Lydus describes,

the porticoes that pass through the city and lead to the Forum of Constantine, and the broad space screened symmetrically with great and beautiful columns. Some of these porticoes are said to have been built by men from Naples and Puteoli who came to Byzantium to please Constantine.<sup>608</sup>

By the end of the fourth century and throughout the fifth century, fires, earthquakes, and riots destroyed Constantinople's built environment, with extensive damage to the Mese. The porticoes adjacent to the *carceres* of the Hippodrome, for example, were burned in 406, and are known to have been repaired using stone in order to reduce the future risk of fire.<sup>609</sup> Despite all these fires and renovations, however, the pattern of change shows a chronological progression of expansion to the western ends of the peninsula. After the construction of the Theodosian Walls

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<sup>607</sup> MacDonal, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 38 and the Table in 41-42.

<sup>608</sup> Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, 3.26.1.

<sup>609</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 569; *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.45. These statements imply that at least parts of the earlier colonnades must have had wooden columns. Wood was probably used for entablatures and for roofs, so fires often destabilized colonnades.

in the early fifth century, the Mese was extended to a new ceremonial entrance, the Theodosian Golden Gate, reaching a total length of 5km. The *Notitia* indicated fifty-two porticos across the 1.9km distance between the Milion and the Capitolium. Other sources confirmed that the path between the Forum of Arcadius and the Constantinian Golden Gate was colonnaded as well.<sup>610</sup>

In 475 a blaze spread southwestward from the Chalkoprateia and burned the Mese between the Basilica and the Forum of Constantine.<sup>611</sup> In 498, another fire engulfed the Mese between the Hexahippion (Diippion) and the Forum of Constantine due to one of the many riots that occurred during Anastasius's reign.<sup>612</sup> On another occasion, in 509, both porticoes were destroyed from the Forum of Constantine to the statue of Perdix near the Church of St. Julian.<sup>613</sup> In 513, the Mese was burned from the Chalke Gate to the Forum of Constantine for a distance of 94 intercolumniations for about 0.7km.<sup>614</sup>

In 532 the Nika riots devastated the buildings and colonnades on both sides of the Mese.<sup>615</sup> On Tuesday, January 13, the Praetorium on the south side of the Mese was burned. On Saturday, January 17, fire spread along the north side as far as the Forum of Constantine.<sup>616</sup> Justinian the Great repaired most of these structures and the double-story colonnades once he rose to power.<sup>617</sup> Under his rule, the Mese's path gently descended from the second hill and arrived at the Milion. The Milion marked the irregular street junction that linked the Mese, the starting gates of the Hippodrome, and a secondary road from Strategion that led to the southern

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<sup>610</sup> Mango, "The Triumphal Way," 180, notes 50 and 51.

<sup>611</sup> Cedrenus, I. 616; Zonaras, *Epitome*, 130-1. Bardill, "The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997), 79, 83-4, 85.

<sup>612</sup> Mango, *Brazen House*, 27-9. *Chronicon Paschale*, 608.

<sup>613</sup> Marcellinus, *Chronicle*, 509.

<sup>614</sup> Victor Tonnenensis, *Chronica*, 195. Mango, *Brazen House*, 79; William E. Betsch, *The History, Production and Distribution of the Late Antique Capital in Constantinople* (Unpublished Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 173-4.

<sup>615</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 1.24.9; Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, 3.70.

<sup>616</sup> Bardill, *Lausus*, 85; Geoffrey Greatrex, "The Nika Riot: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117:60 (1997), 84-6.

<sup>617</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, I. 14.

colonnade of the Justinian's Augusteion. The emperor completely rebuilt this open plaza and transformed it into a colonnaded open courtyard in front of the Hagia Sophia. There, the colossal Column of Justinian and its giant stepped base occupied most of the floor area, which was shared with additional commemorative columns erected under the Constantinian and Theodosian dynasties. The last part of the Mese followed the southern border of this space and terminated at the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace.

The creation of a long path crossing the entire city required a set of major engineering achievements.<sup>618</sup> In the first years of the twentieth century, Mamboury published the first significant insights about such a priori investments in the transformation of the topography under Constantine:

To lay out these great roads the tops of the hills were lowered and considerable engineering works were carried out. Much leveling was done and strong containing walls were built to contain level esplanades . . . Most of the highest ground was taken by cisterns or reservoirs, open or covered, or by a forum, in the midst of which there usually stood a column or a church.<sup>619</sup>

A map published by Janin in 1964 indicates the extent of the groundwork. The map shows terraces within the city, which is largely based on Mamboury's observations in 1920s.<sup>620</sup>

On Janin's map, a significant number of terraces reflect the layout of the main southern and central areas, which concentrated along the Mese axis (Figure 4.2). The first group was located on the south side of the Mese around the Forum of Arcadius. It extended slightly beyond the accepted line of the Wall of Constantine. Dark and Özgümiş estimated the four rows were more than one and a half kilometers long.<sup>621</sup> A second group of terraces existed on the southwest corner of the Forum of Theodosius; some are still visible today. The literature supports the idea

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<sup>618</sup> Bardill, *Brickstamps of Constantinople, Volume I: Text* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 28.

<sup>619</sup> Mamboury, *The Tourists' Istanbul*, 69-70.

<sup>620</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 7-8, map 6.

<sup>621</sup> K. Dark, and F. Özgümiş, *Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Survey. Project Report* (The Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, London, 2003), 40-42.

that these substructures were verified as essential for flattening the land for construction of the imperial forum. Ancient texts also state that the excavated earth from such operations was carried to the Eleutherius Harbor.<sup>622</sup> A third group follows the upper arm leading to the Charios Gate, parallel to the Aqueduct of Valens. This part is most probably aimed to strengthen the loose ground around the Lycus River.

Additional evidence about the land transformations comes from the Mese's drainage system. Various excavations close to the modern Divan Yolu reveal stretches of the two parallel conduits that ran down the center of the city's main avenue.<sup>623</sup> Based on the textual evidence, Mamboury argues that drains were built in the early or mid-fifth century as part of an operation to extend the Mese from the Chalke Gate to the Exakionion (the area of the Constantinian Golden Gate).<sup>624</sup> Brick stamps found in the drains were similar to the ones excavated from the Palace of Antiochus, the church of St. John of Studios, and the cistern of Aspar. This suggests a date of between 427 and 462.<sup>625</sup> In addition, sources associated the construction with certain senators whom Constantine brought from Rome to Constantinople. The *Patria* states that these individuals were asked to build aqueducts to bring water from the Bulgaria region and to construct deep drains throughout the city.<sup>626</sup> Despite the limited nature of the evidence, however, it is almost certain that from the fourth century onward, a massive system of terraces

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<sup>622</sup> Preger, *Scriptores Originum*, 184, 248.

<sup>623</sup> Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 77: The characteristics are two parallel channels built of stone, each measuring 1.5- to 1.6-m wide and 1.8 - to 2.0-m deep. The channels are covered by brick vaults, bringing the height of the conduits to about 3 m. The tops of the vaults are about 1 m below the Byzantine ground level.

<sup>624</sup> Mamboury, "Les briques byzantines marquées du chrisme," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 9 (1949), 460-1. For the Exakionion, see *Patria*, Book I, 63.

<sup>625</sup> A small part of the Mese was excavated adjacent to the palatial complex northwest of the Hippodrome. In addition, the excavations at the east of the Arch of Theodosius produced evidence that the Mese had stone water pipes and brick or stone drainage conduits running beneath it.

<sup>626</sup> *Patria*, Book I, 67. C. Mango, "The Palace of the Boukoleon," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 45 (1997), 44. The *Patria* should not be accepted without collaboration from more reliable sources.

and underground drainage channels regulated the topography before the Mese and its associated public plazas were developed in Constantine's reign.<sup>627</sup>

The archaeological evidence about the architecture of the Mese is fragmentary and limited. Mamboury's excavations in 1929–30 around and under the Column of Constantine constitute the earliest scientific data. Mamboury discovered several large foundations about 70 m east of the column shaft and 2.35m underneath the modern street. He believed that they were related to the gate in the pre-Constantinian city walls—the city gate of the Severan city of Byzantium—which that would have been on the course of the Mese.

In 1964 R. Naumann found three portico shops of the Mese during his excavations of the palatial complex of Lausus.<sup>628</sup> Located very close to the Milion, these shops are the only excavated commercial Byzantine structures in the city. There are no precise drawings of these buildings, but Naumann's textual description reveals two longitudinal spaces, each approximately 10m wide by 7m deep. The ground level of these structures was 2.5m below the surface, almost at the same level as the Mese. The floors were partially covered with marble and partially with tiles. Both spaces had wide openings on the side of the Mese. One had the markings of a door on the marble pavement. The presence of a stoa in front of these shops is uncertain. Wall pieces from 1.40 to 1.70m high corresponded to the shop fronts while the back wall consisted of a basic threshold of greenish stone slabs and eleven brick courses. According to Naumann, the masonry resembled that of the six apsidal niches of the nearby palace, leading him to conclude these spaces may have belonged to the sixth century. However, some other wall pieces from the masonry rubble date back to earlier periods. The shops had basements sitting 2 m below the ground level. In the center of each was a small brick basin. The remains of a brick

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<sup>627</sup> For further information, see Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 255. In addition to the terrace work, the excavation of massive open reservoirs was an important intervention highlighted by Crow in his studies of the water sources of the city. See, J. Crow, et al. eds. *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2008).

<sup>628</sup> N. Dolunay and R. Naumann, "Untersuchungen," 136-140.

staircase were obtained on the south side. Due to frequent fires, the structure was probably renovated several times; hence the dating is not certain.

Due to the scarcity of the evidence, scholars suggest different methodologies for picturing the street layout and the architecture of the Mese within this system.<sup>629</sup> Early in the twentieth century, Celal Esad published a map showing the streets of the Byzantine Istanbul, mostly influenced from the late Ottoman street system of the city (Figure 4.3). In 1990s, Berger worked on the street network, relying on limited excavated remains published in both early and more recent archaeological reports. He drew hypothetical lines connecting the documented street fragments and building orientations to determine the city's basic plan (Map 4).<sup>630</sup> The churches and the city gates, in particular, determined the alignment for certain streets. Most streets met at oblique angles and formed a grill-shaped pattern.<sup>631</sup> The system was used as the base for the 1/2000 scale topographical model of the city prepared by Tafun Oner for the *World City Istanbul* exhibition in 2014 (Figure 4.4). In the model, the Mese was distinctly marked by its width and extension crossing the peninsula.

Mango closely examines the route of the Mese in his research exploring the possibility of a Roman triumphal way in the New Rome. He argues that the central main street of the capital served as the backbone for the city's ceremonial life; therefore he chose to map the ceremonial stations mentioned in the ancient texts onto the city plan, taking into consideration the geographical composition of the Mese. His diagram highlights the importance of this main route in relation to other street networks of the city. L. Safran, influenced by both Berger and Mango, created an interactive map in 2007 to represent the Mese as a network of avenues branching

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<sup>629</sup> Some other studies on archaeological data from streets in Byzantine Constantinople: A. Pasinli, 'Pittakia' ve 'Magnum Palatium-Buyuk Saray Bolgesinde 1999 Yılı Calismalari (Eski Sultanahmet Cezaevi Bahcesi),' *11. Muze Calismalari Ve Kurtarma Kazilari Sempozyumu* (2001), 41–6; N. Firatli, *A short guide to Byzantine works of art in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1955), no. 4730, 12; W. Kleiss, *Topographisch-Archaeologischer Plan von Istanbul* (Tubingen, 1967), 2.

<sup>630</sup> Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces," fig. 1 and 4. Berger's street network was mostly based on surviving cisterns, churches, the Valens aqueduct, and the city walls.

<sup>631</sup> Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces," 165.

from the main east-west axis.<sup>632</sup> Regarding the architecture of this route, Mundell Mango defined the streets of Constantinople, lined with porticoes, as a combination of porticoed colonnades and “special features”: namely oval or circular piazzas, sigma porticoes, tetrapylons, and nymphaea. She reviewed archaeological and other evidence on the Mese mainly concerned with the mediaeval street network. But her analysis still offers a useful framework within which earlier streets may be considered.<sup>633</sup>

From late 1990s on, Dark and Özgümüş looked at other places in the city to provide archaeological evidence about early Byzantine street architecture.<sup>634</sup> In 1998 they found columns in situ within the Hekimoglu Ali Pasa Külliyesi, close to the Isakapi Mescidi, which includes the remains of Constantine’s old city gate (Figure 4.5). The authors argue for the possibility of a line of colonnades but do not provide measured drawings or GPS-based analyses. In 2007 the same team photographed structures related to a portico on both sides of a street, dating back to the early Byzantine period (Figure 4.6). These remains are situated inside the basement of a modern building on the course of the Mese, located very close to the Milion. They estimated the height to be 2.41m for the standing structures and indicated the likelihood of a vaulted roof. However, no detailed documentation is available about these remains. In 2004 Dark published a list of nine sites demonstrating architectural traces of the street network, but none delivered a clear image.<sup>635</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> <http://individual.utoronto.ca/safran/Constantinople/Map.html> (accessed Feb 02, 2015)

<sup>633</sup> M. Mundell Mango, “The porticoed street at Constantinople,” in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Brill, 2001), 29–52.

<sup>634</sup> For a review of the survey see, K. Dark and F. Özgümüş, *Constantinople: archaeology of a Byzantine megapolis: final report on the Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Project 1998 - 2004 / directed by Ken Dark and Ferudun Özgümüş* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013).

<sup>635</sup> Dark, “*Houses, Streets*”, 85, gives a list of areas revealing archeological evidence about the architecture of the streets: “1. A short length of marble-paved colonnaded street in Catalcesme sk., a steeply sloping modern street running at a diagonal northeast of the Mese. 2. A marble-paved street on a North–South alignment past the front of the fifth-century Hagia Sophia. The sixth-century atrium overlay this street. 3. An Early Byzantine marble-paved North–South street, lined with contemporary buildings, on the ‘Old Law School’ site. 4. A short length of marble-paved street just outside the fifth-century Golden Gate on the land walls. 5. Two lengths of marble-paved streets in the area of the present Mosaic Museum. 6. Less certainly, a length of portico, perhaps part of a street, near Sokollu

In summary, the Constantinopolitan Mese was influenced by the armature in Roman city planning; however the route was not determined independently. Instead, it was adapted to its location and shaped by reference to the elevated line on the ridge over the hills. As discussed before, the Mese was strongly shaped by the local topography—particularly, the movement axis created by the Roman highway, Via Egnatia. The new colonnaded avenue followed the trace of the highway and became internalized within the city’s new territories. The accepted 5-km route consisted of not only the approximately 26m-wide road and sidewalk (one of the widest paths in late antiquity) but also two city gates (the famous Golden Gate and Constantinian Porta Aurea), at least three imperial fora with monumental arched entrances and colossal columns, two tetrapylons, and the Milion and the Augusteion crowned by the Column of Justinian and the Hagia Sophia. When it came to the building of imperial fora, hilltops were chosen due to their natural dominance. The street had ups and downs following the natural slopes of the terrain that did not facilitate the laying of a straight street (Map 4). Only a section of colonnades between the Forum of Theodosius and Constantine was absolutely straight. In that sense, the Mese exploited a topography that was already monumental in its rugged and natural beauty. The new route moderately orchestrated the tension between the topographical forces and the demands of its architectural composition in some places. In other places, the Mese gently transformed and stabilized the hills with terraces.

To explore the experiential aspects of the Mese, I made a digital 3-D reconstruction based on archaeological evidence, historic maps, and images. Since the archaeological evidence about this impressive imperial path is not conclusive, examples of colonnaded avenues from Asia Minor and further east provided useful case studies for proposing an alternative

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Mehmet Pasa Camii.” I have tried to find and photograph these areas in the city, but the descriptions in the text are insufficient to locate the exact spots.

reconstruction for the purpose of this study.<sup>636</sup> Following the tenets of experimental archaeology, the data were assimilated and unknown or unspecified features were estimated based on the comparanda listed below.<sup>637</sup>

Roman Bosra, for example, is lined with colonnades that were partially excavated and documented with precision. The *decumanus maximus* in the east-west direction was built in the second century and runs from the city's western gate to the Acropolis area, the old sanctuary of the city. Along the 860m length and 8m width of the road were two triumphal arch-like buildings, the oval plaza, the round plaza with the tetrapylon, a third triumphal arch, and the nymphaeum square.<sup>638</sup> Each of its sidewalks was 5.5m wide. Three steps led from the sidewalk to the road, which were covered with basalt stone slabs. The colonnades' Ionic columns stood 3 m apart and carried a single-sloped roof. Butler's reconstruction proposes an upper floor with smaller windows under a single-roofed colonnade (Figure 4.7).<sup>639</sup> In Constantinople, a law from the year 406 prescribed that the staircases leading up "*ad superiores porticus*" should be of stone in order to avoid fires. Although no evidence of such stairs has been found archaeologically, this account implies the existence of additional rooms above the street level. Hence, the Mese's double-story colonnades might have resembled those of Bosra's. It is known that such an arrangement continued with the colonnades of the Forum of Constantine as well.

Support for this interpretation is found in the Trier Ivory (possibly representing a scene on the Mese) that indicates a human presence on the upper stories of the colonnades along the way.<sup>640</sup> The second floor, as represented in the ivory, had many windows and sculptural

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<sup>636</sup> Information about the following examples of Basra, Beth-Shean and Jerusalem is taken from A. Segal, *From Function to Monument: Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia*. (Exeter: The Short Run Press, 1997).

<sup>637</sup> On experimental archaeology, C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, eds., *Archaeology: The Key Concepts* (Routledge, 2004), 83-87.

<sup>638</sup> Segal, *From Function to Monument*, 27.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>640</sup> The dating of the so-called Trier Ivory is still debatable. It was thought as an early Byzantine artifact, but recently it was claimed to date from the eighth century or later. For more information see Suzanne Spain, "The Translation of

decorations on the roofs. Further evidence is found with the *Parastaseis* of the eighth century, which claims that the porticoes lining the main streets of the city had staircases leading up to a roof decorated with statues that served as an open promenade.<sup>641</sup>

Another parallel is from the city of Beth-Shean (Scythopolis) in Syria. The so-called fourth-century Palladius street running north-south is a 200 m-long colonnaded avenue with 7.4m wide sidewalks. The street was paved with basalt stone; yet the sidewalks were covered with limestone slabs.<sup>642</sup> The shop fronts opened onto the colonnades on both sides. Together with the covered walkway on both sides, the overall width of the street reached about 25 m.<sup>643</sup> Mango convincingly cites a streetside exedra excavated and documented in the Roman Scythopolis as a partial model for the two-story porticoes of the Forum of Constantine.<sup>644</sup> I argue, in fact, such an arrangement could have been applied to both sides of the “circular” forum (Figure 4.8).

In Ephesus, a similar colonnaded boulevard connects the Harbor with the rest of the city. Named after the fifth-century Byzantine Emperor Arcadius who renovated it, the Arcadiane street was originally laid out in the second century. It was 528m long and 11m wide and paved in marble (Figure 4.9). The monumental avenue directly led into one of the main cores of the city, the Theater Plaza, where it terminated with another gateway. On the way to the theater, it climbed up 3.5m. Pedestrian walks were placed on both sides with varying depths from 5m to 5.7m and were at least partially paved with mosaics.<sup>645</sup> A drainage canal ran behind the stylobate of the northern hall. A second one was located under the marble pavement close to the southern

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Relics Ivory, Trier,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 279-304; Kenneth G. Holum and Gary Vikan, “The Trier Ivory, “Adventus” Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979), 113-133; John Wortley, “The Trier Ivory Reconsidered,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980), 321-94.

<sup>641</sup> *Patria*, 148-149.

<sup>642</sup> Segal, *From Function to Monument*, 28.

<sup>643</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>644</sup> Mundell Mango, “The porticoed street,” 49-50.

<sup>645</sup> P. Schneider, “Bauphasen Der Arkadiane,” 467: “ein grobes, dreifarbiges Mosaik mit einfachen geometrischen Ornamenten.”

hall. The chambers behind the colonnades were partially excavated with the door openings readily visible.<sup>646</sup> In the original second-century arrangement of the Arkadiane, the intercolumniation between the columns was 2.65m, and a marble entablature was placed over the elaborately carved Corinthian capitals.<sup>647</sup> After the fifth-century renovations by Arcadius, the degree of detailing diminished, and more simple processed capitals were replaced with older ones. The distance between the columns was widened and the architraves were replaced with a continuous arcade structure that could easily stretch longer spans.<sup>648</sup> This renovation process may be generally compared with the development of the Mese, which is understood to have been 26 m wide—two times wider than the Arkadiane in Ephesus.<sup>649</sup> In each renovation following earthquakes, fires, or civic riots, it was repaired using different design principles and building codes. The building materials also were changed based on the new conditions. Wood, for instance, was replaced by stone and designers most likely used spoliated building blocks for the colonnades.<sup>650</sup> Hence, the Mese may not have had a uniform, harmonious elevation. Instead, it was lined by components of continuous porticoes with varying dimensions and building materials. It is known that wooden-roofed porticoes still stood along the Mese in the tenth century.<sup>651</sup>

The urban context around the Mese is more difficult to reconstruct, however. This is because the Mese did not rise in isolation; it was tightly surrounded by domestic properties. The fifth-century *Notitia* mentions 94 households in Region 3, 484 in Region 6, and 108 great houses in the Region 8, though it does not specify if any of the buildings were imperial residences, which is likely. Accordingly, Berger suggests the Mese was surrounded by a highly

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<sup>646</sup> Ibid.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid., plate 1 and plate 2.

<sup>648</sup> Ibid.

<sup>649</sup> Mango, *Le développement*, 27.

<sup>650</sup> Mundell Mango, "The porticoed street," 45.

<sup>651</sup> Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map," 203.

dense domestic settlement concentrated within the Constantinian walls, mostly around the main artery.<sup>652</sup> Dark evaluated the archaeological and textual data to reconstruct blocks of high-rise apartments of up to five stories, such as the *insulae* of the Imperial Rome and Ostia.<sup>653</sup>

In Mundell Mango's commercial map of the city, artisanal craftsmanship was situated closer in the area.<sup>654</sup> The workshops of coppersmiths and silversmiths may have been located between these blocks. However, it is likely that these commercial *tabernae* (shops) hidden by the colonnades acted independently, as if each sidewalk were a separate street, because the space in front of the shops was spacious enough to create side galleries. Most likely, every shop had a main room just inside the front door, which was always open during the day. Anyone passing by would be able to catch a glimpse of the goods inside the shops. Merchants may have exhibited their goods in some way outside the shop as well. Galleries elaborately treated with mosaics may have been very suitable for such display purposes - which is still a favorite practice in shopping malls, arcades, and bazaars today. Although no evidence has been found in Constantinople, some examples of commercial streets and Byzantine shops like the ones in Sardis hint at the existence of a display space under the colonnaded stoas. The 6.7m-wide *cardo maximus* of the Roman Ancyra, for example, revealed a stoa with *opus sectile* pavement and an attached row of shops. The pavement was dated to the early Byzantine period (from the fifth to sixth century).<sup>655</sup> The four shops had dimensions of 8m x 7m, and the interior walls were covered with marble. An Anastasian coin found during the excavations suggests a *terminus ante quem*. The proposed section offers a double-sloped roof for the porticoes with shops (Figure 4.10). The stores do not necessarily seem to be the same, as in Sebaste where the northern stores, backed with the rocky slope of the acropolis, were one-story barrel-vaulted structures and the southern

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<sup>652</sup> Berger, "Regionen," 353, 382–3.

<sup>653</sup> Dark, *Houses, Streets*, 85. Also in note 7, Dark provides a few general indications for the existence of parallel streets running toward the sea from the area between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosius. Multistory middle-class blocks could have been set closely along these narrow streets.

<sup>654</sup> Mundell Mango, "Commercial Map," 117, and fig.20.

<sup>655</sup> Kadioglu et al., *Roman Ancyra*, 157.

stores had two stories and were built with thinner walls. The western sidewalk of the Scythopolis was higher than the eastern one, as the site sloped down toward the east. In Constantinople, the main artery sat on a natural ridge; hence a similar distinction between the front and back of the Mese is conceivable. It likely had a front onto public space for entrances, social interactions, and public activities around shops and vendors. This side served as a linear hub of economic life. Stoas in front of the shops might have been paved with mosaics, creating an environment well-suited for social interaction and exchanges. Sidewalks would have functioned the same way. These in-between spaces might have separated from the street level with one or two steps and might have functioned as a buffer zone between the semiopen “destination areas” versus the movement space caused by traffic. Ancient testimony even suggested that homeless poor inhabitants were living on the streets and sleeping under porticoes in the sixth century.<sup>656</sup>

Besides having practical benefits such as providing shelter and shade for various businesses, the Mese must have offered a diverse and dynamic urban experience. It enabled the observer to see, hear, perceive, and thus conceive the early Byzantine capital more directly simply because of the sequencing of choreographed spaces and views. Although researchers generally consider the Mese to be linear in form, the space was too wide to be read as a closed “urban box” or traditional street by pedestrians. Despite the commercial activity and the social life the Mese accommodated, its monumental scale may have prevented the citizens from perceiving the totality of the avenue at once during the day or night.

Besides organizing the overall structure of the city, the Mese shaped the ceremony and the ritual landscape of Constantinople by providing a background and an elongated stage for communal movements. In return, these highly specific ritual events transformed the Mese—and the whole city for that matter—during the events, both physically and perceptually. Most importantly, the events affected the perception of the colossal columns along the Mese.

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<sup>656</sup> P. Magdalino, “Medieval Constantinople: built environment and urban development,” in *Economic history of Byzantium*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008), 534.

To explore this change in perception further, the tone and the choreography of several ritual performances are analyzed in relation to the colossal columns. The aim is to demonstrate the ways in which strategies for constructing the visual and verbal ambience during ritual outdoor events facilitated a change and expanded the definition of the colossal column.

### **4.3 The dedication ceremony and the Column of Constantine**

The dedication ceremony of Constantinople on May 11, 330, has been studied extensively over the past fifty years. The accounts are recorded in the *Parastaseis*, *Chronicon Paschale*, and *Chronicle of Malalas*. In the *Parastaseis*, the event was recorded as a two-part ceremony. First, the statue of Constantine, transported from the Philadelphion to the Forum, was erected on the porphyry column. Then, a chariot race and several festivals were organized in the Hippodrome.

The statue (stele) in the Forum received many solemn hymns. Here the government and the prefect Olbianus, the spatharii, the cubicularii and also the silentarii, forming an escort with white candles, all dressed in white garments, brought it raised on a carriage from what is now called the Philadelphion but was then called the Proteichisma, in which there was also formerly a gate, built by Carus. But as Diakrinomenos says, it came from the so-called Magnaura. Whereupon it was set up in the Forum and as has been said above, received many hymns and was revered as the Tyche of the city by all, including the army. And finally it was raised on a pillar in the presence of the priest and the procession, and everyone crying out the Kyrie eleison a hundred times. Diakrinomenos says that many things were placed on top of the pillar where the statue (stele) now stands, among them imperial coinage of Constantine, the so-called sotericius, to the amount of ten thousand pounds. Then the city was acclaimed and called Constantinople, as the priests cried out, 'O Lord, set it on a favorable course for boundless ages.' And when they had thus with great pomp celebrated fittingly for forty days, and the emperor had bestowed many gifts of corn to the people, each man went away to his own home. And thus on the next day the birthday of the city took place in a great race in the hippodrome, and the emperor made many gifts there, too, instituting these birthday celebrations as an eternal memorial.<sup>657</sup>

The first place mentioned in the texts is the Philadelphion. The architecture of this complex or area is unknown to modern researchers; yet the text describes it as a "gate." The tenth-century *Patria* continues this reference by providing further details about the area, which

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<sup>657</sup> *Parastaseis*, 56.

could have been the site of an arch that was formerly a land gate built by Carus (ruled between 282 and 283). In Greek, Philadelphion means “the place of the brotherly love.” It is described as the place commemorating the day “when the sons of Constantine, Constantius and Constans met and embraced each other” after the death of their father.<sup>658</sup> Bardill connects this story with the Venice porphyry sculpture group of the Tetrarchs, now placed at San Marco. The two pairs of embracing emperors were known as decorating elements of the columns supporting a porch in the Philadelphion–Capitol complex.<sup>659</sup> Chapter 58 of the same source mentions that several other statues of Constantine and his family stood in this area. It follows that the Philadelphion area was most probably a prominent imperial display area around the Capitolium. The open space around or in front of the Capitolium, then, could have accommodated part of the crowd waiting most likely since dawn for the inauguration ceremony.<sup>660</sup>

There is no description of the parade path before it arrived at Philadelphion. This area may not have been the first point of reception. In fact, the Constantinian Golden Gate may have been a more appropriate venue to initiate the parade. No substantial archaeological evidence clarifies the situation. Reportedly, a small column supporting a statue of Constantine stood on its western side.<sup>661</sup> A second statue was located on the gate.<sup>662</sup> Patria notes that Constantine also built “two porticoes [that] went from the Chalke, the Milion and the Forum to the [fora of] Tauros, Bous and the Exakionion, the area around the Gate.”<sup>663</sup> Based on the evidence, it can be assumed that the foundation ceremony started either from the gate or from the Philadelphion,

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<sup>658</sup> *Patria*, Book 2.48 and *Parastaseis*, 70.

<sup>659</sup> This has been accepted by scholars since the foot missing from the statue was excavated at the Myrelaion in Istanbul.

<sup>660</sup> McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 198, states that officials most probably continued Roman customs and scheduled the ceremony early in the morning. We do not have evidence regarding the foundation ceremony, but as recorded in the *De Ceremoniis*, R497.6, Justinian’s triumphal entry in 559 began at the first hour of the day, shortly after dawn. Thus, the foundation ceremony most likely started very early in the morning.

<sup>661</sup> *Patria*, Book I, 68.

<sup>662</sup> F. A. Bauer, “Urban space and ritual,” 30.

<sup>663</sup> *Patria*, Book I, 68.

and was held along the axis of the Mese. When one considers the possibility that Constantine started the ceremony in front of his predecessors, the Philadelphion appears more likely to be the beginning of the procession.

When the procession reached the Philadelphion, the statue was “raised on a carriage.” This statement most likely refers to the transportation of the statue on a carriage by using either robes or a wheeled lifting tower. The lifting probably occurred in front of the porch supported by the columns decorated with the porphyry statues of the Tetrarchs. Symbolically, the setting could have been interpreted as a demonstration of Constantine’s “raising” without totally overthrowing his connections with the Tetrarchy. Such imagery would have been familiar from the *adlocutio* scene on the Arch of Constantine, where the emperor stands in front of the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*.

The statue of Constantine was probably a reused statue—more specifically, a reused bronze of a Hellenistic king or god, as suggested by Bardill.<sup>664</sup> It is probable that the statue was standing, not reclined, during transport. Although this idea is based on speculation, there is reason to accept it if one refers to Hadrian’s moving of Nero’s colossal statue in an upright position.<sup>665</sup> The Constantinian statue was estimated to be at least 5m (using the Statue of Barletta as a reference). In that case, the statue and the carriages could have easily gone through the newly built, 26m–wide colonnaded avenue toward the Forum. To accommodate this prestigious load, the central openings of each arched entryway along the Mese—the gateways of the Forum of Constantine in particular—would have been at least 6 to 7m high. The distinctive central opening of the Arch of Constantine in Rome was 11.5m high and 6.5m wide, while the

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<sup>664</sup> Bardill, *Constantine*, 112, conceptualizes the statue at the column of Constantine as an example of the emperor’s deliberate attempt to not to reveal his religious identity in monuments and coins. In his argument, the religious identity of the solar deity “was deliberately left open to the viewer’s interpretation. This was an attempt to make the statue accepted by both pagans and Christians.”

<sup>665</sup> We know that Colossus of Nero was an important landmark in Constantine’s agenda. In his reign, there was a commemoration celebrating the crowning of the Colossus. See Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (University of California Press, 1990), 151; Bardill, *Constantine*, 110.

Arch of Theodosius (which could have been modeled on the gateways of the Forum of Constantine) is reconstructed as 7.2m wide.<sup>666</sup> Thus, they could have both accommodated the upright statue during transport.

Later evidence shows that the streets were likely filled with people of all ages, and the audience awaiting the procession may have been waiting on the lower and upper floors and even in the “roofs” of the colonnades along the Mese. The original visual relationship between the Philadelphion and the Forum of Constantine cannot be determined, but early Byzantine topographical maps suggest a 40m difference in elevation (Map 4). The procession carrying the statue needed to pass approximately 1.30 km, climbing up to reach the Forum. The porphyry Column, when viewed experimentally within the 3-D model, seems invisible during the first half of the route. It was only visible after the procession passed the third hill ( the site of the Forum of Theodosius) not only due to its central position but also due to the color purple of the shaft, which was highly distinguishable for contemporary citizens (Figure 4.11a and b). Certainly, the color purple symbolized the imperial presence.

Bassett elaborates on the implications of the material used on the column shaft and highlights its radiant nature by referring to Pliny’s and Philostratus the Elder’s characterizations of the porphyry. In both ancient texts, the color of the porphyry was described as dark, though “it gains a peculiar beauty and it infuses with the brilliance of the sun’s warmth.”<sup>667</sup> This luminous quality might have affected the participants’ view of the colossal column as well. All the way up toward the Forum, the crowd would have contemplated the porphyry monument that was “gleaming when held up to the light.”<sup>668</sup> The material quality of the column shaft underscored Constantine’s symbolic radiance, as did the radiant crown of his statue. During the

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<sup>666</sup> Naumann, “Neue Beobachtungen,” 128, fig.6.

<sup>667</sup> Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*, 1.28.

<sup>668</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 9.62.135.

event, the luminous, towering pedestal visually indicated the place of the statue long before the procession entered into the Forum (Figure 4.12a).

The second stational point was the Forum of Constantine. According to the reconstructions by Bauer and the Byzantium1200 team, a circular colonnade surrounded the porphyry column, isolating it from the rest of the city. The textual evidence, however, suggests a less defined border. The authors described a Pantheon-like round Senate House in the north of the forum area and an attached nymphaeum, an imperial tribunal, a Chapel of Anastasia, and the Praetorium, to which a prison was attached.<sup>669</sup> The edges of the Forum, then, might not have been strictly defined by columnar walls as was the case at the Forum of Trajan in Rome. Rather, like the Forum Romanum, this space could have been delimited by the structures around its edges rather than by a continuous colonnade (Figure 4.7). Or, the colonnades around the Forum could have had openings or detachments to include the tribunal and the prison. The *Notitia* lists the tribunal of the Forum in the third region along with certain *gradūs* (steps). The sixth region covering the north half of the Forum, including the Column of Constantine, had seventeen *gradūs*. Given the regular association between Roman forum staircases and steep topography south of the forum, it is logical that there were public stairs leading down from the Forum of Constantine to the Propontis.

Nothing substantial is known from the textual evidence about the specifics of the ritual. Alternate reconstructions of the performance and the visual experience of the participants are possible. Officials, soldiers, elites, slaves, women, and children may have been part of the crowd. As explained in the passage, the late antique foundation ceremonial was aimed at attracting both eyes and ears. Hymns, chants, and acclamations become louder as the cortege entered into the wide-open plaza. Once inside, the colossal Column shaft would have covered the sight of every participant who were enthusiastically following the statue (Figure 4.12b). During the lifting

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<sup>669</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 29.

stage, the statue, which was placed on the ground or mounted on the steps of the base, would have been prominent as no other building blocked the view around the monumental base. The freestanding statues, however, might have created an obstacle. Bassett, mainly based on the *Parastaseis*, itemizes these as the statues of Artemis and Aphrodite; the bronze figures of Paris, Hera, and Aphrodite as a composite piece; a colossal statue of Athena at the porch of the Senate House; a dolphin; an elephant; and twelve gilded seahorses.<sup>670</sup> Along with these statues, there may have been temporary barriers (such as robes or construction machines) or temporary seating in the area. The escorts (the officials bringing the statue in) or the officials directing the audience where to stand may have demonstrated privilege through their uniquely colored clothing. The escorts, for example, were reported to wear white and carry white candles.

In the Forum, the statue must have been first situated somewhere near the column, probably near the scaffolding that was also used in the construction of the Column (Figure 4.13). The scaffolding may have been kept after the completion of the colossal column, as lifting the monumental statue almost 40 m required a considerable amount of support and engineering. A crane or similar machine or a lifting tower may have been used to elevate the statue.<sup>671</sup> The inscription of the Theodosian Obelisk may be relevant here. The inscription states that raising the obelisk took 30 days. The *Parastaseis*, on the other hand, claims that “great pomp celebrated fittingly for forty days and the emperor had bestowed many gifts of corn to the people, each man went away to his own home.”<sup>672</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that contemporary engineering methods to raise a 19m-tall granite obelisk and a 5m-tall (at least) bronze statue must have been different, 40 days or less seems a reasonable enough length of time to elevate the statue.

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<sup>670</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 221. Of these, the head of a statue of Tiberius was the only piece found in the area in 1964.

<sup>671</sup> For a research investigating the practicalities of construction and the possible use of a lifting tower, see D. Favro, “Construction Traffic in Imperial Rome: Building the Arch of Septimius Severus,” in *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, eds. Ray Laurence and David J. Newsome (Oxford University Press, 2011), 332-361.

<sup>672</sup> *Parastaseis*. 56.

There is no textual reference about where people stood in the Forum while watching the raising of the statue; yet it seems possible that the height of the column and the enclosed colonnade would have reinforced a closed topographical experience of the Forum and would have restricted views of the surrounding city. The only sight open to the participants on the ground would have been the perspective along the Mese. Such a configuration would have created a public stage focusing on the center of both the space and the performance. If it had been an introverted space, then the focus would have been directly on the Column. The distance from the Column matters in terms of the participants' viewshed. As shown in a diagrammatic site section of the plaza, the spectators standing at the edges of the Forum may have had difficulties seeing due to standing at a distance of at least 70m (Figure 4.14). Similarly, when standing closeby, it would have been difficult to see the Column in its entirety.

Based on early Roman evidence and viewing conventions of the Roman Empire, it is possible that there was temporary seating for the particular groups. But the placement of the bleachers or tribunes cannot be determined. In fact, the circular design, the position of the Senate House, and the axial entrance of the area facilitated a separation between two parts of the Forum. The entrance would have formed a natural partition between the northern half occupied by the Senate House and the southern part occupied by the tribunal, the Praetorium, the prison, and possibly public stairs. The *Notitia* provides a guide to deconstructing the Forum into pieces. The text divides the Forum into different regions, placing the tribunal in the third Region, the Column and the Senate House in the sixth region, and the rest of the Forum, "partem fori Constantini," (basically the southwestern part up to the Forum of Theodosius) in the eighth region. Following these divisions, I would suggest the rituals occurred in the northern half of the Forum facing the Senate House (Figure 4.15a). As indicated in the previous chapters, there was a relationship between the rostra and the column monument in the Tetrarchic era—the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* in particular. In light of the lack of a speaking platform similar to the

Rostra in the Roman Forum, the oratorical stage may have corresponded with the uppermost level of the stairs beneath the pedestal of the Column. The steps of the Column's base or a temporary tribunal could have served as the stage and the orators could have directly faced the Senate House. In a reverse staging, on the other hand, the tribunal situated on the southeastern side may have been the area for imperial public address and the elevating of the Column may have been viewable from the southern side (Figure 4.15b). In such a case, the movement axis of the Forum may have passed on the southern half almost along the modern tram line passing right next to the Column. The statue of Constantine, adorned with a radiant crown, may have faced south toward the Propontis. Such an orientation would have ensured that the Column was visible from the approaching ships coming from Egypt or further east.

A third option is to have the statue faced the Mese when approached either from the western or eastern entrance of the Forum (Figure 4.15c). In this arrangement, the possible speaking podium would have been perpendicular to the movement along the Mese. The colossal column, then, would have been literally stopped the procession. The archaeological evidence on the Column's surroundings shows an east-west line of two sets of columns located to the southwest of the porphyry column.<sup>673</sup> Mango interpreted them as columns belonging to the later Chapel of Constantine built at the base of the Column (see Figure 5.2 below). These columns support a possible approach from the southwest side. But in my point of view, within this third option, the reverse setting could have been better. The podium could have been built on the south east side of the Mese, looking towards the Great Palace and the Hippodrome. This would also support my further claims about the possible visual relation between the Hippodrome and the Column of Constantine during the second part of the celebrations. That will be examined in the following pages.

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<sup>673</sup> Mango, *Studies*, IV, 105.

The second round of celebrations associated with the erection of the Column was held in the Hippodrome the next day. A detailed explanation of events in the racetrack comes from Johannes Malalas's sixth-century account:

He also celebrated a great festival on the eleventh of May-Arthemisios in the year 378 according to the era of Antioch the great [c. 330], ordering by his sacred decree that on that day the festival of the anniversary of his city should be celebrated. On the same day, May 11, he ordered that the public bath, the Zeuxippon, should be opened near the Hippodrome and the Regia and the Palace. He had another statue made of himself in gilded wood, bearing in his right hand the Tyche of the city, itself gilded which he called Anthousa. He ordered that on the same day as the anniversary race-meeting, this wooden statue should be brought in, escorted by the soldiers wearing cloaks and boots, all holding candles; the carriage should march around the turning post and reach the pit opposite the imperial kathisma, and the emperor of the time should rise and make obeisance as he gazed at this statue of Constantine and the Tyche of the city. This custom has been maintained up to the present day.<sup>674</sup>

Chapters 5 and 38 of the *Parastaseis* also record a procession and acclamations in the Hippodrome while a copy of the statue of Constantine was carried on a chariot:

For up to time of Theodosius the Great there was a spectacle (*theama*) enacted by the citizens in the Hippodrome, when everyone with candles and white chlamydes came in conveying the same statue (*stela*) alone on a chariot up to the Stama from the starting gates. They used to perform this each time that the birthday of the city was celebrated.<sup>675</sup>

A new little statue (*stelidion*) of the Tyche of the city was escorted in procession carried by Helios. Escorted by many officials, it came to the Stama and received prizes from the Emperor Constantine, and after being crowned, it went out and was placed in the Senate until the next birthday of the city.<sup>676</sup>

According to the texts above, Constantine, in addition to ordering the statue placed at the top of the colossal column, ordered a different statue of himself holding the Tyche of the city of Constantinople.<sup>677</sup> The Tyche was also mentioned in the first part of the ceremonies in the Forum. During those ceremonies, she shared the stage with the colossal statue of Constantine.

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<sup>674</sup> Malalas, *Chronographia*, 321.22-322.16. There is one parallel text in *Chron Paschale*, 529.20-530.11.

<sup>675</sup> *Parastaseis*, 5.

<sup>676</sup> *Parastaseis*, 38.

<sup>677</sup> In Bauer's interpretation, the statue could have held a gilded statuette of Nike. Bauer, "Urban space and ritual," 36, note 33.

Chapter 38 in particular makes it clear that the Tyche of the city was a crucial part of the Hippodrome ceremonies as well. A fourth-century sardonyx cameo in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg confirms this textual evidence.<sup>678</sup> The sardonyx represents the Tyche of Constantinople wearing a crown of towers, which represents the city walls. She holds out a wreath to crown Constantine. Also, a large silver medallion struck for the inauguration of Constantinopolis May 11, 330, shows the Tyche of Constantinopolis, seated on a throne, holding a cornucopia and a branch, with her feet on a ship's prow.<sup>679</sup> The Peutinger Map, although a later artifact, assigns a similar role to her in the identification of the image of the city with the column and the statue of Constantine.

On the day of the event, “the soldiers wearing cloaks and boots, all holding candles” placed the statue on a carriage and carried it to the Hippodrome. Passing the starting gates of the huge area, the procession continued down the west side of the track, turning around from the southern turning post and stopping in front of the imperial box (*kathisma*) almost in the middle of the racetrack (Map 4). Here, the statue received prizes from the emperor, who was wearing a diadem of pearls and precious stones. After the event, the statue was returned to its place in the Senate House in the Forum of Constantine until the following year.

As suggested by Preger, this ceremony recalls early Roman circus processions (*pompa circensis*), in which images of the deceased emperor and his family were carried together with images of gods taken out of the temples.<sup>680</sup> Based on this assumption, Berger questions the timing of the Hippodrome ceremonies and concludes that the second part recorded in the

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<sup>678</sup> For the figure see, Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 195, plate 21.

<sup>679</sup> RIC VII Constantinople no. 53. This medallion has a paired version of Roma type. See L. Ramskold, “Coins and medallions struck for the inauguration of Constantinople, 11 May 330,” *Nis and Byzantium IX* (online open journal) (2011), 125-58; (with N. Lenski), “Constantinople’s dedication medallions and the maintenance of civic traditions,” Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 199 (2012), 31-58.

<sup>680</sup> Preger, *Scriptores Originum*, 466-469. For the *pompa circensis*, see Patrizia Arena, “The *pompa circensis* and the domus Augusta (1st–2nd c. A.D.),” in *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire*. Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5–7, 2007) (Brill, 2009), 86.

sources could have been held posthumously by the successors of Constantine.<sup>681</sup> Bardill reconsiders this issue and suggests that Constantine himself held the circus procession as a revival of Julius Caesar's victory and the birthday celebrations that had been organized in 45 BCE to commemorate the founding of the old Rome.<sup>682</sup> This way, Constantine practiced certain kingly attributes and paid his respects to Caesar and his Hellenistic predecessors. Bardill extends this argument and argues that this ceremony, if not posthumous, also demonstrated that Constantine accepted the honor of deification by ordering his statue paraded while he was still alive.

Evidence about the symbolism of the Hippodrome ceremony is hardly conclusive. This research, however, focuses on the route of the procession and the view from the *kathisma*. Both ancient accounts seem to envisage a procession starting from the original location of the statue, the Forum of Constantine, and moving to the imperial center of the city and then to the Hippodrome–Palace complex. This time, the “gilded wooden” statue, probably kept inside the Senate House, became mobilized in front of a large audience and left the Forum on a chariot, while the founder of the city, the Great Constantine, was watching his people from up in the air. The “white” cortege, with its white candles, proceeded to the Regia, the oldest part of the Mese, between the Forum and the Million, and entered the Augusteion, the renovated public area of the Severan city. Given that one of the important public amenities along the way, the Baths of Zeuxippus, was ordered to remain open during festivals, it is not surprising that the area must have accommodated a large crowd coming from the Baths and going into the Hippodrome. The chariot would enter the circus and take a turn around the *spina*, simulating an imperial triumphal movement. Here, the chariot and its statue received the homage of Constantine, or in later times, of the reigning emperor. As the emperor rose and made obeisance to the Hippodrome-bound statue of Constantine and the Tyche of the city, his vista may have included

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<sup>681</sup> Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 552.

<sup>682</sup> Bardill, *Constantine*, 153.

the other large statue of Constantine atop the porphyry column far beyond the Hippodrome. Even if it is impossible to accurately determine the topographical conditions between the Forum and the Hippodrome, the viewshed analysis from the 3-D model suggests a possible visual connection between these two important ceremonial spaces.

On the day of the event, the audience would have watched the chariot from their seats on both sides of the racetrack and from the seats on the *sphendone* (the curved tribune at the southern end). The emperor sat in the *kathisma*, or imperial box. From the viewpoint of the *carceres* (starting gates), this royal box was located on the left track, likely facing the physical center of the barrier dividing the two tracks. In the widely accepted reconstructions of Tayfun Oner (produced for and exhibited in the Pera Museum in 2010), this structure was placed at the uppermost level of the southeastern seating (Figure 4.16). Although the architecture of the *kathisma* is not certain, it is generally thought to have had several levels. As Safran noted, the lower levels may have had offices for the urban prefect and senators since they were known to make judgments in the Hippodrome.<sup>683</sup> In addition, the juridical archives were held under the *kathisma*.<sup>684</sup> There may have been semi-open seating or viewing balcony for the emperor at the top of these enclosed spaces. As suggested by Safran, imperial women may have been seated at the upper levels of the *kathisma*.<sup>685</sup> According to the composition of the fourth-century audience as outlined by Safran on the basis of art historical, textual, and archaeological evidence, the members of four factions were sitting on the northwest side facing the *kathisma*.<sup>686</sup> Malalas situated the Greens directly opposite the *kathisma*. The Greens were flanked by Blues and the

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<sup>683</sup> Safran, "Points of View: the Theodosian Obelisk," 416, note 20: "[U]nder the *kathisma* and, because the urban prefect and senatorial commissions sometimes made judgments in the Hippodrome, it is likely that they had offices, and therefore seats, somewhere along the southeast side."

<sup>684</sup> Ibid.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid., 419.

<sup>686</sup> Ibid.

military garrison troops on both sides.<sup>687</sup> As noted by Humphrey, the “highest seats were surely reserved for the lowest classes of the population, the non-citizens and slaves.”<sup>688</sup>

Regarding the sightlines within the Hippodrome, for the audience sitting on the right track, the elevation of the opposite seating would have eliminated nearly all views from the lower levels, which were close to the Hippodrome’s ground level. Viewsheds from more elevated positions would not have been much better. Ironically, observers with seats in the upper levels had good views of the *kathisma* but were far from the central racing space. During the ceremony, they may have had partially obstructed views of the *spina* and the carriage with the imperial statue, especially after it turned and began to move along the left track.

However, the view from the opposite side would have promised more to the privileged viewers in the *kathisma*, who could have viewed the city in the background. The reconstruction of the early fourth-century Hippodrome in this research shows that the colossal Column was visible from the upper levels of the eastern seating (Figure 4.17). Those on the upper levels of the *kathisma* fronting the central barrier, which was decorated with statues of various origins such as the Serpent Column, could readily see the colossal statue of Constantine at the top of the porphyry column. The Column was positioned far away from the *kathisma* (around 500 m). But given that the Theodosian and the Built obelisk were not yet present in 330, the “luminous” porphyry column and the colossal gilded bronze statue of Constantine with its radiant crown may have constituted an inescapable piece of the city’s skyline. It is tempting to think that the procession’s iconography worked in synergy with Constantine’s urbanism based on sightlines. On one hand, Constantine would have watched his statue parading in front of the *kathisma* on a chariot, with his columnar monument visible on the horizon. On the other hand, in the context of the birthday ceremonies, the succeeding emperors would have witnessed the memory of

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<sup>687</sup> Malalas ch. 351. Note that the position of the factions changed depending on the favorite of the emperor.

<sup>688</sup> Safran, “Points of View: the Theodosian Obelisk,” 122.

Constantine between two statues of him: the one closer to him would have been carried alongside the chariot, representing the annual renewal of his power, whereas the one up in the sky would have represented his omnipresence.

Another significant way in which the Column may have related to the foundation rituals is the religious aspect of the ceremonies.<sup>689</sup> J. Rykwert considers the foundation ceremonies of Constantinople as the last example of antique foundation rituals famously performed by Romulus during the foundation of Rome.<sup>690</sup> Constantine used a plough to define the limits of his new capital city. Philostorgius, the church historian of the fourth and fifth centuries, noted that the emperor departed from the previously staked-out route, and when he was asked to return, he answered that he was following someone ahead of him.<sup>691</sup> It is unknown whom he was following.

La Rocca argues for traditional pagan rituals as setting the precedent for the foundation rituals. Looking into the early Roman ritual calendar of Byzantion, he points out that the *ludi florales* occupied the days between April 21 and May 11. In this festival, Romans celebrated the goddess of flowers, Flora, with the set of games and theatrical presentations. These events were followed by a final day devoted to the circus games.<sup>692</sup> In response to this interpretation, Wortley suggests that the selection of May 11 as the founding of Constantinople may have been based on the feast day of St. Mokios, a local martyr who lived during the reign of Diocletian.<sup>693</sup> Barnes

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<sup>689</sup> The full debate on this topic is outside the scope of this study. On the events of May 11, 330, see G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (Presses universitaires de France, 1984), 37-42.

<sup>690</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (reprint MIT Press, 1988), 202.

<sup>691</sup> Philostorgius, Book II. 9.

<sup>692</sup> E. La Rocca, "La Fondazione di Costantinopoli," in *Costantino il grande dall' antichità all'umanesimo : colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico, Macerata 18-20 Dicembre 1990*, vol 1, eds. Giorgio Bonamente and Franca Fusco (Macerata : Università degli studi, 1993), 561-62.

<sup>693</sup> J. Wortley, "The Byzantine Component of the Relic-hoard of Constantinople," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 40 (1999), 366.

supports the latter by presenting the martyrrium dedicated to St Mokios in Constantine's reign as a clear proof of such a connection.<sup>694</sup>

Arguments based on the ceremonial calendar can perhaps be connected to specific prayers. Many textual sources have recorded Christian references and chants such as *kyrie eleison* (meaning, Lord, have mercy). Priests and liturgical groups were among the participants of most of the imperial ceremonies. The fifth-century source *Ecclesiastical History*, written by the church historian Sozomen, incorporates various Christian references in a description of the foundation of the city:

Led by the divine hand, he came to Byzantium in Thrace, beyond Chalcedon in Bithynia, and here he desired to build his city, and render it worthy of the name of Constantine. In obedience to the command of God, he therefore enlarged the city formerly called Byzantium, and surrounded it with high walls; likewise he built splendid dwelling houses; and being aware that the former population was not enough for so great a city, he peopled it with men of rank and their families, whom he summoned from Rome and from other countries. . . . He erected all the needed edifices for a great capital—a hippodrome, fountains, porticoes and other beautiful adornments. He named it Constantinople and New Rome.<sup>695</sup>

To support his view, Sozomen described the supposedly "Christian" cityscape:

He [Constantine] created another Senate which he endowed with the same honors and privileges as that of Rome, and he strove to render the city of his name equal in every way to Rome in Italy; nor were his wishes in vain, for by the favor of God, it became the most populous and wealthy of cities. As this city became the capital of the Empire during the period of religious prosperity, it was not polluted by altars, Grecian temples, nor pagan sacrifices. Constantine also honored this new city of Christ by adorning it with many and splendid houses of prayer, in which the Deity vouchsafed to bless the efforts of the Emperor by giving sensible manifestations of his presence.<sup>696</sup>

Such imagery, however, was hardly accurate since toward the end of the fourth century, visitors to the New Rome would still have been impressed not only by the churches but the columnar facades of the pagan Roman architecture. They would have found the porticoed streets

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<sup>694</sup> Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 222.

<sup>695</sup> Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.3.

<sup>696</sup> *Ibid.*

and commemorative columns along the urban armature connecting the Roman *Porta Aurea* to the enlarged Tetrastoon/New Augusteion. The *Porta*, the imperial Forum, the Senate House, the Capitolium Temple, and the Constantinian Basilica near Milion, all were landmarks of pagan Roman architectural language. The columnar façade of the Hippodrome, as the topography still suggests today, must have projected off the hill on its southwestern side. East of the Hippodrome, close to the shores, may have been the buildings of the Great Palace. The old Acropolis of the city most likely appeared behind these complexes. Temples of Artemis, Aphrodite, Apollo, and Dionysus (or at least their ruins) could have dominated the skyline of the projecting north part of the first hill, today within the limits of Topkapi Palace.<sup>697</sup>

Of course, there were Christian buildings offered by Constantine; yet these were not to be seen near the Forum or on the hills of the city. North of the Augusteion was the Church of Hagia Irene (Holy Peace), which was visually balanced (if not dominated) by the monumental bath complex of Zeuxippus. The other church, the Church of St. Mokios, was built on an impressive scale and thus was not in the shadow of any other huge building; however it was located outside the Constantinian walls and was not visible from the sea.<sup>698</sup> Another church for St. Acacius was built in Region 10 (on the north side of the peninsula), close to the sea walls. It was built on a slope down to the Golden Horn, hence was visually disconnected from the main urban spine.<sup>699</sup> Only the Mausoleum (later the Holy Apostles) could have constituted one of the Sozomen's "splendid houses of prayers." Located on the highest hill of the peninsula, this building and its Christian features (if there were any at the time of Constantine) must have inscribed the Christianity of the capital into the city's skyline.<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>697</sup> The related evidence about these temples was found during excavations conducted between churches of Hagia Irene and Hagia Sophia. See Tezcan, *Topkapi Sarayı*.

<sup>698</sup> For the Church, Wortley, "The Byzantine Component," 363-68.

<sup>699</sup> For the Church, Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.23; Procopius, *Buildings*, 1.4.25-26; Wortley, "The Byzantine Component," 358-363.

<sup>700</sup> The Mausoleum and its role in the funeral processions will be discussed in Chapter 4.5.

The other highly visible element in the skyline of New Rome was the Column of Constantine. The column presents a unique case that is relevant to this research. As a pagan monument by definition, it must have been prominent to anyone arriving at Constantinople by sea to the harbors of Nerion or Proosphorion or from land through the Porta Aurea. But its religious implications were left ambiguous. This primary “object” of the dedication day was pagan in architecture but held beneath its base the Palladium (the archaic statue of Athena brought from Troy), a fragment from the True Cross brought from Jerusalem, and many other religiously ambiguous objects. It should be noted here that these Christian symbols were not visible in the cityscape. Especially from a distance, Christian elements would have remained in the shadow of the pagan features of the Column. Thus, the ambiguity found in the textual evidence was less visible in the cityscape, and the urban visual culture of early Constantinople remained more Roman than Christian. The Column, therefore, is valuable not only in the sense that it acts as a post, showing the direction of movement, but also in the broader sense that it serves as the key component of a general frame of reference within which an individual can interpret and identify the image of the New Rome.

It is possible that Constantine meant his city to be glorious as possible, with buildings superior to the ones in Rome. Equally, he might have been interested in the aesthetic values of the monuments and possibly their interconnections. Building a column on an enormous scale out of an ideologically charged material might be an act of personal choice in pursuit of memorability and fame. Thus, Constantine's column commemorates not just the foundation of the New Rome, but in doing so determines its entire urban character and the skyline establishing its place in communal memory. It embedded a remembrance of the founding ruler in the city's topography, and simultaneously, inscribed him in city's future by looming in the sky. It reciprocally presupposed the singularity of Constantinople in the fourth century and in so doing, helped determine the city's early Byzantine urban character and skyline.

#### 4.4 The Theodosian Mese and the converted colossal columns

On November 24, 380, Theodosius I made his triumphal entrance to the city following his successful encounter with the Goths.<sup>701</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus's account from 379 described the city as:

[The city has] walls and theater and racecourses and palaces, and beautiful great porticoes and that marvelous work the underground and overhead river [aqueduct of Valens] and the splendid and admired column [of Constantine] and the crowded marketplace and a restless people and a famous senate of highborn men.<sup>702</sup>

The market places were full, the colonnades, streets, every place, two or three story houses were full of people leaning out, men, women, and children, the very aged.<sup>703</sup>

There are no records of Theodosius's *adventus* ceremony, but it was probably organized according to the conventional Roman codes, including public acclamations and panegyrics by renowned orators. Given that Theodosius's imperial victory was announced in the Hippodrome a year before he entered the city on 17 November, 379, his celebrations may have involved a formal meeting outside the city walls, near the Constantinian Golden Gate. Leo I's coronation ceremony, as described in the *De Ceremoniis*, presents an applicable model for this event. The second part of the text addresses an imperial *adventus* starting from the Constantinian Golden Gate. Originally, the account explains the events of 457, but Tiftixoglu claims that the narrative could have described the accession of Honorius in the year 393 because the described route did not include the Theodosian walls, the Forum, or the Column of Theodosius, which at the time had only recently been completed.<sup>704</sup> Based on this assumption, it is reasonable to expect that Honorius followed the same route as his father when he first entered the capital.

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<sup>701</sup> MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 41.

<sup>702</sup> Themistius, *Orations*, 33.6. Gregory of Nazianzus was in the city to guide the small and isolated Nicene community.

<sup>703</sup> Greg. Naz. *Poems*, 2.1.1331-5

<sup>704</sup> V. Tiftixoglu, "Die Helenianai nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des fruhen Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Fruhgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.G.Beck (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 14, 1973), note 82.

The narrative (of Leo I) begins with the emperor's visit to the Church of St. John the Baptist in Hebdomon. He "mounts on a white horse [after he visited the Church of Sts. Karpos and Papylos], orders the archons to mount and escorted, goes into the Church of St. John the Baptist." Once inside, he removes his crown and goes to the altar to pray and offer valuable gifts.<sup>705</sup>

Going into the robing-room, he puts on his crown [R414] and goes on horseback as far as Helenianai, and when he dismounts there, the guard of the palace [at Helenianai] meets him and, unless it is a Sunday, makes obeisance after his entry through the door of the palace. If it is a title-holder, the emperor receives him with a kiss. He is met there also by the cross, placed on the round to his right and held by the *vestetores*.

The emperor changes in the robbing-room and puts on sandals and a white *divetesion* with gold *clavi* and purple *chlamys*. From there the whole procession takes place as at the [Campus] Martius, and he sits in the carriage, preceded by the cross and scepters. The foremost patrician sits with him, or whomever he orders, kissing his hands, while the other archons preceded him. When he comes to the Forum of Constantine, he gets down from the carriage and receives the eparch of the City, and the Senate. The leading senator, with the eparch of the city, offers him a gold crown.<sup>706</sup>

After the overtly Christian ceremony, probably near the colossal Column of Constantine, he goes into the carriage—this time alone. Then he arrives at the Hagia Sophia "passing through the Augusteion, opposite the Horologion."<sup>707</sup> When he leaves the church to rest in the Palace, "all the senatorial rank meet him within the Regia."<sup>708</sup> The chapter continues with a description of what happened when the emperor entered into the Palace. Further celebrations would have involved races in the Hippodrome and banquets in the Great Palace.

A final description gives a particular sequence to the relationship between the ritual and the physical fabric of the city:

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<sup>705</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R413.8-13. For the Church of Sts Karpos and Papylos see Janin, *Les églises*, 279.

<sup>706</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R. 414.5-11.

<sup>707</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R. 415.1.

<sup>708</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R. 415. 9.

It should be known that from the Helenianai up the gate [the Constantinian Golden Gate], two *kometes* of the *scholai* hold the “apples” of the carriage, while from the gate up to the Forum two *kometes* of the *domestikoi*, and from the Forum up to the Palace two military ex-consuls, according to the procedure that will be read in the work concerning the [Campus] Martius.<sup>709</sup>

This account breaks the journey into three sections: from the Helenai to the city gate, from the gate to the Forum of Constantine, and from the Forum to the Great Palace. The last section is, in fact, the regular ceremonial path followed during birthday ceremonies. It is known that, in keeping with the Column’s original purpose as a monument to Constantine’s victory, birthday celebrations for the city were still being performed in the Forum in the reigns of Constantine’s successors. However, the *Parastaseis* suggests that one of the first orders of Theodosius was to cancel this practice.<sup>710</sup>

This single act signaled a second urban vision for Constantinople. Instead of emphasizing the founding emperor and his legacy, Theodosius offered a vision of the refoundation of New Rome where the imperial ceremony started by visiting a prominent church with ecclesiastical leaders and continued while the cortege were “preceded by the cross and scepters.” A visit to the Great Church was the new convention –and almost a prerequisite before the traditional Hippodrome celebrations. Themistius reflected the attitude of the new emperor in his address to Theodosius’s court in Thessaloniki in 376–377:

Former kings gave us a multitude of columns and statues and an abundance of water, but you plant our senate thickly with honors and titles and cure this dearth which afflicts us no less than formerly the dearth of springs. And those whom you have named conscript fathers, make worthy of the title! Nor yet shall you appear inferior to Constantinople, whenever you set them up, if you should rise up the city with honors to a greater height than Constantine did with buildings.<sup>711</sup>

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<sup>709</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R. 416.12-15.

<sup>710</sup> *Parastaseis*, 5; *Patria* II, 87.

<sup>711</sup> Themistius, 14.183c-d.

The rule of Theodosius the Great and his successors was different in many respects from that of Constantine, not to mention that the emperor was a baptized Christian. He aimed for a Christian imperial capital where both the military and the administrative issues, where the Palace and the imperial subjects, the religious community, and civic matters all received the appropriate level of imperial attention. Publicly celebrated state organizations created a complicated, busy events calendar. Highly liturgical details were incorporated into these imperial processions. The urban stationary liturgy proliferated during this time. Therefore, in the Theodosian dynasty, Constantinople literally became a city of celebrations befitting its status as the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

For such a systematic ritualization of the city, the built environment was pivotal. Architects and planners of the new dynasty were mindful of the spatial advantages of Constantine's Mese when choosing spots for new imperial spaces. Instead of viewing the challenge in terms of adding new Theodosian-stamped imperial landmarks to the Mese, they sought ways to attach new stations to the existing axis of movement running through the city. In the late 380s, Theodosius I sponsored the construction of a forum complex on the third hill. Later, in 402, Arcadius dedicated a similar forum on the adjacent hill to the west—the so-called Xerolophon (Map 2). Each forum had a colossal column with a statue of the related emperor. With the construction of the new city walls about 2km to the west of the Constantinian walls, which was completed in 413 under the emperor Theodosius II, two new nodes were added onto the ceremonial path: the new Golden Gate, which was in the form of a triumphal arch, flanked with large square towers, and richly decorated with numerous impressive imperial statues, and another imperial open plaza, the so-called Sigma, which has been identified with the Forum of Theodosius II with a possible Column of the emperor.<sup>712</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> See chapter 3.4.1.

The same emperor, in fact, built another column monument, this time in a relatively new node along the ceremonial path: the Hebdomon. Once the military ground of the city, this area gained political and ceremonial significance in the early fifth century, since the proclamations of Valens, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II took place in this area.<sup>713</sup> The city's officials welcomed the emperors returning from an expedition, so the procession began moving toward the city from this point.<sup>714</sup> In addition to hosting imperial events, this area had religious significance, with several churches built in the region.<sup>715</sup> As recorded in the *Chronicon Paschale*, following an earthquake in 448, the citizens of Constantinople, including the emperor and the patriarch, paraded towards to the Hebdomon to pray for the wellness of their city.<sup>716</sup> As such, after the Theodosian dynasty, the path between the Theodosian Golden Gate and the Hebdomon functioned as a 5km-long extraurban portion of the Mese.

Imperial processions, religious public rituals such as the acquisition of the relics of saints and martyrs, and liturgical festal days were held along the Mese, now almost 10 km long, under the shadow of imperial monuments. Unlike under the Constantinian urban vision, priority was placed on emphasizing the uniqueness of New Rome to establish a meditative union with the *caput mundi* while keeping perfect conformity to the rule of a Christian god. The Theodosian dynasty's ritual-architectural agenda, in other words, evinced continued concern for the commemoration of imperial and religious events, linked in this case with a deep commitment to Rome-related similarities such as the similarities between the Column of Theodosius and the Column of Trajan. Also relevant was the self-aggrandizement of the emperor with permanent monuments. The columns of Theodosius and Arcadius were competitive architectural imprints

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<sup>713</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 447.

<sup>714</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R. 496.

<sup>715</sup> Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 446-7. Some of them are St. Theodote, St. Menas, Menaius of St. Vicentius, the Monastery of the Infants, and possibly the Hagiasma of St. Mamas, Church of St. John the Baptist, Church of the Prophet Samuel, Church of St. John the Theologian and Church of St. Theodote.

<sup>716</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 589.

against the Column of Constantine, explicitly emphasizing their donors' connections to Christianity.

#### 4.4.1 Imperial processions

Theodosius I ruled a unified empire with his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Both shared with Theodosius the imperial name *augustus*. Accordingly, during the various processions, the emperor's entourage was crowded. Croke notes that once the entourage entered Constantinople, the large Theodosian royal family, friends, and officers would join the local imperial household, which comprised wives and children of the former emperors in the Great Palace. The vast number of imperial birthdays, marriages, funerals, victory announcements, and consulships gave rise to several days of ceremonies, banquets, races, and games, which included all citizens and foreigners in the city. Imperial proclamations initiated such events. For example, Arcadius was proclaimed on January 19, 383, on the fifth anniversary of his father's rule. On January 19, 388, Theodosius and Arcadius marked their tenth and fifth anniversaries, respectively, with citywide celebrations. On the tenth anniversary of Arcadius's rule and the fifteenth anniversary of Theodosius's rule, the youngest son, Honorius, was proclaimed on January 23, 393. Each year on January 19, Themistius delivered a speech (*Oration 15* in 381 and *Oration 18* in 384).<sup>717</sup> It is known that a triumph was organized following the peace with the Goths in 382 and probably with the Persians in 385–86.<sup>718</sup> Thus, Theodosius's personal agenda cultivated the dynastic statements found in imperial ritual. Beginning with Theodosius, spectacular parades and joint processions involved more than one emperor.

Among the many imperial processions along the “new” Mese, imperial funerals deserve particular attention because they mainly involved members of the Theodosian dynasty—Theodosius in particular—who were responsible for the development of the mausoleum and

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<sup>717</sup> Croke, “Reinventing Constantinople,” 250, note 73.

<sup>718</sup> *Ibid.*, 254

church complex situated at the fifth hill of the peninsula.<sup>719</sup> In his lifetime, Theodosius brought the bodies of his predecessors to the city of Constantinople and laid them to rest in Constantine's mausoleum, which was attached to the Church of Holy Apostles. Thus, the complex became an important node point for ceremonial processions.<sup>720</sup> Besides Constantine's and Constantius's bodies, Theodosius reportedly brought the bodies of Julian and his wife, Helena, and Jovian and his wife, Charito. In 382 he also transferred the body of Valentinian, which had been stored elsewhere in the city since the death of the emperor in 376. In December 383, Valentinian's daughter-in-law Constantia was buried in the area of the mausoleum. Textual evidence refers to funerary services organized for Princess Pulcheria in July 385; her mother, Flaccilla Augusta, in 385; Prince Gratian in 388; and Prince John and his mother, Galla, in 394. On January, 17, 395, Theodosius died in Milan. His body was taken to Constantinople and buried in the mausoleum on November of the same year.<sup>721</sup> When Arcadius died on May, 1, 408, his body was also interred in the mausoleum area but this time in a porphyry sarcophagus in the so-called "south stoa," a later addition to the mausoleum–church complex. Theodosius II's funeral ceremony was organized on July 30, 450, and he was buried close to his father's tomb.<sup>722</sup>

Not all of these funerals were described in the ancient sources. However, a few can be mapped in the city topographically and socially. While describing the funeral for Pulcheria, Gregory of Nyssa states,

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<sup>719</sup> For general on Byzantine tombs, see P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)," *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 16 (1962), 3–63.

<sup>720</sup> The church was unfinished when Constantine died in 337 but it was complete and dedicated in 370 in the reign of Constantius. It was described by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4.58–60: "The building was surrounded by an open area of great extent, the four sides of which were terminated by porticos which enclosed the area and the church itself. Adjoining these porticos were ranges of stately chambers, with baths and promenades, and besides many apartments adapted to the use of those who had charge of the place."

<sup>721</sup> For more information see Mark J. Johnson, "On the Burial Places of the Theodosian Dynasty," *Byzantion* 61 (1991), 330-339; G. Downey, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 79 (1959), 37, List C and 40, List R.

<sup>722</sup> Grierson, "The Tombs," 20.

[T]he full temple, the vestibule, the open expanse before it, people in mourning, the nearby streets, public areas, the side streets and houses. Wherever one looks there are crowds of people as the entire world had run together for this tragedy.<sup>723</sup>

In 385 he described the funeral cortege of the empress Flaccilla Augusta passing the streets of Constantinople. Her coffin was draped in purple and glittering gold and carried on the empress's litter. Both citizens of Constantinople and foreigners participated in the funeral "enthusiastically [by] following on foot in a great throng and giving vent to grief, people of every rank and age rush out, they marvel at this sight visible to all."<sup>724</sup> Similar funerals were organized for religious personalities. Croke cites a passage from Gregory of Nyssa describing the funeral procession for Bishop Meletius of Antioch in mid-381:

[T]he people, so densely crowded together as to look like a sea of heads, became all one continuous body, like some watery flood surged around the procession bearing his remains. . . . [T]he streams of fire from the succession of lamps flowed along the unbroken track of light, and extended so far that the eye could not reach them.<sup>725</sup>

The concentration of this many imperial bodies in a single complex in New Rome had two important effects on the Mese and the sacred topography of the city. First, it embedded the mausoleum and the Church of Holy Apostles onto the processional route. This addition assigned the northeastern arm of the Mese further significance as an important path regularly used by numerous imperial and religious processions. Accordingly, the monuments around the path, as well as around the city gate, which pointed to the path's intersection with the new city wall—the Gate of Adrianople—became areas of interest.<sup>726</sup> Remarkably, the last Theodosian emperor,

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<sup>723</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *In Pulcheriam* (463 Spira)

<sup>724</sup> Croke, "Reinventing Constantinople," 252; Greg Nyssa, *In Flaccillam*, (478 Spira),

<sup>725</sup> Greg Nyssa, *In Meletium* (456 Spira)

<sup>726</sup> See Chapter 4.5.

Marcian, built his column and possibly his forum on the second parade route leading to the monumental nodal point created by the Church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>727</sup>

#### **4.4.2 Religious processions**

The spiritual atmosphere also permeated religious parades. The Christian community appropriated areas of the city as spaces of worship during religious feasts and funerals. A wide range of liturgical services was carried out in the streets, and each had a church or shrine as a destination. The prayers of the Arians, the dominant ecclesiastical party in the late fourth century, were held in the main churches such as Holy Apostles and Hagia Irene. The other ecclesiastical party, the Nicaeans, was outnumbered at that time and had no access to these churches. As reported by Gregory of Nazianzus (the Nicaean bishop of the city from 379 to 381), the Nicaeans held services in the small chapel called Anastasia, slightly northeast of Constantine's Forum in the Portico of Dominus.<sup>728</sup>

When Theodosius ascended to the throne, he immediately called upon an ecumenical council in Constantinople to condemn Arianism in 381. The council authored the first official document referring to the city as the New Rome and forced the Arian community to hand over the churches and city squares to the Nicaean community.<sup>729</sup> The relocation was mentioned by Sozomen in the mid-fifth century:

The Arians, deprived of their churches in Constantinople during the reign of Theodosius [the Great], held their liturgical meetings outside of the city walls. They previously assembled by night in the public porticoes, and were divided into bands, so that they sang antiphonally, for they had composed certain refrains which reflected their own doctrine. At the break of day they marched in procession, singing these hymns, to their liturgical assemblies. They proceeded in this manner on all solemn festivals and on Sundays and Saturdays.<sup>730</sup>

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<sup>727</sup> For the column, see Chapter 3.5.2.

<sup>728</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration*, 22:8 (*Patrologia Graeca* 35: 1140-1141). For the Chapel of Anastasia, see Janin, *Les églises* 22-25.

<sup>729</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 15.5.6 and 16.5.13. For example, Theodosius was explicit in ordering that the heretics be relocated beyond the city, and their ministers were flushed out from their hiding places.

<sup>730</sup> Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.8.

This passage reveals that by the end of the fourth century, the city was used to nocturnal processions through the streets, as well as communal singing and chanting. The processions sometimes involved walking considerable distances. The starting point could have been a church in the city, and the termination could have located outside the city walls.

By the time John Chrysostom became bishop in 397, the Arians continued to spread their doctrines despite the decrees of bishops and the emperor. In this religious debate, the liturgical processions were planned as a means of religious propaganda in the Mese to show which ecclesiastical party owned the city. Chrysostom's concern about possible negative effects on the Nicean community was already an issue in the 380s, when he criticized the "exaggerated" exterior shows of the Arians.<sup>731</sup> Latham notes that on the weekends the Arians gathered in the public squares along the Mese to chant antiphonal hymns from late at night until dawn.<sup>732</sup> Then they paraded toward their gathering places outside the city walls.<sup>733</sup> The bishop Chrysostom was fearful that his people would be led astray by witnessing Arian processions; therefore he commanded his people to sing hymns in the same manner. In time, however, "the orthodox became more distinguished and surpassed the heretics in number and processions."<sup>734</sup>

Meanwhile, the regular travel of the ecclesiastical party created a network of sacred routes in the city (Map 4). The ceremonial route (the Mese), the shrines of the saints, and at least fourteen churches, as listed in the *Notitia*, became sacred spots both inside and outside the city. These new sacred locations added nodes to the processional axis. John Chrysostom, for example, celebrated the Eucharist in the Great Church and the feast of St. John Prodromos at Hebdomon. He orchestrated the procession to the Elaia (an olive grove) across the Golden

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<sup>731</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration*, 38:5-6.

<sup>732</sup> J. A. Latham, "Battling Bishops, The Roman Aristocracy, and the Contestation of Civic Space in Late Antique Rome," in *Religious Competition in the Third Century CE: Jews, Christians, and the Greco-Roman World*, eds. Jordan D. Rosenblum, et al. (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 128.

<sup>733</sup> Ibid.

<sup>734</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6. 8.

Horn, above Galata, to celebrate the feast of Ascension.<sup>735</sup> One day he delivered a homily in Hagia Irene.<sup>736</sup> Another day, on the occasion of a drought, he preached a sermon in an unknown martyrion outside the Adrianople Gate, where Chrysostom sarcastically announced that he had finally brought out the entire city population.<sup>737</sup> He preached another sermon to the Goths in the Church of St. Paul the Confessor located near the Golden Horn.<sup>738</sup> On the anniversary of Theodosius's death, the bishop gave a sermon at Holy Apostles.<sup>739</sup>

In addition to the fixed locations of the martyrion, there were transportable Christian sacred objects. Celebrations of the discovery of relics and their processions into the city filled up the Christian festal calendar. These ceremonies were a type of imperial *adventus* in which the physical remains of a saint replaced the emperor in his chariot.<sup>740</sup> However, this replacement did not exclude the imperial presence. The emperors or empresses had direct roles in transferring the relics. Theodosius, for example, carried the skull of Paul I of Constantinople in the procession along the Mese to the church named after the saint.<sup>741</sup> In 391 the emperor transformed the head of St. John the Baptist from Chalcedon to Hebdomon into a new church specifically built to house the relics. In addition, the relics of two African martyrs, Terentius and Africanus, were brought and deposited in the church of St. Euphemia.<sup>742</sup> Chrysostom describes the arrival of the relics of Phocas:

Yesterday our city was aglow, radiant and famous, not because it had colonnades, but because a martyr arrived in procession from Pontus . . . Did you see the procession in the Forum? . . . Let no one stay away from this holy assembly; let no virgin stay shut up in her house, no woman keep to her own home. Let us empty

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<sup>735</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.18, 7. 26.

<sup>736</sup> Hom. Nova 5 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63:485).

<sup>737</sup> Hom. Nova 1 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63:461).

<sup>738</sup> Hom. Nova. 8 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63: 499-500). For the chapel see Janin, *Les églises*, 394-395.

<sup>739</sup> Hom. Nova 6 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63:461).

<sup>740</sup> For example, K.G. Holum and G.Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, "Adventus" Ceremonial," conceptualizes the relic translation as an *adventus*.

<sup>741</sup> Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.9.1-2.

<sup>742</sup> Theodore Anagnostes, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II 62 (*Patrologia Graeca* 86, 213A).

the city and go to the grave of the martyr, for even the emperor and his wife go with us . . . Let us make of the sea a church once again, once again going forth to it with lamps.<sup>743</sup>

In 406 the sacred relics of the Prophet Samuel arrived with “Arcadius Augustus leading the way, and Anthemius, pretorian prefect and former consul, Aemilianus, city prefect, and all the senate” at the Chalcedonian jetty.<sup>744</sup> In all these transactions, the “sacredness” was transported with the “hand” of the emperor.

As this brief review demonstrates, the emperor and the bishop regularly mapped the sacred geography of the city. Both people and the clergy participated these citywide processions passing through the city’s boulevards and the open plazas toward the chosen church. There were stopping points along the way in which various ecclesiastical services were held in the open air. Litanies, psalms, scripture readings, and repeated chants were part of the rituals. The ecclesiastical recognition and sanctity were further stressed through sweet perfumes coming from sarcophagi or mythical stories about the healing or protecting powers of the saints and relics. In this sense, imperial ceremonies as well as the contemporary stationary liturgy were the Christian way of sacralizing city streets and time throughout Theodosian dynasty.

There is no detailed description about any of these recorded events. Still, visualizing the path of the processions can help illustrate the new meanings assigned to the public ceremonies and the role of the Theodosian colossal columns during these events. If a procession began at the Hebdomon, for example, the emperor would have first ascended onto the tribunal and addressed his army (Map 4). The tribunal was a kind of elevated platform built by Valens in 364. As reconstructed by Demangel, it had a width of 2.4m and a height of 3 to 5m. In my opinion, the most remarkable feature of this speaking platform was the regularly carved niches where

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<sup>743</sup> John Chrysostom, *De sancto hieromartyre Phoca* (*Patrologia Graeca* 50: 699).

<sup>744</sup> *Chronicon Paschale*, 569.

statues of emperors were placed (Figure 4.18).<sup>745</sup> These niches, on the surface, could have been predecessors of the later elaborations on the monumental pedestal of the Column of Justinian.

After the speeches—and probably acclamations—the emperor would have been escorted by the officials and cortege back into the city. The procession first encountered the triumphal arch-like Theodosian Golden Gate, which boldly marked the urban territory of New Rome in the fifth century. As one of the most impressive Theodosian structures, the gate was adorned with an inscription that celebrated Theodosius’s restoration of the order. At the top of the gate was a statue of the emperor in a chariot accompanied by Nike and the Tyche of Constantinople.<sup>746</sup> Passing underneath this monumental gate, the procession would have continued up to the porticoed colonnades of the Mese toward the southern edges of the seventh hill. It would have continued past the Sigma and then through the Golden Gate of the partially standing Constantinian wall. The view from the Old Gate would have framed the first column encountered by the cortege, the Column of Arcadius (Figure 4.19a).

As the procession approached the Forum of Arcadius, the historiated column would have occupied the whole visual field (Figure 4.19b). Once the procession was inside the Forum, the orientation of the spiral relief, from left to right, would have corresponded with the bodily movement of the audience. For anyone entering the Forum from the western side, the oblique view of the western side of the base would have presented images of the army and scenes of war (Figure 4.19c). Based on the assumption that that the southern side of the Column was the primary façade, I would suggest that the rituals could have taken place in the southern half of the Forum.<sup>747</sup> In this arrangement, the base relief showing the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius flanked by dignitaries and imperial guards would have occupied the background of the “station” (Figure 4.19d). Moreover, the personifications of the provinces placed at the bottom section of

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<sup>745</sup> R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris 1945), p.9, fig. 4, pl. I, II.

<sup>746</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 95-96.

<sup>747</sup> See Chapter 3.3.

the relief would have further consolidated the power and prestige of the Theodosian dynasty. At this time, there would have been two hovering Victories holding a wreath with the monumental *chrismon* to signify the victory brought by God. As the procession left the Forum, the relief on the western side of the column would have revealed the civilian side of the Theodosian power: emperors and dignitaries, the cities of Rome and Constantinople, and the senates. As such, the reliefs on the base of the Column would have ritually mapped the transition from military ideology to sanctified civilian thought.<sup>748</sup>

In the shadow of the historiated Column of Arcadius, the path slightly circled around the Harbor of Theodosius and descended into the deep terrain of the Lycus River, near the Forum Bois. From there, the Mese climbed the third hill toward the Forum of Theodosius while passing the ideologically charged Capitolium–Philadelphion quarter. Moving up the hill, the cortege faced first the glorious Arch of Theodosius (Figure 4.20a). The architectural character of this Arch would have repeated the same Roman triumphal iconography first experienced with the Golden Gate. The gate utilized the famous weapon of Hercules (the club), which must have evoked triumphal associations further (Figure 4.20b). With the hands, the gate could have emphasized the power, strength, and actions of Hercules.

As seen in the study model, the Column of Theodosius was visible behind the Arch. This visual relationship would have presented further layers of meaning to this scene. Unlike the Column of Arcadius or the Column of Constantine, the Theodosian Column was not situated on the central axis of the Forum; rather it was located slightly north, beyond the point where the procession entered the square proper. The location of the latter in the open space meant that the designers had some flexibility in determining its positioning and orientation. In fact, they shifted the monument to the upper half of the Forum while still orienting it with the Basilica of Theodosius. This displacement prevented a possible visual overlapping between the Arch and

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<sup>748</sup> MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 242.

the Column from the point of view of the participants walking toward the Forum. Also, it is likely that this dislocation would have been highly noticeable to the observer once inside the Forum (Figure 4.20c). By adding the flanking equestrian statues, the designers must have created a well-defined ceremonial subspace between these monuments and the columnar facade of the Basilica. It is tempting to think that this spatial configuration was similar to the open space of the Roman Forum, defined as the space between the façade of the Basilica Aemilia and the Seven Column monument.

At Byzantium, the experience of the Column would have been similar to that of the Column of Arcadius, except the fact that the flanking equestrian statues would have distracted the viewers both physically and visually since clockwise circumnavigation of the thick shaft in order to decipher its meaning would have been impossible for individuals in a crowd. Once the parade was inside the Forum, the emperor may have mounted the steps at the Column's base or an adjacent temporary platform. Christian symbols present on the surface of the base or the shaft may have been visible during the events. People could have watched the ceremonies from the Basilica, on the ground level or upper balconies. The *De Ceremoniis* records that this space was the official civic stage where the officials welcomed the emperor whenever he returned by land:

For if he went away as far as Selymbria or herakleia or a little further, and was absent for a few days and returned immediately, then the archons receive him wherever they were assembled [when he left]. Thus, if the emperor departed from the hebdomon, and returns there, they meet him there. If he wishes to proceed directly into the City, they again meet him there [at the Hebdomon], while the senators go on in advance. If the emperor arrives by land, they meet him at the Forum of Theodosius which is called the Forum of the Bull, and bring him crowns, one of gold, others of laurel. The emperor in return gives them nomismata for the gold crown, so that they incur no financial loss.<sup>749</sup>

After the panegyrics, acclamations, and orations, the procession would have proceeded out of the Forum toward the Forum of Constantine. The road between these two fora followed the

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<sup>749</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R496.

natural ridge between the third and second hills—an almost flat path. Therefore, this route presented the spectators with a powerful view of the radiating Constantine on his deep purple porphyry column (Figure 4.21 a, b, c). This visual relationship between the two columns reflected the realities of the two succeeding imperial governments in political terms: Theodosius assigned to the Forum of Constantine a more symbolic and passive role than it had played during the Constantinian ceremonial.

The ritualistic program in the Forum of Constantine was probably similar to the sequence of Leo I's coronation ceremony described in the *De Ceremoniis*. After the ceremony, the emperor would continue toward the Hagia Sophia. Along this road, the soaring height of the Column, as well as the statue of Constantine, would have disappeared only gradually when the spectators reached the arches of Milion or the colonnades of the Augusteion (Figure 4.21d). The ceremony would have continued from there toward the Great Church and then to the Palace.

The procession most probably reflected the highly religious nature of the Theodosian ceremonial. There were combinations of intuitional *harmonia* (harmony of minds) and audible *symphonia* (harmony of sound). Besides the singing, participants had torches. Starting very early in the morning, “as in the turning night into day,” they created a “continuous chain,” “a single river of fire.” Equally significant, John's sources indicate that the processions only incorporated wax candles or torches fueled by papyri or olive oil, which not only produced considerable light effects but also recognizable fragrances. Flames, hymns, and smoky aromas in the air would have then destabilized the dominant monumentality of the colossal columns in the backdrop. Remarkably, the funeral oration for John Christendom considers the route as a series of churches:

The blessed Constantine long ago had made that space into a hippodrome before he founded the city. As a result it seems to me that it is owed to that man [John] that all his [Constantine's] works became churches, namely the colonnaded streets [stoai], the agora, the city, the baths, and the hippodrome.<sup>750</sup>

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<sup>750</sup> *Oratio funebris*, 97.7-16.

The reverberating exchange between the Column of Constantine on the Column of Theodosius challenged observers. The former was implicitly related with the protection of the city, as well as its sacred topography. Different Christian relics were attributed to the Column of Constantine; thus it might have been venerated by the citizens. Such an indirect or rhetorical Christianization could have affected Theodosius's vision about his honorary column. But this time, since he was a baptized Christian, he would not have hesitated to reveal his religious identity. Hence, the column publicly carried Christian symbols on its shaft—as on the shield of the soldiers—and most likely on the base reliefs.<sup>751</sup> The available material on the Column of Arcadius demonstrates the conversion more clearly with big scale cross on the surface. The base of Arcadius became fully Christian even inside where an inscribed monogram embellished the ceiling of the chamber inside the base. From this standpoint, then, it is safe to claim that by 455, the colossal column as a pagan visual symbol for honorary function had already been transformed into a monumental symbol of Christian triumph.

#### **4.5 Retracing the Mese and the Christian Column of Justinian**

The strategic integration of the freestanding column into the well-planned and orchestrated imperial ceremonial, especially as the focus of the fora, inspired the construction of similar monuments by Justinian the Great. During Justinian's reign, the empire's new portrait, a powerful combination of imperial tradition and Christian themes, fully informed the built environment, as well as the emperor's colossal column.<sup>752</sup>

By the time Justinian became emperor, the widespread destruction caused by the Nika riots in 532 provided an unexpected opportunity to rebuild much of the ceremonial heart of the

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<sup>751</sup> It is important to note that no similar symbol was apparent on the Arch of Theodosius or the Obelisk of Theodosius.

<sup>752</sup> For a detailed discussion of the era of Justinian and his architectural undertakings, see Michael Maas ed. *Age of Justinian* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); Mango, *Studies*, I; Glanville Downey, "Justinian as a Builder," *Art Bulletin* 32 (1950), 262-266; *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (Norman, Okla., 1960).

city. The historical events during the riots vary slightly in the various written accounts. As recorded by John Malalas, the uprisings took place on January 13, 532, during the staging of chariot races at the Hippodrome of Constantinople:

After the races the crowd went off united, having given themselves a watch-word with the word, “Conquer” (Nika), so as not to be infiltrated by soldiers or excubitores [guards] . . . Towards evening they went to the city prefect’s praetorium, demanding an answer about the fugitives at St Laurence. Not receiving an answer, they set fire to the praetorium. This fire destroyed the praetorium, the Chalke Gate [the Bronze Gate] of the palace as far as the Scholae, the Great Church and the public colonnade.<sup>753</sup>

In the aftermath of the events, Justinian and his builders started extensive restorations at Byzantium.<sup>754</sup> Most important were the renovations in the Augusteion. Justinian transformed the open space at the heart of the city into an enclosed courtyard, which mainly served the Church and the Palace (Figure 4. 22). The centerpiece of the space was the colossal column and the equestrian statue of Justinian. The reconstruction drawing shows the area (Figure 4.23).

The Column of Justinian was the first colossal column added to the cityscape after the Column of Arcadius was completed roughly between 403 and 405. The monument served as a counterpoint in several ways to the columns of earlier rulers, specifically the Column of Constantine. First, it was the first (and the last) “built” colossal column. Neither monolithic nor built from drums, the column was made of brick and mortar. A bronze cladding covered most of the shaft, while the pedestal was probably riveted with white Proconnesian marble. The base and the stepped understructure were wider than their predecessors’. The semi-attached colonnade, as well as the Christian symbols that may have been inscribed on the surface of the base (as found in reconstructions), would have provided a dramatic, plastic quality. The Column was uniquely surmounted by an equestrian statue carrying a ceremonial headdress (Figure 3.37).

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<sup>753</sup> Malalas, *Chronographia* 18.71.

<sup>754</sup> As outlined in Procopius’s writings, Justinian started extensive programs of urban renewal not only in Constantinople, but also in many other cities.

It is impossible to reconstruct the exact monumental setting hosting the Column. Reconstructions usually place it near the western end of the Augusteion, close to the Milion (Figure 4.24). The Column probably dominated the convergence point of several main thoroughfares coming from the northern harbors, the Hippodrome, and the Great Palace. Inside the area, the widening of the stairs beneath the pedestal and the placement of the column in an already built plaza must have necessitated adjustments to the area, including the reworking of the surrounding paving and the relationship to the Milion. The *Patria* notes that “while rebuilding the Hagia Sophia, the emperor cleaned up its court and paved with marble and set up his own statue on a pillar in there.”<sup>755</sup> The same source argued that the Augusteion was a marketplace before Justinian’s reign. Yet, Procopius called the Augusteion an agora and added that the Column was in front of the Senate House.<sup>756</sup>

According to two Russian travelers’ accounts from the fourteenth century, there were three more column monuments juxtaposed with the Column of Justinian. These columns, modest in scale, carried bronze statues of other pagan emperors, representing his enemies. The statues were “kneeling before the emperor and offering their gifts.”<sup>757</sup> Zosima the Deacon’s observation from 1419–21 supports this information: “[O]pposite him [the statue of the emperor on the column] stand Saracen emperors, bronze idols, holding tribute in their hands.”<sup>758</sup> In fact, these additions reveal that the added space around the colossal columns found in the other fora was missing in the Augusteion. Instead, the area was packed with modest scale monumental column monuments, sculptural embellishments, columnar facades, and maybe curtains and banners. This composition could have divided the open space into smaller segments, if. In fact, the smaller honorary columns constituted distinct lines of vertical elements they could have

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<sup>755</sup> *Patria*, Book II, 159.

<sup>756</sup> Procopius, *Buildings*, I, 2, 1.

<sup>757</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 134-136. This account dates to 1390.

<sup>758</sup> *Ibid.*, 184-185.

served as bases for physical partitions (or ritual demarcations) for crowd assembled there during processions. The reconstruction in Figure 4.24 – although none of the honorary columns were depicted there - indeed gives the impression of a separation between northwest and the southeast of the Augusteion.

Another set of massive construction campaigns were seen in the city's religious buildings. In the early 520s, Justinian built the churches of Sts. Peter and Paul and St. Sergius Bacchus on the southern side of the Great Palace. In December 27, 537, the rebuilt Hagia Sophia was dedicated with a procession starting from the Church of Anastasia.<sup>759</sup> In this procession, the emperor walked with the people on foot while the patriarch Menas followed the cortege while sitting in the imperial carriage.<sup>760</sup> The dedication of the other imperial node, the new Church of Holy Apostles, took place on June 28, 550, probably with a similar procession.<sup>761</sup> For the dedication of the Church of St. Irene at Sykai in the following year, the patriarch Menas started at the head of the procession from Hagia Sophia, sitting on a chariot with the relics of the saint. Another carriage with Justinian followed Menas behind, as interpreted from the textual evidence.<sup>762</sup> On December 24, 562, Hagia Sophia was rededicated with its secure new dome.<sup>763</sup> The pompous procession held for this event gave rise to Paul the Silentiary's long ekphrasis of the great church.<sup>764</sup>

Meanwhile, the monasteries became common destinations for daily, less formal processions because they were fully engaged with the local community, providing social

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<sup>759</sup> Ibid., 18.86.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid.

<sup>761</sup> Croke, "Justinian's Constantinople," 79.

<sup>762</sup> Ibid.

<sup>763</sup> Malalas, *Chronographia*, 18. 143; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 6055.

<sup>764</sup> See note 87.

services.<sup>765</sup> While there were only fourteen churches in 425, Mango counted 80 monasteries built between 450 and 550.<sup>766</sup> All of these developments strengthened liturgification and sacralization of the Mese and the ceremonial network.<sup>767</sup> The colonnaded avenue became a linear urban theatre for the elaborate state rituals.

There were many instances of the emperor witnessing public ceremonies and liturgies. Feast days of saints and martyrs, commemorations for the city's birthday, the opening of churches, earthquakes, and other occasions often involved religious processions. Justinian was also known to celebrate triumphs. Following General Belisarius's success in Africa, for example, a novel parade and circus celebrations were organized in the city while Justinian wore a *loros* (a long triumphal vestment).<sup>768</sup>

Justinian's return from Selymbria in 559 exemplifies one such public ceremony. Described in the *De Ceremoniis*, the ceremony demonstrates one of the latest triumphal celebrations in classical Roman terms. McCormick claims that it marked the first example in history where the triumphal path of Justinian included a Christian shrine as a major stop along the route.<sup>769</sup>

Now on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, a Monday, in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year (AD 559), the pious emperor Justinian entered Constantinople at about the first hour of the day through the Gate of Charisios, where the senate and the eparch of the City met him, without crowns. Going to the second district, he prayed in the church of the holy Apostles, and lit candles to the memory of the empress (Theodora died 28<sup>th</sup> June 548) and went on down to the Kapitolion.<sup>770</sup>

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<sup>765</sup> The rules drawn up by Basil of Caesarea in the 360s particularly encouraged the establishment of monasteries in the populated areas so that they could provide education and medical care for local inhabitants, as well as lodging for travelers. See M. M. Wagner, trans. *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Catholic University of America Press, 1970). For the development of urban monasticism, see G. Dagron, "Les moines et la ville. Le monachisme a Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcedoine (451)," *Travaux et Memoires* 4, 229-276. For the group of wandering begging monks, see Daniel Caner, *Wandering, begging monks: spiritual authority and the promotion of monasticism in late antiquity* (University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>766</sup> Mango, *Studies*, I, 125

<sup>767</sup> Dagron, *Naissance*, 91-92, 405-409.

<sup>768</sup> McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 65-67, 124-129.

<sup>769</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>770</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R.497.

The ceremony started very early in the morning. Unlike the other ceremonies covered in this study, it entered the city at the Gate of Charisius. Compared to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Charisius was modest in scale and had one arched opening. McCormick argued that the change in entrance venue to the Gate of Charisius might have been due to the damage caused by the earthquake of 558.<sup>771</sup> Justinian's view from the Gate of Charisius must have been spectacular as it stood on top of the sixth hill, which was almost 40 m high over the Augusteion (Figure 4.25). On the left side, the Church of the Virgin must have caught the emperor's eye while he was waiting. Built at a short distance from the shore of the Golden Horn, the Church hosted the holy robe of the Virgin, which had been brought from Palestine by Emperor Leo I in 473.<sup>772</sup>

At this point, the Church of Holy Apostles must have gleamed brightly in the early Byzantine sky. The huge domes became even more monumental as Justinian's renewal might have employed gilded bronze tiles, which graced the roof.<sup>773</sup> In the horizon, the emperor would have seen, from right to left, the Columns of Arcadius, Theodosius, and Constantine. On the left-hand side, the double-storied arcades of the Aqueduct of Valens would have been visible as impressive feats of engineering. Extending McCormick's idea about the earthquake of 558 leads one to the conclusion that Justinian must have also seen ruined buildings and colonnades scattered around these monumental structures.

Upon entering the city, Justinian was welcomed by the city prefect and other dignitaries. Acclamations by members of both circus factions, the Blues and Greens, accompanied the official greetings. Afterwards, the procession possibly passed through the gate of the old Constantinian wall. By then, this wall was mostly damaged due to earthquakes yet Theophanes

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<sup>771</sup> Ibid., 67 and 208-209.

<sup>772</sup> For the church, see Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, 169.

<sup>773</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4.60.2.

reported renewed earthquake damage in 557, so I assume, crossing of an old city wall could have still been a notable event.<sup>774</sup>

Justinian first visited his empress Theodora in the new Mausoleum he had built near the Church of Holy Apostles. He also entered into the Church to pray and offer valuable gifts. After that, he went on horseback as far as the Capitolium. As the procession left the Holy Apostles, the Column of Marcian came into view. Possibly situated in a small imperial plaza (as suggested by Mango), this 16m-long red-grey granite column was the most notable element along the upper arm of the Mese.<sup>775</sup> On all sides of the 2m base were Christian symbols: two large-scale IX monograms on the east and west sides and two winged victories supporting the globe. The dedicatory inscription in the bronze faced the Mese so that as Justinian passed, he (and the whole procession) could read the inscription even from afar: “See this statue of the emperor Marcian, and his forum, a work which the prefect Tatianus dedicated.”<sup>776</sup>

Along the way, past the Column, the Baths of Constantius and the Church of St. Polyeuctus framed the intersection point where the path of Justinian converged the east-west part of the Mese. The latter was a considerably big church built by Justinian’s rival Anicia Juliana in the 520s. R. M. Harrison suggests that this church had a huge dome and therefore had an overall height of more than 30m.<sup>777</sup> From the perspective of the procession, this building, paired with the Church of Holy Apostles, may have served as an important landmark. As such, the upper arm of the Mese would have functioned truly as a Christianized ceremonial path (Map 4).

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<sup>774</sup> It is known that the Constantinian Gate (old Porta Aurea) on the southwestern arm of the Mese survived until the fourteenth century (Mango, “The Triumphal Way,” 175-176). But there is no evidence about the gate supposedly situated on northwestern arm. For the evidence about the renovations after the earthquake in 557, see Bardill, *Brickstamps*, 124.

<sup>775</sup> Mango, *Studies*, I, 124.

<sup>776</sup> CIL III 738

<sup>777</sup> Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, 137–144.

As he went into the Mese, there met him *domestikoi protiktores* [emperor's personal staff] the seven *scholai* [guardsmen] and, after them tribunes and *kometes*, all in white chlamyses and with candles, standing to right and left, and after them *magistrianoi*, armourers, the retinue of the eparch and of the eparch [of the City], silversmiths, and all the merchants and every guild.

From the Kapitolion up to the Chalke of the palace, the Mese was, quite simply, entirely filled, and the emperor's horse could only just passed through. While the emperor was entering the Chalke, the *admissionarios* [a palace official] stood there with the *protiktor* and the organizer of the triumph, and cried out the triumphal salute. The *magistratos* organized it to take place in this way, since the emperor did not enter via the Golden Gate. All the archons and patricians formed an escort on foot from the Church of Holy Apostles, and the *koubikoularioi* [officials with various administrative roles] followed on foot.<sup>778</sup>

As the procession entered the Mese, a long line of imperial officials, prefects, and members of the trade guilds encountered the emperor. In fact, the streets were so packed with audiences that Justinian's horse could not even move. Each group probably had its own costumes and colors, which distinguished the group members from the rest of the procession. Ornamented with bold colors such as purples and golds, the curtains or banners may have transformed the Mese into a longitudinal stage set to provoke emotion and fascination from spectators. No visual evidence remains about such a procession; yet a later representation in the *Acta*, published by Mundell Mango, provides an example (Figure 4.26). It shows continuous arcades filled with people watching the ceremonial cortege.

From here, the procession may have passed through the Arch of Theodosius and moved along the southern edge of the Forum dominated by the façade of the Basilica of Theodosius. The route between the white marble columns, with columns of imposing length on the right and the colossal Column of Theodosius on the left, led the way toward the Forum of Constantine. The colossal columns were highly visible throughout the way. After passing through the colonnades of the Mese – hiding a line of commercial spaces behind - the procession would have reached Constantine's Forum. The Forum was prestigious in comparison with the other fora. As the site of the Senate House and a functioning agora, the plaza was not only reserved for royal

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<sup>778</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R.498.

viewers and ceremonies but also used for daily wanderings and conducting business. It was a central “station” for most imperial and religious ceremonies.<sup>779</sup> This was a result of, as well as an acknowledgement of, Constantine’s prominence in the cityscape, expressing the founder’s status as a recognized civic figure.

Leaving the Forum, Justinian progressed further under the shadow of the monumental porphyry and finally reached to his “space” (Figure 4.27). Just before reaching the Augusteion, however, he would have passed under the arches of Milion and would have seen the entrance gates of the Hippodrome and excited crowd inside, as well as the many statues that adorned the structure. It is known that the Milion served almost a sculpture gallery starting from the fourth century.<sup>780</sup> Constantine placed a statue of himself and Helen flanking a cross, and a statue of Tyche. During Theodosian dynasty, equestrian statues of Trajan and Hadrian, and Theodosius II were placed underneath this monumental nodal point. In the sixth century, Justinian set up a horologion, a sun clock, here.<sup>781</sup> In *De Ceremoniis*, the Milion appeared several times as an important ceremonial station where the emperor was honored by Blues or Whites.<sup>782</sup> Therefore, a similar ceremonial procedure could have happened during Justinian’s entry in 529. The emperor could have passed under the arches of the Milion in the shadow of his horologion.

Inside the Augusteion, Justinian the Great would have encountered first his exceptionally tall monumental Column (Figure 4.28). Even though standing in the open air, the monumentality of the Column together with the massive Hagia Sophia may have overwhelmed the emperor and the accompanied participants upon entering the imperial ‘courtyard.’<sup>783</sup> Both the architecture and the urban use of this monument were unique in many ways. First, the

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<sup>779</sup> Berger, “Imperial and Ecclesiastical processions,” 78.

<sup>780</sup> *Parastaseis*, 31-2, 38, 41-2; *Patria*, 141, 166, 206-7. On the ancient sources describing the Milion, see Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 103-104.

<sup>781</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 216.

<sup>782</sup> The Milion appears in Chapters 1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 17, 28, 29, 30, 35, 55, 74 and 96 of *De Ceremoniis*.

<sup>783</sup> The strategy of overwhelming the viewer is used in the interior as well, especially in rooms for the imperial cult. For an example see J. Ma, *Statues and Cities*, 116-117.

spatial organization was different than that of its predecessors. Instead of being purposely isolated, the Column of Justinian was located close to another prominent structure, the Hagia Sophia. Therefore, the perception and experience of the observer would have changed during sacred or secular events. Essentially, the Column occupied a liminal space within the courtyard of the Augusteion. Determining the exact spot of the Column is not possible but it is most likely that Justinian chose to locate the colossal base closer to the Church than to the center of the open space. Thus the Column was designed to be perceived with 'Justinian's' Great Church.

This meant that the great dome of the Hagia Sophia became a backdrop for the Column and vice versa (Figure 4.29). When viewed head-on while approaching the Augusteion, the statue of the emperor could be seen together with the dome of the church, an arrangement notably different from that of the towering statue of the Constantine. It is noteworthy that this relationship between the Great Church and the Column was remarkable in a miniature illustrating the construction of the Church. The Vatican manuscript of the Bulgarian translation of Manasses' Chronicle, published by I. Dujcev in 1345, depicted the statue of Justinian on a yellow-brownish column - most likely representing the bronze panels covering the Column's shaft (Figure 4.30).<sup>784</sup>

As discussed earlier such 'grouping' was used in the Forum of Theodosius as well: the statues of Theodosius's sons were placed on each side of his colossal column. Affirming the continuing dynasty, this composition displayed both the emperor's prominence and his gratitude and support for his sons. Geographically, since his sons were *caesars* of the eastern and western parts of the Empire, the columnar composition symbolically mapped the Empire onto the emperor's Forum. In the Augusteion, however, references to dynastic relations and the tree of power were missing. Instead, the Column monument, the Great church and possibly

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<sup>784</sup> Cod. vat. slav. II, fol. 109v., published in I. Dujcev, *The Miniatures of the Chronicle of Manasse* (Sofia 1963), pl. 38. On the manuscript, see A. Cutler, "The De Signis of Nicetas Choniates. A Reappraisal," *American Journal of Archaeology* 72: 2 (1968), 114-115.

additional honorary columns were part of a political tableau. The viewer entering the Augusteion was expected to unpack, unfold, or solve the message visually. For example, the height of the Column, the shiny bronze panels covering the monumental shaft, the dimensions of the equestrian statue, and the military dress with the ceremonial headdress were all manifestations of imperial power. The relationship depicted between the emperor and the ambassadors on shorter columns was an abstraction of political power dynamics between the Byzantine Empire and the rest of the world. The orientation of the statue toward the East cemented the same message. Moreover, with the *globus cruciger* and the splendid dome of Hagia Sophia serving as the backdrop of the Column, the striking visual statement announced the triumph of Christianity.

At first, the image of power communicated here through the Column seems similar to that of the Column of Constantine. Still visible from the Augusteion when one looked to the west along the colonnades of the Mese, the latter represented the founding emperor in a legendary Apollo-Helios pose (Figure 4.31). Justinian, however, took up Constantine's 'pagan' monument and translated and incorporated it into the Christian visual rhetoric by using the same sequential column-in-a-forum formula. In fact, this process started gradually. First, the Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius informed and stabilized Christian identities of the honored emperors they sustained. To them, the production of a Christian ceremonial framework was as significant as an active construction of Christian imagery on the reliefs of the monumental bases and the 'spiral' shafts. Here the Christianization was invoked through a mnemonic and mythologizing appeal to viewers. In the sixth century these columns provided exemplary material for Justinian and he chose to devote any attention to the grandiosity and Christianity of his column. No wonder then that the Column was the object of special investment of time and money, and of politics. Casting new light on the relationships to, and distinctions from, earlier colossal columns set up in Constantinople, Justinian emphasized the novelty of the

column, not only through its architectural extravagance but its relationship to exigencies of site: The Column of Justinian was installed as a terminal feature to the Mese, the ceremonial artery of the city. It was installed in the Augusteion, the greatest public forum for the display of power of the Byzantine emperor as it was the forecourt of the Great Church that was acclaimed to be greater than the Temple of Solomon.

## CONCLUSION

### Christianization, the colossal column, and the urban skyline

Since Richard Krautheimer's *Rome: Profile of a City* (1980) and *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (1983), academic research on the Christianization of Roman cities has been overwhelmingly concerned with churches and textual references regarding their interiors.<sup>785</sup> Examining fourth- and fifth-century Rome, Constantinople, and Milan, Krautheimer presents the remarkable relationship between the sponsoring and financing of new churches and the creation of a political topography based on the Christianization of the great capital cities. Often, it is assumed that Christianization may be accurately judged based on the number of churches or converted pagan temples in a city.<sup>786</sup> Formal questions regarding decline or continuity around the "end" of the classical city have dominated most scholarly conversations about the effects of Christianity on the built environment. In particular, the religious identities of Rome and Constantinople have been significant topics of modern scholarship. Rome has been read as a tale of two rival and parallel cities, pagan versus Christian. Constantinople, however, had 'religiously ambiguous' foundation rituals that constitute another well-studied topic in the field.<sup>787</sup>

These studies, however, offer a less complete picture of the complex path from pagan to Christian urban environment since most have addressed only the church buildings and their use within the city fabric as reliable indicators of the Christianization of the city image. Other architectures, not Christian by nature, are consigned to a lower level as supplementary or less reliable evidence of Christianity. As such, the Christianization of the other structures has largely

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<sup>785</sup> Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*.

<sup>786</sup> Peter Brown, "The Problem of Christianization," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 82 (1993), 89–106; G. Dagron, "Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 1-25.

<sup>787</sup> John R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), esp. 142-155.

been left unexplored or overshadowed by the architectural histories of monumental churches such as St. Peter's or Hagia Sophia, not to mention the careful mapping of smaller neighborhood churches. Furthermore, the important question of how old functions and new transformations reflecting the era were accommodated in the urban fabric has remained unanswered. In order to obtain a nuanced understanding of the gradual process of Christianization, other building types - still present but now greatly reinterpreted by Christian sacred and symbolic usage - should be included in the discussion as they, too, express and engender religious sensibilities.

Following the emphasis on the architectural histories of leading cities in the Mediterranean, the second common approach to the problem of Christianization is rooted in the sculptural environment. Scholars have long focused on the relationship between pagan objects encountered in the built environment and Christian subjects (or vice versa). Researchers have used the ideas of pagan opposition to Christian buildings and Christian reception of pagan statues to visualize the struggle between the two religious urban cultures.<sup>788</sup> The reaction of the beholder, usually a male character wandering around the city, is often taken as the key component to interpreting the reaction of late antique citizens to this dichotomy. In light of the ceremonial nature of the city of Constantinople, the masses' response—separate from their individual experiences—begs an alternative question: what happened when parading crowds sequentially encountered a series of once-pagan urban displays? This study argues that the crowd's reactions in a parade can provide further opportunities to assess the diversity of Christianization in the urban sphere. In effect one could say they were all linked together by the

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<sup>788</sup> For a general account of the attacks against pagan monuments and their transformation into Christian churches, see F. W. Deichmann, "Christianisierung II (der Monumente)," *RAC* 2 (1954), cols. 1228-41; Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," *JDAI* 54 (1939), 105-136; G. Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire, A.D. 320-435," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29.1 (1978), 62-64; MacMullen, "The Meaning of A.D. 312: The Difficulty of Converting the Empire," *17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (New York, 1986), 1-15. Christianization is a slow process. See, Jas Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire A.D. 100-450*, (Oxford: Oxford History of Art, 1998) and *Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

path just as all the monuments were linked together by their adherence to Christianity. Both imperial and Christian processions inscribed the same/similar routes across the city.

Following an alternative approach to understanding the effects of the pagan/Christian opposition in the early Constantinople, the concluding chapter examines the city's skyline that was punctuated and therefore mainly defined by the four colossal columns. In the 1990s, Jordan-Ruwe and Bauer emphasized the columns' importance to the cityscape. The remarks here acknowledge their work and further explore the role of these monuments in the urban processional form and design. I argue that these monuments facilitated the appropriation of the pagan column into Christian urban visual culture. This presents the late antique/early Byzantine colossal column with multiple meanings aside from its commemorative function. Last but not the least, this chapter provides a hypothetical early Byzantine skyline for Constantinople, what Kostof calls its "urban signature," to speculate on the beginnings of one of the most recognizable skylines of the modern world.

### **The colossal column as an orientation tool**

The column as a form does not allow for a great deal of invention. Hence, the colossal columns at Constantinople were undeniably Roman triumphal columns erected to honor victories and to commemorate the ruler and the new capital city. The Corinthian order in the original capitals evoked the decorative style of earlier column monuments, grand arches, and temples, while the monumental statuary at the top and the personifications of Victory that may have stood on the pedestal reliefs recalled the iconography of Imperial Roman victory columns. Therefore, as discussed in the second and third chapters, Constantinopolitan columns signified a modified but still clearly recognizable manipulation of Roman architectural motives and the continuous heritage of regional capital cities. Departing from precedent, however, the columns used spectacular and precious materials and were more than 35 m tall (including the statue). This assigned grandiosity to each freestanding column and more importantly placed these four

monuments within the category of colossal scale. Such gigantic dimensions not only unveiled the columns' aesthetic exceptionalism but also brought an inescapable "visibility" to the late antique column, both in material and symbolic terms.

In fact, the visibility of the columns was ingeniously manipulated by Constantinopolitan designers so that the columns functioned both horizontally and vertically as orientation tools during processions. The architecture of the columns demonstrates the emperor's role in the foundation (as in the case of the Column of Constantine) and the expansion of the city (as in the rest of the monuments). Furthermore, by adding the column in the center of each imperial forum, the space and sequence were given processional significance. In this composition, the columns no longer served only as representative repositories for immovable values and attributes, as was the case with the second-century columns in Rome. Rather, the columns evolved into potential places for temporary and changing spatial proposals. The space around the columns was transformed into a venue for events. Due to their high visibility, the columns invited participants, both willing and unwilling (or unfamiliar), into the ritual events. As such, the colossal columns became urban visual nodes on the horizontal plane, directing the eye and the body both in visual and physical terms. They figured prominently behind the arched gates of the fora, both shortening the distance and breaking the perspective created by the colonnades of the Mese that otherwise seemed to continue *ad infinitum*.

Because humans move primarily along the horizontal plane, the connections that made space sacred began horizontally. The vertical stones emphasized divine direction. When Constantine erected the first column, he was in a sense creating a sacred space by performing the architectural principle of raising a column to the standing position. When confronted with the colossal column in one of the imperial fora, onlookers must have been compelled to look up. Climbing monumental steps to an altar or open temenos plazas was very common in the Greco-Roman world yet in Constantinople, the colossal column made the eye perform the action -

reformulating the physical upward movement of the body. The column's verticality oriented viewers' relationship to the spiritual and hence imbued the architecture of the Forum with a divine spirit. As interpreted by the philosopher Karsten Harries,

[H]uman beings not only look up to the sky, but such looking up has long provided natural metaphors for the way human being are never imprisoned in the here and now but are always "beyond" themselves, ahead of themselves in expectation, behind themselves in memory, beyond time altogether when contemplating eternity.<sup>789</sup>

As such, more directly than any other urban element, the architecture of the columns enriched residents' connection to gods who dwelled in the sky, on mountaintops, or beyond the clouds. After all, both the pagan god Jupiter who ruled mainly over the clouds, but also the Judeo-Christian god resided on high: "He [God] lives in the heavens, and tends to make his appearances veiled in clouds and on mountain tops. He kills people by hurling large hailstones down from the sky."<sup>790</sup>

### **The colossal column as an orchestration tool**

When the column is considered as only an object to be viewed, it demands nothing more from the beholder than the respect due to a high-quality engineering and sculpture. However, when a column is considered a dynamic force within an event, it becomes a performing work of architecture, encouraging and requiring the visitor's participation. Crucial for my argument is the sequential placement of the colossal columns in fora along the Mese, the major ceremonial road in Constantinople. Various strategies used to create the special ceremonial ambiances were revealed in the previous chapter. The role of the colossal column within these sequential choreographies leads one to examine onlookers' experience of the column.

A procession is an institutionalized movement designating a particular configuration of ideas, attitudes, and customs to inform the secular or religious act of seeing as it occurred within

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<sup>789</sup> Harries, *The ethical function*, 141.

<sup>790</sup> *Old Testament (Joshua 10:11)*.

a given cultural or historical setting. The Roman triumph, for example, is a group of particular performances in front of an audience who was not in the battlefield yet still needed to “see” the victor’s superiority and dominance. In the early Byzantine Constantinople, both state ceremonies and urban stational liturgy were fully participatory, choreographed movements between predetermined destination points within the city. These strategically choreographed experiences of the city were exceptional ways of presenting new information, retrieving forgotten meanings, or assigning new interpretations to the immediate urban setting. Both dominant types of movement structured the society, as well as daily life, by allowing city dwellers from different levels of society to participate in otherwise inaccessible realms. The spectacles were sometimes ideological and propagandistic, sometimes spiritual. As a result, a series of liturgical or processional rituals created the early Byzantine atmosphere that took root in the physical environment, that is in buildings, open spaces, freestanding artifacts, rituals, gestures, images, and objects. In fact, *De Ceremoniis* calls the processions “notable and illustrious.”<sup>791</sup>

The visual vocabulary of the cortege—that is, the images an individual saw and the assumptions he or she made about those images—included the labara carried by the participants, the processional cross, standards carried in the hands of the soldiers, war booty, and participants from different social strata wearing their representative clothing. As depicted on the east side of the Column of Arcadius and on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius, the participating crowd involved senators in togas, priests and the ecclesiastical group, imperial family members, orators, performers, ambassadors or representatives of Germanic or Persian Empire, prisoners surrounded by spolia and armor, charioteers, musicians, dancers, and many others. Thus, early Byzantine choreography was a visually complex, continuous fabric of spectacular representations.

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<sup>791</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R5.

Within this choreography, the architecture of the procession played an important role. It included the continuous colonnades and sidewalks of the Mese; two city gates (Theodosian and Constantinian); the arched gateways of the fora and the tetrapylons to pass through; the colossal columns viewed head-on or in perspective from far away or right below; semi-open viewing areas such as porticoes, viewing balconies on the second story, and/or roofs of the Mese and surrounding buildings; public stairs or partially elevated platforms connecting side streets to the Mese; and various statues and statue groups in different dimensions. During the events, these architectural elements created on various scales the stage for moving images and colorful participants. In this highly complex composition, the participants and objects seen by the participants became parts of the same visual network. The exchange between spectators and those walking along the procession created ritual-specific or procession-specific ways of seeing. Such a ceremonial way of seeing invests objects with further significance depending on the nature of the event. Essentially, the meaning of the event is constructed interactively by the viewers and users.

This raises the question, what kept the highly structured, yet unpredictable, communal movements of early Byzantine Constantinople in order? Against the fluidity of the ceremony and its many parties, the colossal columns were permanent posts for the complex visual network created along the Mese. Therefore, they could have been the implicit regulating points along the ceremonial path. First the regular rhythm of the colonnades in front and then the dominant verticality of the colossal columns could have regulated the visual field of the procession, which remained fluid all the time.

The rhythmic narrowing of the path created by the open-air plazas, the arched gates of the forum gateways, or the relatively narrower arches of tetrapylons strengthened this effect. In the fora, the colonnades provided a background ambience that participants experienced in an important though tacit fashion—often with little or no conscious awareness of the specifics of

the shapes, colors, and textures of the columns behind. By contrast, while moving along the colonnades between the fora, the ritual participants deliberately and explicitly engaged with the architectural forms.

For example, the Trier Ivory suggests that the colonnaded avenue of the Mese (if we accept that the depicted scene was a ceremonial moment along the Mese) was designed by taking into consideration the human scale. Measurements of walking pace, the rhythm of the columns as viewers passed, and the continuous interplay of light and shade all created an illusion of interior space. Sweet perfumes or oils burned and carried along the procession route would have also contributed to the atmosphere.<sup>792</sup>

Taking this interpretation one step further, I argue that the colossal columns organized urban space in terms of a relationship between interior and exterior. During the processions, the distinctions between outside and inside became interdependent and ambivalent; the participants were required to endure this uncertainty. Especially during the sacred ceremonies, the candlelight never offered a clear delimitation between inside and outside. In John Chrysostom's orations, the bishop called the crowd to make the streets as 'church' by walking with him across the city. As in the liturgy, the whole ceremonial path may be visualized as a series of entrances. The forum space, the column, and the area around the column might denote an opening, or 'an outside room,' along the Mese. Yet considered conversely, the nocturnal nature of the processions and the candles and the smellscape around the relics of saints' sarcophagi would have created an illusion of interior. Entering a forum, whose upper limit was delimited by a colossal column pointing to the sky (to the dome of the heaven), might have put the subject in the position of having to negotiate whether the space is an urban interior, an outside, or both at once.

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<sup>792</sup> Beatrice Caseau, "Sacred Landscapes," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, eds. Glen Warren Bowersock, et al. (Harvard University Press, 1999), 43.

In this line of thought, the monumental column became meaningful due to its function of organization. Beside facilitating communication, it gained urban and infrastructural uses as it orchestrated different types and rhythms of collective movement, both physical and spiritual, on the ceremonial route.

### **The colossal column as a processional “station”**

The textual representations of the processions commonly suggested precise or uninterrupted activity: the cortege moved unhindered in out of rooms or courtyards in the Great Palace or churches, and the horses, wagons, and carriages passed smoothly through the city. However, it must be acknowledged that the ceremony was punctuated by intermissions, halts, interruptions, banquets, and delays. Each time the emperor changed his cloths or head accessories, for example, the participatory crowd did very little - people simply waited a significant amount of time. In each station, when the Greens or Blues greeted the emperor, the active and goal-oriented movement stopped, and people participated in the acclamations or prayers. The former were probably improvised or temporary settings in the city, whereas the latter mostly constituted open-air front porches of significant structures such as the Holy Apostles, the Capitolium, the Valens Aqueduct, the Milion, or open-air plazas like the imperial fora and Augusteion, which were dominated by colossal columns. All these structures punctuated and confirmed various stages of the ritualized sequence of actions. For example, while describing a procession to the Great Church, the *De Ceremoniis* referred to one of the colossal columns as the terminating point of an episode:

[when the rulers leave the Great Church], they go out again and kiss the patriarch and move away with their own religious procession and go up as far as the great Porphyry Column in the Forum of Constantine, the rulers stand on the flight of steps of the great Porphyry Column and the magistroi and proconsuls and patricians and the rest of the senators stand in the [R29] sections to the right in front of the rulers' position.<sup>793</sup>

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<sup>793</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R28-29.

As suggested here, the Column, rather than the gateway of the Forum, was the destination point. Each forum became a station for particular events during particular times of day. In this composition, the colossal columns located in each forum marked a station, and through the verticality of the marker, the participants established visual connections. The columns, therefore, played a key role during this process of regulation, to the same degree as other significant buildings.<sup>794</sup>

For example, during an urban procession, a particular procession's assigned rules (state or ecclesiastical) governed and defined the relationship between the viewers and the objects. These rules addressed what individuals said, how they behaved, and how and when they moved, and eventually urged appropriate gestures and responses among viewers. In certain places, the crowd was expected to shout, cry, repeat hymns or prayers, or keep silent. The basic contours of the Byzantine court ritual found in *De Ceremoniis* indicated episodes of events repeated at each station along the Mese. In the proclamation ceremony for Leo I, when the emperor arrived at the Forum of Constantine, the eparch and Senate greeted him first and offered a golden crown.<sup>795</sup> In later versions of the ceremony, the officials of the Greens and Blues greeted the emperor and/or the priests in each station following a set of codes. When one station and the related acclamations were finalized, the crowd moved to the next station along their way to the Great Church or outside toward the Hebdomon. However, it is most likely that individual performances varied from one repetition to another. The time spent in each station varied accordingly. The number of columns along the axes and the repetition of the same actions by the Blues and Greens assured repeatable experiences and encounters not only in one specific forum but everywhere along the Mese.

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<sup>794</sup> In a particular case in the *De Ceremoniis*, the column worked together with the church. On the feast of the Ascension, celebrated on the Thursday forty days after Easter at the Church of the Theotokos of the Spring, the first station, called Reception 1, was “outside the vault of the colonnade, just where the column stands” (R 55). In his translation, Vogt (*Comm* vol.1, 88) claimed that a column of stylite could have stood there. For our purposes, this description supports the idea that the ceremony could have held in front of the column.

<sup>795</sup> *De Ceremoniis*, R414.

The content and meaning of the column were channeled through the rituals during these “stations” around the column bases. This station-centric ritual movement made the column quit its long-standing dual role as a triumphal monument and as a funerary monument (as indicated by Davies), shifting toward an ambivalent quality. This ambivalent quality was instrumental, allowing the colossal object to respond positively to a multiplicity of rituals and performances. The rituals and the event might make the audience focus on certain aspects of the column such as the specific symbolic associations to which the column belonged. Thus, the column may have lost its full visual impact or may have gained meanings that were not represented in the architecture. For example, the column had the imperial serenity by definition. But during a procession, participants would have identified the column’s heterogeneous symbolic and mythical associations layered within a single urban “furniture.” In imperial urban language the freestanding honorary column was known as the triumphal element. But in the sixth century, Christian viewers interpreted columns as signs of divine visitation, the home of stylite ascetics, and a symbol of their city’s survival in the face of natural disasters or more generally as a monumental upright pointing to the heavens. Further, when the visual triggers of a solemn liturgy are considered - such as the shimmering mosaics, colorful curtains, or silver vessels- the columns could have even functioned as urban liturgical furniture.

Remarkably, the writings of the fifth-century church historian Philostorgius might support such a conceptualization. He specifically noted the porphyry column and the religious rites that took place in front of it:

This impious enemy of God also accuses the Christians of offering sacrifices to an image of Constantine placed upon a column of porphyry, and of honoring it with lighted lamps and incense, and of offering vows to it as to God, and making supplications to it to ward off calamities.<sup>796</sup>

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<sup>796</sup> Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 2, 1.2.17.

This account has obvious problems in its claim that Christians offered sacrifices to a created being. Yet, it also mentioned that lamps and wax candles were lit before the statue and that Christian prayers were offered there for the healing of diseases. This reveals that the Column played a prominent role during the rituals. The area around the base could have been seen as endowed with sacred qualities. Such an understanding could have been further supported by the architectural layout, as the upper platform around the base was already physically elevated from the ground level of the Forum with the stepped podium.

In addition, this choreography is reminiscent of another example of Christian furniture—the ambo, particularly the one in the Hagia Sophia. The ambo, or ambon, was a circular, elevated platform set on the main axis of the church from the early days of the Christian worship. The one built for Hagia Sophia, as reconstructed, was approached from the west and east sides, which had stairways (Figure 5.1). There were columns on the sides as well, and one of the intercolumniations on both sides had a door opening into the area around the ambo. The emperor was not allowed to stand on the upper platform but was required to wait on the stairways. Thus, the architecture of the ambo could have been one inspiration for the Christian appropriation of the Column's base.

Most likely, the ceremonial use of the Column similar to Christian church furniture might have affected later decisions to transform its base into a small chapel dedicated to the sanctified emperor. It is recorded that sometime before the ninth century, a chapel known as the oratory of the Constantine was added to the base of the porphyry column. In the late ninth century, Christian texts started to include the Forum of Constantine. The tenth-century *Typikon of Hagia Sophia* mentions only the final destination of each procession, and the Forum of Constantine as the only station in between. The existence of the chapel is known from the four

passages of *De Ceremoniis*.<sup>797</sup> The exact nature of the chapel is unclear, although we know the chapel at least had one door and one window.<sup>798</sup> Only the patriarch, not the emperor, could have entered inside. The emperor stepped on the right side of the platform of the column, and the imperial chamberlains stood on the steps on the right. Metropolitans and archbishops stood on the same steps on the left, while the senators stood on the right, in front of the emperor's station.<sup>799</sup> Mango reconstructed the chapel as built into the base on the north side of the Column (Figure 5.2). This reconstruction, along with similarities to the architecture of the ambo and possible ritual rites around the Column's base, corresponded to the complete incorporation of the Column into the Christian urban visual culture.

### **The colossal column as an icon**

As discussed in the second chapter, articulations regarding urban visibility were already a common feature of the Tetrarchic columns. In Rome, Tetrarchic emperors reassociated the imperial address and the column monument by implanting their commemorative monument directly onto the imperial speaking platform of the *caput mundi*. The *Fünfsäulendenkmal* was directly built on the Augustan Rostra, the greatest public platform for the display of imperial power in Rome, the eternal capital. Diocletian's Column in Nicomedia, for example, was probably also highly visible, not only in terms of scale or distinguishing material but also due to its relationship to the emperor's last speech. Unlike the *Fünfsäulendenkmal*, Diocletian's Column in Alexandria was erected within an enclosed courtyard, but the site itself gave the monument a more scenic advantage over its Roman counterpart. The Column was placed in the oldest, most sacred precinct of the city on the highest point of the plateau aligned with the main road leading to the precinct from the city center. By placing this monument at the center of

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<sup>797</sup> The chapters concern the ceremonial for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (R28-30), Easter Monday (R74-75), Annunciation Day (R164-5), and the celebration of a triumph over the Saracens (Vol II, R609-11).

<sup>798</sup> Mango, *Studies*, IV, 108.

<sup>799</sup> *Ibid.*

attention for all possible sides of approach to the high grounds of the Serapeum, Diocletian, or his representatives in Alexandria, announced the virtues of the emperor far and wide. Especially for anyone approaching from the Gate of the Sun—the spot where Diocletian placed his camp during the siege of the city—the Roman Column was highly visible. As confirmed by Aphthonius in the second half of the fourth century, the effect was similar when approached from the sea.<sup>800</sup> A seventeenth-century engraving remarkably demonstrates that the column protected its iconic quality even centuries later (Figure 5.3).

Constantine the Great's first reference to a columnar monument dates back to the 310s, twenty years before the foundation of the New Rome. In his *adlocutio* scene on the north facade of the Arch of Constantine, the *Fünfsäulendenkmal* figured literally as the background for his imperial address. He stood near the center of the monument, in front of the Column of Jupiter. In the scene, the monument played a crucial role by representing not only the Forum but also the eternal city that would embrace the emperor forever. By inscribing the image of the emperor on the Rostra and onto the collective memory of the city, the monument served as a billboard to foreground the physical absence of the emperor in Rome – as it is known that the emperor spent very little time in Rome in comparison to other rulers.<sup>801</sup>

In Constantinople, however, Constantine used the column monument beyond its mnemonic value. The emperor combined the Alexandrian Column's crowning of the skyline with the Roman column that made good use of the symbolic value of the *caput mundi*. He built his porphyry Column as the manifestation of the 'New' Rome. To make the Column visible, in all means of the term, he first established breathing room by using a circle for the encompassing forum. The two-story columns of the surrounding portico in this 140m wide spatial urban plaza revealed a significant contrast in scale to 50m colossal column, which made the size of the latter

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<sup>800</sup> See Chapter 2.7

<sup>801</sup> On Constantine's imperial residences and journeys, see Barnes, *The new empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Harvard University Press, 1982), 84-86.

more explicit. This configuration was further emphasized by the natural elevation of the forum plaza since it was already situated on the second-highest hill of the peninsula. As one crossed the arched thresholds of the Forum, one would have inevitably felt “in the presence” of the Column and would have immediately realized the presence of the emperor. For people looking up to see the emperor, the idea of the brightness, the rays of the crown, and all further associations to the sun god Apollo strengthened the illusion. Unlike Trajan’s column, for example, the circular space around the Column provided a place to “radiate out.” Each sight line that radiated out from the Column extended to the wider scale of the Empire.

Since the Column of Constantine was not the only large column in the city, this effect was repeated in the first two hundred years of the Byzantine city. Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Justinian the Great, all adopted and built upon the founder’s design decision. Essentially, between fourth and sixth centuries, the reigning emperors recast the pagan freestanding column—a major architectural element—into a symbol and even an icon. This icon, in turn, gradually shaped the city’s early skyline.

### **The skyline of early Constantinople: towards a Christian urban imagery**

The urban skyline is one of S. Kostof’s five elements of urban form viewed from a historical perspective. To him, the form of the skyline, or “the line where the earth and the sky meet,” bears meaning both for residents as a familiar image and for visitors as the city front they encounter first.<sup>802</sup> In contrast to today’s private skylines, which are dominated by skyscrapers and commercial towers, and are often ‘icons’ for cities such as New York, Paris, Seattle, etc., the premodern skyline was public (composed of religious, administrative, and utilitarian structures), simple (not congested), and thus easily comprehended. It is “a fond icon of the city-form” formed primarily by the specific landscape (flat lands or hills); the city walls, if any; and “sacred

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<sup>802</sup> Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1991), 279.

heights” (i.e., distinguished structures such as temples, domes, or towers).<sup>803</sup> Since the skyline is an abstracted form of urban elevation, streets and squares are not included or not emphasized, and the “in-between” spaces among the tall buildings are generally represented with little or no detail.

To Kostof, skylines are urban signatures, and some of them are highly recognizable. He refers to the well-known silhouette of modern-day Istanbul as an example. Istanbul’s skyline has served as an inspiration for poets, artists, politicians, and video gamers (Figure 5.4). Kostof focuses in particular on the Ottoman appropriation of the skyline by means of numerous minarets. When the Ottomans took Constantinople in 1453, they built domes with multiple minarets, ranging in number between one and six, on several of the hills of the former Byzantine capital. By doing this, the profile of Constantinople was sharply reshaped.

This situation was different in Roman times. The only distinctive skyline feature of Roman Byzantium was the columnar façades of the temples constructed on the first hill, at the tip of the peninsula. The rest of the Roman urban fabric probably created horizontal continuities at a certain height so as not to compete with the “sacred heights” of the Acropolis, which most likely announced the city to the boats approaching Bosphorus.

In early Byzantine Constantinople, however, various other architectural features contributed to the skyline: the domes of the Great Churches of Hagia Sophia and the Holy Apostles, the latter of which occupied the highest hill of the city; the magnificent Valens Aqueduct, which was over 250km long, had a maximum height of about 29m, and was 63m above sea level, spanning the valley between the third and fourth hills; and the land and sea walls, which had heights ranging 12 to 20m. Two obelisks were in the Hippodrome; yet they occupied low circus grounds and thus did not have much effect on the skyline. Most relevant to this discussion was the composition of the sixth-century skyline fixed by the repeated use of

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<sup>803</sup> Ibid., 277.

colossal columns over 35 m tall. These monuments were widely spaced along the Mese - not all precisely equidistant but clearly followed a certain pattern with respect to the topography and hence held the whole composition together (Figure 5.5). This late antique/early Byzantine urban signature seems to have had a long-lasting effect, for there were no other singular symbols of height to compete with the columns. In fact, the dominance of the columnar skyline competed only with the middle and late Byzantine churches and palaces. None of the colossal vertical posts appeared until the fifteenth century.

What is particular with the skyline of Early Constantinople is its relation to the Mese. Through the skyline, this ritual experiential “line” on the ground was visible from the outside, as the unprecedented scale and the repetition of the vertical posts made them memorable. The columns became literally and symbolically visible from the scale of the immediate surroundings, through the wider scales of the city and empire and Christianity. Especially from afar, the early Byzantine skyline was an abstracted version of the ceremonial land route. In time, this innovative urban act created a highly recognizable skyline through which the official narrative of an imperial capital was conveyed to citizens and foreigners.

In experiencing the skyline, the eye of the beholder was urged to follow the outer lines of each column within this composition. When approached from the land, after passing the 20m–high Golden Gate, the familiar, Romanized, cross-signed Trajanic columns of Arcadius and Theodosius appeared first. The simple and abstract porphyry Column of Constantine came next, with the nude emperor carrying a radiant crown associated with the sun god. When the viewer’s eye reached from the core of the city to the heart of the peninsula, the embellished, shiny Column of Justinian the Great, with the Christian emperor carrying a cross on a globe, appeared with the magnificent dome of the Hagia Sophia and numerous shallower domes of the Great Palace. When viewed from the sea, from the Propontis for instance, the effect would not have less impressive. In both approaches, the Christianization of the statue of the ruler significantly

improved the effect of the skyline - in a more obvious manner with each succeeding emperor perceived and experienced sequentially. In fact, this effect was so overwhelming that one day six centuries later, the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (reigned 1143–80) permanently sealed the city's Christian label by replacing the statue of Constantine with a freestanding cross.

As such, Constantinopolitan colossal columns functioned as registrars of Christianization. The early skyline was a reflection of the long-acknowledged ceremonial nature of the New Rome. It was projected onto the sky through the architecture of the column monuments, whose simple form had a strong ability to push viewers' attention skyward. This image was crafted slowly and deliberately over two centuries. In turn, this simple vertical form modeled the city's relationship to the cosmos and sky, and thus to heaven. All stages of the gradual Christianization were mapped onto a single image. Unlike the instant Christian identity of Sixtus V's appropriated triumphal columns and obelisks, each step toward the conversion of the Constantinopolitan column (*vis à vis* the city) was present on the skyline.

Conversely, the early Byzantine urban signature became an abstract representation of the "essence" of the city based on the processional land route. Simply, colossal columns dominated the urban silhouette by repeatedly elevating a powerful emperor. In return, the skyline of New Rome seamlessly and literally combined the rough natural topography with achievements of powerful men, who literally stood up in the city sky.

The discussion of the freestanding column in this dissertation has allowed me to frame its potential in mediating the world of Byzantine architectural objects and the larger scale of urbanism and representation of urban image. This narrative not only constructs a particular archaeology of the honorary column but also defines the column monument as a new paradigm in the study of medieval cities and suggests possible explanations about the continuity of their use as evidenced in the maps of Boundelmonti and Vavassore (Figure 3.6 and 3.16). To support my claim further, I refer again to the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The cover of a fifteenth-century copy

of the *Notitia* contains an image of Constantinople (Figure 5.6).<sup>804</sup> Amazingly, this image dating back to 1436 represents the city through a column monument, much like the Peutinger Map, though it replaces the Column of Constantine with the Column of Justinian backed by the Hagia Sophia. This image was a late manifestation of “the act of appropriation,” integrating the freestanding column within a medieval cultural framework.

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<sup>804</sup> Canon. Misc. Gr. 378, fol. 84r, today in Bodleian Library, Oxford. This copy from the late Roman original was made in 1436 for Pietro Donato, bishop of Padua.

## MAPS



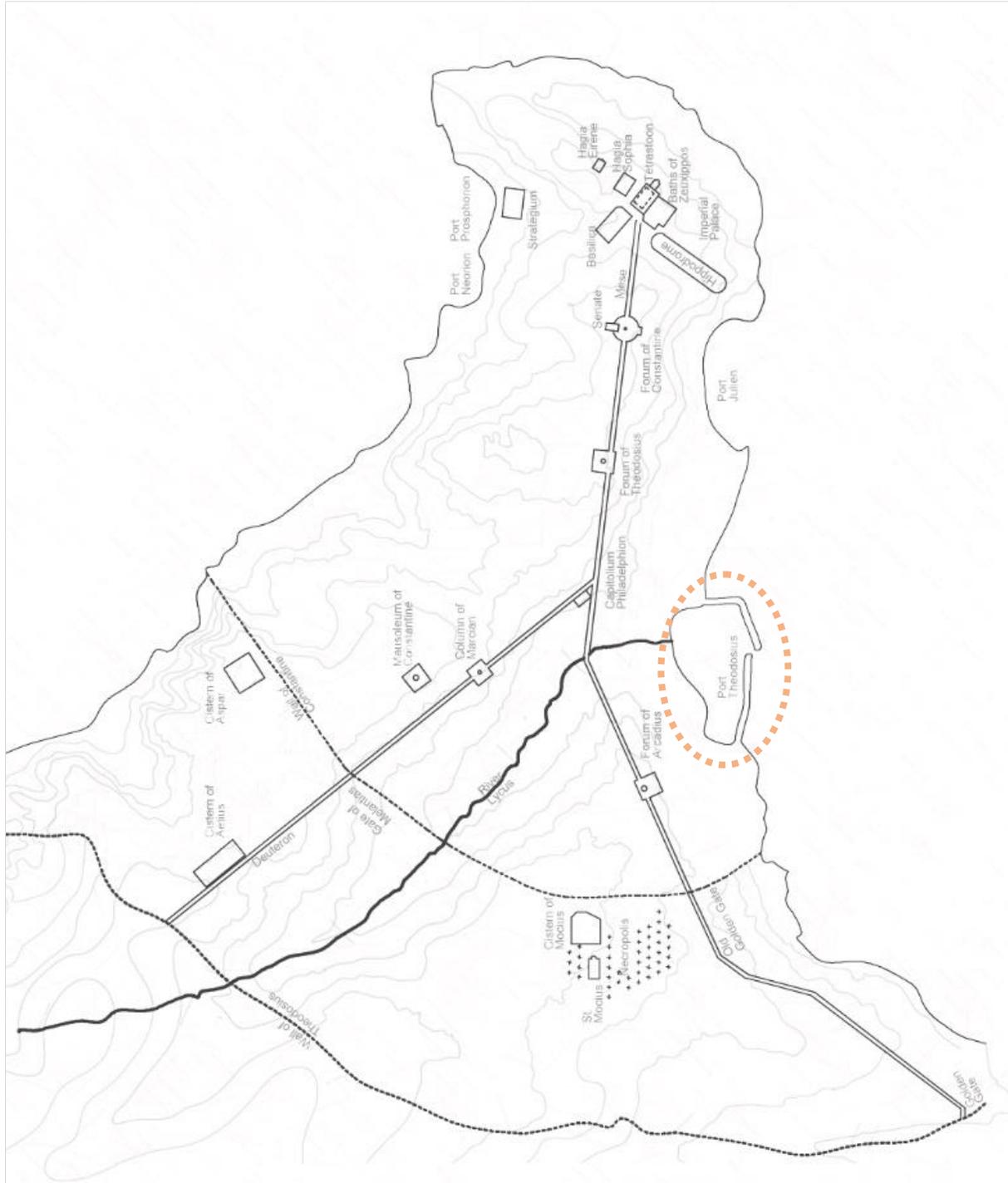
**Map 1** The city of Constantine

The yellow points represent monumental structures from the Severan city of Byzantium:

1. Altar of Athena Ekbasia 2. Temple of Poseidon 3. Temple of Artemis 4. Temple of Aphrodite 5. Temple of Helios 6. Theater 7. Milion 8. Tetrastoon 9. Hippodrome 10. Imperial lodge 11. The Portico of Severus.

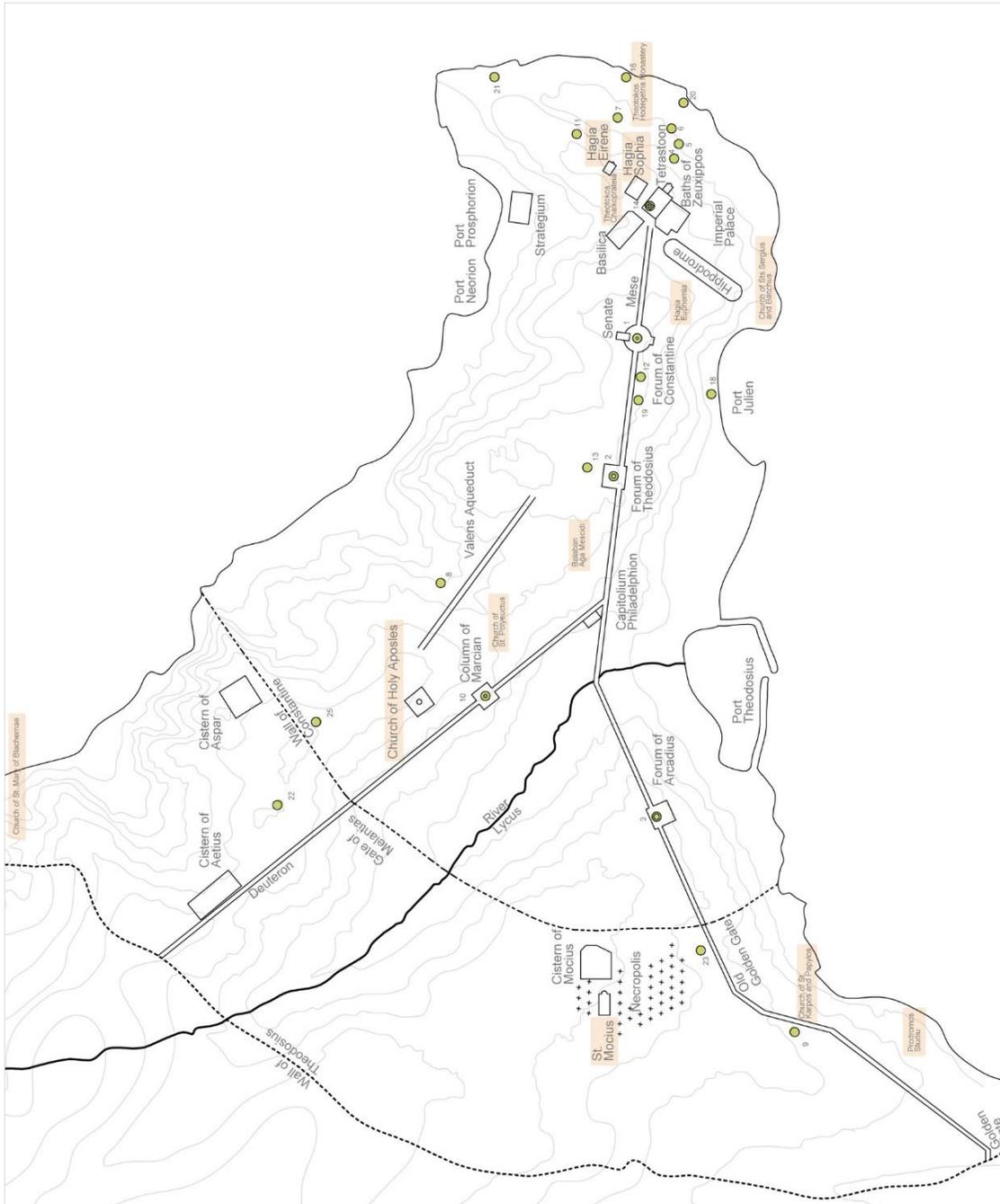
The red dotted represents the path of the foundation ceremonies. The green and orange lines represents the path of the construction material transportation.

(Image by the author based on maps from Bardill, *Constantine*, 254, figure 171; Mango, *Le développement*, Plan 1; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197 ; Map 2 in *From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 years of a Capital*, 52-53.)



**Map 2** The city of Theodosian dynasty

(Image by the author based on maps from Bardill, *Constantine, 254*, figure 171; Mango, *Le développement*, Plan 1; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197 ; Crow, *The Water Supply*, fig.2.2.)



**Map 3** The city of Justinian the Great

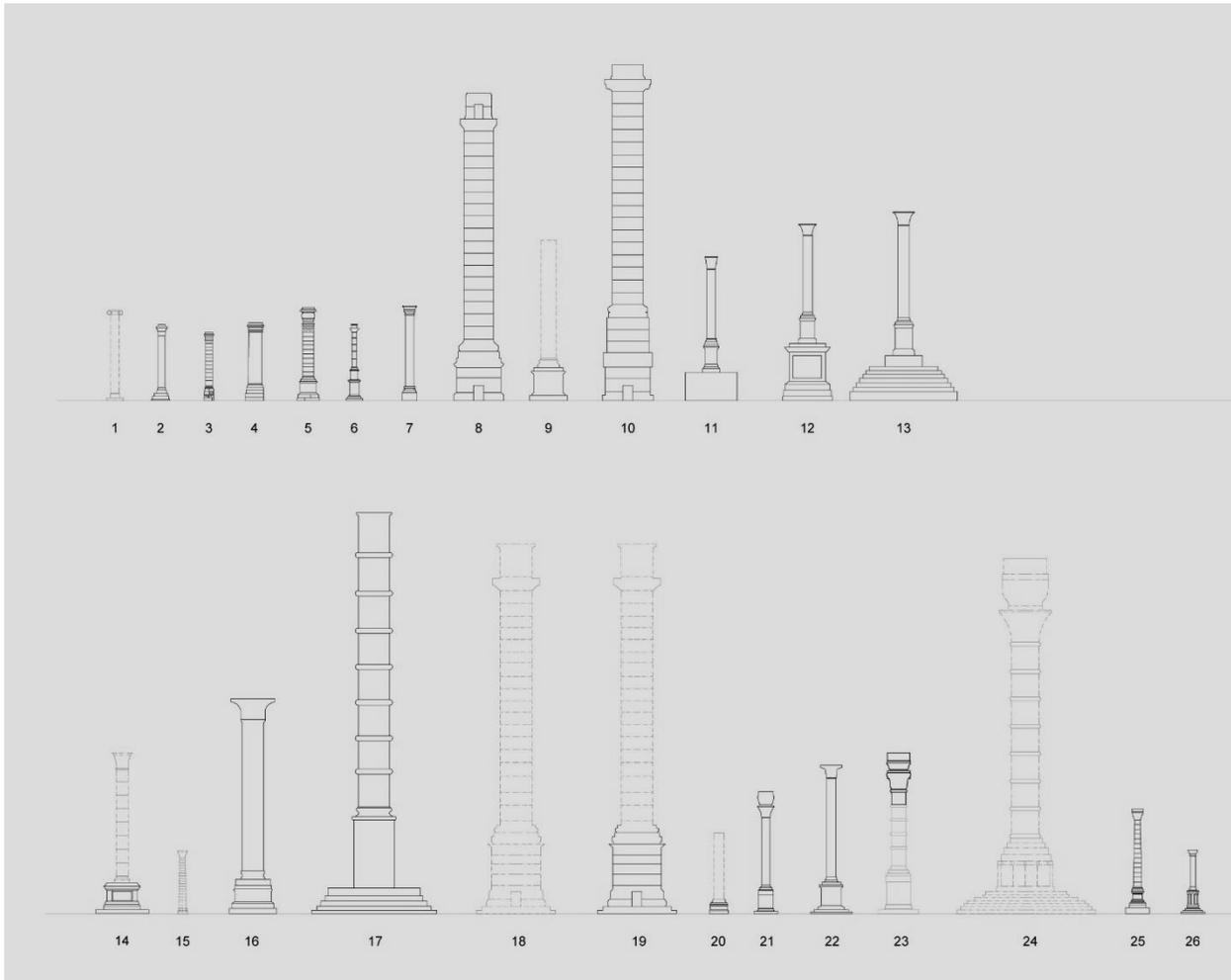
The orange background represents some of the important Christian structures of the era. The yellow points represent column monuments known from textual evidence:

1. Column of Constantine
2. Column of Theodosius
3. Column of Arcadius
4. St. Constantine
5. St. Theodosius I
6. S. Helenas
7. S. Eudoxia
8. S. Julians
9. Theodosius II
10. Column of Marcian
11. S. Leo I
12. S. Verinas
13. S. Anastasius
14. Column of Justinian
15. S. Justinian
16. S. Theodora
17. S. Justin II
18. S. Justin II and his family
19. S. Phokas
20. S. Phocas
21. Column of Goths
22. Unidentified column
23. Unidentified column

(Image by the author based on Bardill, *Constantine*, 254, figure 171; Mango, *Le développement*, Plan 1; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197; Crow, *The Water Supply*, fig.2.2; Muller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, Map 2; Jordan Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 195)

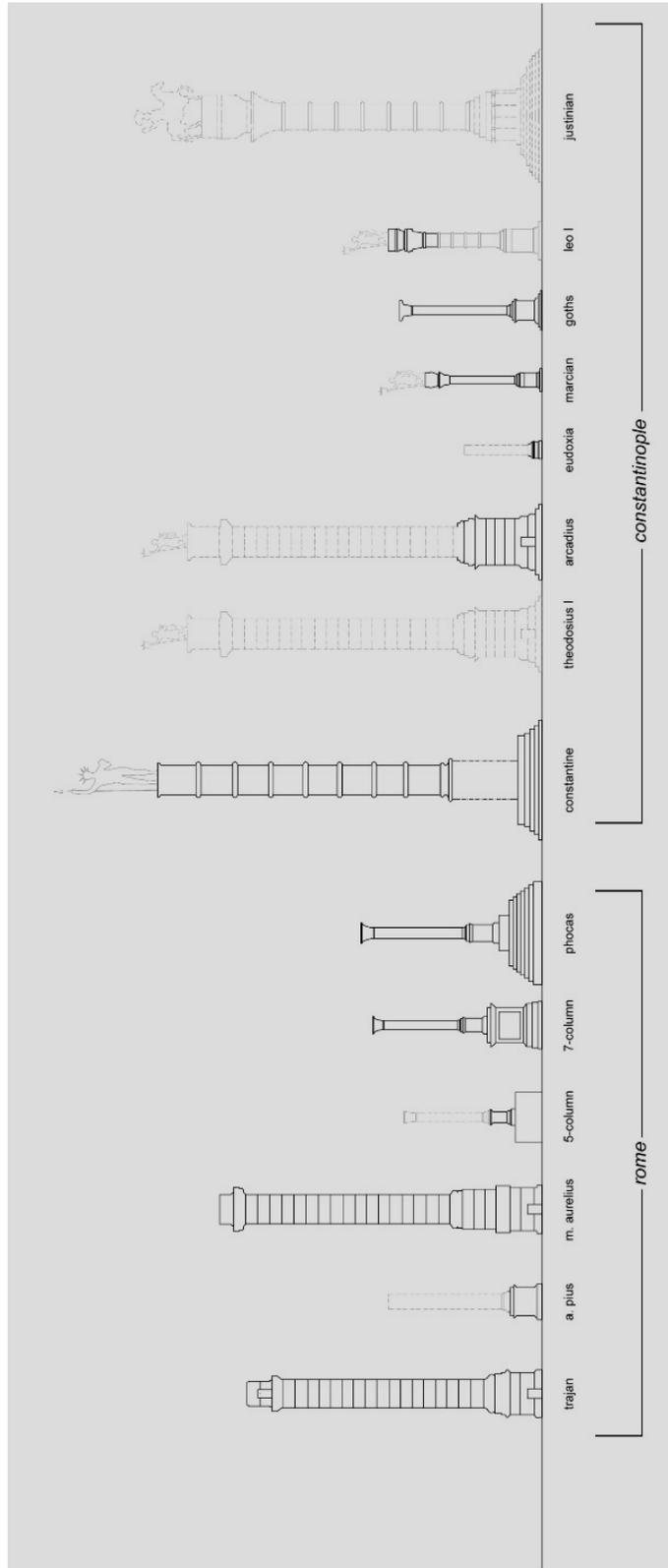


## TABLES



**Table 1** Comparative image of honorary columns, all drawn to the same scale. Image by the author based on various reconstructions and photographs. Image by the author.

1. The Naxier Column 2. The Column of Aristaineta 3. The Column of Eumenes II 4. The Column of Prusias II 5. The Column of Aemilius Paullus 6. The Jupiter Column 7. The Column at Jerash 8. The Column of Trajan 9. The Column of Antoninus Pius 10. The Column of Marcus Aurelius 11. The column of Fünfsäulendenkmal 12. The column of Seven Column Monuments 13. The Column of Phocas, Rome 14. The Column of Hadrian, Lambaesis 15. The column of Arac Philaenorum 16. The Column of Diocletian, Alexandria 17. The Column of Constantine 18. The Column of Theodosius I 19. The Column of Arcadius 20. The column of Eudoxia 21. The column of Marcian 22. The Column of Goths 23. The Column of Leo I 24. The Column of Justinian 25. The Column of Julian, Ancyra 26. The Four-column monument, Ephesus



**Table 2** Comparative image of honorary columns of Rome and Constantinople. Image by the author

## FIGURES

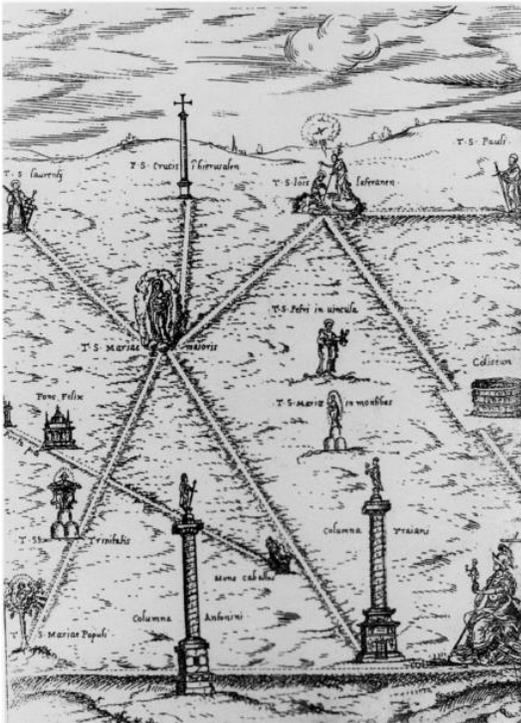


Figure 1. 1 Giovanni Francesco Bordini, *De rebus praeclaris gestis a Sixto V p.m.* (1588), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, Harvard University Press, 98.



Figure 1. 2 The Peutinger Map, showing Constantinople, Antioch and Rome. Vienna National Library, MS, Vindobon, 324. From L Bosio, *La Tabule Peutingeriana* (Rimini, 1983).



Figure 1. 3 The Column of Constantine (Çemberlitaş), Istanbul. Photo by the author.

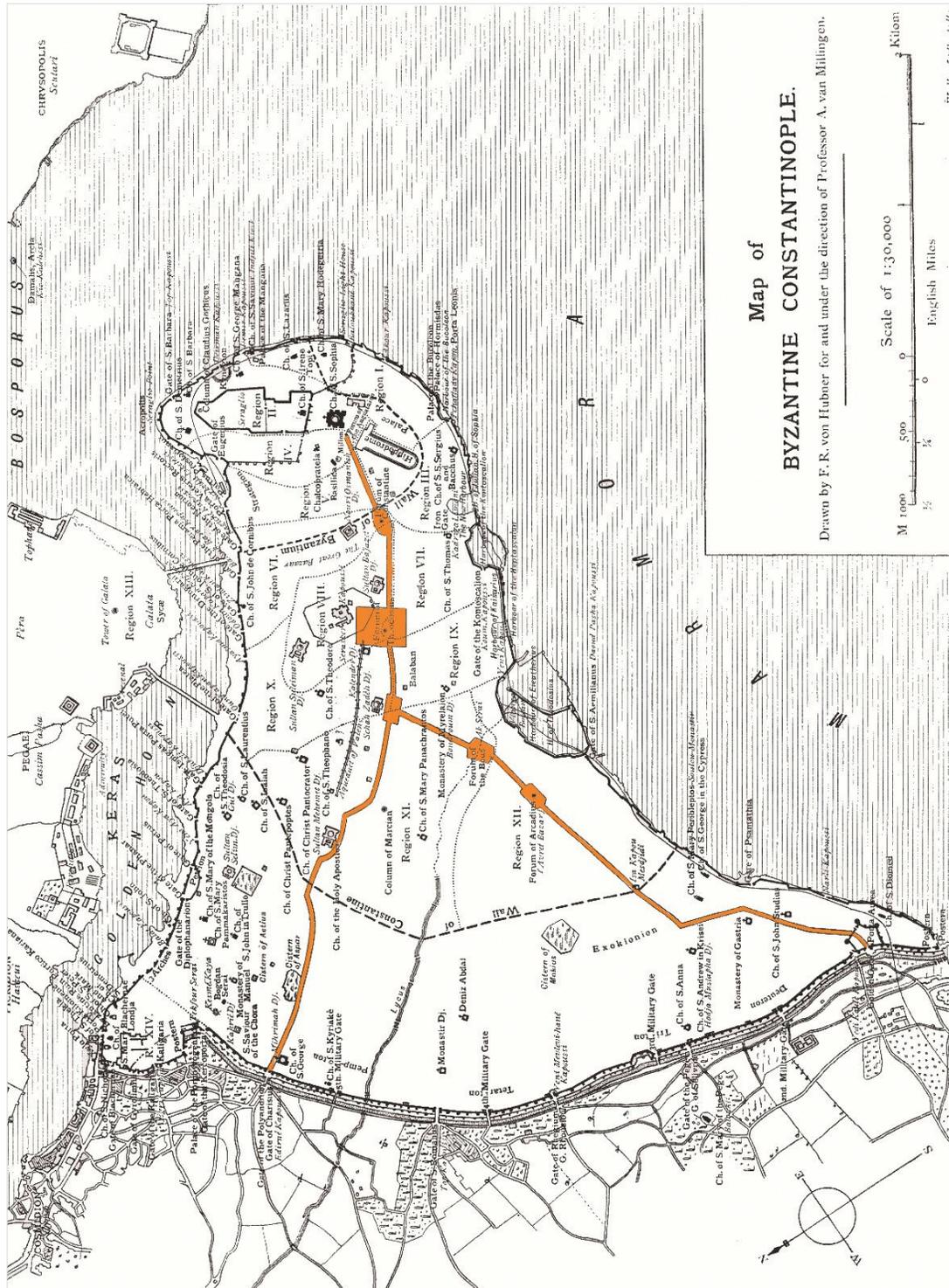


Figure 1. 4 Map of Constantinople, showing the Mese and the Imperial fora. From Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople Their History and Architecture* (London, MacMillan and Co, 1912), 14, fig. 7.



Figure 1. 5 The Obelisk of Theodosius and the Walled Obelisk (the Column of Constantine Porphyrogenus), Atmeydani, Istanbul. Photo by the author.



Figure 1. 6 Ivory diptych with personification of Rome and Constantinople, 5th c., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. From L. Grig, "Competing Capitals, Competing Representations. Late Antique Cityscapes in Words and Pictures in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford University Press, 2012), 46, fig. 2.5

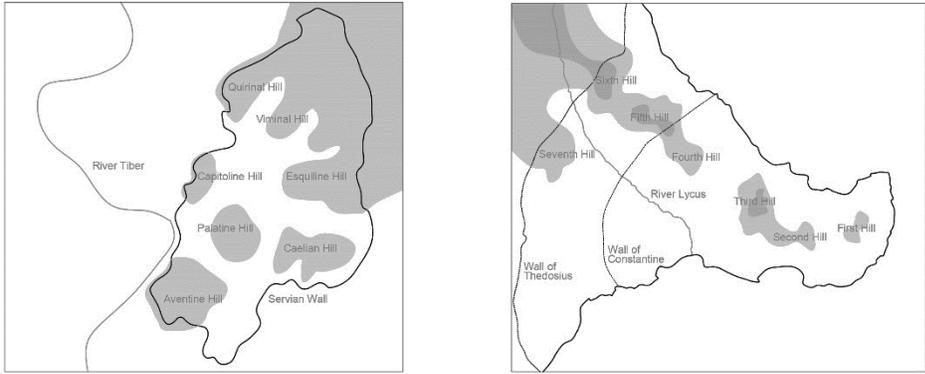


Figure 1. 7 The comparative diagram showing ‘the seven hills’ of Rome and Constantinople. Image by the author.

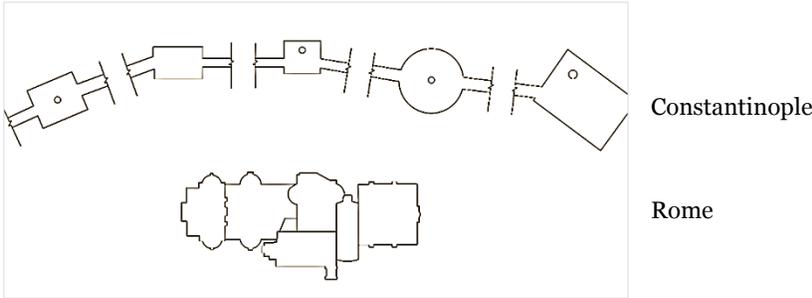


Figure 1. 8 The comparative diagram showing imperial fora of Rome and Constantinople. Image by the author.

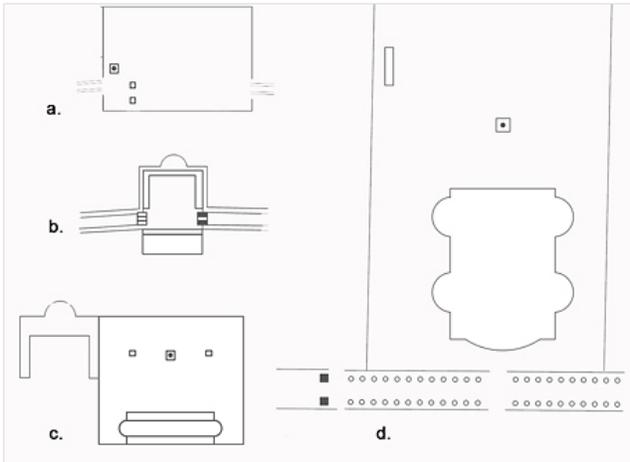


Figure 1. 9 Several reconstruction diagrams of the Forum of Theodosius redrawn in the same scale. a. by Neumann b. by Berger, c. by Bauer, d. by Kuban. Image by the author.



Figure 1. 10 Modern day panorama of Istanbul's historical peninsula © Ali Gungoren

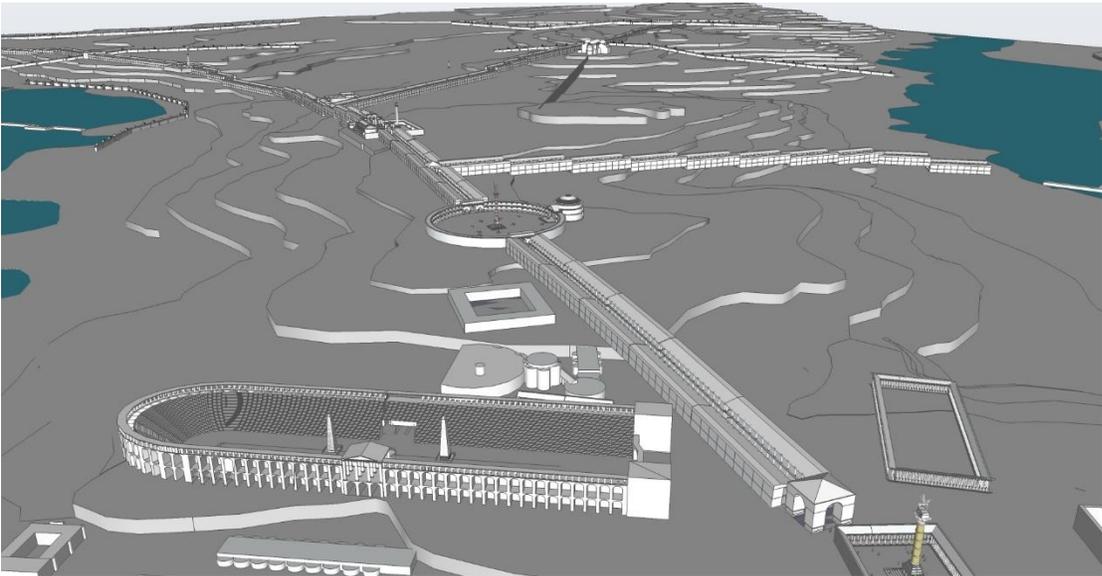


Figure 1. 11 An aerial view from the 3D model of the Mese. Digital model by the author.

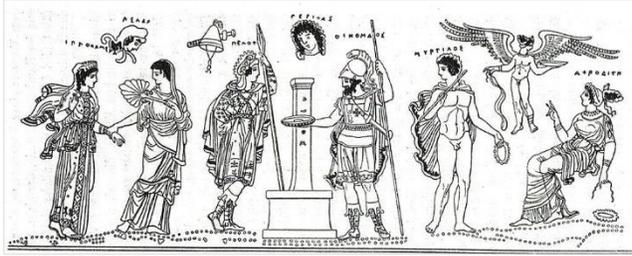


Figure 2. 1 Apulian Red-Figure Amphora, British Museum F331. From Franz Studniczka, *Die Ostgiebelgruppe vom Zeustempel in Olympia* (Leipzig, 1923), 13, fig. 4.



Figure 2. 2 The sphinx atop the Naxier column, Delphi Archeological Museum © Mark Cartwright.

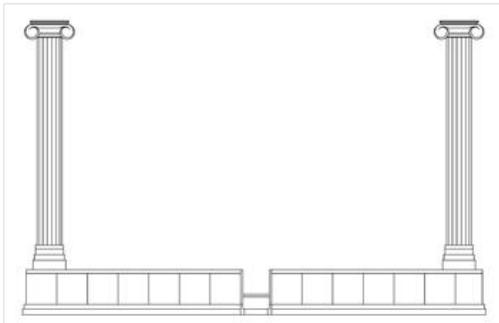


Figure 2. 3 The column monument of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. Image by the author drawn after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument: Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen* (Habelt, Bonn 1995), 16, fig. 1.

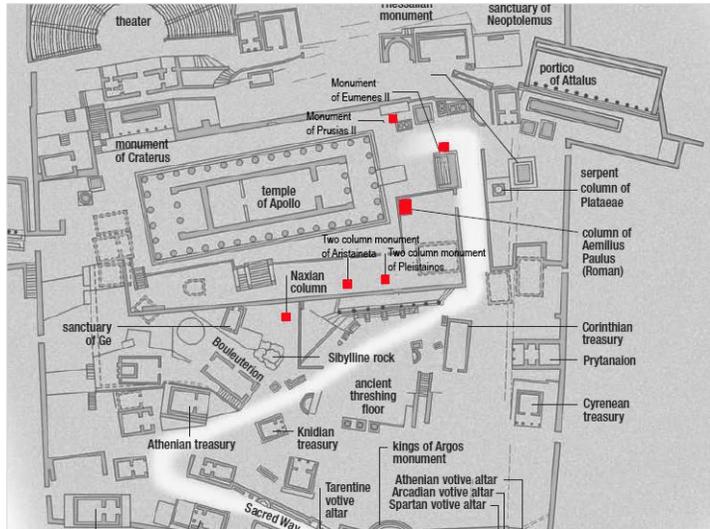


Figure 2. 4 Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi. Image by the author drawn after Hugh Bowden, *Classical Athens and the Delphic Oracle: Divination and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 15, fig. 2.

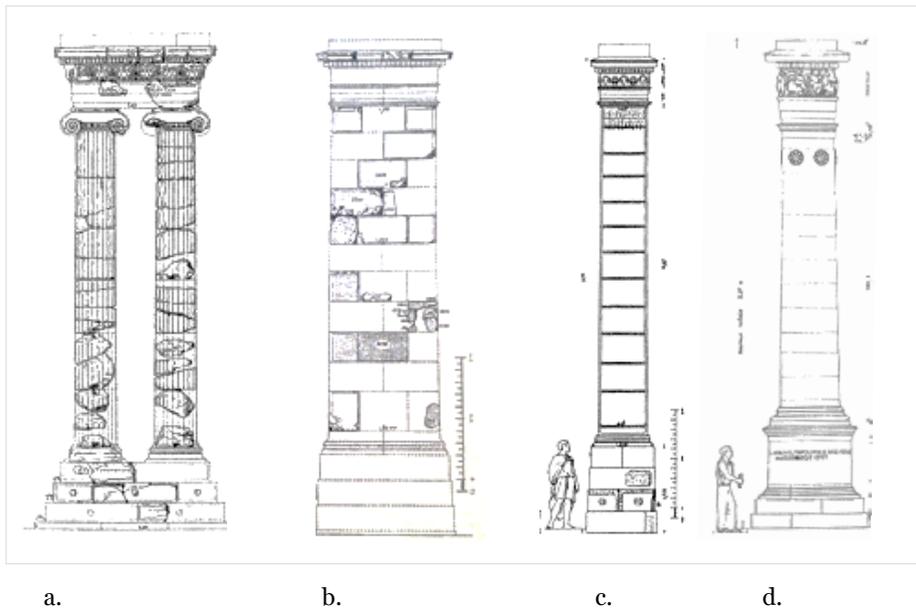


Figure 2. 5 Column monuments from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi  
 a. The Column of Aristaineta (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 22, fig. 3)  
 b. The equestrian column of Eumenes II (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 32, fig. 7)  
 c. The equestrian column of Prusias II (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 33, fig. 8)  
 d. The equestrian column of Aemilius-Paullus (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 34, fig. 9)



Figure 2. 6 Early Roman columns represented on coins

- a. Minucius C. Augurinus. 135 BC. BMCRR 955 (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, Tafel 2, f)
- b. Octavian Denarius. 27-27 BC. BMCRE I 633 (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, Tafel 2, a)
- c. Vespasian Denarius. 79 AD. BMCRE II 254 (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, Tafel 2, c)



Figure 2. 7 The Column of Jupiter, Mainz, Germany. Credit: © Martin Bahmann



Figure 2. 8 The reconstruction of the Upper Agora (ca. 25 BC - AD 14) in Sagalassos. Honorific columns are shown with the number 3. Credit: © Marc Waelkens.



a.



b.

Figure 2. 9 The honorific columns in the Upper Agora of Sagalassos. Credit: © Marc Waelkens.

a. The bird-eye view of the Agora in Sagalassos. The yellow arrows indicate the restored NE Honorific Column (seen in elevation in the frame on the bottom left corner) and partially re-erected SW Column. The white arrow indicates the location of the in situ pedestal of the NW column.

b. The in situ pedestal of the NW column, with the platform formed like a sitting bench.

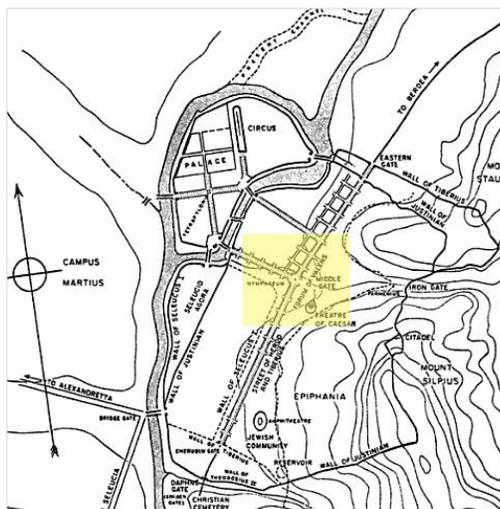


Figure 2. 10 The plan of Roman Antioch. The yellow area shows the circular forum space. Image by the author after Glanville Downey, *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton University Press, 1962), fig. 3.

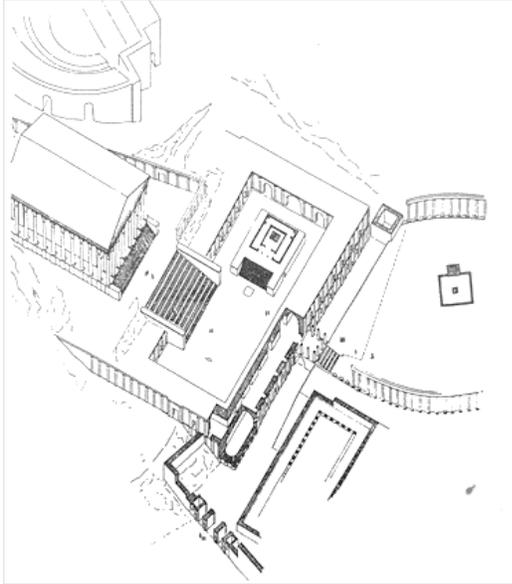


Figure 2. 11 The Zeus sanctuary in Jerash and the oval plaza in front of the complex. From G, Khouri, *Jerash : A Brief Guide to the Antiquities* (Amman, Jordan : Al Kutba, 1988), 13.

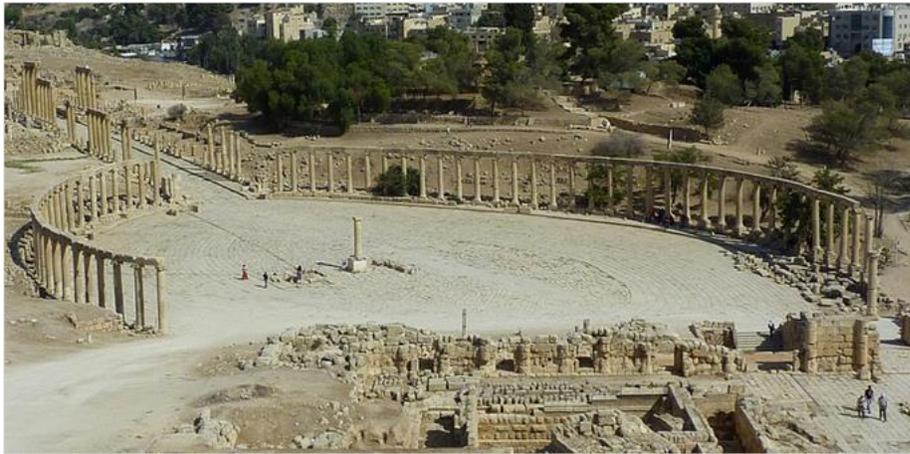


Figure 2. 12 Image of the oval plaza and the re-erected column in the center. Credit: © Arian Zwegers

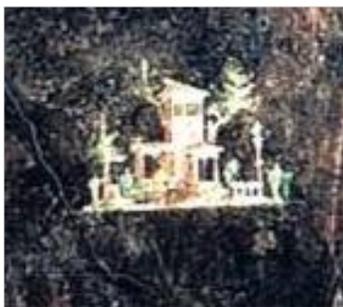


Figure 2. 13 Landscape scene from the center panel of the Black Room in the villa at Boscotrecase, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo by the author.

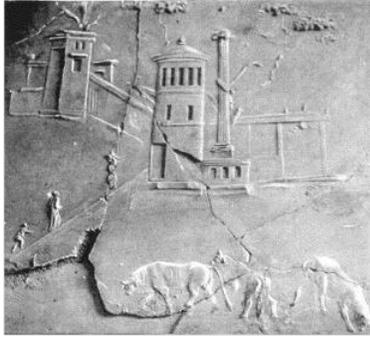


Figure 2. 14 A Roman stucco relief showing a column-tower combination, Villa found under the Farnesina Gardens in Trastevere, Rome. From Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1893), 264.



Figure 2. 15 Yellow Frieze from House of Livia, Rome: Museo Massimo. Credit: © Ann Raia

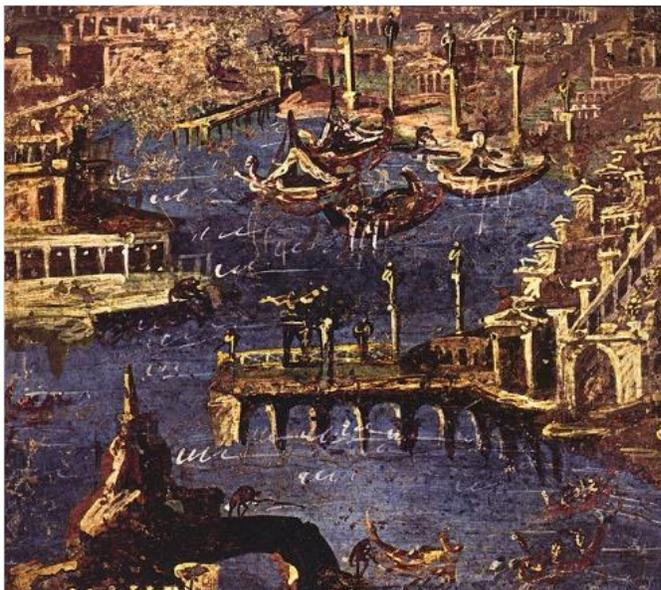


Figure 2. 16 Wall painting showing honorary columns in the harbor of Stabiae before 79 AD, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Naples). Credit: © Wolfgang Rieger



Figure 2. 17 The Column of Trajan, Rome Credit: © Ali Gungoren

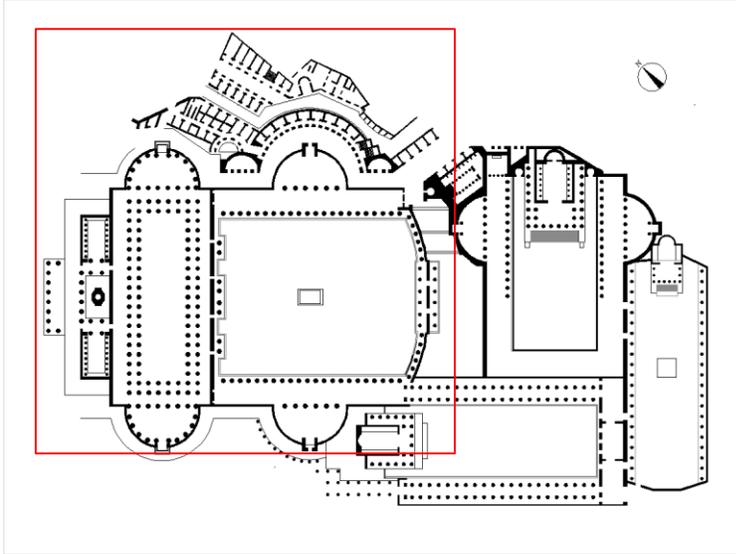


Figure 2. 18 The imperial fora, Rome. Image by the author after Björn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Noreña, eds. *The emperor and Rome: space, representation, and ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15, fig.1.1.



Figure 2. 19 The "windows" of the Column of Trajan placed within the spiral relief. Credit: © Ali Gungoren

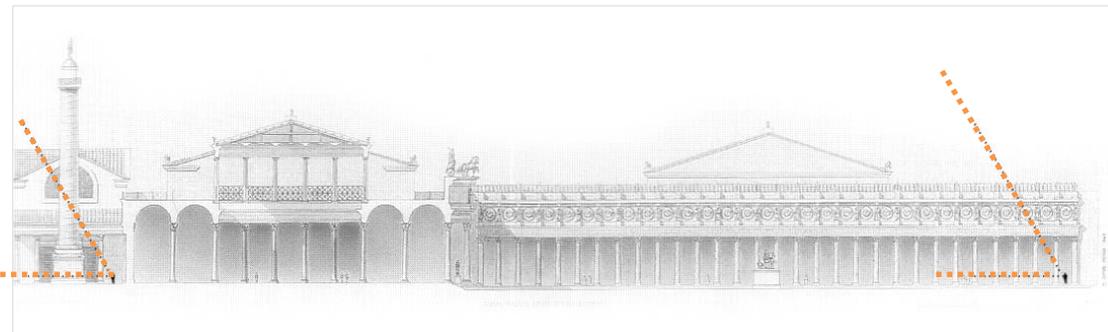
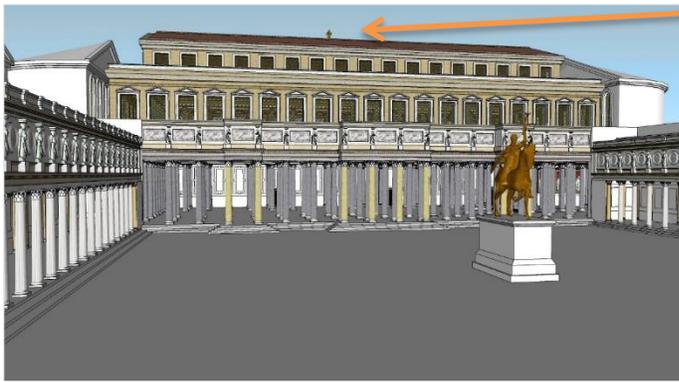


Figure 2. 20 Section of the Forum of Trajan. Image by the author drawn after E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome. A Study of the Monuments* (Berkeley, 1997), 25.



The Column of Trajan

Figure 2. 21 The eye-level view from the south entrance of the Forum of Trajan. Digital model by the author.



Figure 2. 22 The view of the Column of Trajan when one stepped into the courtyard through one of the side doors of the Basilica. Digital model by the author.



Figure 2. 23 The eye-level view of the Column of Trajan looking from north. Digital model by the author.



Figure 2. 24 The eye-level view of the Column of Trajan looking from northern portico. Digital model by the author.



Figure 2. 25 The column of Antoninus Pius, in the courtyard outside the entrance to the Vatican Pinacoteca. Credit: © Ali Gungoren



Figure 2. 26 Minucius C. Augurinus. 135 BC. BMCRE IV 67 (after Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument: Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen* (Habelt, Bonn 1995), Tafel 3, e)

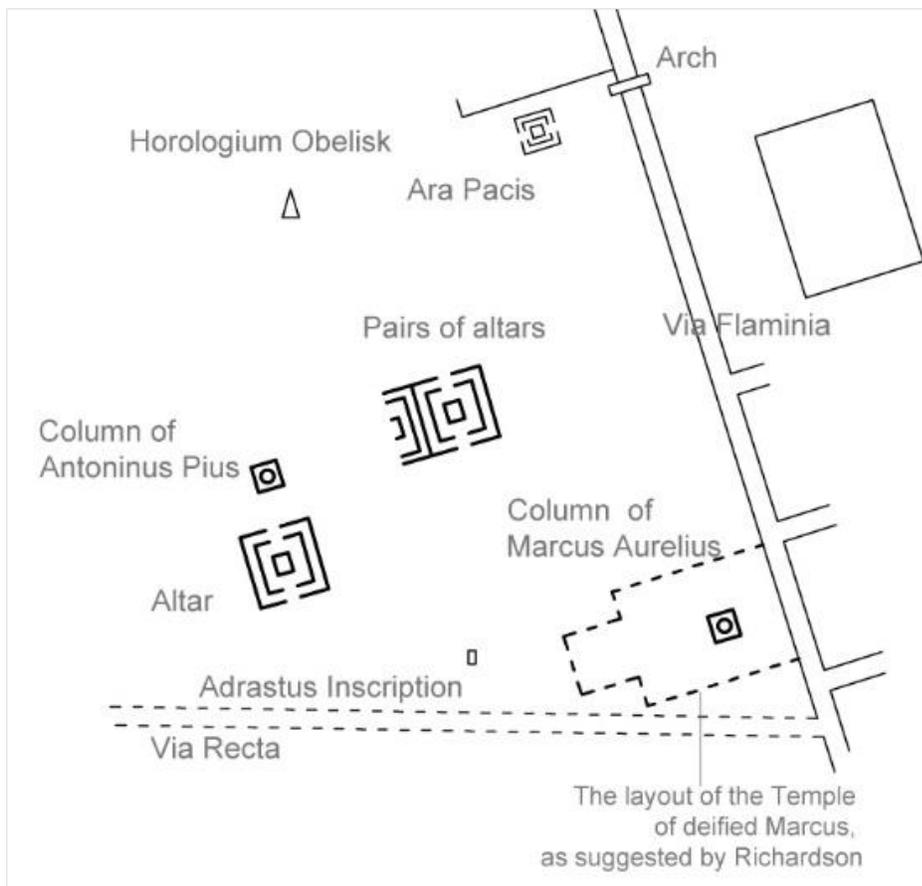


Figure 2. 27 Plan of the Campus Martius showing the columns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius and nearby structures. Image by the author after Beckmann, *Column of Marcus Aurelius: The Genesis and Meaning of a Roman Imperial Monument* (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome, University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 45.



Figure 2. 28 The Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. Credit: © Ali Gungoren



Figure 2. 29 The Madaba Map and the Column in the oval plaza inside the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem



Figure 2. 30 The Column of Diocletian, Alexandria (the so-called Pompey's Pillar). Credit: © Tentolia Jouce

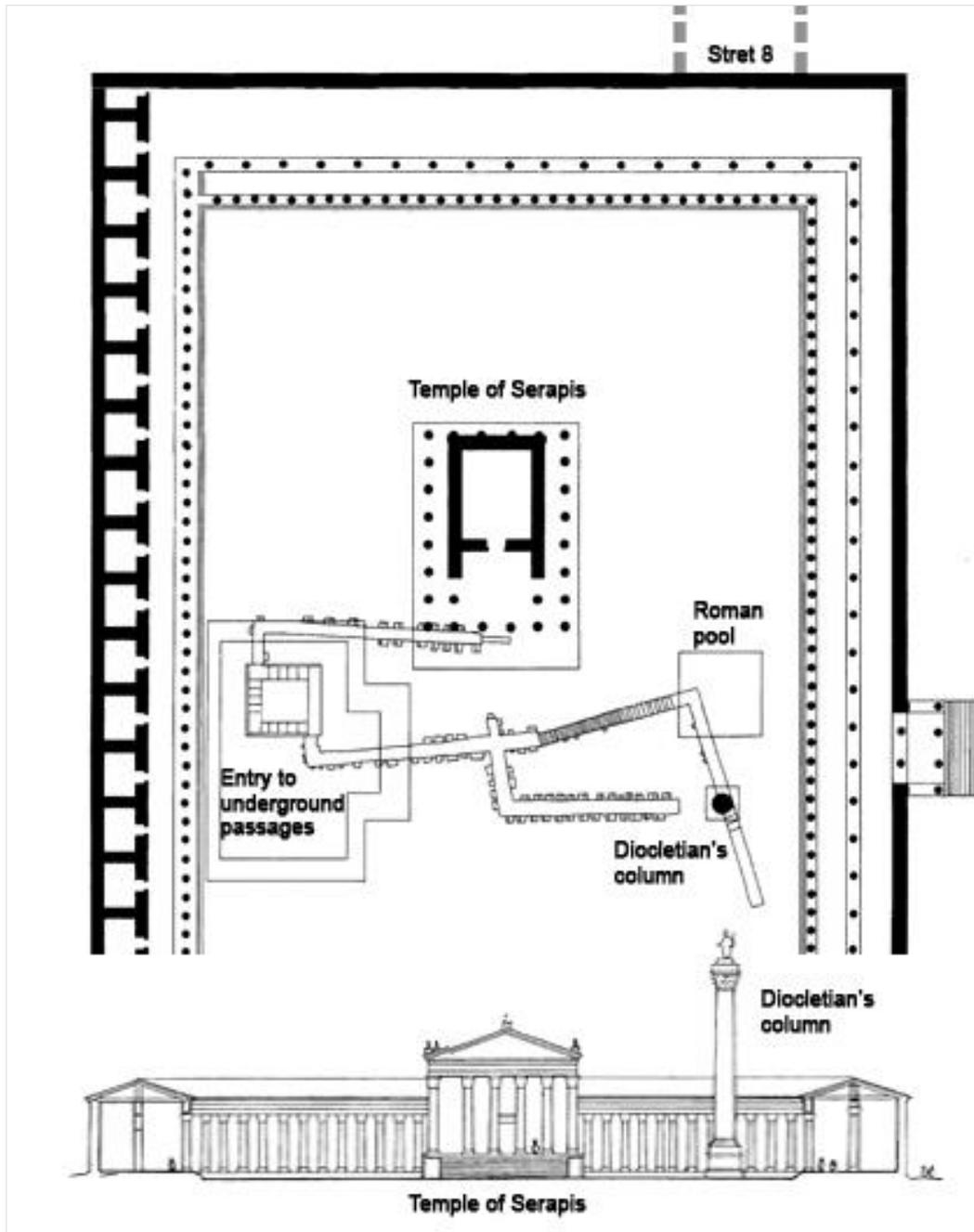


Figure 2. 31 The site plan of Serapeum, showing the Roman renovations of the originally Ptolemaic site. Image by the author after Judith S. McKenzie, Sheila Gibson and A. T. Reyes, "Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 94 (2004), 80, fig 5 and, 94, fig.12



Figure 2. 32 The Sepphoris mosaic showing monument over a socle. From [http://www.welcometohosanna.com/LIFE\\_OF\\_JESUS/JESUS\\_LIFE\\_PIX/SEPPHORIS\\_NILE\\_MOSAIC.jpg](http://www.welcometohosanna.com/LIFE_OF_JESUS/JESUS_LIFE_PIX/SEPPHORIS_NILE_MOSAIC.jpg) (last accessed May, 2015).

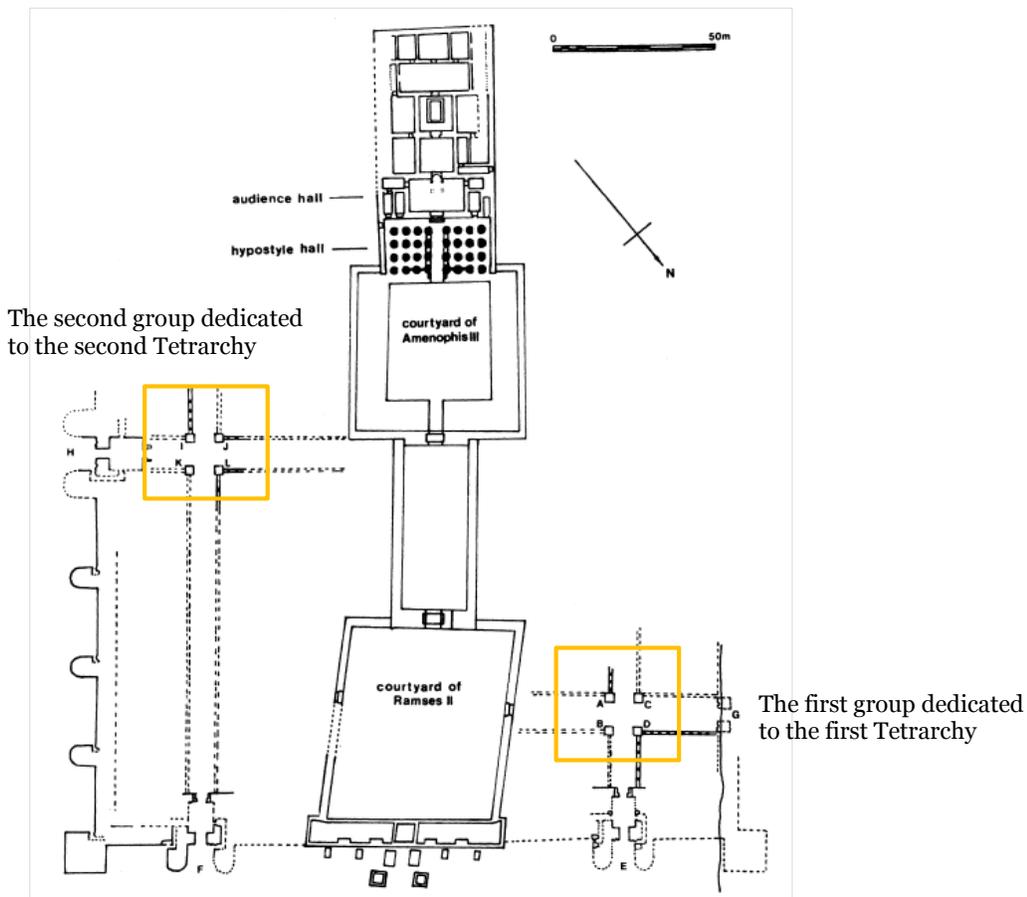


Figure 2. 33 The plan of the temple of Ammon in Luxor after Roman modifications. From Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Imperial Chamber at Luxor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), plate A.



Figure 2. 34 The adlocutio scene from Arch of Constantine. From Tyler and Pierce, *L'art byzantine* (Paris, 1932).



Figure 2. 35 Decennalia base, the inscription. Credit: © Ali Gungoren



Figure 2. 36 Decennalia base, the procession of four emperors/senators. Credit: © Ali Gungoren



Figure 2. 37 Decennalia base, suovetaurilia scene. Credit: © Ali Gungoren



Figure 2. 38 Decennalia base, libation scene. Credit: © Ali Gungoren



Figure 2. 39 Digital reconstruction of the Augustan Rostra, UCLA Experiential Technologies Center 2005 © Regents University of California

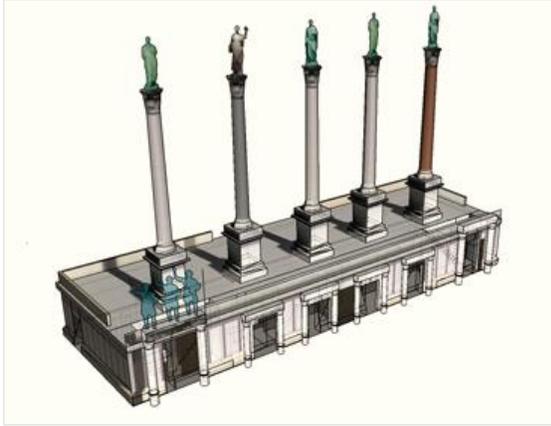


Figure 2. 40 Digital reconstruction of the Eastern Rostra, UCLA Experiential Technologies Center 2009 © Regents University of California

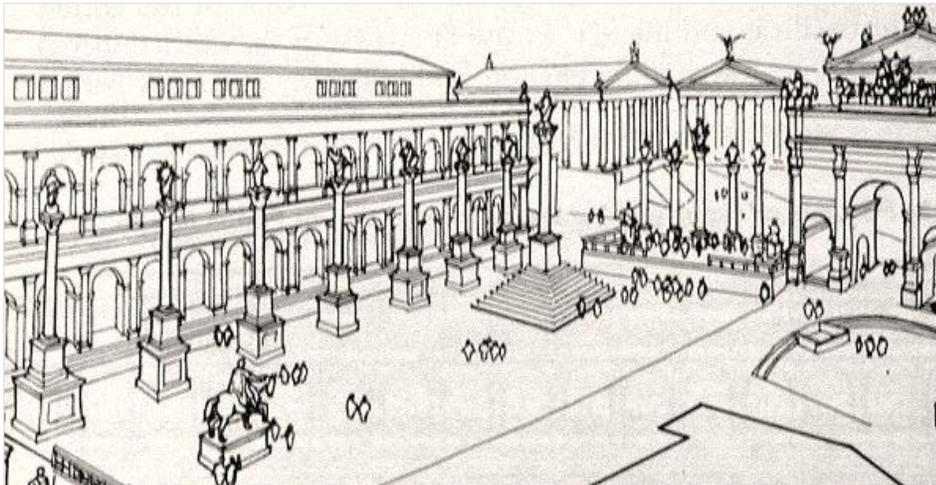
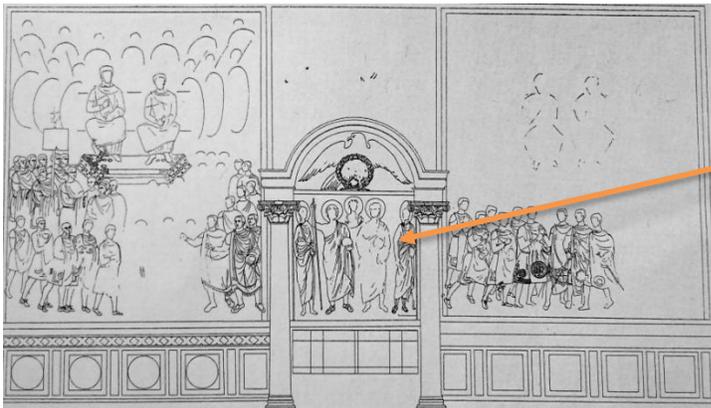


Figure 2. 41 The seven column monument in the Roman Forum. From A. Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 64.



Figure 2. 42 The Venice Tetrarchs © Nino Barbieri



The central niche was reserved for symbolic representations of the Tetrarchs

Figure 2. 43 The representation of Tetrarchs in the Temple of Luxor, Ammon. From R. Rees, "Images and Image: A Re-examination of Tetrarchic iconography," *Greece & Rome* 40:2 (1993), plate 3.

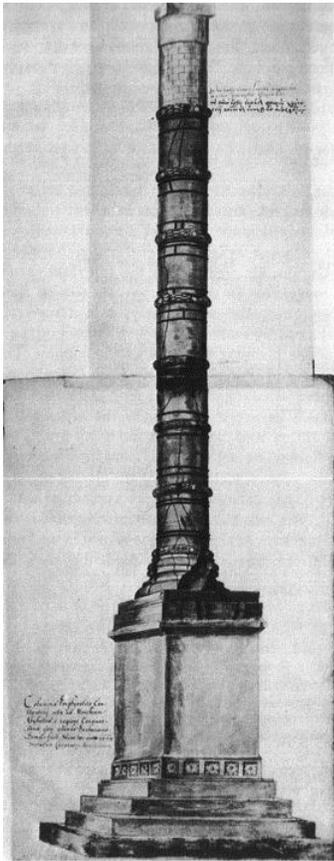


Figure 3. 1 The Column of Consatntine by an anonymous German artist, found in *Freshfield Album* (1574), *Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*. From Mango, *Studies*, II, 308, fig.1.



Figure 3. 2 The relief on the pedestal of the Column of Constantine by Melchior Lorichs (1561). From Mango, *Studies*, II, 311, fig. 3



Figure 3. 3 An anonymous engraving describing a Turkish festival in the Forum of Constantine, National Library in Vienna. From Mango, *Studies*, III, fig.1

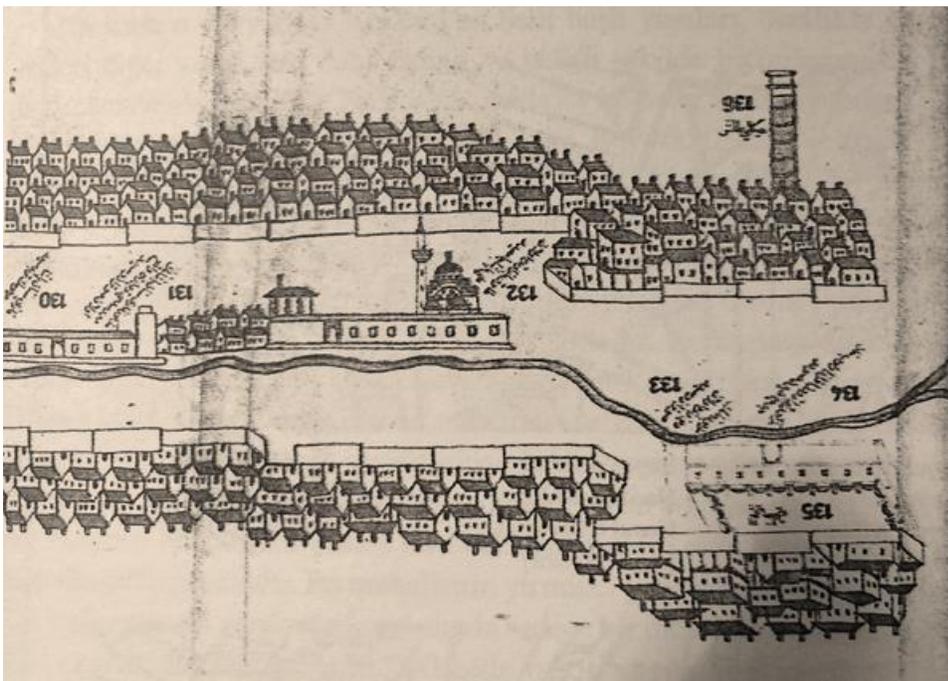


Figure 3. 4 The Column of Constantine represented in Koprulu Water Distribution Map (1672) Koprulu Library, inv. No: 2441/1, 2 folios. From B. Ar, "Osmanli Donemi Suyollari Haritalarinda Roma ve Bizans Yapilari," *Sanat Tarihi defterleri* (Istanbul, 2010), 18.



Figure 3. 5 The Column of Constantine represented in Bayezid Water Distribution Maps, 1900, 140x188 cm., The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul, inv. no: 3339. From B. Ar, "Osmanli Donemi Suyollari Haritalarinda Roma ve Bizans Yapilari," *Sanat Tarihi defterleri* (Istanbul, 2010), 19.



Figure 3. 6 Map of Constantinople (1422) by Buondelmonti. Photo by the author.



Figure 3. 7 The Column of Constantine by John Auldjo. From John Auldjo, *Journal of a Visit to Constantinople and Some of the Greek Islands in the Spring and Summer of 1833* (London: Longman & Co. April, 1835), 79.



Figure 3. 8 The Column of Constantine by William Holden Hutton. From W. H. Hutton, *Constantinople The Story of the Old Capital of the Empire* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1900), 37.

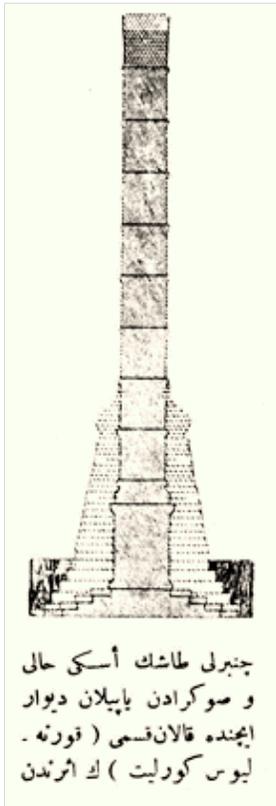


Figure 3. 9 A cross-section of the Column of Constantine by G. Gurlitt, republished by Celal Esad Arseven. From C. E. Arseven, *Eski Istanbul: Abidat ve Mebanisi* [Ancient Istanbul: Monuments and Buildings], (Istanbul, 1912). 183.

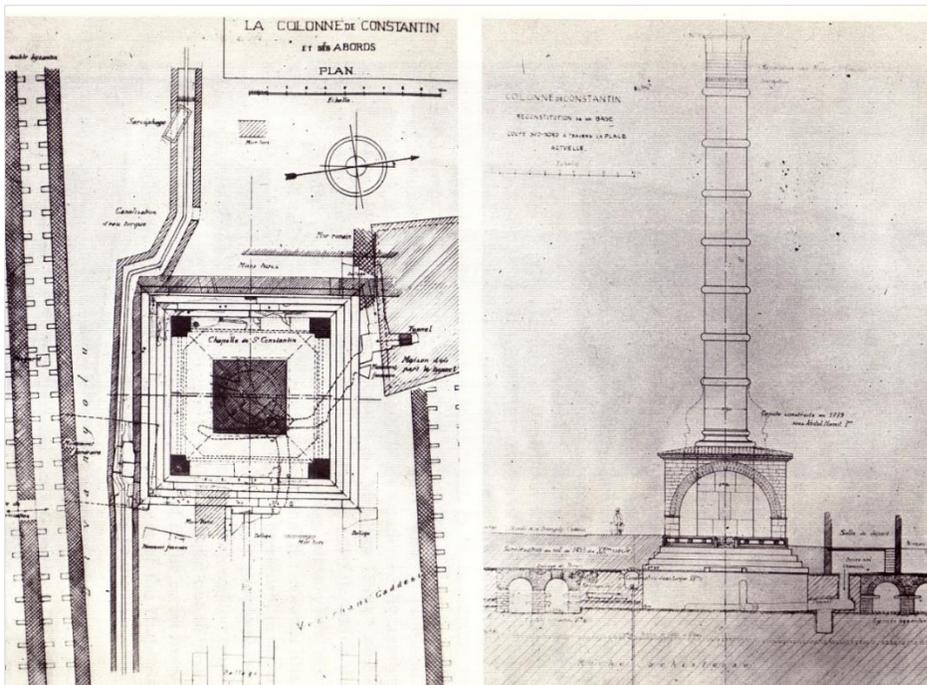


Figure 3. 10 The plan and the cross-sectional drawing of the understructure of the Column of Constantine by E. Mamboury and K. Vett. From Mango, *Studies*, IV, plate 18.

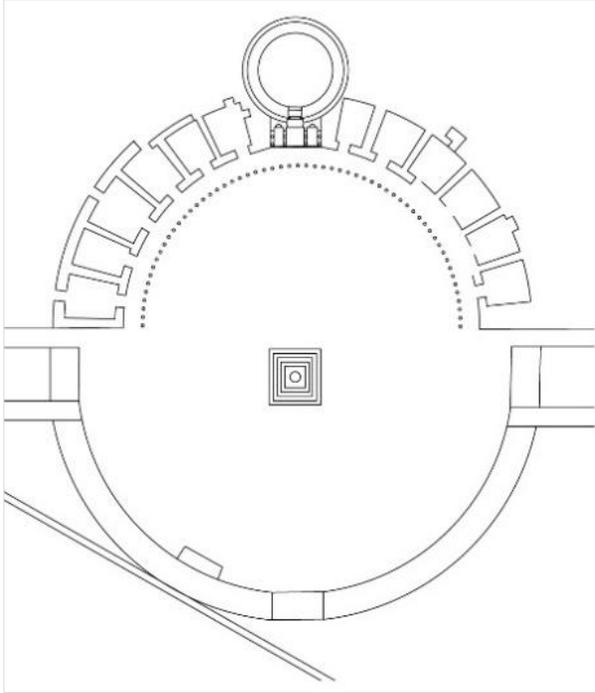


Figure 3. 11 Plan of the Forum of Constantine. Plan the author after Bauer, "Urban space and ritual," 31, figure 4, and the plan of Scythopolis's Palladius Street and the Sigma portico



Figure 3. 12 The base of the Obelisk of Theodosius, showing the transportation of the obelisk. Photo by the author.



a.

b.

Figure 3. 13 The reconstructions of the Column and the statue of Constantine

a. (as Apollo) by Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*. Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth, 1907-1912.

b. one of the latest reconstructions of the statue prepared by Tayfun Oner, Byzantium1200 project. <http://www.byzantium1200.com/forum-c.html>. (also published in Bardill, *Constantine*, 2011)

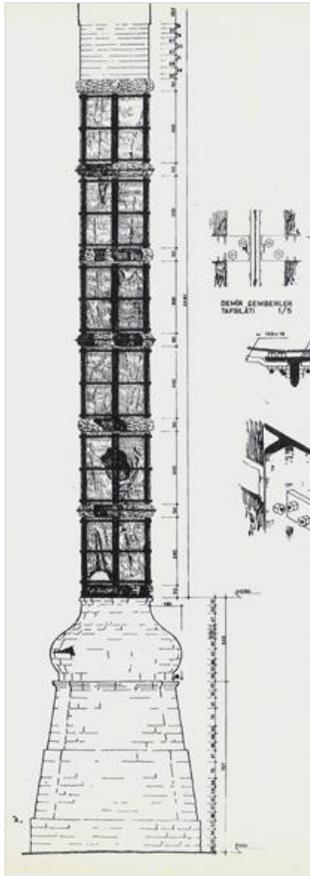


Figure 3. 14 The southwestern elevation of the Column of Constantine. From Aygen Bilge, "Cemberlitas ve Kiztasinin Onarimlari," *Mimarlik* 8 (1972): 61



Figure 3. 15 Spoliated pieces from the Column of Theodosius reused in the construction of the Baths of Beyazit, Istanbul. Photo by the author.



Figure 3. 16 Map of Constantinople 1479 by Giovanni Andreas di Vavassore, The O.J. Sopranos Collection.



Figure 3. 17 Remains of the Arch of Theodosius on Ordu Caddesi, showing the “tear-drop” or “peacock-eye” motif on the columns. Photo by the author.



Piece 1



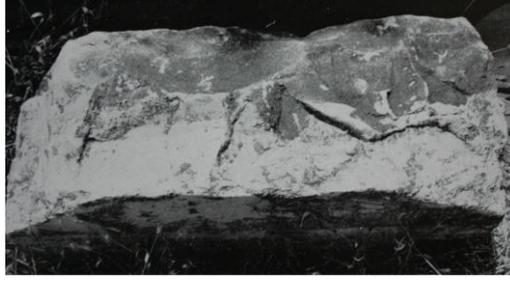
Piece 2



Piece 3



Piece 4



Piece 5



Piece 6



Piece 8



Piece 7 (Note the Christian sign on the shield)

Figure 3. 18 Pieces from the Column of Theodosius. From O. Ersin, *Istanbul Beyazit'taki Theodosius Forumu Gec Antik Donemden Osmanli Donemine Kadar Forum ve Yapilarinin Degisimi* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2007).



Figure 3. 19 The pedestal of the Column of Arcadius, Istanbul. Photo by the author.



Figure 3. 20 The view of the northern side. Photo by the author.



Figure 3. 21 The drawing of the piece from the spiral relief of the Column of Arcadius, Istanbul Archeology Museums. From G. Mendel *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines (Musees Imperiaux Ottomans) II* (Istanbul, 1914), 443, no 660.



Figure 3. 22 Upper two bands on the southwestern side of the Column of Arcadius by Melchior Lorichs, 1559. From C. B. Konrad, "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrahpasa - 'Arkadiossäule', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 51 (2001), 330.



Figure 3. 23 Partial image from Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Istanbul, Byzantium sive Costantineopolis, 1559. From F. Oberhummer, 1902. *Konstantinopel unter Suleiman dem Grosse, aufgenommen im Jahre 1559 durch Melchior Lorichs* (Münich, 1902), plate 12.

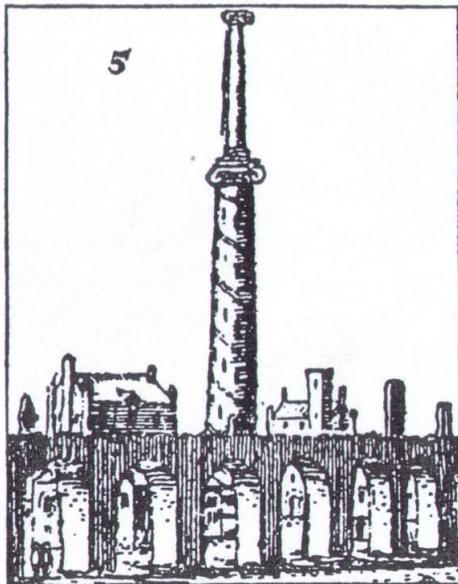


Figure 3. 24 The Column of Arcadius by Wilhelm Dilich, 1606. From C. B. Konrad, "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrahpasa - 'Arkadiossäule', *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 51 (2001), 33.

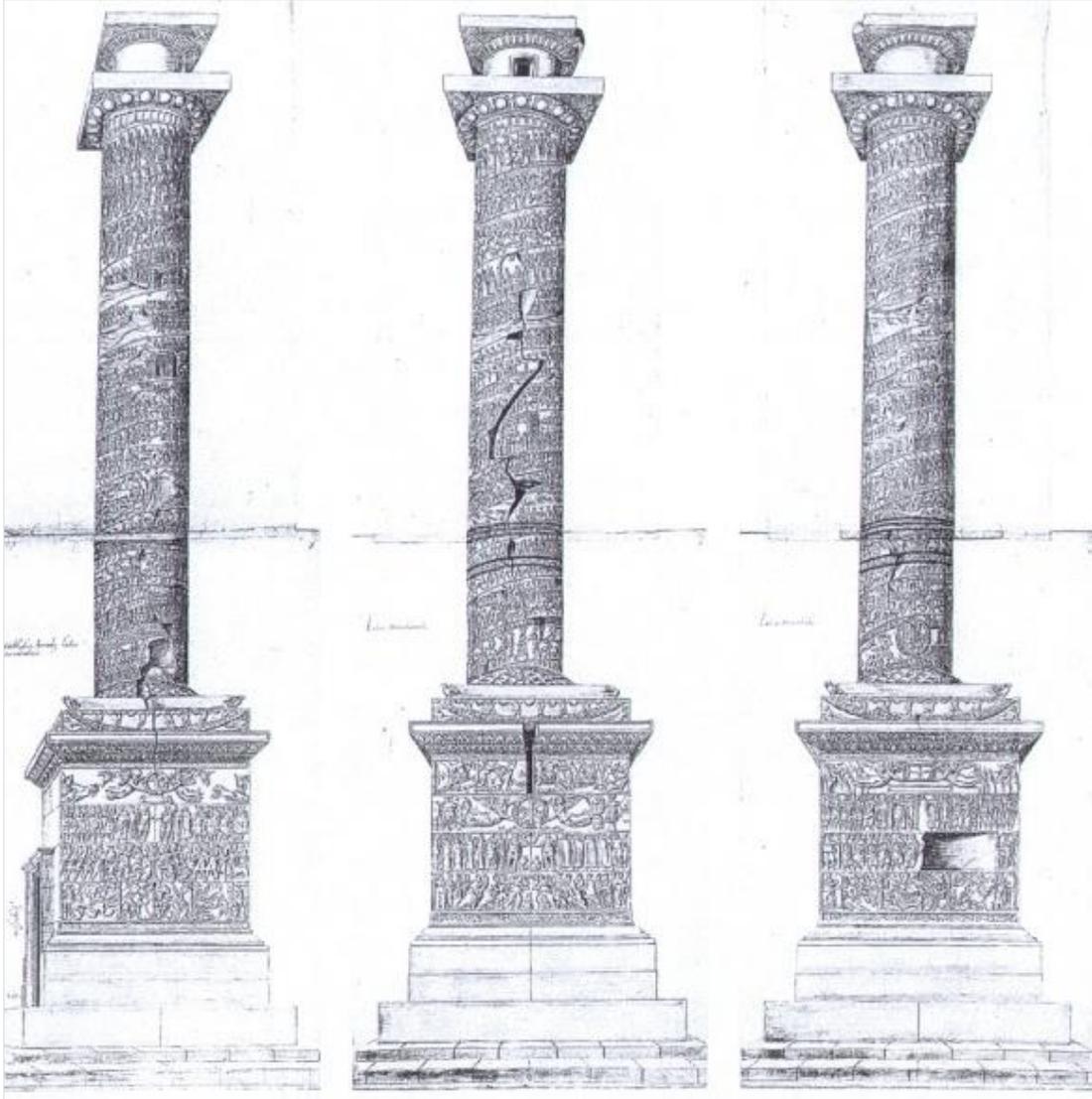


Figure 3. 25 "Freshfield Album," 1574. From left to right, northwestern side, southern side, eastern side of the Column. From C. B. Konrad, "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrahpasa - 'Arkadiossäule', *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 51 (2001), 329.

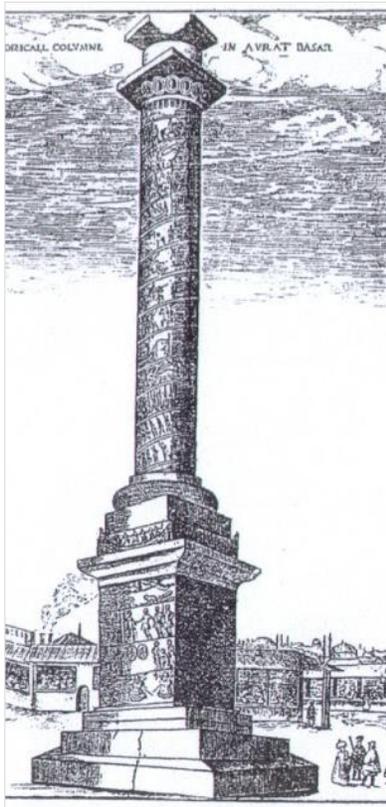


Figure 3. 26 The Column of Arcadius by George Sandys, 1610. From C. B. Konrad, "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrahpasa 'Arkadiossäule', *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 51 (2001), 332.



Figure 3. 27 Market place in Ottoman Istanbul, miniature from Codex Cicogna, Venice, 1649. From Kuban, *Istanbul Bir Kent Tarihi* (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayinlari, 2004), 193.

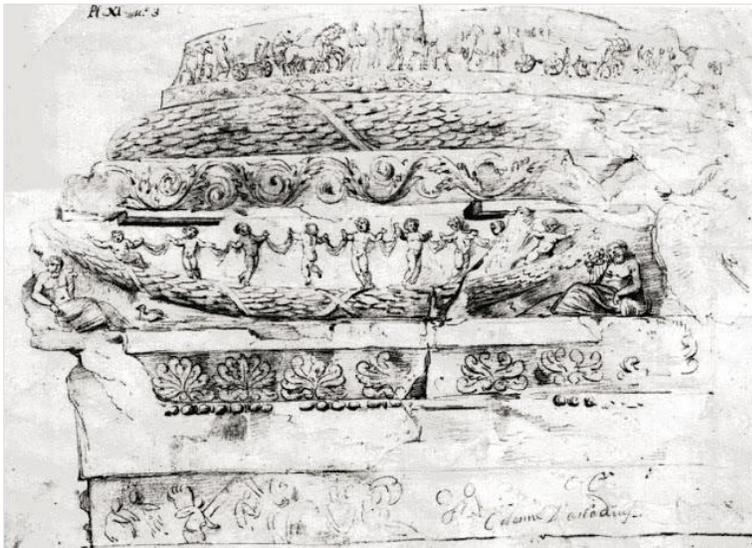


Figure 3. 28 Drawings of the base of the Column of Arcadius by L. Cassas in 1784. From C. B. Konrad, "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrahpasa - 'Arkadiossäule,'" *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 51 (2001), 3323.

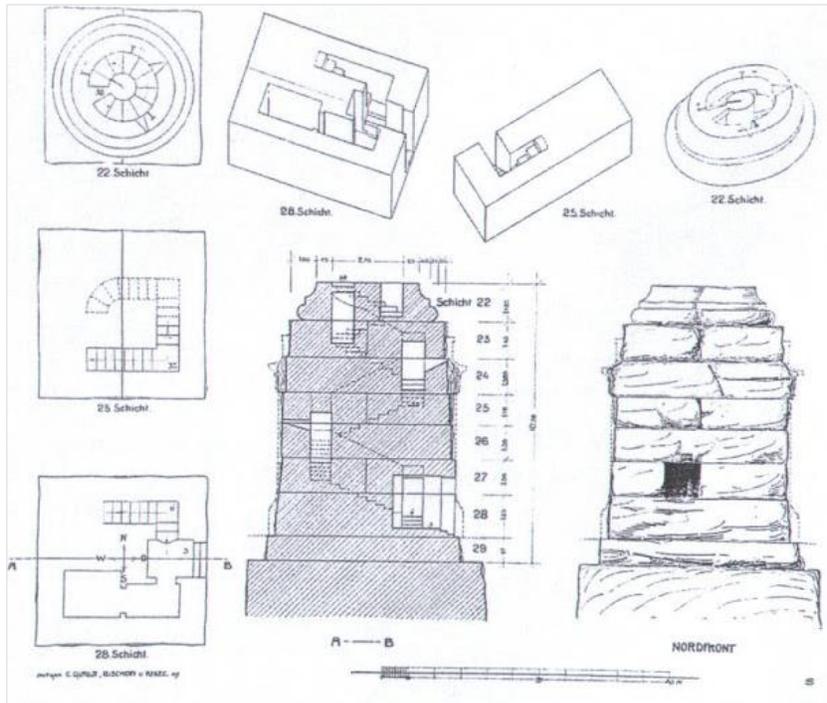


Figure 3. 29 Plan and section of the base of the Column of Arcadius by C. Gurlitt 1912, published in Konrad, 334, figure 10c.



Figure 3. 30 The *chrismon* with the apocalyptic Alpha and Omega inscribed on the ceiling of the vestibule, by J. Strzygowski, published in Konrad, 361, figure 34a

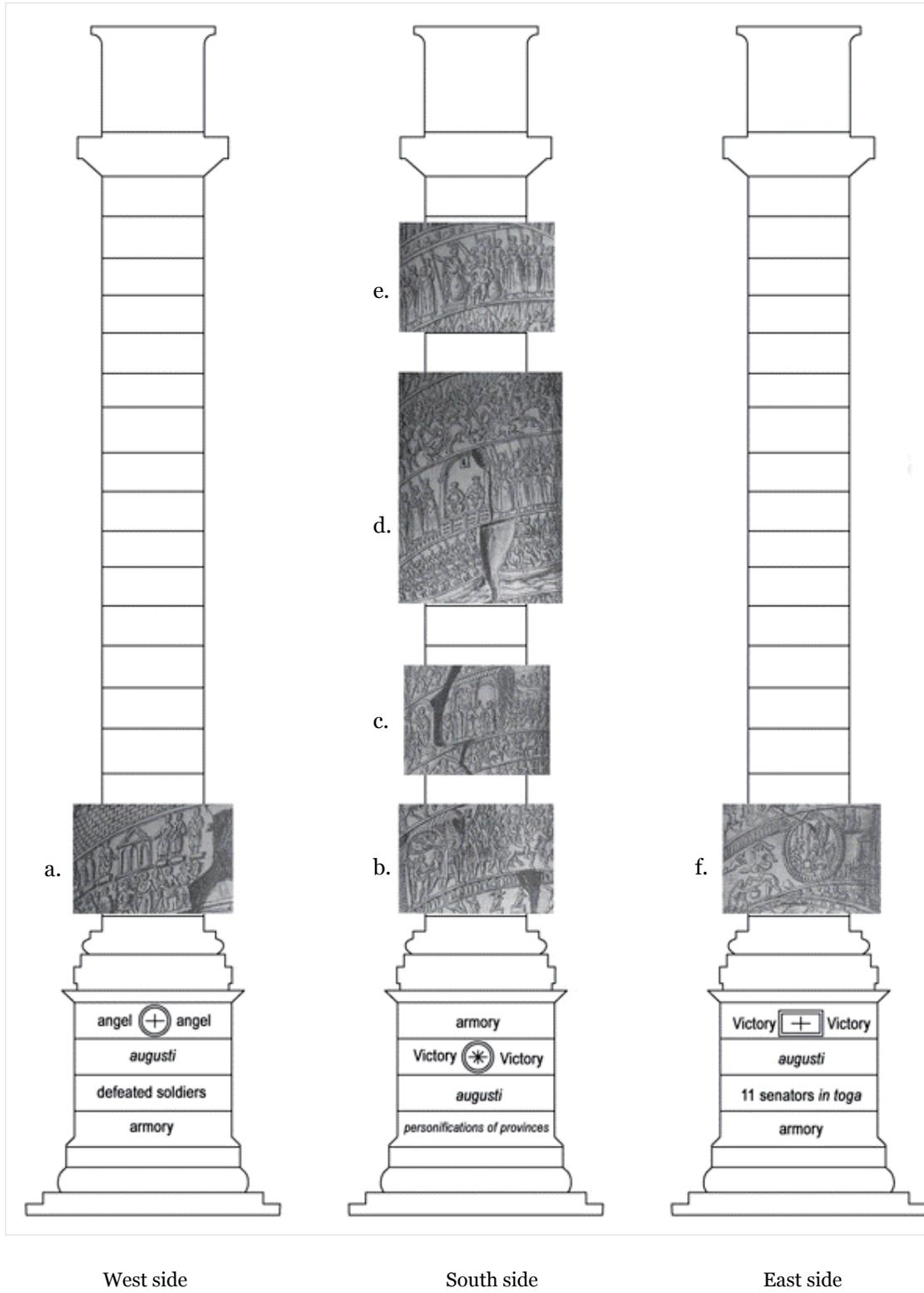
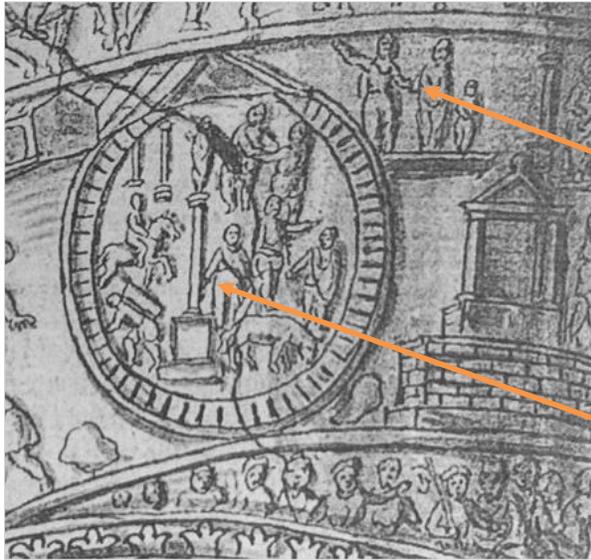


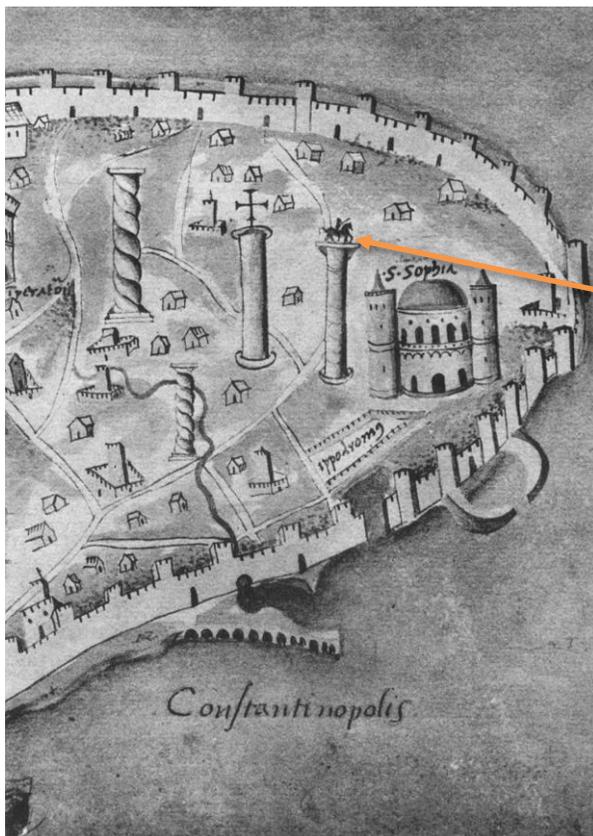
Figure 3. 31 Diagram showing the relief composition of the Column of Arcadius. Image by the author based on the *Freshfield Album* drawings.



The father pointing at  
the Column of  
Constantine

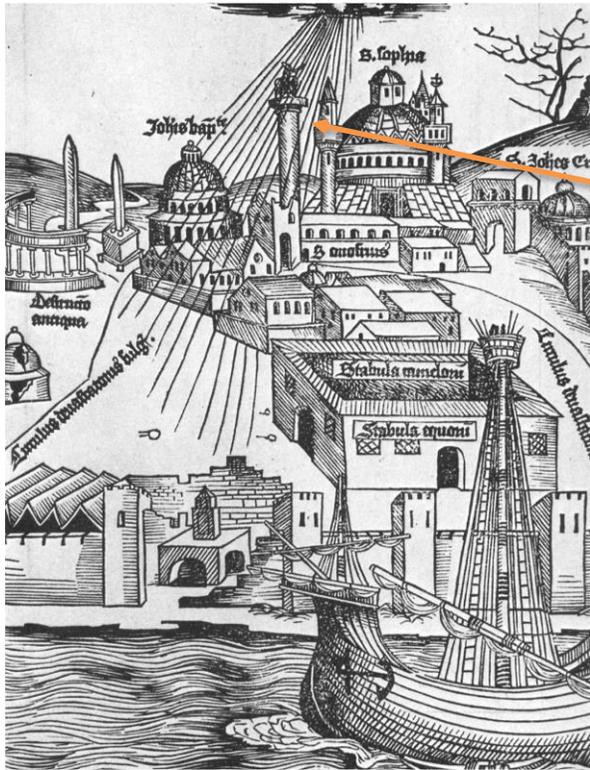
The Column of  
Constantine

Figure 3. 32 The relief showing the Forum of Constantine, found on the eastern side of the Column of Arcadius. From *Freshfield Album* drawings.



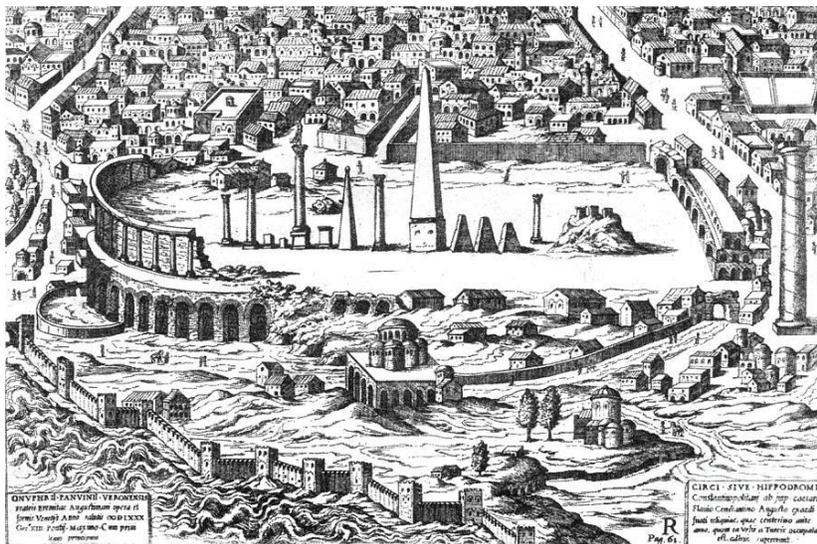
The Column of Justinian

Figure 3. 33 View of Constantinople, detail (From Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*). Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS Lat. C1. x, 123, fol. 22r



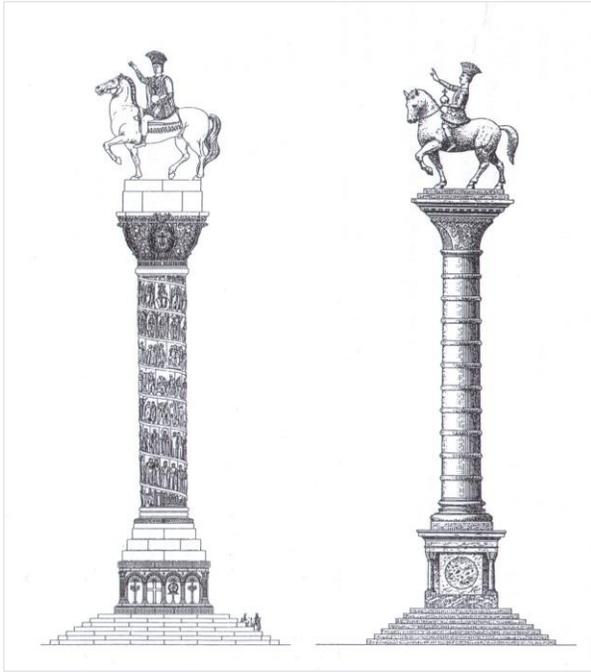
The Column of Justinian

Figure 3. 34 The Latin and German editions of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* printed in Nuremberg in 1493



The Column of Justinian

Figure 3. 35 O. Panvino's view of the Hippodrome (without the stepped socle and equestrian statue) Onofrio Panvino in his work *De Ludis Circensibus* printed in Venice in 1600.



a.



b.

Figure 3. 36 a. E. M. Antoniades and C. Gurlitt published two different reconstructions of the Column of Justinian. b. The reconstruction of the Column of Justinian by Tayfun Oner <http://www.byzantium1200.com/justinia.html>.



Figure 3. 37 Budapest University Library, MS 35, fol. 144v



Figure 3. 38 The column of Marcian, Fatih, Istanbul. Photo by the author.



a.



b.



c.

Figure 3. 39 a, b. Two sides of the Column of Marcian, c. The reconstruction of the base of the Column of Marcian by Tayfun Oner, *Byzantium1200* project. <http://www.byzantium1200.com/marcianos.html>.



Figure 3. 40 The Column of Goths, Gulhane Park, Istanbul. Photo by the author.



Figure 3. 41 The Gardens of the Seraglio with European visitors inspecting the Column of the Goths, Constantinople, about 1800-1820, by M. Francois Preaulx. From C. Newton, *Images of the Ottoman Empire* (Victoria & Albert Museum, 2007), 34.



Figure 3. 42 The reconstruction of the Column of Marcian by Tayfun Oner, *Byzantium1200* project. <http://www.byzantium1200.com/leo.html>



Figure 3. 43 The Column of Julian, Ankara. Photo by the author.

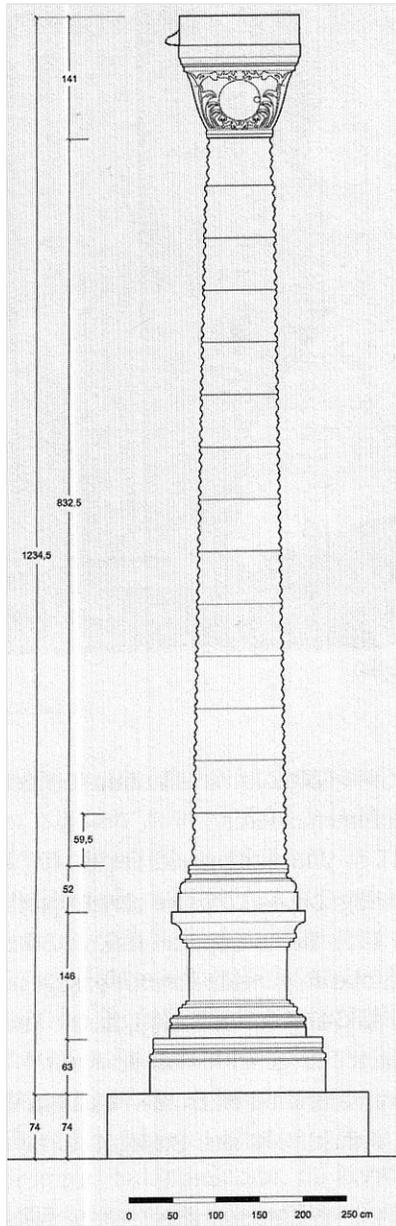


Figure 3. 44 The restitution drawing of the Column of Julian by M. Kadioğlu. From M. Kadioğlu, “Column of Belkiz (So-called Julian? Column),” in *Roman Ancyra* eds. M. Kadioğlu et.al. (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2011), 227.

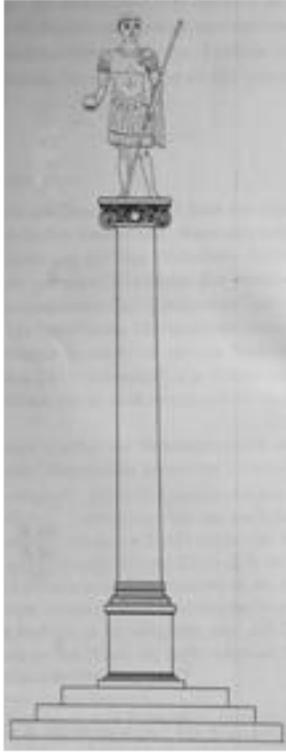


Figure 3. 45 The reconstruction of the columnar monument at the western gate of the Lower Agora by Jobst. From W. Jobst, "Ein Spätantikes Säulenmonument in Ephesos," *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 39 (1989): 277, fig.82.

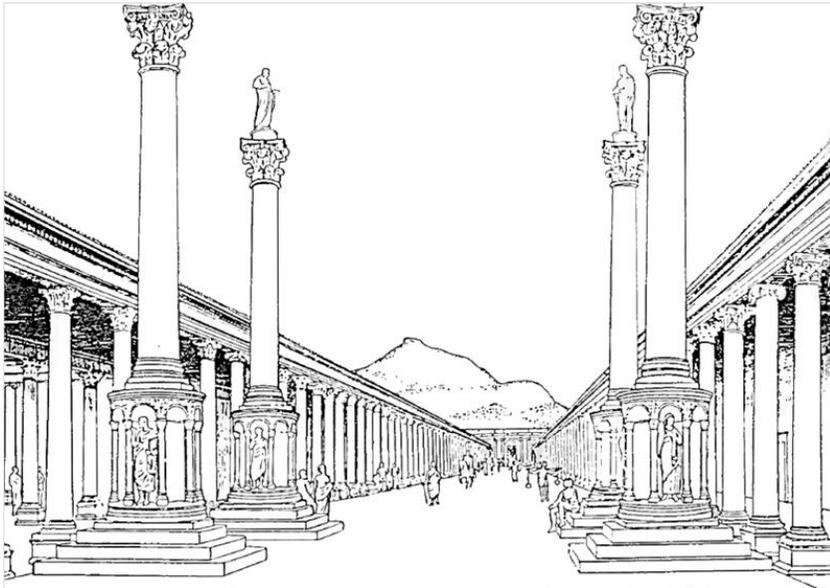


Figure 3. 46 The reconstruction of the four-column monument in the sixth century. From W. Wilberg and R. Heberdey, "Der Viersäulenbau auf der Arkadianestrass," *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Bd. I) (Österreichisches Archaeologisches Institut, 1906).



Figure 3. 47 The Column of Phocas, Roman Forum, Rome. Photo by the author.



Figure 3. 48 Digital reconstruction of the Colum of Phocas, UCLA Experiential Technologies Center 2005 © Regents University of California

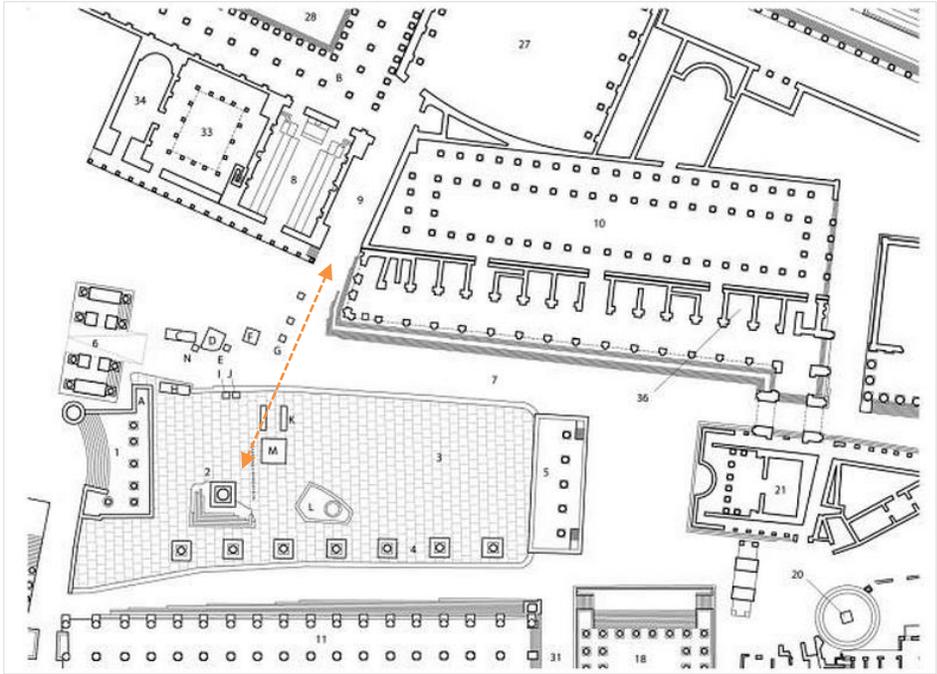


Figure 3. 49 Plan of the Roman Forum in 400 AD. Number 9 is the Argiletum, Number 2 is the Column of Phocas and K is the travertine supports for the “Arch” of Honorius. From G. Kalas. *The Restoration of the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity: Transforming Public Space* (University of Texas Press, 2015), 24, plan 1.1



Figure 4. 1 The reconstruction of the Mese by Celal Esad Arseven. From Celal Esad, *Constantinople de Byzance á Stamboul*, (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909), 121.

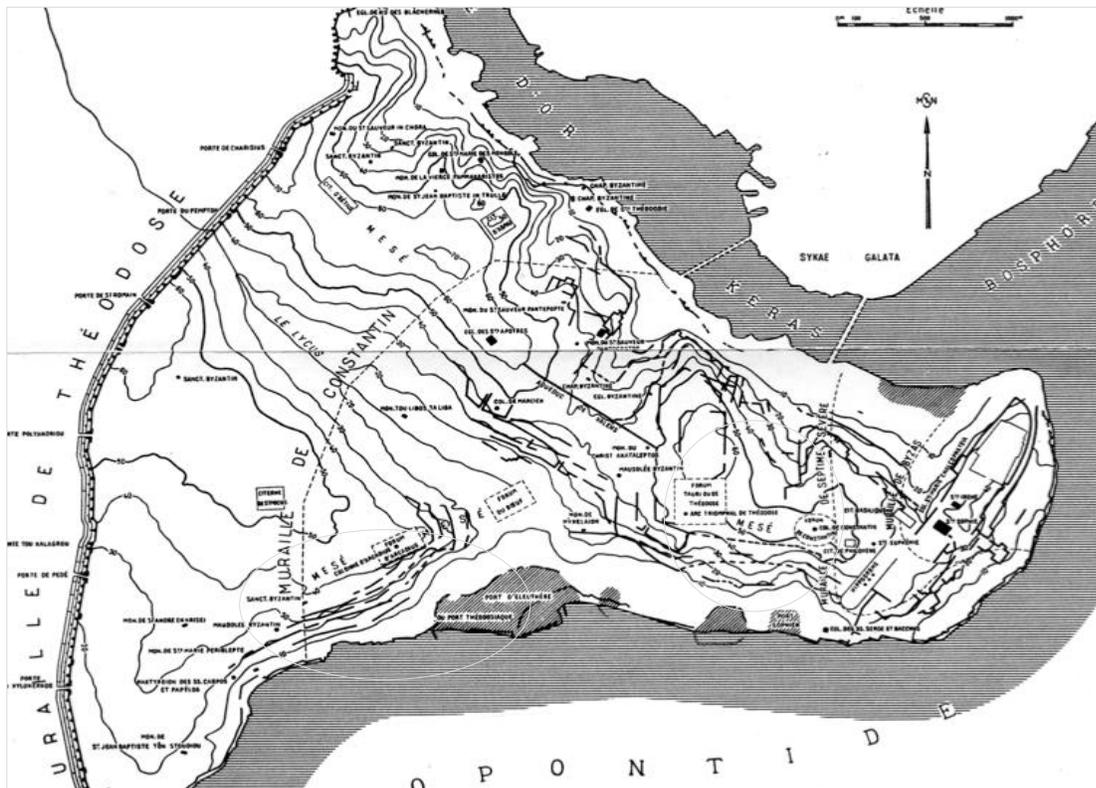


Figure 4. 2 Terraces in Constantinople (after Janin 1964). From R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris 1964)





Figure 4. 4 The 1/2000 scale model displayed in World city Istanbul exhibition. Photo by the author



Figure 4. 5 In-situ columns within the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Külliyesi. From K. Dark and F. Özgümiş, *Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Survey. Project Report 1998* (The Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, London, 1999).



Figure 4. 6 Remains of a portico, as situated inside the basement of a modern building on the course of the Mese. From F. Özgümüş, "İstanbul Yüzey Arastirmalari," 6. *Arastırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 1-2/Ankara, 26-30 Mayıs 2008* (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2009), 10.

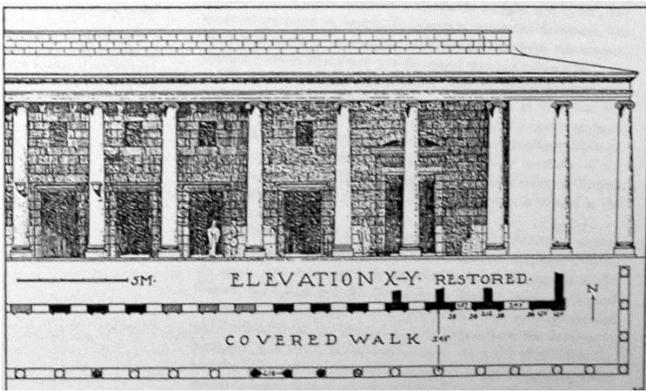


Figure 4. 7 Suggested reconstruction of the colonnaded avenue of Bosra. From A. Segal, *From Function to Monument: Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia* (Exeter: The Short Run Press, 1997), 25.

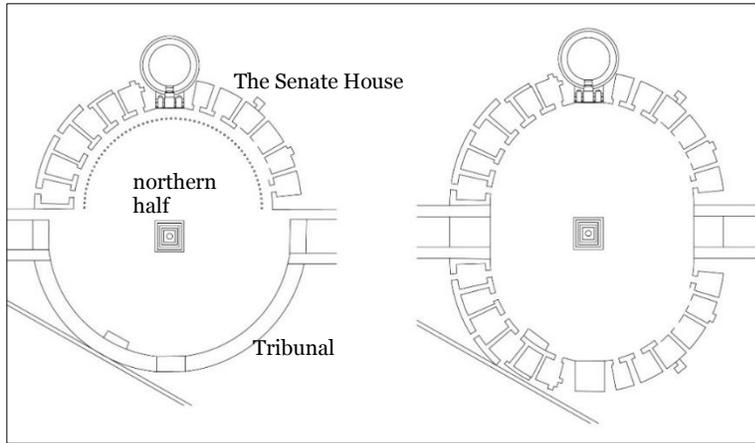


Figure 4. 8 The circular porticoes on both sides of the Forum. Image by the author.

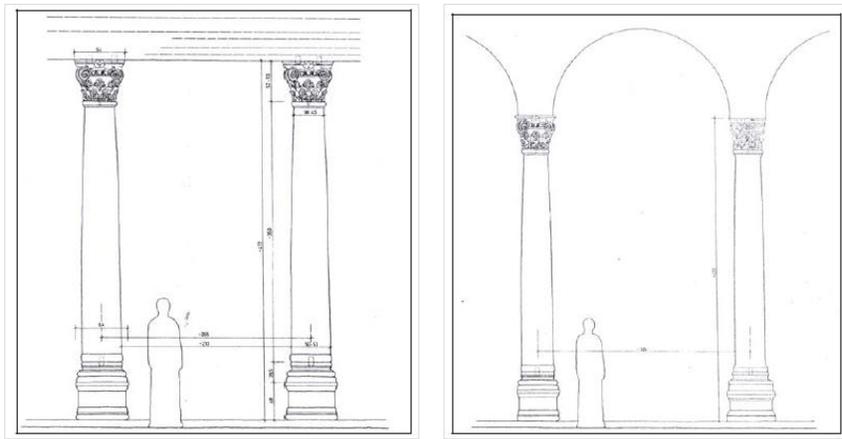


Figure 4. 9 Two phases of the colonnades of the Arcadian Street in Ephesus. From P. Gelnhausen-Hailer Schneider, "Bauphasen Der Arkadiane," in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten Des Symposiums*, eds. H. Friesinger and F., Krinzinger (Vienna: Verlag Der Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, Wien 1995), plate 1 and 2

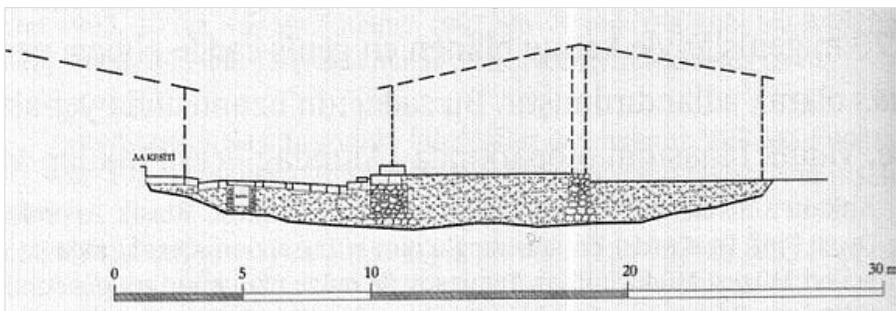


Figure 4. 10 The proposed section for the *cardo maximus* of the Roman Ancyra by Kadioğlu. From M. Kadioğlu et al. eds. *Roman Ancyra* (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2011), 144, fig.70.

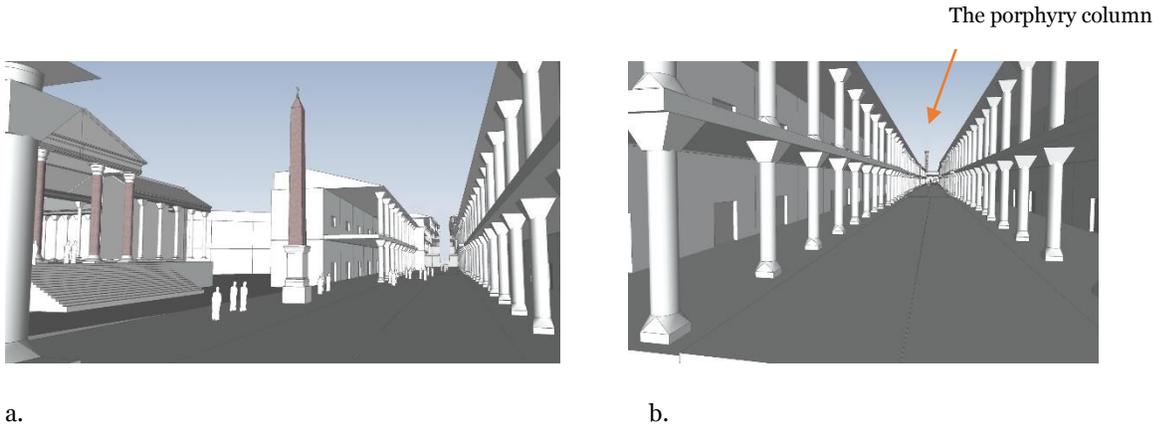


Figure 4.11 a. The view towards the Forum of Constantine from the Philadelphion b. The view towards the Forum of Constantine from the third hill. Digital model by the author.

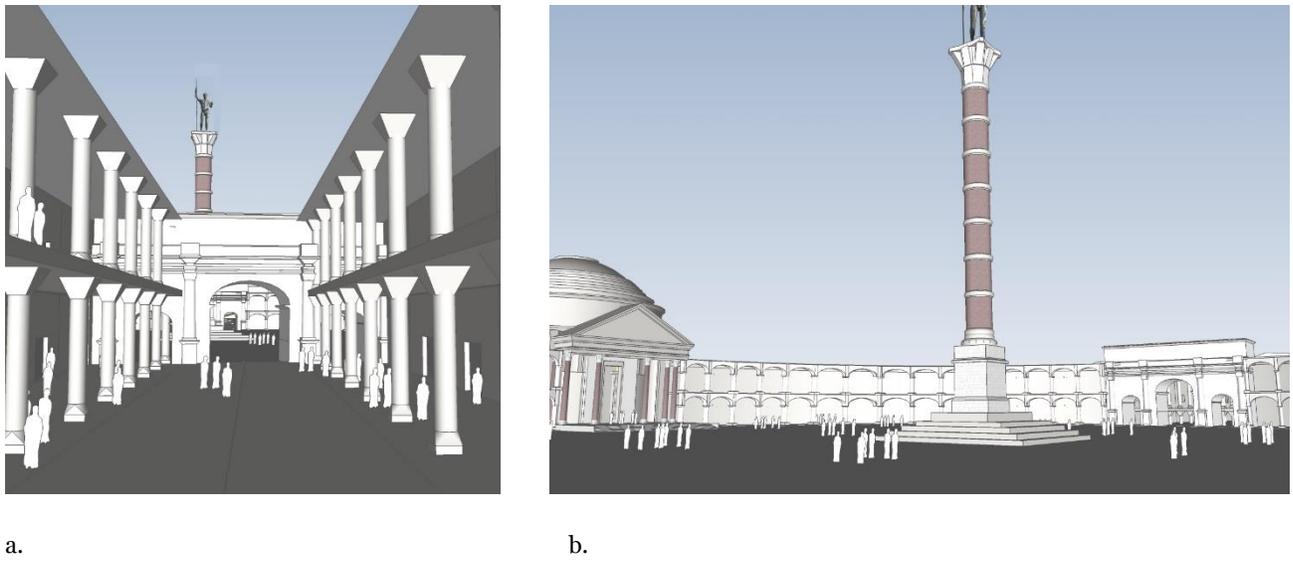


Figure 4.12 a. The towering column while approaching the Forum of Constantine b. The Forum of Constantine viewed inside the Forum.

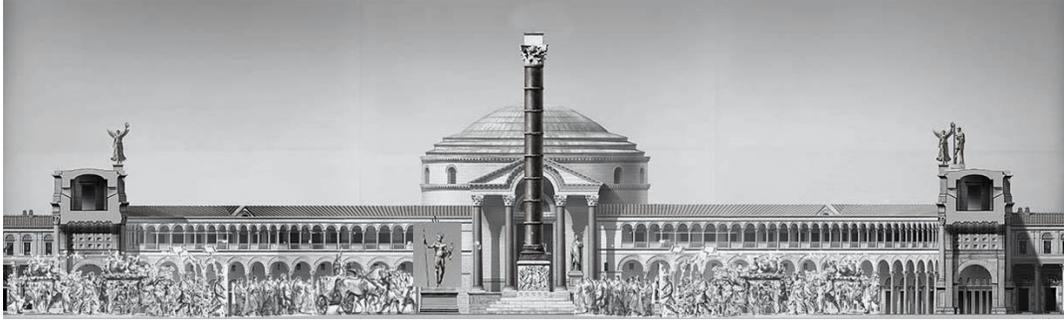


Figure 4. 13 The processional scene with the statue situated next to the base of the Column. Image by the author.

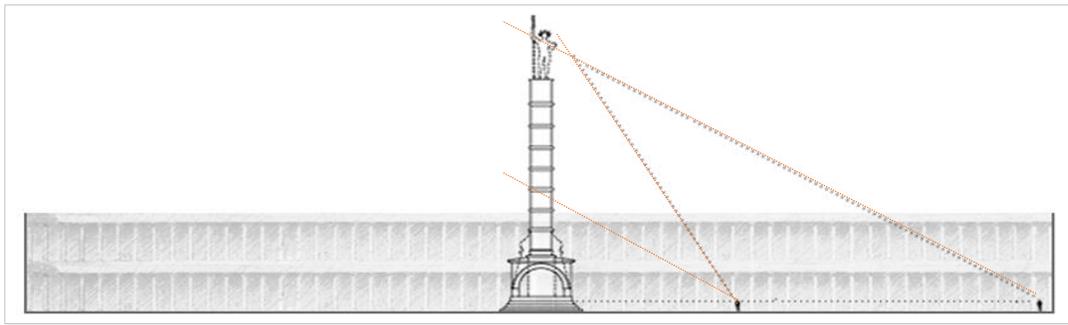


Figure 4. 14 The section of the Forum of Constantine. Image by the author.

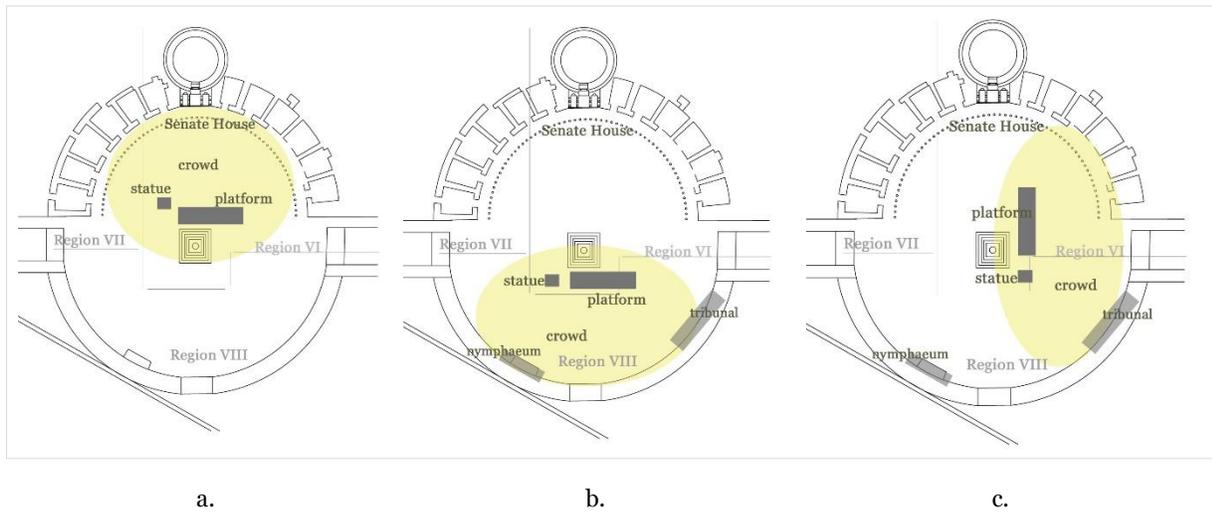


Figure 4. 15 Diagram showing the Forum of Constantine. Image by the author.

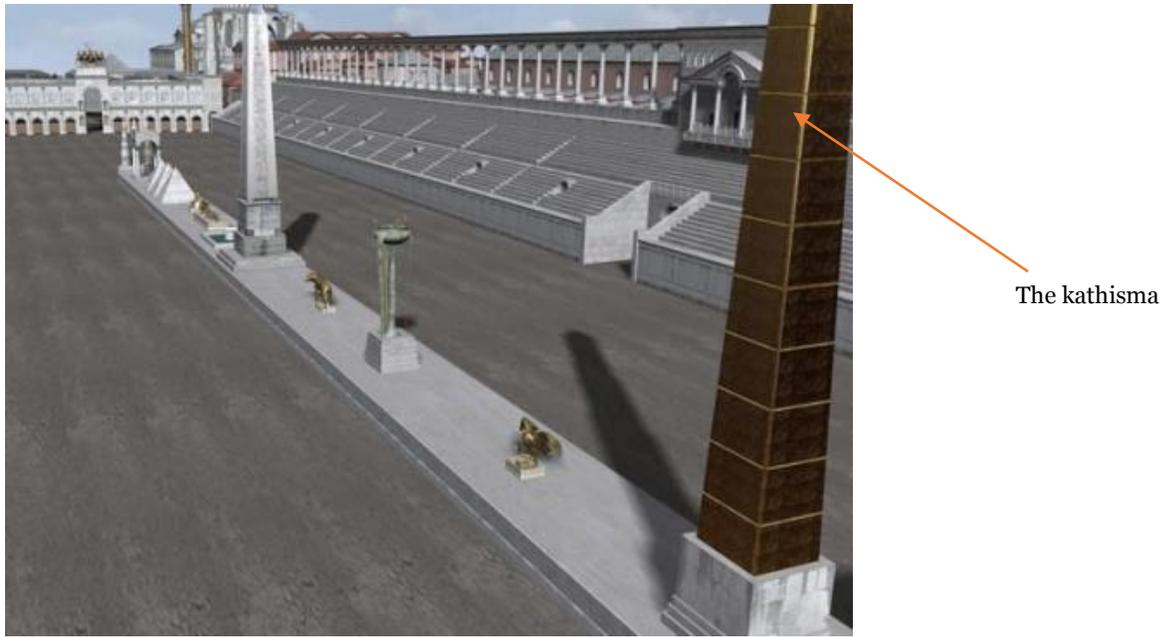


Figure 4. 16 The imperial box placed at the uppermost level of the southeastern seating of the Hippodrome. Digital model by Tayfun Oner, Byzantium1200 project.

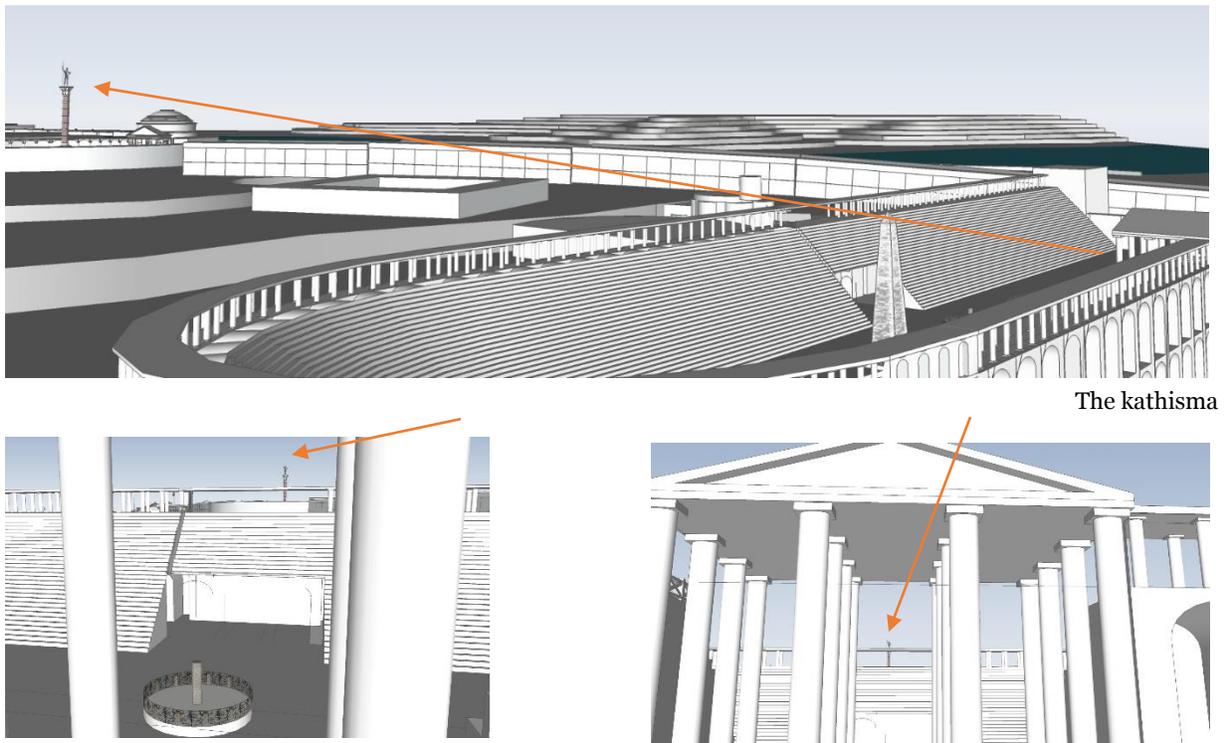


Figure 4. 17 Viewshed analysis looking from the kathisma to the Column of Constantine

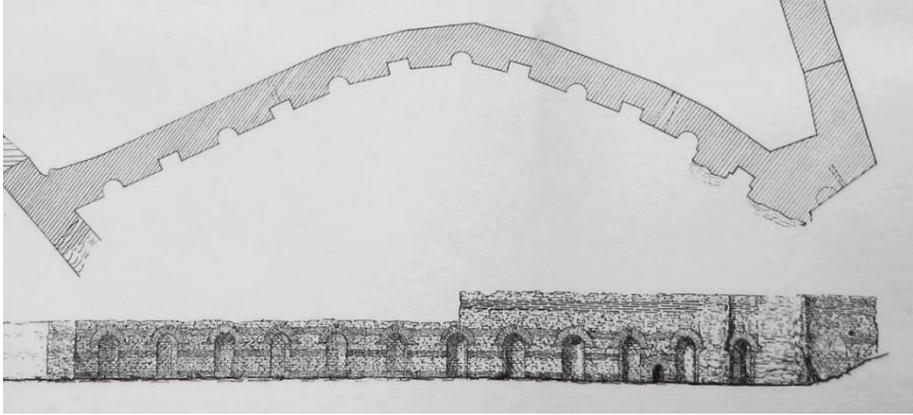
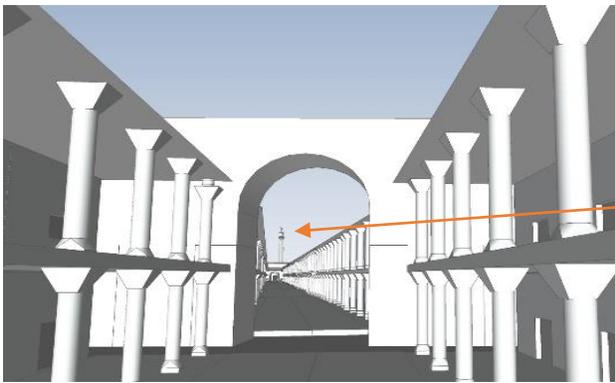
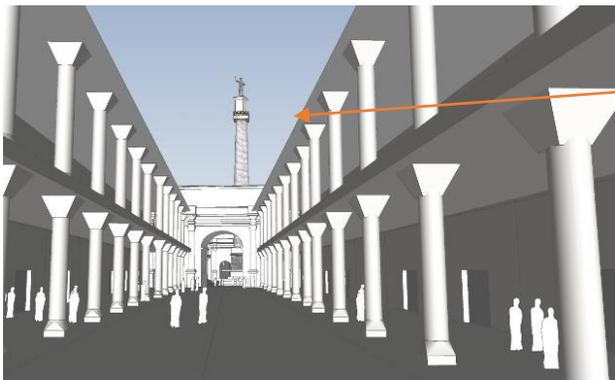


Figure 4. 18 The reconstruction of the Tribunal in Hebdomon. From: R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris 1945), p.9, fig. 4, pl. I, II.



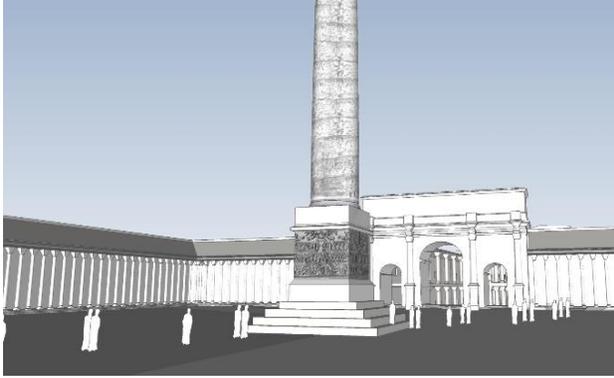
The Column of Arcadius

a.

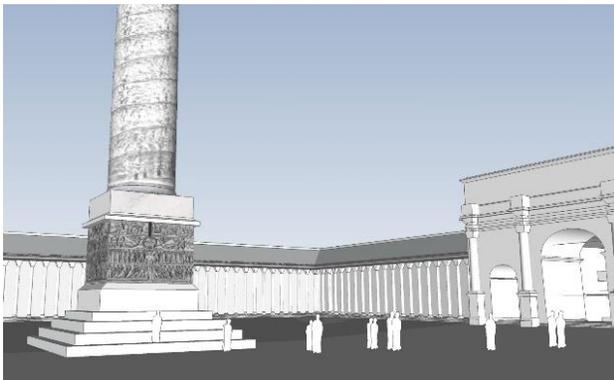


The Column of Arcadius

b.

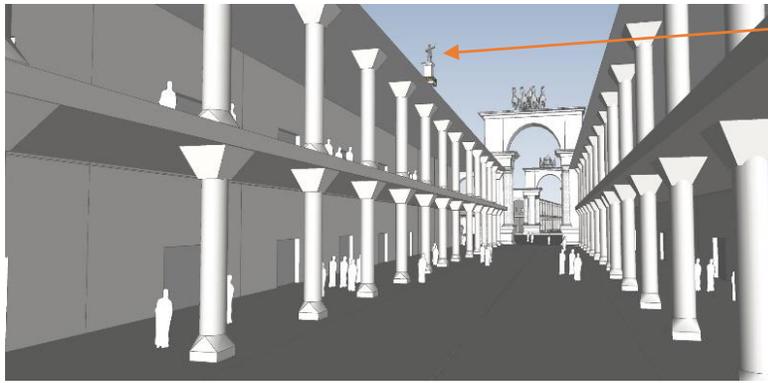


c.

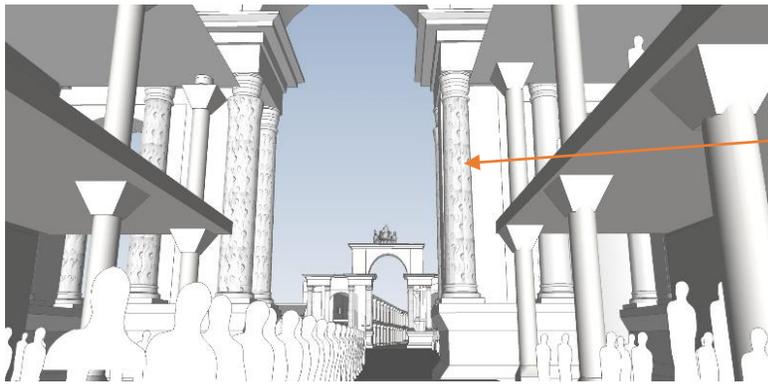


d.

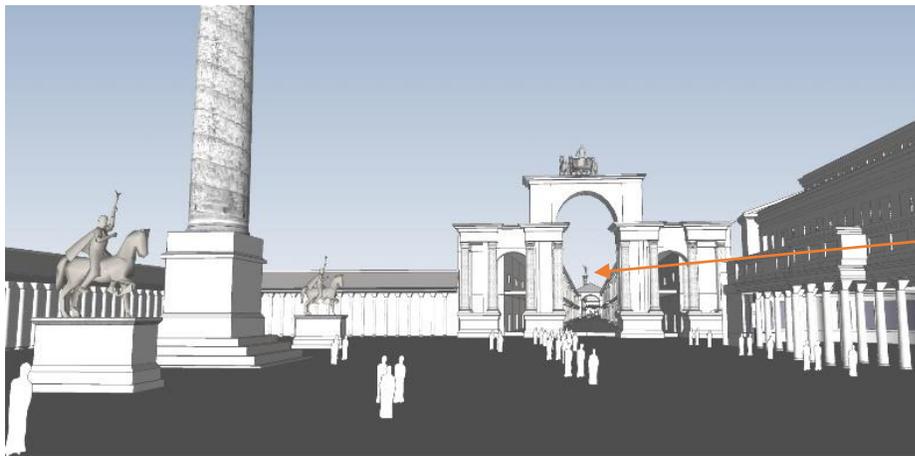
Figure 4. 19 a. The view from the Old Golden Gate. b. The view close to the entrance arch of the Forum of Arcadius c. The view from inside the Forum of Arcadius d. The southern (main) side of the Column embellished with a cross.



The Column of Theodosius

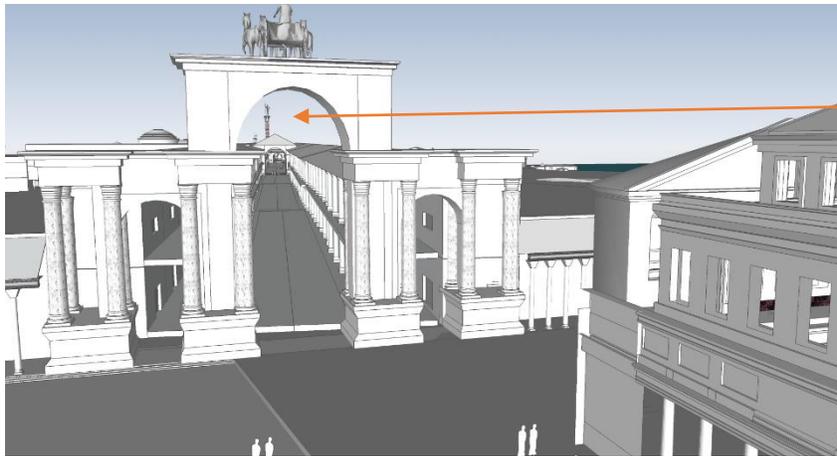


The Arch of Theodosius

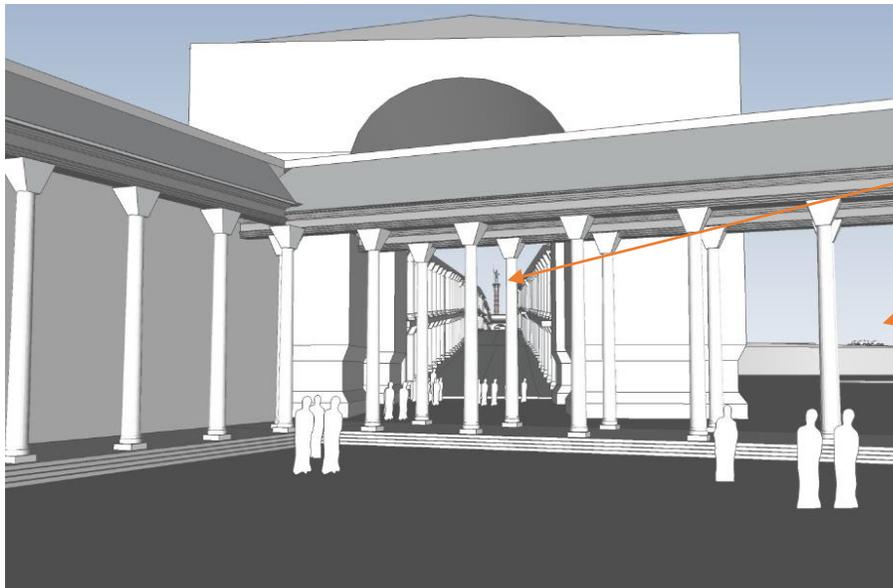
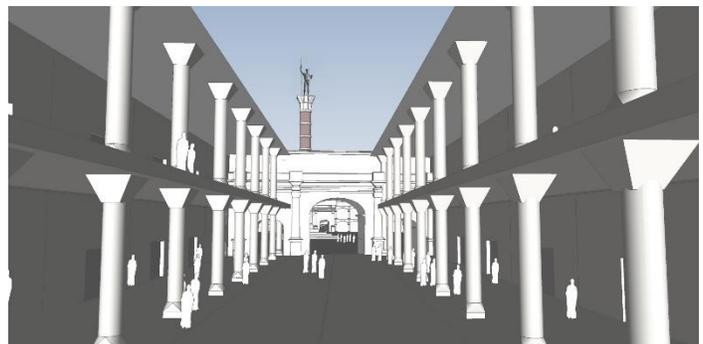


The Column of Constantine

Figure 4. 20 Views from the Forum of Theodosius a. approaching the Forum along the Mese, b. View under the Arch of Theodosius, c. View from the main space of the Forum towards the Forum of Constantine



The Column of  
Constantine



The Column of  
Constantine

Holy Apostles

Figure 4. 21 Views to and from the Forum of Constantine. a. Looking from the Forum of Theodosius towards the Forum of Constantine, b. Looking towards the Forum of Constantine under the Tetrapylon, c. Approaching the Forum of Constantine, d. Looking back to the Forum under the arches of the Milion and Augusteion.

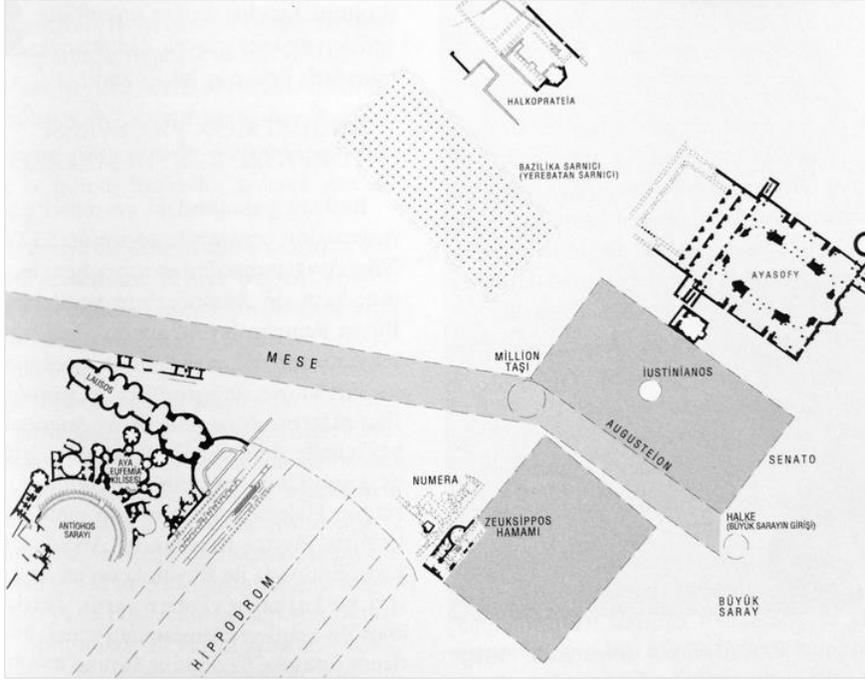


Figure 4. 22 The Augusteion and the surrounding archaeological remains. From D. Kuban, *Istanbul Bir Kent Tarihi* (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2004), 73.



Figure 4. 23 View of the Augusteion, Digital model by Tayfun Oner, *Byzantium1200* project. <http://www.byzantium1200.com/augustaion.html>



Figure 4. 24 The reconstruction of the Augusteion.

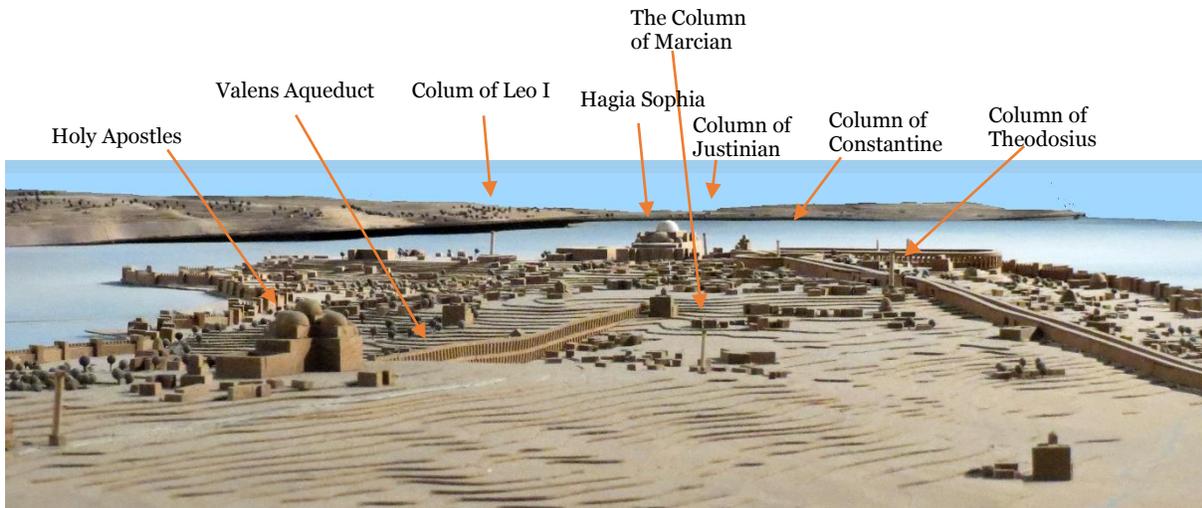


Figure 4. 25 Justinian's view. Photo by the author taken from the 1:2000 model of Istanbul in 1200, World city Istanbul exhibition, 2015, Istanbul.

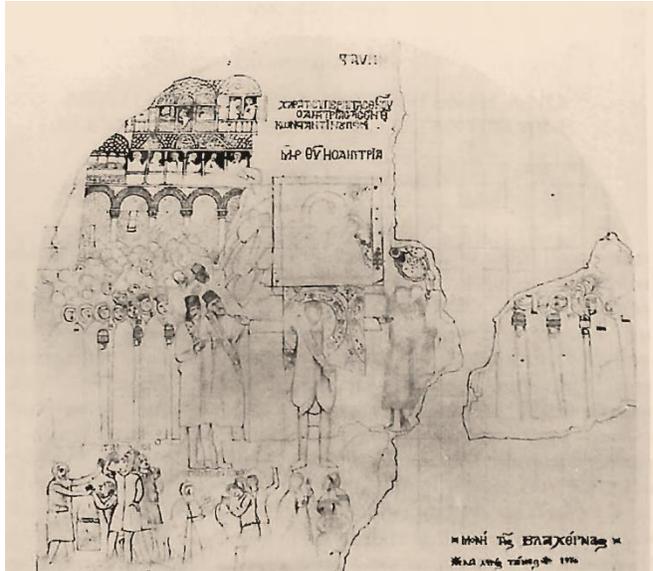


Figure 4. 26 Detail of drawing of a wall painting near Arta of a forum at Constantinople, 13<sup>th</sup> century. From; M. Mundell Mango, "The Porticoed Street at Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoglu (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 2001), 51.



Figure 4. 27 The view from the Forum of Constantine to the Augusteion. Digital model by the author.

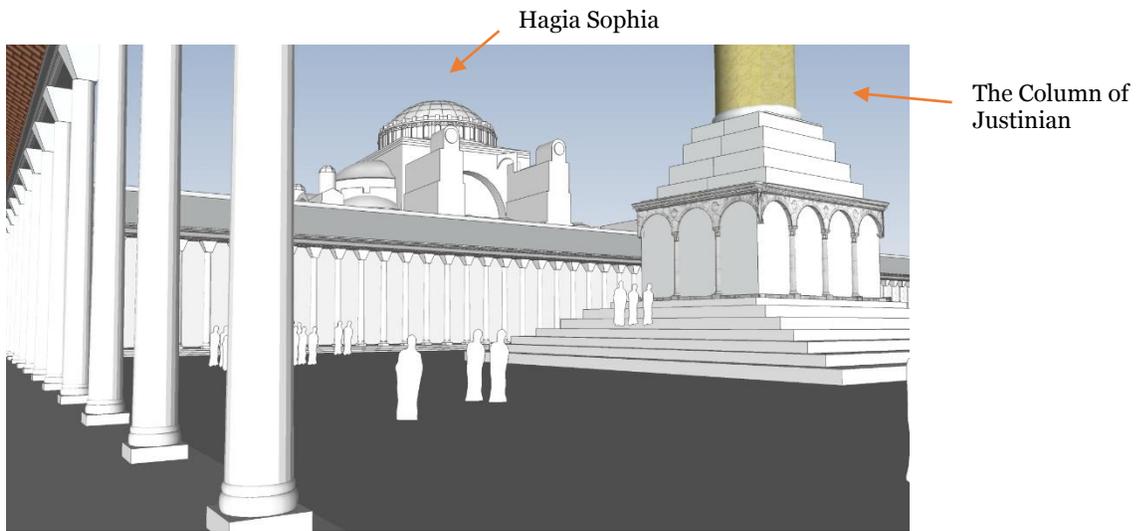


Figure 4. 28 The view entering the Augusteion from the Milion

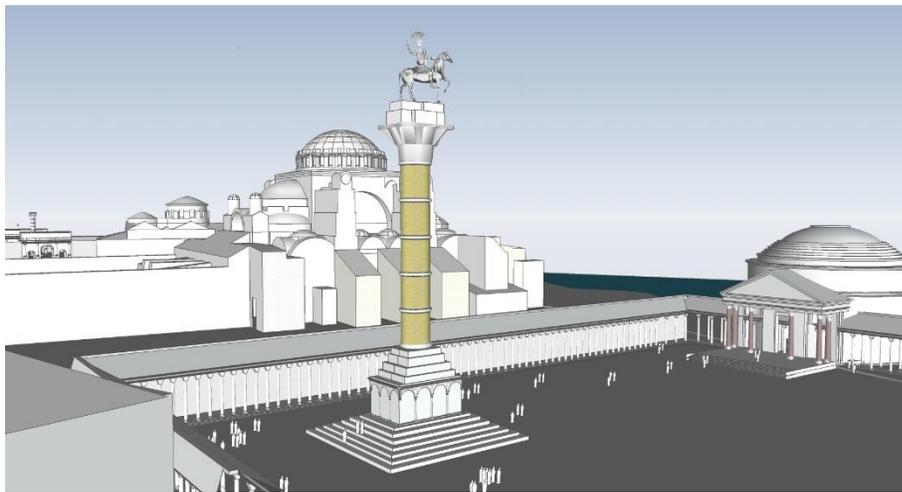


Figure 4. 29 The view of the Hagia Sophia and the Column of Justinian

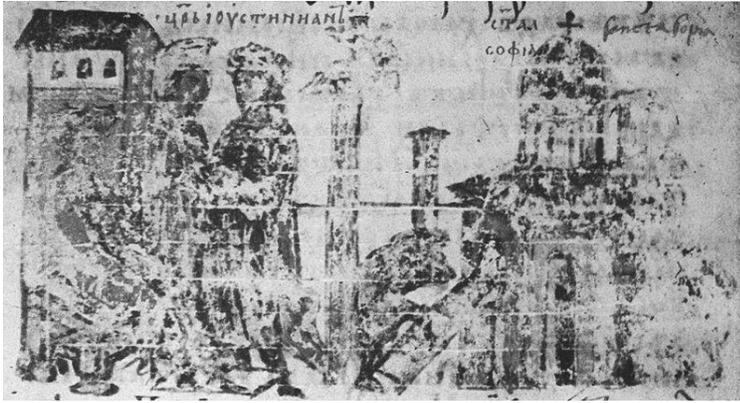
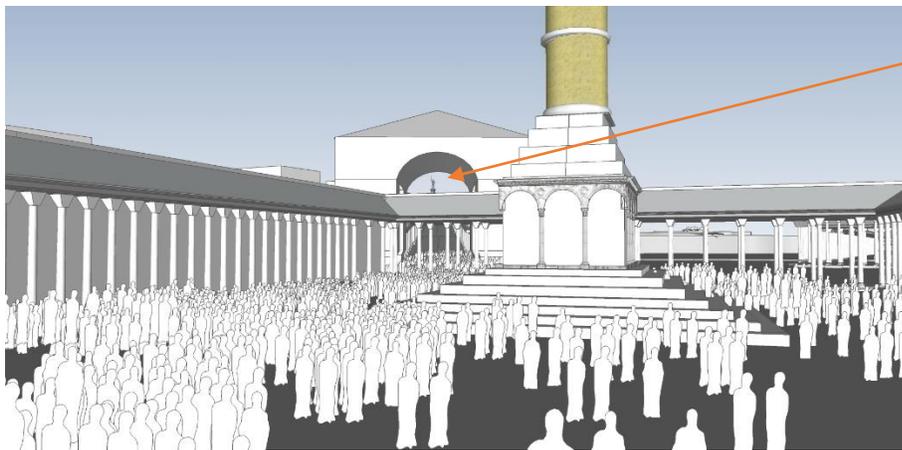


Figure 4. 30 The Vatican manuscript of the Bulgarian translation of Manasses' Chronicle showing Justinian supervising the construction of the Hagia Sophia. The Column and the equestrian statue of Justinian is visible in the miniature. From A. Cutler, "The De Signis of Nicetas Choniates. A Reappraisal," *American Journal of Archaeology* 72: 2 (1968), plate 41.



The Column of Constantine

Figure 4. 31 Crowd in Augusteion. The Column of Constantine is visible far back.

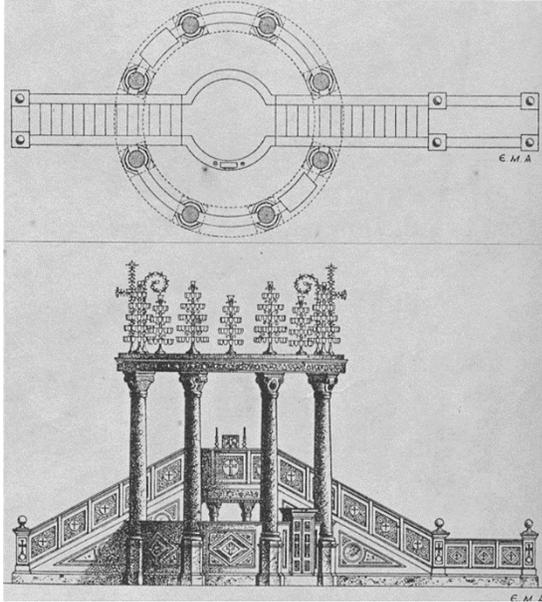


Figure 5. 1 The reconstruction of the ambo of Hagia Sophia by A. Antoniadis. From: Stephen G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *The Art Bulletin* 29: 1 (Mar., 1947), fig.30

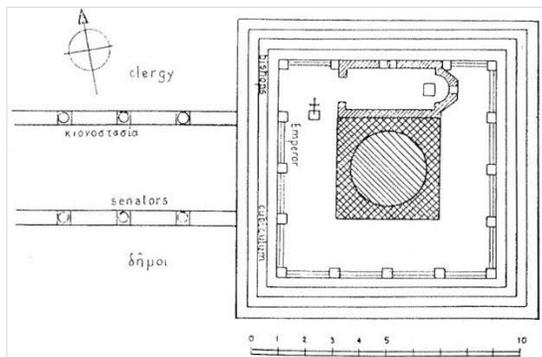


Figure 5. 2 The reconstruction of the Chapel of Constantine by Cyril Mango. From: C. Mango, *Studies IV*, 108.

The Column of  
Diocletian



Figure 5. 3 A seventeenth-century engraving of *Alexandria*, 1687. From *Louis XIV et son projet de conquête d'Istanbul / XIV. Louis ve Istanbul'u Fetih Tasarısı* (Türk Tarih Kurumu (la Société d'Histoire turque) Ankara, 2004), plate 8.



Figure 5. 4 The skyline of Ottoman Istanbul used for a video game, *Assassin's Creed*

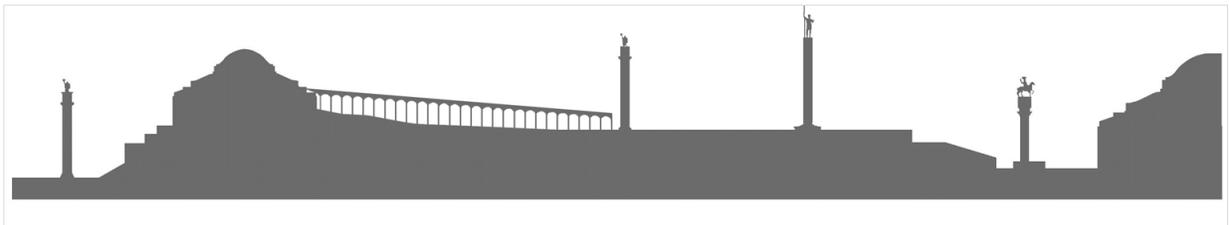


Figure 5. 5 The hypothetical skyline. Image by the author.



Figure 5. 6 The cover page of the Notitia Dignitatum, Bodleian Library. Canon. Misc. Gr. 378, fol. 84r, produced in 1436 for Pietro Donato, Bishop of Padua, both text and pictures derive ultimately from the late Roman original.

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