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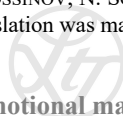
NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE *TABULA PEUTINGERIANA* II*

Michael Rathmann

Abstract: This contribution on the Tabula Peutingeriana (TP) first outlines and analyses the known hypotheses of its genesis. Furthermore, the TP is briefly placed within the general context of ancient cartography. Both are intended to provide a concise overview for newcomers to the subject as a kind of “yield of research”. The main part of the study focuses on individual facets of the TP that have not been discussed in research up to now, or only to a limited extent. These are the mountains in South Africa, the Alps including the Vosges and Black Forest, the various traces of revision on the TP from different time periods, its itinerary entries and its anachronisms. Special attention is paid to the differently sized large-scale areas on the TP. This discussion about the notion of “scale” and the proportions of large-scale areas respectively is exemplified by the examples of Italy and Asia minor. In addition, we will discuss a poem in honour of Theodosius II transmitted by Dicuil, which scholars have often regarded as a *praefatio* of an ancient precursor of the TP. These discussions about the proportions of large-scale areas and Dicuil’s poem culminate in the new hypothesis, according to which the TP, in the version available to us today, could be an ancient map compilation.

Keywords: Tabula Peutingeriana, Africa, Hercynian Forest, Alps, *limes* road.

* The present title is deliberately based on my first publication on the Tabula Peutingeriana in *Geographia Antiqua* 20/21, 2011/12. This resulted from a presentation at the conference *Geografia e politica in Grecia e a Roma III*, organised by H.-J. GEHRKE, P. ARNAUD & F. PRONTERA, 4th to 6th October 2010 in Villa Vigoni. The new approaches first presented there were further developed in several studies during the past few years. At present, this happens within a research project on the TP funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). This paper represents a first intermediate report. For their help and constructive hints I am indebted to K. BRODERSEN, S. DIEDERICH, P. GAUTIER DALCHÉ, P. JANNI, A. KAISER, PH. KÖHNER, I. MEYER-EPPLER, M. PERSYN, A. PODOSSINOV, N. SCHLIRF, M. SCHUOL, A. STÜCKELBERGER, and TH. WITTMANN. The English translation was made by J. FRIES-KNOBLACH.



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1. Present state of the discussion, well-known hypotheses, and new stimuli

Studies around the *Tabula Peutingeriana*¹ (TP) are presently on the upswing. At the same time, the traditional image of a Roman Imperial world map is supplemented by new models and ideas. Some of the reasons for these new impulses are findings from cognitive science, which could be made fruitful for the investigation of ancient perception of space. Furthermore, especially studies on map criticism by A. PODOSSINOV, P. JANNI, and K. BRODERSEN have led to a renewed examination of the fundamental source material.² This has provided numerous new insights and stimulated research on geography and cartography in antiquity. For the TP, it should be noted that ever since the days of the *Editio princeps* by M. WELSER & J. MORET (1598) and even more so since the much-received publication by CHR. SCHEYB (1753) and K. MILLER (1888) it has been researched rather than explored. This means that the TP was not so much explained by its own as it was forced into a corset of political geography dictated by contemporary history. Therefore, one of the essential approaches for further work should be to analyse and interpret the TP as an independent document in order to embed it into its context of cartographical history in a second step.

One of the central problems in the study of the TP is the chronological heterogeneity of geographical and topographical information. Thus, the TP records e.g. the city name *Constantinopolis* (8A1–B1), which only existed after AD 330, as well as the presumably Hellenistic reference to Greeks in Southern Gaul (2B1: *Gretia* [= *Graccia*]),³ the late Republican term *Gallia Comata* (1B3) and *Pompeis* destroyed by Mount Vesuvius in AD 79 (5B5). Additionally, it is irritating to have this type of world representation on a *rotulus* only few decimetres high, but several metres long, in which the drawn land mass, despite its extreme compressions and stretches, is nevertheless represented with north at the top and with a very particular graphic

1 The current title of *Tabula Peutingeriana* goes back to the Augsburgian humanist KONRAD PEUTINGER who, however, was neither the first known owner nor the first editor of the *rotulus*. Rather, the term is first attested in the first edition of BERTIO, *Theatrum*, in the 2nd volume of AD 1619. Its lead text reads as follows: *TABULA PEUTINGERIANA, quam Marci Velseri Septemviri Augustani in lucem protractam, ante hos annos XX. | edidit primus IOHANNES MORETVS. | ABRAHAMI ORTELIJ veteris Geographiae aliquot Tabulae, | ex ipsius PAREGGO.*

Amongst its drawn copies and editions the important ones are: F. CHR. VON SCHEYB, Vienna 1753; K. MANNERT, Leipzig 1824; E. DESJARDINS, Paris 1869–74; K. MILLER, Ravensburg 1888 (coloured and corrected version of SCHEYB'S edition); E. WEBER, Graz 1976 (facsimile); PRONTERA, Florence 2009² (reprint of MILLER'S version of 1888); RATHMANN, Darmstadt 2018³. First photographs were published in 1888; they are now available for inspection at <https://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/mapb.html> [17/04/2020]. On the earlier editions of the TP see WEBER, *Tabula*, 32f.; TALBERT, *World*, 10–72.

Since 2017, the University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt has been running a research project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) to investigate the TP. The toponyms collected in a database can be accessed at <https://tp-online.ku.de/> [17/04/2020]. All spellings of toponyms from the TP and their quotation according to segment and grid square in this paper are in concordance with this database.

2 PODOSSINOV, *Ипууун*; IDEM, *Из учопуу*; JANNI, *Mappa*; BRODERSEN, *Terra*.

3 DESJARDINS, *Table*, 67.



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charm.⁴ All in all, the numerous anachronisms, the geographical and cartographical omissions or peculiarities, and last but not least the singularity of the TP as the only large-size world map surviving from antiquity, result in a wealth of research questions that has produced a pile of literature over the past 250 years or so. Surprisingly, however, no scientific commentary on the TP exists.

Currently, four hypotheses on the origins of the TP are under discussion, which have undergone geneses of different length within the history of research and which are supported by arguments of varying plausibility. The debates about the age and the evolutionary history of this world map are at the same time debates about its cartographic-historical, cultural-historical or political interpretation.

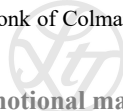
Since all hypotheses on the TP are more or less based on the assumption of the existence of ancient predecessors, the debate is subject to a terminological problem, to which E. WEBER has drawn attention.⁵ The present TP as we know it, i. e. Codex Vindobonensis 324, is an important manuscript (and since 2007 part of UNESCO World Documentary Heritage), which was probably produced around AD 1200.⁶ It is a plausible assumption that this world map was no creation *ex novo*, but the copy of a precursor.⁷ From a terminological point of view it is important to note that only

4 Undoubtedly, the beginning of the *rotulus* with a length of some 1.5 to 2 m is missing, on which, in addition to a presumed *praefatio*, the land masses of West Africa, Iberia, Ireland, Britain and other islands in the Atlantic (e.g. Thule) may have been located. The dimensions of the scroll, consisting of eleven parchment sheets, are 6.75 m in length and between 32.8 and 33.7 cm in height. On the size of each individual parchment sheet RATHMANN, *Tabula* (2018), 8 fig. 4. Cf. the reconstruction of the lost beginning in MILLER, *Mappae mundi* VI, 90–4 with fig. 5 (reprinted in RATHMANN, *Tabula* [2018], 9 fig. 5); see also TALBERT, *Miller*. MILLER, *Mappae mundi* VI, 90 explicitly did not regard his reconstruction a product of fantasy: „Vielmehr ist uns der Inhalt des fehlenden Stücks nach der materiellen Seite zum grössten Teil durch den Ravennaten und das Itinerarium Antonini gegeben.“

5 WEBER, *Datierung*, 230.

6 GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *Trasmisione*, 44 on the dating of the manuscript. For the type of script see the contribution on palaeography by STEINMANN in TALBERT, *World*, 76–85.

7 Amongst other things, the provenance of the manuscript is a matter of debate. Although H. LIEB'S view that the TP was created on the monastery island of Reichenau has found many supporters, Colmar or the southern area of Baden-Württemberg in general have not completely disappeared from the discussion as alternatives. In addition to LIEB'S well-known arguments, a note in the catalogue of the monastery library at Reichenau from AD 821/2 additionally supports an origin in this monastery. (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, Bd. 1, München 1918, reprint 1969, 248): *mappa mundi in rotulis II*. On the alternative place of origin at Colmar see GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *Trasmisione*, 47; GISINGER, *Peutingerriana*, 1406; BOSIO, *Tabula*, 165–7, LEVI, *Itineraria*, 22f. & 162, MILLER, *Weltkarte*, 8 ≈ MILLER, *Itineraria*, XIVf. The reason for this is the significant passage in the *Annales Colmarienses minores* on AD 1265 (MGH SS XVII, p. 186 & 191): *Mappam mundi descripsi in pelles 12 pergamenti*. However, already GAUTIER DALCHÉ, loc. cit., accurately remarks: “Osserviamo innanzitutto che la data non corrisponde affatto alla scrittura, più vicina alla carolina che alla gotica.” Thus, the *mappa mundi* in the *Annales Colmarienses minores* must have been another scroll-shaped world map. Additionally, the marked vertical line at the beginning of the TP makes quite clear that Peutingerr's *rotulus* never comprised more than eleven parchment sheets. Ultimately, the note in the *Annales Colmarienses minores* caused irritation, as GAUTIER DALCHÉ has pointed out. The so-called Monk of Colmar and author of the *Annales Colmarienses*



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