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978-0-521-76480-3 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

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ROME'S WORLD: THE PEUTINGER MAP RECONSIDERED

The Peutinger Map is the only map of the Roman world to come down to us from antiquity. An elongated object full of colorful detail and featuring land routes across Europe, North Africa, and the Near East, it was mysteriously rediscovered around 1500 and then came into the ownership of Konrad Peutinger, for whom it is named. Today it is among the treasures of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Richard J. A. Talbert's *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* offers a long overdue reinterpretation and appreciation of the map as a masterpiece of both mapmaking and imperial Roman ideology. Here, the ancient world's traditional span, from the Atlantic to India, is dramatically remodeled; lands and routes take pride of place, whereas seas are compressed. Talbert posits that the map's true purpose was not to assist travelers along Rome's highways, but rather to celebrate the restoration of peace and order by Diocletian's Tetrarchy. Such creative cartography, he demonstrates, influenced the development of medieval mapmaking. With the aid of digital technology, this book enables readers to engage with the Peutinger Map in all of its fascinating immensity more closely than ever before.

Richard J. A. Talbert is William Rand Kenan, Jr., Professor of History and Classics at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, where he has taken the lead in establishing the Ancient World Mapping Center. He is the author of several books, including *The Senate of Imperial Rome* and the collaborative *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.

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Mezzotint of Franz Christoph von Scheyb in an aristocratic pose as Secretary for Lower Austria, a post he occupied from 1739 onward. Here we see him proudly unrolling his full-size engraving of the Peutinger map, published in 1753, so that Vienna (*Vindobona*) rather than Rome occupies the central position.

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ROME'S WORLD

THE PEUTINGER MAP RECONSIDERED

RICHARD J. A. TALBERT

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

in association with Tom Elliott,

assisted by Nora Harris, Gannon Hubbard,
David O'Brien, and Graham Shepherd

with a contribution by Martin Steinmann



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This book is dedicated to the memory of my parents,

John (d. September 2, 2007)

and Susan (d. September 25, 2007),

who did not live to see its completion

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F Bordeaux Itinerary (<i>ItBurd</i>) Journeys |

DATABASE

Peutinger map names and features, with Commentary (*use with Appendix 7*):

FEATURES AND NOTICES

- Complete list by grid square
- Complete alphabetical list
- Names and notices in red ink
- Complete list by reference number

LISTS BY FEATURE TYPE

- Networked names, no symbols
 - Complete alphabetical listing
 - Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Networked symbols, named
 - Complete alphabetical listing
 - Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Networked symbols, unnamed
 - Listing by reference number
- Unnamed or illegible features
 - Listing by reference number
- Isolated names
 - Complete alphabetical listing
 - Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Isolated symbols, named
 - Complete alphabetical listing
- Isolated symbols, unnamed
 - Listing by reference number
- Islands
 - Complete alphabetical listing
 - Alphabetical listings by initial letter
 - Listing by reference number

Mountains

- Complete alphabetical listing
- Listing by reference number

Peoples

- Complete alphabetical listing
- Alphabetical listings by initial letter

Regions

- Complete alphabetical listing
- Alphabetical listings by initial letter

Rivers

- Complete alphabetical listing
- Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Listing by reference number

Special features and notices

- Complete alphabetical listing

Water, other than rivers

- Complete alphabetical listing
- Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Listing by reference number

SYMBOL CLASSIFICATION

WORKS CITED

CONCORDANCES OF REFERENCES

NAMES AND FEATURES NOT NOTED IN THE BARRINGTON ATLAS AND DIRECTORY

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Experience and accident mixed with frustration and optimism have combined to launch this study. I probably read about its object first in one of my schoolbooks, the 1961 revision of *Everyman's Classical Atlas* introduced by J. Oliver Thomson (“As a map this ribbon is absurd, but its aim is only to give roads with their stations . . .”), and over time I grew accustomed to the illustrations of one segment or another seen in publications of all kinds about Roman history and culture. Once I became seriously engaged with cartography from the 1980s, my awareness of the importance of the Peutinger “Table” or Map sharpened correspondingly. As the *Barrington Atlas* took shape during the 1990s, I witnessed at first hand the heavy dependence that many contributors laid upon this “absurd” survival for place-names and routes across the entire Roman world. At the same time, when I ventured into the emerging debate about Romans’ “map consciousness” or the lack of it, colleagues’ widespread preference for excluding this item from consideration on the grounds that it should be viewed as a diagram rather than a map came to seem less and less justifiable. I was for a long time incredulous that no full-scale presentation and analysis of it had appeared since World War I. Although color photographs had eventually been published in 1976, many scholars had still not abandoned their reliance upon the more accessible nineteenth-century lithographed drawings. In addition, the map’s segments continued to be numbered in two different sequences, while any system of reference for individual features had yet to be devised. Above all, a new evaluation of the map was lacking; no alternative had been proposed to the age-old dismissal encapsulated in Thomson’s pithy summation of 1961.

By the late 1990s, therefore, I was convinced that the challenge of attempting to present the Peutinger map afresh and to rethink its character and purpose might repay the inevitable risks. Now, a decade later, with the work ready for publication at last, I dare to think that the struggle has been justified. To imagine that my conclusions will meet with universal

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acceptance would be unrealistic, but if nothing else the new approaches on which they are based may deter scholars from persisting complacently with the claim that the map is a mere road diagram of minimal cartographic or cultural significance. Issues of its design, context, purpose, and impact raised here can no longer be ignored. A rich, layered context now emerges for the map. This identification leads in turn to a refined grasp of the map's long-term impact and its importance in the history of cartography. Moreover, tools are developed that permit everyone to study the map closely and to refer conveniently to each of its components.

From the outset, the creation of these tools has demanded collaboration, skills, and labor on an extensive scale. As has become painfully clear to those who have dared to work with the map over the centuries, it is the most exacting of taskmasters, but at the same time an unfailingly alluring one. In the twenty-first century, as I soon came to realize, it would be less practical and less affordable than ever to present the map in print as a single item, especially at full size and in color. Once some formidable technical obstacles were overcome, however, electronic publication has proved itself well suited to the purpose. In this connection, no one has done more than Tom Elliott to demonstrate to me the extraordinary potential of digital technology and to overcome the countless obstacles arising from its application. His vision and persistence are beyond praise; it is hard to imagine how this work could have been accomplished without them, and I am deeply grateful to him. I am keenly aware, too, that electronic publication of the map is contingent upon authorization from the Austrian National Library to reproduce its scanned images; lasting thanks are due to the library for its alacrity in granting this request. No less is Princeton University Press to be thanked for permitting the use of geo-registered raster images of a substantial "mosaic" of maps from the *Barrington Atlas*. Cambridge University Press is to be thanked above all. I am especially grateful that my editor, Beatrice Rehl, and her colleagues have shared my enthusiasm for a hybrid format, which allows the book's text matter to be presented both electronically and in a printed volume for readers' convenience.

To an embarrassing degree, completion of this book has depended upon collaborative effort and support from individuals and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. I welcome the chance to thank them all at last, however inadequately. An appropriate order can hardly be determined, but without doubt the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, should be mentioned first, in particular for generous financial support, for its outstanding libraries, and for its sponsorship of the Ancient World Mapping Center, where almost all the digital work on the map was done. At different stages over several years, Nora Harris, Gannon Hubbard, David O'Brien, and Graham Shepherd played key roles in this exacting, complex activity

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at the Center under Tom Elliott's direction; assistance was also rendered there by Jeffrey Becker, Andrew Hull, Joshua Moffitt, Elizabeth Robinson, Brian Turner, and Sarah Willis. David O'Brien's work was supported by an award from the Loeb Classical Library Foundation. I realize that it can seem invidious to name only certain staff members within Chapel Hill's libraries when all have been so supportive; at the same time, it is impossible for me not to mention Sellers Lawrence, Celia Pratt, and John Rutledge for their exceptional service. Among academic colleagues over the years at Chapel Hill and at Duke nearby, I thank especially Robert Babcock, Tolly Boatwright, David Ganz, George Houston, Terence McIntosh, Michael McVaugh, Fred Naiden, Francis Newton, Grant Parker, William Race, Werner Riess, Philip Stadter, and Siegfried Wenzel; among my former students I thank Ricky Law and Sonia Wilson.

Beyond Chapel Hill, an ever-widening circle of friends and colleagues across a range of disciplines has generously informed, influenced, corrected, and sustained me in multiple ways: Emily Albu, Gregory Aldrete, Pascal Arnaud, Peter Barber, Niccolò Capponi, Brian Campbell, Martin Cropp, Raymond Davis, Gianluca Del Mastro, Catherine Delano-Smith, Adelheid Eubanks, Patrick Florance, Patrick Gautier Dalché, Helen Hardman, Paul Harvey, Nicholas Horsfall, Keith Lilley, Natalia Lozovsky, Michael Maas, Neil McLynn, Eckart Olshausen, Michael Rathmann, Gerald Stone, Jennifer Trimble, John Wilkes, and the late, much lamented David Woodward. Again, gratitude demands that a few individuals be singled out for special mention. Ekkehard Weber, a new friend, could not have been kinder or readier to help a less senior colleague who aimed to supersede his own invaluable work on the map. Nor could Kai Brodersen, an old friend, have been more supportive, despite the growing divergence in our estimation of Romans' worldview. Benet Salway, too, has been the most perceptive and tactful of critics, ever ready to join in appraising and modifying fresh approaches and ideas, however raw. A lead from Marjeta Šašel Kos transformed my understanding of significant, ill-documented episodes in the map's history during the early nineteenth century, and she and her husband, Peter Kos, made my visit to Ljubljana in this connection a most memorable and productive one. Expertise of a different character has been offered by Martin Steinmann, who agreed to evaluate the map from a paleographer's perspective, thus illuminating an aspect of fundamental importance that has been woefully neglected and lies beyond the capacity of a historian; without Steinmann's exemplary and unselfish contribution, this book would not be complete. Its value would also have suffered if it had not been possible for the technology supporting the presentation of the map as a seamless whole (Map A) to be skillfully upgraded in 2009 by Tom Elliott and Sean Gillies with joint hosting by New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World and the Digital Library Services Team.

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*Preface and
Acknowledgments*

Thanks are due to several libraries, above all to the National Library of Austria, Vienna, and to the successive directors of its Handschriften-sammlung, Ernst Gamillscheg and Andreas Fingernagel, for granting the privilege of three visits to inspect the map itself, two on my part and one by Martin Steinmann. Other libraries (and in some instances individual staff members) to be thanked are: Library of Congress, Washington, DC; New York Public Library (Alice Hudson); Widener Library, Harvard University (David Cobb); Newberry Library, Chicago (James Akerman); British Library, London; Royal Geographical Society Library, London (Francis Herbert); Bodleian Library, Oxford (Nick Millea); John Rylands University Library, Manchester; Robinson Library, University of Newcastle; Bibliothèque de l'Université Mons-Hainaut, Belgium (Christine Gobeaux); Stadtbibliothek, Trier, Germany (Reiner Nolden); Universität Basel Library, Switzerland; American Academy in Rome Library (Christina Huemer); Slovenian National Library, Ljubljana (Jasna Hrovat); also the National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana (Polona Bitenc).

Fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the National Humanities Center (Goheen Fellowship) played a vital and much appreciated role in the launching of my research for this book; a Harley Research Fellowship in the History of Cartography, held in London, advanced its completion.

I could never have reached the point of completion, however, without the support, patience, and skills of my wife, Zandra, and our two sons, Daniel and Patrick. Responsibility for any shortcomings remains mine alone. Unlike some of the map's previous editors, I lack the confidence to claim that all slips in its presentation have been eliminated, despite my best efforts.

Chapel Hill, NC
July 2009

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>BAtlas</i>	R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , with <i>Map-by-Map Directory</i> (Princeton [NJ] and Oxford, 2000)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres</i> (Paris)
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–)
<i>GGM</i>	C. Müller (ed.), <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> , 2 vols. and maps (Paris, 1855, 1861)
<i>GLM</i>	A. Riese (ed.), <i>Geographi Latini Minores</i> (Heilbronn, 1878)
<i>Gött. gel. Anz.</i>	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
<i>HistCart</i>	<i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 1: <i>Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Mediaeval Europe and the Mediterranean</i> , ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, 1987); vol. 3: <i>Cartography in the European Renaissance</i> , ed. D. Woodward (Chicago, 2007)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892–1916)
<i>ItAnt</i>	<i>Imperatoris Antonini Augusti Itineraria Provinciarum</i> . In O. Cuntz (ed.), <i>Itineraria Romana</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929); see also Appendix 9
<i>ItBurd</i>	<i>Itinerarium Burdigalense</i> . In P. Geyer (ed.), <i>Itineraria et Alia Geographica</i> , Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175 (Turnhout [Belgium], 1965), 1–26; see also Appendix 9

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	<i>ItMarit</i>	<i>Imperatoris Antonini Augusti Itinerarium Maritimum</i> . In O. Cuntz (ed.), <i>Itineraria Romana</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929)
	<i>ItMiller</i>	K. Miller, <i>Itineraria Romana: Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt</i> (Stuttgart, 1916)
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—		
Abbreviations	<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
	<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
	Killy	W. Killy (ed.), <i>Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache</i> , 15 vols. (Gütersloh/Munich, 1988–93)
	<i>LTUR</i>	E. M. Steinby (ed.), <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> (Rome, 1993–2001)
	<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome</i>
	<i>NP</i>	<i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (Stuttgart, 1996–2008); English ed., <i>Brill's New Pauly</i> (Leiden, 2002–)
	<i>PIR</i> ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III</i> , 2nd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–)
	Pliny, <i>NH</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
	Ptol., <i>Geog.</i>	A. Stückelberger and G. Grasshoff (eds.), <i>Ptolemaios: Handbuch der Geographie</i> , 2 vols. (Basle, 2006)
	<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
	<i>RE</i>	Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1978)
	<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
	<i>TAVO</i>	<i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i> (Wiesbaden, 1977–94)
	<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
	Weber, <i>Kommentar</i>	Volume accompanying E. Weber, <i>Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324</i> (Graz, 1976)