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From the Misreading of a Sixteenth-Century Sketch to an Exquisite Evidence of Constantine's *Nea Roma*

Od pogrešno protumačenog crteža iz 16. stoljeća do prvorazrednog svjedočanstva Konstantinova Novoga Rima

ABSTRACT

Through the past decades, there have been many attempts to reconstruct Constantine the Great's Forum in Constantinople – his *Nea Roma*, and to decipher its intended symbolical meaning. Most of these attempts were fruitful to some extent, but the entire message that the Emperor wanted to convey through the specific arrangement of the Forum has never been fully and clearly explained. Moreover, the Middle and Late Byzantine literary sources have additionally obscured the original message, so each piece of evidence about Constantine's original concept of the Forum is extremely valuable. This paper should thus be a contribution to the understanding of its original symbolism, based on a piece of evidence that has often been either circumvented or ignored by the researchers: the unique drawing of the pedestal of Constantine's porphyry column, made by Danish artist Melchior Lorichs (1526/27 – after 1583). The pedestal was decorated with an elaborate relief, whose proper interpretation becomes an important clue for deciphering Constantine's imperial agenda. So, the paper offers a new interpretation of the relief, and establishes its importance in the symbolical framework of the Forum.

KEYWORDS

Constantine the Great, forum in Constantinople, pedestal relief, Melchior Lorichs

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APSTRAKT

Protekla desetljeća svjedočila su mnogim pokušajima rekonstrukcije i odgonetanju simbolike Konstantinova konstantinopolskog foruma – središnjeg trga njegova Novoga Rima. Mnogi su od njih polučili određene rezultate, no cjelokupna poruka koju je car želio prenijeti nikada nije do kraja i jasno protumačena. Štoviše, pisani izvori srednjo- i kasno- bizantskog razdoblja učinili su izvornu poruku dodatno nejasnom, pa je svako svjedočanstvo o Konstantinovoj izvornoj ideji iznimno značajno. Cilj je ovog rada doprinijeti razumijevanju izvorne poruke, kroz analizu jednog vrlo značajnog svjedočanstva, koje se do sada ili zaobilazilo, ili zanemarivalo: jedinstveni crtež postamenta Konstantinova stupa koji je načinio danski umjetnik Melchior Lorichs (1526./27. – nakon 1583.). Naime, postament je bio ukrašen prilično razrađenim reljefom čije je ispravno tumačenje iznimno važno za razumijevanje Konstantinove carske agende. Stoga se u radu donosi nova interpretacija reljefa te ga se kontekstualizira unutar simboličkog okvira prema kojem je forum bio strukturiran.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

Konstantin Veliki, konstantinopolski forum, reljef postamenta, Melchior Lorichs

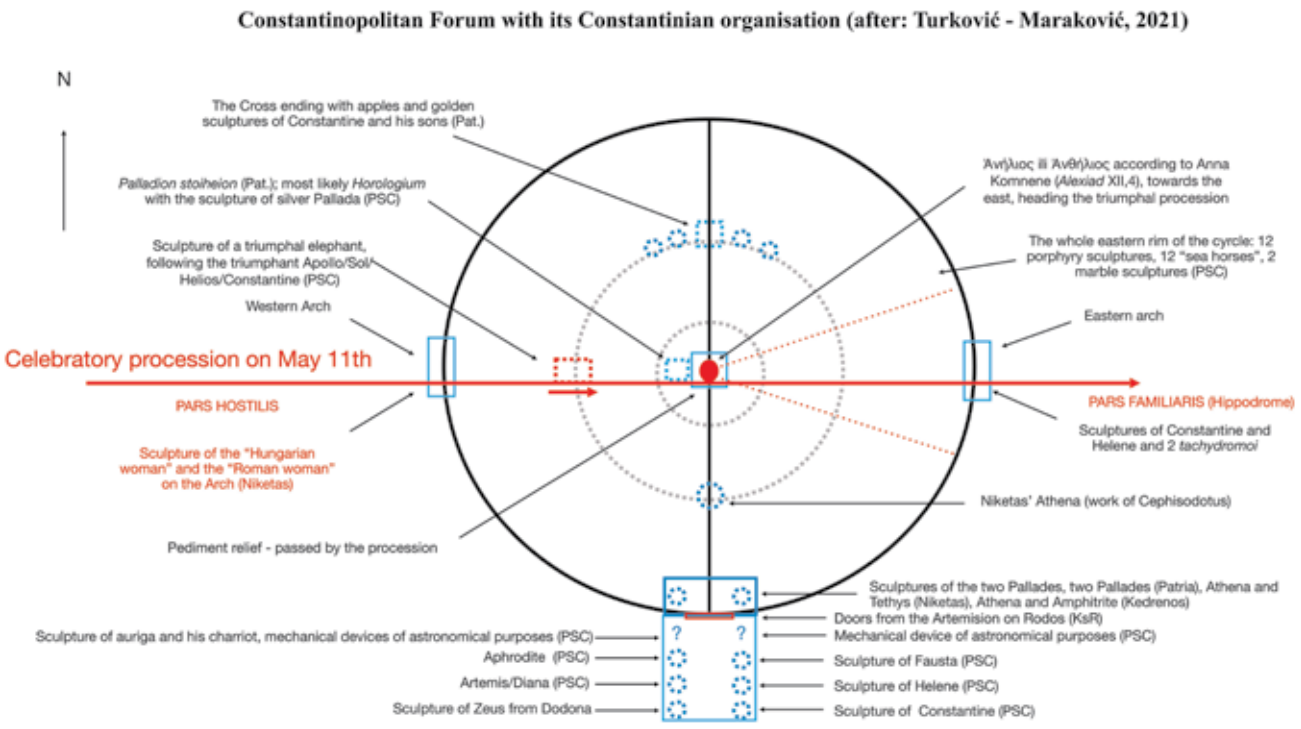
Introduction

Through the past sixty years much ink has been spilled over the original arrangement of Constantine the Great's round forum in Constantinople, and a number of important scholars have tried to provide answers about its specific decoration. Raymond Janin, Cyril Mango, Gilbert Dagron, Wolfgang Müller-Wiener – all tried to decipher the semantic algorithm on which Constantine had based the arrangement and embellishment of his new *mundus*, to borrow the term from Plutarch.[1] The new generation of scholars have lately contributed to the better understanding of the Emperor's original intentions in decorating his *Nea Roma*; in the first place Anthony Kaldellis and Sarah Bassett.[2] However, in spite of all the efforts invested into the reconstruction of the decorative programme of the central and focal point of Constantine's New Rome, a number of issues related to the meaning of the whole still remain. Most often it has been interpreted either as a reflection of the Emperor's antiquarian inclinations, or as a result of his general intent of aggrandizement of his new capital.[3] However, the decoration of the Forum (fig. 1), and also all other structures built by Constantine in his new capital, were without any doubt endowed with quite a complex meaning. The round form of the Forum itself, as well as the sculptures and monuments that adored it, had a deep symbolical value, by far exceeding the Emperor's allusion to the long history behind his Empire.

The intention of this paper is neither to reconstruct the symbolism of each of the exhibited sculptures – as Anthony Kaldellis has already presented most of them, nor to examine how Constantine's undertaking was seen and interpreted in later periods – that would take us on a long journey through historical sources such as *Chronicon Paschale,* Malalas' *Chronographia*, *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai, Patria*, Niketas Choniates' *Histori*a, and especially Niketa's *De signis Constantinopolitanis*. We shall focus on one particular monument, which has been noted by some scholars, but circumvented by the majority of them, probably because they could not figure out its significance. The interpretation of this individual "piece of decoration", and its significance and position on the Forum, seem to be crucial for understanding the symbolical message of the whole. The "piece" in question is the enigmatic relief carved on the southern side of the pedestal of Constantine's porphyry column.

The Forum, the Column and the "New *Romanitas*"

Before we start with the analysis of the relief, some remarks should be made about the symbolic value of its setting – Constantine's round Forum, whose form has not been appreciated for its symbolical meaning. At first glance, the choice of its form could be interpreted as Constantine's *hommage* to the culture and architecture of the eastern part of the Empire, where round *fora* were nothing unusual. For example,



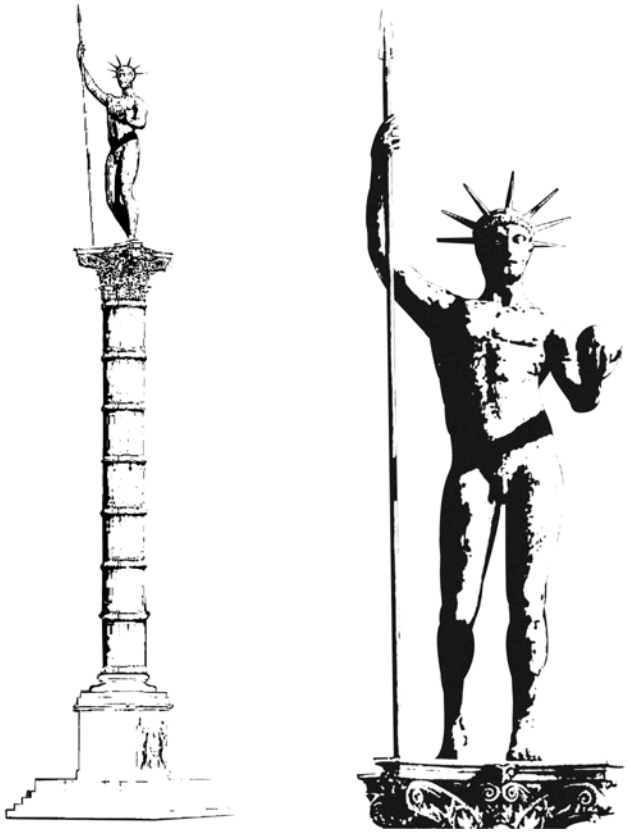
1
Constantinopolitan Forum with its Constantinian organisation (after: Turković, Maraković, 2021)

Konstantinopolski forum prema Konstantinovoj organizaciji (prema: Turković, Maraković, 2021)

Warwick Ball included Constantinopolitan forum in the same group as those in Jerash, Bosra, Palmyra, etc.[4] The most important of them, with a central column instead of a tetrapylon, is the one in Antioch – with Tiberius' column in the middle.[5]

However, taking into consideration that Constantine's forum was the Forum of *Nea Roma*, embellished with many symbolically highly potent images, one realizes that its form could not have been just an *hommage* to the eastern culture. In the context of Constantine's motivation to establish his New Rome, it becomes clear that, what the Emperor had in mind, was the idea of *romanitas* as it had been originally formulated. This idea, as Maurizio Bettini points out, was not founded on tales about cosmogony, theogony or anthropogony, but on the story of Rome's urbanology.[6] He says: "The crucial importance of the *civitas* in the Romans' definition of the 'beginnings' both of humanity and of divinity invites us to consider the event representing the 'beginning' of the *civitas* itself: namely, its foundation story."[7] So, if Constantine wanted to have a new Rome, he had to start with the proper ritual, as Roman urbanology demanded. If he wanted to re-enact the foundation of Rome, the first thing he had to do was to symbolically dig a round pit, *mundus*, just like Romulus had done before him; and the shape of the Forum confirms that. Next, he had to invite all the "newcomers" to join his *asylum*, and to contribute with some of the tokens brought from their native lands.[8] As it is obvious from the collection of sculptures brought to Constantinople from almost every part of the Roman world, in a symbolic way Constantine did exactly what would have been expected of him as the New Romulus. That he, indeed, was recreating Romulus' *asylum* is also confirmed by the fact that he included Christian monuments in his new *mundus*. By honouring the basic values of *romanitas* – inclusivity, openness, and cultural diversity – he was, undoubtedly, striving to revive it in its original form in his New Rome, conscious to what extent the original idea had been corrupted through time by the institutions, including the Roman Senate and some of the irresponsible Emperors.

Further still, it is apparent that Constantine was aware of Marcus Aurelius' attitude towards the role of the emperor in the perfect world of universal *romanitas*. He was the pillar mediating between the cosmic order and the worldly order, and had the royal and law-making capacity to act on behalf of good for all mankind.[9] So, he did what was expected of him – he erected the pillar as the symbol of imperial capacity and its role in the world, structured according to the original idea of *romanitas* (fig. 2). His sculpture on the top of the column, in the guise of Sol/Apollo/Helios, symbolically overlooked the whole *mundus* and safeguarded the universal order that *romanitas* implied. If we consider the construction of the porphyry column from this perspective, it becomes obvious



2
a) Reconstruction of Constantine's column (after: Bardill, 2012, fig. 17);

b) Reconstruction of the sculpture on the top of Constantine's column (M. Maraković after: Bardill, 2012, fig. 18)

a) Rekonstrukcija Konstantinovog stupa (prema: Bardill, 2012, sl. 17);

b) Rekonstrukcija skupture s vrha Konstantinovog stupa (M. Maraković prema: Bardill, 2012, sl. 18)

why Constantine was so eager to have a monolithic porphyry column in the centre of the Forum, and not one made of porphyry drums. However, his envoy Nicagoras, the torchbearer of the Eleusinian mysteries, could not find such a porphyry monolith in Egypt, no matter how hard he had tried.[10] At first, it could be surmised that Constantine's vanity was the main reason for his insistence on a monolithic column; however, if the column is perceived as the symbol of the Emperor's uprightness and stability in righteousness, it becomes clear why he was agitated by the idea of a column composed of separate parts. After all, a pillar between the cosmic and the worldly order had to be firm, solid and, of course, eternal.

Although a format of a book would not be enough for an exposition of all of the symbolical messages integrated into Constantine's Forum, we believe that we have, at least in these few sketches, introduced the reader with the general idea on which the Forum, with its shape and iconography, was based. Thus, there is no need to recapitulate all that has already been said about the column, or the sculpture that stood on its top. So, we shall concentrate on the pedestal of the famous monument.

The Pedestal and Melchior Lorichs' Drawing

Contrary to the common idea of the Westerners, Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople in 1453 was not a catastrophic event. Philip Mansel states: "As the Habsburg dynasty created Vienna, so was Constantinople a creation of the Ottomans. They required a world city, worthy of their empire. Mehmed II and his successors called themselves 'world-conqueror', 'the King of the World'. One of the favourite epithets, both of the sultans and their city, soon became *alem penah*, 'refuge of the world'".[11] Mehmed II and his successors promoted multinationalism and *Realpolitik*, and, as a result, contrary to the general opinion, there was no great destruction or persecution. Even the Patriarch of Constantinople enjoyed the protection of Mehmet II.[12] Could it be perceived like yet another revival of "Romulus's asylum"? So, in 1555 a young Danish artist and nobleman Melchior Lorichs (Lorck) (b. 1526/27) arrived in the Turkish capital, now called Istanbul. He was employed as a companion of the ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor, and was a member of his entourage.

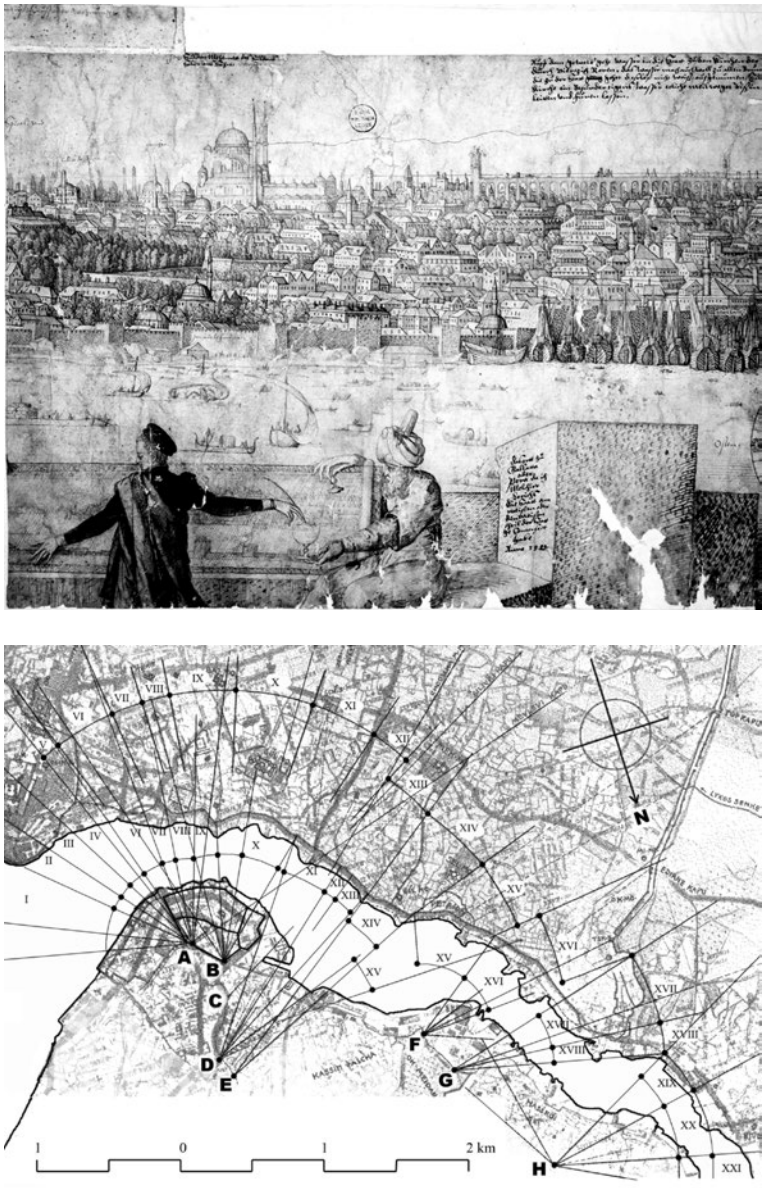
Lorichs started his career by the apprenticeship as a goldsmith in Lübeck, where he was trained in engraving and woodcutting. There he spent his early years, working for various patrons, before the appointment in Istanbul. Judging by his travels, he was acquainted with the artistic scene of Venice, Bologna, Florence and Rome. Studying Dürer's and Michelangelo's work, he refined his own skills before he was sent to Istanbul.[13] During his four-year stay in Istanbul he continued drawing, and just at the end of his stay he created his remarkable masterpiece – *Panorama of Constantinople* (Istanbul). In 1559 he got the permission of the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman II (the Magnificent) to prepare a panoramic drawing of his capital, as viewed from locations along the northern shore of the Golden Horn. It recorded in unprecedented detail both the Byzantine and contemporary, early Ottoman structures, surpassing in its naturalism former bird's-eye view panoramic depictions. The *Panorama* is 11.45 m long and 45 cm high, and comprises twenty-one sheets joined together to show the entire urban vista of the peninsula of Istanbul, viewed from the northern shore of the Golden Horn.[14] Of exceptional interest for this paper is the way in which Lorichs made such a detailed and accurate image of the town. Although scholars interested in his work cannot prove that he used *camera obscura*, it is assumed that he must have employed the device that was coming into use at that particular time.[15] He could not have been as accurate as he was without employing it from

various standpoints on the Asian side of the Bosporus (fig. 3). However, there is another indication that he used *camera obscura*, and not only for the purposes of drawing the *Panorama*.

Among his sketches of individual monuments from Istanbul, there is an interesting drawing of a sculpted pedestal of a column, made in pen and black ink (434 × 335 mm; cat. KKSgb5473, Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen) (fig. 4). It has already been identified as the pedestal of Constantine's column on the Forum.[16] However, the unique and detailed sketch of such an important part of Constantinopolitan heritage unfortunately never received due consideration. It attracted the attention of Rudolf H. W. Stichel in 1994, but he did not offer an interpretation of the relief, so well-documented by Lorichs.[17] One reason must have been of particular importance – the drawing is inverted because Lorisch must have used *camera obscura*. So, the relief was reproduced, and is still being reproduced, with left and right sides reversed.[18]

Stichel did not only evade the interpretation of the relief on the pedestal, but he also added some of his own ideas about Lorichs' drawing, led by the belief that the composition had been contaminated by the author's imagination; as the so-called "Turkish Publication", and his other sketches were published years after his departure from Istanbul. The drawing in question was dated by the year 1561, two years after Lorich had left Istanbul. However, it is quite strange that Stichel did not recognise the exceptional care for detail, and considered it only a provisional sketch made from Lorichs' memory, of a "monument, which stood only a few steps away opposite the ambassador's hotel".[19] Stichel, sceptical and critical about the proportions of the figures on the relief, even speculated whether the pedestal had several tiers of sculptural decoration, although there is no an indication for such a conclusion.[20] It seems that Stichel was not well acquainted with Lorichs' usual *modus operandi*, or with his opus.

Still, this exquisite and most detailed drawing, obviously made with the help of *camera obscura*, is actually a treasure of information about the Forum, its symbolism, and the mindset of Emperor Constantine; and the first requirement for its proper interpretation would be the inversion of the picture. Once we do that, the theme of the depiction becomes more than clear, and what might have been confusing becomes quite logical (fig. 5). The theme is easily recognizable as the Wisdom of the Occident and the Orient, the West and the East, paying respect to the victorious



3

a) The artist overlooking Istanbul and the Golden Horn while examining his drawing, detail from *Panorama of Istanbul*, sheet XI (after: Westbrook et al., 2010, fig. 15);

b) Diagram by Karl Wulzinger, showing the proposed viewing points for Lorichs' panorama (after: Westbrook et al., 2010, fig. 16)

Umjetnik promatra Istanbul i Zlatni rog preispitujući svoj crtež, detalj *Istanbulske panorame*, segment XI (prema: Westbrook et al., 2010, sl. 15);

b) Dijagram Karla Wulzingera s naznačenim mogućim Lorichsovim gledištima pri izradi *Panorame* (prema: Westbrook et al., 2010, sl. 16)

4
Lorichs' original drawing of the sculpted pedestal of the column, 1561, pen and black ink, 434 × 335 mm (cat. KKSgb5473, Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen) (after: Westbrook et al., 2010, fig. 6)

Lorichsov izvorni crtež postamenta ukrašenog reljefom, 1561, suha tinta, 434 × 335 mm (cat. KKSgb5473, Odjel za grafiku i crteže, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen) (prema: Westbrook et al., 2010, sl. 6)

Rhea/Tyche of Constantinople. The legend explaining the origins of Byzantion tells a story of Byzas, a Thracian, who dedicated the city to goddess Rhea as the city's Tyche. The two were then combined into a single deity. The above-mentioned *Patria* and Dionysius of Byzantium considered Rhea to be same as Tyche Poliade, the queen of the city. The same semantic relationship between the two was alive at the time when Constantine the Great consecrated and dedicated his *Nea Roma*. For that reason, he continued and enhanced their veneration, even housing their images in the niches of Tetrastoon. If Zosimus is right, he even brought the famous statue of Rhea from Cyzicus to be put in one of the niches.[21]

So, there can be little doubt to whom the sages of the West and the East are bowing. Seated on a throne adorned with a rams' head, an Alexandrian symbol of universal power, a young female figure humbly receives the honours with her head gently bowed. We believe that is not so much important whether this is Rhea or Tyche, because it is evident that she is the queen of Constantinople, embodiment and protectress of *Nea Roma*. At the same time, she represents the connection between the history of the city of Byzantium and the future of the city of Constantinople. She is victorious on both sides of the world, East and West, personified not only by the sages, but also by *Victoriae* carrying *tropaea*. This could have hardly been the representation of *aurum coronarium*, although Mango carefully hinted into that direction.[22] The offerings from the East and the West are represented as young boys, hierarchically smaller in size, carrying baskets full of some unrecognisable content (gold coins, bread?). Both of them seem to be encouraged by the gestures of the sages standing behind. Regarding the sages, the inverted image shows that the western one is an ideal depiction of a Graeco-Roman philosopher, dressed in *toga* and *paludamentum*, long-bearded as a stoic philosopher, while the eastern one, also bearded, wears a cape and a conical Phrygian cap, usually associated with Persians, Medes, Scythians, etc (fig. 6).

5
Lorichs' drawing inverted – the actual disposition of the figures on the pedestal (Turković, Maraković, 2022)

Lorichsov crtež ispravno okrenut – stvarni razmještaj figura na postamentu (Turković, Maraković, 2022.)

Finally, the crucial figure is represented as a bust in a circular wreath, as a relatively short haired youngish adult crowned by a radial crown, just like the sculpture from the top of the column. His image is positioned right in the centre, just over the central figure, and he must have stared at the observer with the well-known *fulgor oculorum*. The image of the Emperor may be perceived as the visualisation of the words of anonymous orator praising Constantine and his resolve in 310, saying: "*in quo his fulgor oculorum, haec veneranda pariter et grata maiestas praestringit simul et invitat adspectus*."[23] There is yet another thing that has to be pointed out in order for the relief to be understandable to the general public. It was carved on

6

a) The western sage (philosopher);

b) Rhea/Tyche and the *clipeus* with the bust of Constantine;

c) The eastern sage with a Phrygian cap (after: Westbrook et al., 2010, fig. 6)

a) Zapadni mudrac (filozof);

b) Reja/ Tihe i klipej s Konstantinovom bistom;

c) Istočni mudrac s frigijskom kapom (prema: Westbrook et al., 2010, sl. 6)

the southern side of the pediment, to be seen by all those participating in the annual celebrations of the city's birthday on May 11th, celebrated from the time of its dedication in 330. The same route, passing by the pedestal and the column, was also the triumphal route (see fig. 1).

So, the relief, which was also of significant size (the largest figures were about 4 m high), makes all the sense in the symbolic framework of the Forum, and is a perfect reflection of Constantine the Great's vision of Constantinople. It carried a sublimated message about what Constantinople ought to be, and what it ought to represent in the future. It represented a fresh beginning for *romanitas* and for the Empire, the place of wisdom, both western and eastern, as opposed to inequality, pettiness, and corruption. That is exactly what we see on Lorichs' copy of the relief – two oversized sages contributing to the creation of *Nea Roma* with all their inherited wisdom, helping the formation of a new, better society. The town, represented by its goddess, and the society, will prosper only through wisdom. The victories should be won over ourselves, and at that particular moment the victory meant bringing the East and the West together again, without prejudice and without an urge to assert one over the other. All of that was masterfully condensed into an iconic depiction, which was preserved to this day thanks to Lorichs' drawing.

Conclusion

The relief preserved in Melchior Lorichs' drawing seems to be crucial for understanding the general symbolism of Constantine's Forum in Constantinople, and could actually be considered the pivotal part of the message the Emperor wanted to convey. That is why it is quite surprising that it has never received more scholarly attention. It is equally surprising to what extent Lorichs' skills have been underestimated, even though he created the impressive *Panorama of Constantinople*. If only it had been taken into account that Lorichs extensively exploited the possibilities of *camera obscura,* the conclusions about the whole monument; the pedestal, the column and the sculpture, might have been more conclusive and comprehensive. In any case, we hope that this short contribution, focused on the interpretation of the theme of the relief from the pedestal, will become relevant for further exploration of the symbolical concept of Constantine's Forum, and all of the details of the message woven into its original and ingenious concept.

NOTES

1 Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines**,** 1964); Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IVe–VIIe siècles* (Paris, Diffusion de Boccard, 1985); Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993); Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 a` 451* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1974); Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh.* (Tübingen: Wasmuth Vlg. 1977).

2 Anthony Kaldellis, "The Forum of Constantine in Constantinople: What do we know about its original architecture and adornment?," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 56 (2016): 714–739; Sarah Guberti Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 87–96; Sarah Guberti Bassett, *Paene Omnium Nuditate: The Reuse of Antiquities in Constantinople, Fourth through Sixth Centuries* (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1985); Sarah Guberti Bassett "*Historiae custos*: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 100, 3 (1996): 491–506; Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); Sarah Bassett, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Constantinople* (Cambridge University Press, 2022).

3 Sarah Guberti Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome,",93; See also John Ma, "Travelling Statues, Travelling Bases? Ancient Statues in Constantinople," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 180 (2012): 243–249.

4 Warwick Ball, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire* (Routledge, 2016), 351.

5 See Glanville Downey, *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton University Press, 2015), 84; Charles Rufus Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (Longsman, Green, 1938), 7; John Malalas, *Chronicles of John Malalas*, E. Jeffreys i Roger Scott (eds.) (Melbourne, 1986), Book 10, 124.

6 Maurizio Bettini, "Missing Cosmogonies: the Roman Case?", *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 13 (1) (2012): 69–92.

7 Maurizio Bettini, "Missing Cosmogonies", 78.

8 About the *asylum* see the excellent study Emma Dench, *Romulus' Asylum. Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

9 Marcus Aurelius wrote: "*Δύο ταύτας ἑτοιμότητας ἔχειν ἀεὶ δεῖ· τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι μόνον ὅπερ ἂν ὁ τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ νομοθετικῆς λόγος ὑποβάλλῃ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων· τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ μεταθέσθαι, ἐὰν ἄρα τις παρῇ διορθῶν καὶ μετάγων ἀπό τινος οἰήσεως. τὴν μέντοι μετα γωγὴν ἀεὶ ἀπό τινος πιθανότητος, ὡς δικαίου ἢ κοινωφελοῦς, γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ προηγμένα τοιαῦτα μόνον εἶναι δεῖ, οὐχ ὅτι ἡδὺ ἢ ἔνδοξον ἐφάνη*". See Marcus Aurelius, *M. Antonius Imperator Ad Se Ipsum,* Jan Hendrik Leopold, ed. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubneri, 1908), 4.12. ("You should always have these two rules in readiness; one, to act only that which the reason of the royal and legislative faculty suggests for the interests of mankind; the other, to be ready to change your conduct, when any one present can rectify you, and make you quit any of your opinions. But let this change be always made upon some probable species of justice, or public utility, or such like; and not any view of pleasure, or glory to yourself." See Francis Hutcheson, James Moor (trans.), *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008), 49–50 (IV.12).

10 About Nicagoras' search for porphyry see Garth Fowden, "Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 119–131.

11 Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453–1924* (St. Martin's Press, 1995), 28–29. Of course, the author refers to the Ottoman Constantinople – Istanbul.

12 Patriarch George Scholarios was appointed by Mehmed II himself in January 1454. See Halil Inalcik, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23/24 (1969/1970): 229–249.

13 Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark, Rene van Meeuwen, "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69, 1 (2010): 62–87; Erik Fischer, Ernst Jonas Bencard, Mikael Bøgh Rasmussen, Marco Iuliano, *Melchior Lorck. Volume 3: Catalogue Raisonné. Part one: The Turkish Publication* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library Vandkunsten Publishers, 2009).

14 Nigel Westbrook et al., "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama," 64.

15 Nigel Westbrook et al., "Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama," 68–69.

16 There have been two attempts to identify the pedestal as a part of some other Constantinopolitan monument. For example, Josef Engemann (1989) was inclined to attribute Lorichs' drawing to the column monument of Leo I in the Pittakia, while Martina Jordan-Ruwe (1995) assumed that the drawing represented the relief from some other unidentified column in Constantinople. However, some obvious correlations between the decorative and structural details of the pedestal depicted in Freshfield Album (from 1935 Trinity College Library, Cambridge, *folio 1,* quite certainly depicting the porphyry column) with the ones on Lorichs' sketch, led Cyril Mango to conclusion (1965, the same text was reprinted in 1993) that Lorichs indeed sketched the pedestal of Constantine's column. See Josef Engemann, "Melchior Lorichs Zeichnung eines Säulensockels in Konstantinopel", *Quaeritur inventus colitur. Miscellanea in onore di padre Umberto Maria Fasola, B.* (Città del Vaticano, 1989), 247–65; Martina Jordan-Ruwe, "Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen," in *Asia Minor Studien* 19 (Bonn, 1995), 132–134; Cyril Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 80 (1965): 305–306; Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), 305–313.

17 Rudolf H. W. Stichel, "Zum Postament der Porphyrsäule Konstantins des Grossen in Konstantinopel," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44 (1994): 317–331.

18 See for example, Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 35 (fig. 22); Pelin Yoncaci Arslan, "Towards a new honorific column: the column of Constantine in early Byzantine urban landscape (1)," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 1 (2016): 126 (fig. 6).

19 Rudolf H. W. Stichel, "Zum Postament," 326.

20 Rudolf H. W. Stichel, "Zum Postament," 327.

21 Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Making of Christian Constantinople* (Routledge, 1994), 123–124, 125–127.

22 Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine," *Δελτίον ΧΑΕ* 10 (1980–1981): 104.

23 Olivier Hekster, *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 163.

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SAŽETAK

Od pogrešno protumačenog crteža iz 16. stoljeća do prvorazrednog svjedočanstva Konstantinova Novoga Rima

Daroviti danski umjetnik Melchior Lorichs, autor tzv. *Istanbulske panorame*, za sobom je ostavio niz crteža koje je načinio tijekom svog boravka u Istanbulu između 1555. i 1559. godine. Među njima se nalazi i crtež postamenta Konstantinovog stupa, središnjeg spomenika negdašnjeg Konstantinopola. Na žalost, crtež je ostao zanemaren, a čak ni kratka studija crteža iz 1994. godine nije ponudila njegovu uvjerljivu interpretaciju. Štoviše, autor te studije Rudolf H. W. Stichel doveo je u pitanje i vjerodostojnost crteža. Međutim, kada se uzme u obzir Lorichsova vještina i *modus operandi,* postaje jasno da je umjetnik načinio iznimno vrijedno svjedočanstvo o

reljefu koji je krasio postament stupa. Ono što je ostalo neprepoznato jest da je Lorichs i ovaj crtež, kao i mnoge druge, izradio koristeći se novim instrumentom koji mu je bio na raspolaganju – a to je *camera obscura*. Posljedično, ostalo je neprepoznato da crtež zapravo bilježi reljef inverzno, odnosno da je lijevo postalo desno, i obrnuto. Kada se to uzme u obzir, rastvara se puno značenje elaboriranog reljefa koji iznimno rječito prenosi poruku kako je Konstantin Veliki zamišljao ulogu i karakter svoje nove prijestolnice. Štoviše, pravilno tumačenje figura prikazanih na reljefu dovodi do shvaćanja koliko je višeslojan bio Konstantinov koncept nove prijestolnice i novog Carstva. Kroz tumačenje ovog reljefa, koji je krasio središnji konstantinopolski spomenik, otvaraju se posve nove perspektive u tumačenju Konstantinove carske ideologije i njegovih planova za budućnost Carstva.

Translation into English provided by the authors.

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