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Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture

Volume IV, Number 1 (Spring 2013)

Welcome to the Spring 2013 issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*. It is with great pleasure that we present a special issue devoted to medieval mapping, guest-edited by Asa Mittman and Dan Terkla. Medieval maps have long intrigued scholars. Although they sometimes illustrated geographical realities, far more often they reflected political and religious world views and attempts to understand history and its place within the mysterious plans of God. The six essays in this issue explore notions of religous, social, and art history with special emphasis on the Holy Land and of world maps (*mappa mundi*) and how each reflected ever-changing ideals. Written by some of the most important scholars, including Ingrid Baumgärtner, Gerda Brunnlechner, Marcia Kupfer, Asa Mittman, Bettina Schoeller, and Diarmiud Scully, this issue promises to bring new critical attention to medieval cartography.

We are adding a regular section on ideas associated with teaching medieval art and architecture. In this issue are short articles titled "3-D Medieval Art & Architectural History" and "Not your Father's Medieval Art: Contemporary Medieval Inspiration and Interaction" which suggest new approaches using digital and printing technology and humorous contemporary interaction. The "Featured Website," that of Flickr, brings to the fore tens of thousands of images of medieval art and architecture that can be used for teaching and research.

This issue also includes an expanded Discoveries section with information on re-discovered treasures, hidden documents, significant re-attributions (who will be the first art historian to write about the Capitoline Wolf as a work of medieval sculpture?), cats that walk across

manuscripts, early evidence of spectacles, a new portrait of Louis I, medieval graffiti at Norwich Cathedral, and a scale model of the Florence Cathedral dome.

Some Housekeeping

As we enter our second decade of publication, we are making changes to the format and coverage of the journal. In 2002, there were few easily accessible sources that listed calls for papers, conferences to attend, and publishing opportunities in a timely manner, but now such sources abound (H-ArtHist on H-Net as well as other online sources). To that end, we will no longer list these, though we will still feature museum and gallery exhibitions of medieval art.

Photobank

The Photobank database continues to serve as a resource for scholars and teachers. Recent uploads include details of English parish churches. Please note that our Photobank has undergone considerable renovation and is now part of the Ohio Digital Resource Commons (DRC) at Kenyon College. You can search by either typing in a key word or name in the Search DRC box (e.g. Canterbury) or click on the Peregrinations link in the list of Communities in DRC, and there you will have access to a full text search. The Photobank continues to grow with copyright-free images all downloadable for use in research and teaching.

The Future

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: **Sarah Blick (editor)**.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE ISSUES BELOW DO NOT REQUIRE YOU TO CLICK ON
THE FIRST PAGE. JUST SCROLL DOWN

FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC
-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture Volume IV
Number 1 (Spring 2013)

Introduction to Mappings

Five of the six essays in this special issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* started their lives as talks given at the International Medieval Congress [IMC] at the University of Leeds. The essays appear here thanks to the editors of *Peregrinations* who contacted Asa Simon Mittman to suggest that the organizers of the IMC "Mappings" sessions consider soliciting, vetting, and editing extended versions of talks delivered in those sessions. Asa and two of those organizers, Felicitas Schmieder and Dan Terkla, saw this as a job worth doing, a unique opportunity to showcase new work on old maps, and took it on.

Until 2011, there were no annual sessions on critical cartography at large congresses like those organized by The Medieval Academy and The Medieval Institute in the United States or at the IMC in England. Of course, the International Conference on the History of Cartography [ICHC] meets every other year, and there are series devoted to the study of maps: for example, the Maps and Society Lectures at the Warburg Institute, London; the Oxford Seminars in Cartography; and the Cambridge Seminar in the History of Cartography. These well-established gatherings feature first-class work but, the ICHC aside, draw a relatively small audience, most of whom are map enthusiasts. In order to reach a wider audience on a regular basis, the first "Mappings" sessions were organized for the 2011 IMC. The organizers hoped that the sessions would become an annual presence and provide opportunities for map historians and scholars in complementary disciplines—art, architectural, cultural, literary, and social history; diplomatics; numismatics; paleography; and

1

sigillography, for example—and at various stages of their careers to gather and present their work to a large, multidisciplinary audience of medievalists. This hope has been fulfilled: to date there have been nine sessions, and there are three more on the 2013 IMC program. At the conclusion of the 2013 Congress, thirty talks from a variety of disciplines will have been given in twelve sessions, and the 2014 IMC program is in the planning stages.

These six essays by map scholars at various career stages interweave art, cultural, literary, religious, and social history and so target *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*'s diverse audience of medievalists. The first two essays consider the role sources, broadly construed, play in the construction of maps. In "Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land," Ingrid Baumgärtner considers "the relationship between the description and mapping of spaces and the feasibility of describing and mapping such spatial representations."[1] She examines the ways in which verbal texts and images interact with and inform one another and shows how contexts for use and reuse matter, even in works influenced by a single source. Bettina Schoeller also considers textual sources and their impacts on maps. In "Transfer of Knowledge: *Mappae Mundi* between Texts and Images," she uses an understudied map from the Lambeth Palace collection to explore how, when presented with a complex textual source, a mapmaker might have created such a map. This small T-O exemplar oscillates between tradition modes of representation and innovations resulting from its designer's engagement with the manuscript in which the map is embedded. Schoeller moves beyond a discussion of the map's relationship with its textual complement to consider the impact on the mapmaker of the manuscript's rubrications and marginal annotations.

Gerda Brunnlechner's "The so-called Genoese World Map of

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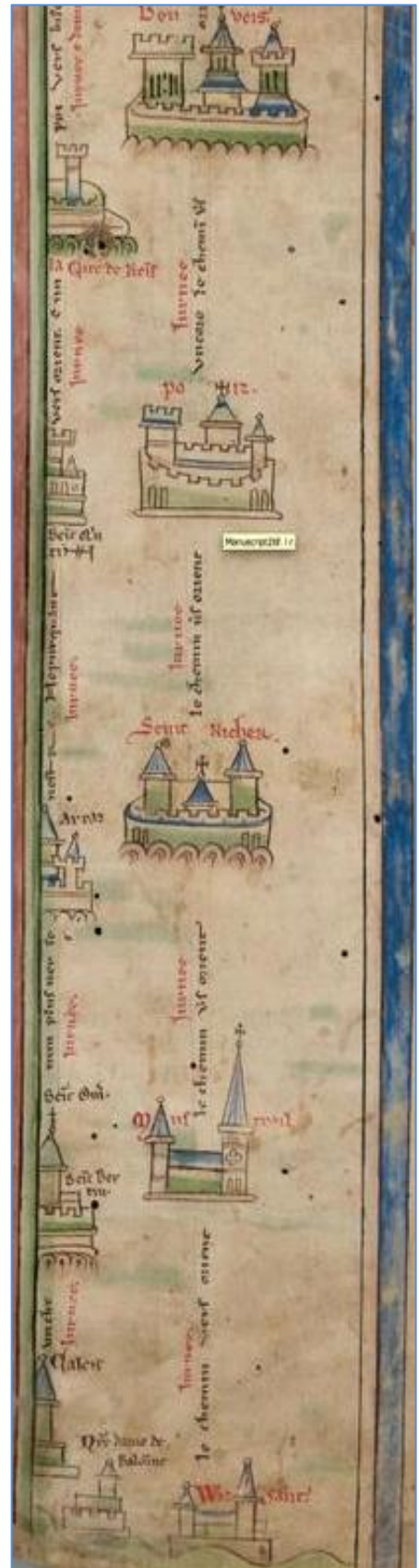
[1] Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* volume IV, number 1, p. 6.

2

1457: A Stepping Stone Towards Modern Cartography?" serves as a transition from these source studies to discussions rooted in the specifics of place. Indeed, she examines what she calls a "transitional map," that is, a world map situated between the ecclesiastical *mappae mundi* of the Middle Ages and their heterogeneous presentation of space and the more empirical portolan charts of the Early Modern period, with their homogenous presentation of space. Her careful reassessment of the map finds more continuity than radical change, and suggests that closer attention to the Genoese map might "expose our modern understanding of homogeneous space as an illusion."[2] The second half of the collection features three essays about English cartography, all of which are concerned with the marginal location of the mapmaker and the centrality of Jerusalem. In "The Noachide Dispersion in English *Mappae Mundi c*. 960 – *c*. 1130," Marcia Kupfer writes about the Thorney Abbey Map and two of its close cognates, asking: "How did medieval inhabitants of the British Isles understand their place on the Atlantic fringe of the known world, a place that, from the classical Roman perspective, put them outside the civilized order?"[3] Her close reading of their layouts, and contextualizing texts, reveals that some "errors" or "problems" previously cited by scholars were instead the result of a careful design meant to encourage viewers to consider the "juxtaposition, parallelism and opposition" of details that guide them toward an understanding of Britain's distinctive role in the narrative of salvation.

Diarmiud Scully also considers the special role afforded to Britain by *mappae mundi*, in his study of the Hereford Map. His "Augustus, Rome, Britain and Ireland on the Hereford *mappa mundi*: Imperium and Salvation," situates the image of Britain in relation to Rome, triangulating via the curious image of Augustus as emperor and pope. In so doing, he writes Britain into the dual narrative of Roman imperialism and evangelism. Finally, in "Forking Paths? Matthew Paris, Jorge Luis Borges, and Maps of the Labyrinth," Asa Simon Mittman uses the magical realist's "Garden of Forking Paths" and medieval labyrinths to draw attention to vital qualities of Matthew Paris' itinerary maps and their culmination in his maps of the Holy Land. In each, Paris created a tension between openness and restriction, between choice and inevitability. All three maps draw their viewers into dynamic interactions that seem to offer choices, while showing them that there is but one destination for the faithful, one inevitable choice: the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The essays in this special issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* offer a diversity of maps, sources, and methodologies and are but a sampling of the rich sessions now established

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[2] Gerda Brunnlechner, "The so-called Genoese World Map of 1457: A Stepping Stone Towards Modern Cartography?" *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, volume IV, number 1 (Spring 2013), p. 80.

[3] Marcia Kupfer, "The Noachide Dispersion in English *Mappae Mundi c*. 960 – *c*. 1130," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, volume IV, number 1 (Spring 2013), p. 81.

3

at the International Medieval Congress. The editors thank the authors for submitting their extended essays and Sarah Blick for her hard work and unflagging support. They hope, too, that this issue incites future debate and discussion about the design, creation, use, and afterlives of medieval and Early Modern maps.

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Dan Terkla,
Illinois Wesleyan University

Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land
By Ingrid Baumgärtner, Universität Kassel

The Holy Land has always played an important role in the imagination of the Latin Christian Middle Ages. As a multi-functional contact zone between Europe and Asia, it served as a region of diverse interactions between the three Abrahamic religions, was a destination for pilgrims, and a place where many disputes over territory took place. The armed crusades of 1099 by the Latin Christians led to the formation of the crusader states, which fell again after the final loss of Jerusalem in 1244 and the fall of Acre in 1291 to the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Khalil. Seizures and loss of territory resulted in the production of hundreds of travel and crusade accounts, as well as some of the first regional maps created in Europe for precisely this part of the world.[1] More than twenty maps

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[1] This article was developed from a paper that I gave at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2011. For a first version, see Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Reiseberichte, Karten und Diagramme. Burchard von Monte Sion und das Heilige Land," *Geschichtsvorstellungen. Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter*, ed. Steffen Patzold, Anja Rathmann-Lutz and Volker Scior (Köln Weimar Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 461-507. I am grateful to the Gerda Henkel Stiftung for providing financial support for travel and research costs and to the Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, in Florence, Italy, for providing me with the opportunity to stay there as a research associate. Cf. P.D.A. Harvey, "The biblical content of medieval maps of the Holy Land," *Geschichtsdeutung auf alten Karten. Archäologie und Geschichte* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 101), ed. Dagmar Unverhau (Wolfenbüttel: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), 55-63; P.D.A. Harvey, "Europa und das Heilige Land," *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters. Kartographische Konzepte* (Orbis mediaevalis 10), ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Hartmut Kugler (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 135-142. Harvey counts 21 maps excluding the city maps, in particular of Jerusalem and its surroundings, and without other drawings such as Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique / Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België (henceforth referred to as KBR), Ms. IV 462, fol. 8ʳ (first half of the 13th century); cf. Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Cartes de terre sainte, cartes de pèlerins," *Fra Roma e Gerusalemme nel medioevo. Paessaggi umani ed ambientali del pellegrinaggio meridionale*, vol. 2, ed. Massimo Oldoni (Salerno: Laveglia, 2005), 573-612; Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Das Heilige Land kartieren und beherrschen," *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Martina Stercken (Zürich: Chronos, 2012), 27-75; P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: British Library, 2012).

of Palestine, as well as numerous Holy Land diagrams and city maps dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, have been found. European travelers and draftsmen were already exploring the geography of the Middle East at a time when they seldom mapped even their home regions.

The sacred places and the territories surrounding them held ideological significance. The ways in which they are described in texts and visualized in maps and diagrams contributed to the impression that these coveted places were held by the Christian west. Crusader beliefs and the veneration of Jerusalem established a model to interpret and organize history, which in turn influenced the world order of European crusaders and the world knowledge of pilgrims and scholars. Using visual descriptions, Europeans found a new way to operationalize their distant conquests. Despite all efforts to make claims to the border region disputed by the various religions a reality, this symbolic occupation can be interpreted as reflecting a fundamental desire; as John Brian Harley argues, "to map the land was to own it and make that ownership legitimate."[2] The results were interactions between the textual descriptions provided by pilgrim accounts and encyclopedias and the visual cartographic and diagrammatic images. And so, the questions here are: to what extent were text and cartography, narrative accounts and graphical designs, interdependent, and which spatial visualizations did authors create for the targeted reader through the use of various media?

The following closely examines the relationship between the description and mapping of spaces and the feasibility of describing and mapping such spatial representations. Travel accounts have a special ability to generate a layout. They refer to spaces and topographies beyond the textual descriptions, thereby making them visible. Even the texts themselves

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[2]   John Brian Harley, assisted by Ellen Hanlon and Mark Warhus, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter. An Interpretive Guide to the Travelling Exhibition* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, 1990), 99; cf. John H. Andrews, "Introduction. Meaning, Knowledge, and Power in the Map Philosophy of J. B. Harley," *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 1-32, here 22.

6

produce positioning, which can be cartographically illustrated as a complement to the description and then color the account once again. The maps are then no longer seen as surveys of topographical reality and visualizations of landscapes and places, but as multi-purposed, as we consider their qualities as cultural texts. They represent different systems of classification; they suggest the potential control over and designation of areas, and are used to generate knowledge and discursive interaction with the observer. On the one hand, they are tools for orientation and self-positioning and, on the other, products of discourses on power and religion. Therefore, they play active and passive roles in the visualization of territories. In each of these roles, they are closely bound to the political cultures of their times, knowledge of areas, and power. This applies in particular to the Holy Land and its cultural, religious, and geopolitical representation in textual and visual description.

Using Burchard of Mount Sion and his Holy Land description as an example, we can examine how text and image interact in the acquisition of territories, and which changes each of these types of representation were subject to over time. The Dominican wrote down his experiences while or after spending several years in the Holy Land before, during and after 1283[3] Burchard's *Descriptio terrae sanctae* became a late medieval popular success. Its various versions, including a short and a long version in Latin and translations into German and French, have been handed down in approximately one hundred medieval and early

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[3]   About the author and his work cf. Ernst Rotermund, "Das Jerusalem des Burchard vom Berge Sion," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 35 (1912): 1-27 and 57-85; *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi 2* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1967), 609; Thomas Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum 1: A-F* (Rome, 1970), 257-260; Karin Schneider, "Burchardus de Monte Sion," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon 1*, ed. Kurt Ruh (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), 1117f.; Jan Prelog, "Burchard de Monte Sion OP," *Lexikon des Mittelalters 2*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier (München Zürich: Artemis & Winkler, 1983), 953; Harvey, "The biblical content," 56-59; Gritje Hartmann, *Wilhelm Tzewers: Itinerarius terre sancte. Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar und Übersetzung* (Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins 33) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 38-42; Gautier Dalché, "Cartes de terre sainte," 586-592; Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Reiseberichte und Karten. Wechselseitige Einflüsse im späten Mittelalter?," *In Spuren reisen. Vor-Bilder und Vor-Schriften in der Reiseliteratur,* ed. Gisela Ecker and Susanne Röhl (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2006), 89-124, here 108f.; Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 94-106, about Burchard of Mount Sion and the map of the Holy Land in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4. I am grateful to Professor Harvey for allowing me to read and refer to the relevant chapter of his book prior to publication.

modern manuscripts and some early printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Burchard's description, although little studied even today, is considered a key document that influenced the perception of Palestine in both text and image, in travel accounts and maps until far into the sixteenth century.

Some of the manuscripts and later prints of Burchard's text are accompanied by graphical work, including regional maps, diagrams, miniatures, and city plans. Differentiated regional maps visualize, for instance, two handwritten long versions from the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[4] Regional diagrams of the winds illustrate a short and a long version from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries now in London and Munich, respectively, as well as a longer version in Hamburg from the early sixteenth century.[5] A T-O scheme of the world supplements the excerpts of a long version from the fifteenth century now in Munich.[6] In addition, two portolan-style maps of Palestine, produced around 1300, were transmitted separately from the account that inspired their makers.[7] These multifaceted transmittal circumstances offer us an opportunity to analyze in greater detail the correlation between map and account, as well as the content, routes, and structures of the transfer of knowledge between written accounts and cartographical visualization.

This interrelation can be outlined in six steps. I first examine the biographical context of origin and its complex transmittal circumstances; second, I look at the structure of the

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[4] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (henceforth referred to as BML), Plut. 76.56, fol. 97v-98r; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (henceforth referred to as SUB), Cod. geogr. 59, p. 70-71 with a map of the Holy Land.

[5] London, British Library (henceforth referred to as BL), Add. Ms. 18929, fol. 1r-50v (long version), fol. 51r with a wind diagram; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (henceforth referred to as BSB), Clm 569, fol. 184r-210v (short version), fol. 186v with a wind diagram; Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 59, pp. 10-69 (long version), p. 13 with a wind diagram. I would like to thank Ekkehart Rotter for graciously referring me to the diagrams in Munich and Hamburg.

[6] Munich, BSB, Clm 14583, fol. 454^r-488^v, here fol. 471^v with a T-O scheme.

[7] Florence, Archivio di Stato (henceforth referred to as ASt), Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4; Reinhold Röhricht, "Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7.-16. Jahrhundert I," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 14 (1891): 8-11; and Figure I, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (henceforth referred to as PML), M 877.

account, including its graphical presentation; third, I discuss the diagramming and mapping methods used in the versions of handwritten accounts; fourth, I study the relevance of the separately transmitted maps and their interplay with the text of the travel report; fifth, I briefly discuss how Burchard's account was received, pictorially and textually, in the manuscripts and the printed editions; and, finally, I present a summary of the results.

I. Biographical Context of Origin and Transmittal Circumstances

What we know of Burchard's life comes only from his travel report. However, without knowing what was added by copyists and annotators, it is difficult to know precisely what Burchard wrote himself. The starting point is complex. We are currently aware of approximately one hundred medieval and early modern transmissions in Latin, German and French, including over eighty manuscripts of the Latin text in short and long versions. There are numerous variations on each version. A number of short-version manuscripts contain a preface in two different versions. A few copies of the longer version include an additional description of Egypt, as perhaps some of the missing shorter-version manuscripts did. Compilations and excerpts also have been found merged with works of other authors.[8] All of this leads to the fact that the biographical information contained in the numerous versions and their variations differs significantly. Therefore, we are not able to ascertain sources for the information, who added it, or how reliable the statements are. As a consequence, Burchard's

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[8] Cf. Cecilia Blanco Pascual, "Los manuscritos del *Tractatus de Terra Sancta compilatus a fratre Marino et a fratre Brocardo* (anónimo): algunas notas críticas," *Exemplaria Classica. Journal of Classical Philology. Revista de Filologia Clásica* 12 (2008): 181-193; Cecilia Blanco Pascual, "El *Tractatus de Terra Sancta Compilatus a Fratre Marino et a Fratre Brocardo* (anónimo): "plagio" y originalidad," *Actas do IV Congresso Internacional de Latim Medieval Hispânico*, ed. Aires Nascimento and Paulo Alberto (Lissabon: Centro de Estudos Clássicos, 2006), 243-249. Michele Campopiano, University of York, is preparing an edition of the compilation in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek (henceforth referred to as HAB), Cod Guelf. 391 Helmst. and examines the different collections of texts in manuscripts with pilgrims' guidebooks; cf. Michele Campopiano, "Tradizione e edizione di una compilazione di testi sulla Terra Santa proveniente dal convento francescano del Monte Sion (fine del XIV secolo)," *Revue d'histoire des textes* n.s. 4 (2011): 329-359; Michele Campopiano, "Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrims' Guidebooks: Some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion," *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 24,1 (2012): 75-89.

9

biography and works, thanks to the imagination and additions of others during and after his time, became even more complex constructions.

These multi-layered constructions have affected the judgments of scholars up to the present day. This can be partially attributed to the fact that, to this date, neither the long nor short version has been critically edited, and both are available only in old, incomplete editions. In 1604, Heinrich Canisius published the Latin short version, last reprinted in 1725, and without the seldom-transmitted preface.[9] In 1864, Johann C. M. Laurent published the long version, which was reprinted in 1873.[10] He added a detailed forward about the transmission circumstances, but was unaware of the description of Egypt, which probably was included in only a few of the long-version manuscripts. The situation becomes increasingly complicated, because both versions, as determined by Ernst Rotermund and recently confirmed by Paul Harvey, may have been two completely different works, and not simply variations of the same text.[11]

It is even more difficult to clarify the relationship between the two versions. In his preface, Laurent assumed that Burchard wrote the short version while in the Holy Land, sent it to Magdeburg, and only later, based on this first rapid narrative, produced the complete

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[9] For an edition of the short version, see Burchard de Monte Sion, "*Descriptio terrae sanctae*," ed. Heinrich Canisius, *Antiquae lectionis*, 6 vol. (Ingolstadt: Officina typographica Ederiana, 1601-1604), vol. 6, 295-322; Burchard de Monte Sion, "*Descriptio terrae sanctae*," ed. Jacques Basnage, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicum, sive Henrici Canisii lectiones antique*, 4 vol. (Antwerpen: Apud Rudolphum & Gerhardum Wetstenios, 1725), vol. 4, 1-28. This is the only edition of the short version; it is based on a manuscript from the monastery of St. Mang in Regensburg, today in Munich, BSB, Clm 569, fol. 184r-210v.

[10] Edition of the long version: Burchard de Monte Sion, "*Descriptio terrae sanctae*," ed. Johann C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Bibliopola, 1873), 11-94; English translation: Burchard of Mt. Sion, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896, Reprint New York: A M S Press, 1971); *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291* (Crusade Texts in Translation 23), ed. Denys Pringle (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 241-320; Reprint and Italian translation: Burchardus de Monte Sion, "*Descriptio terrae sanctae*," ed. Sabino de Sandoli, *Itineraria hierosolymitana crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)* (Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 24), 4 vol. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1978-1984), vol. 4, 119-219.

[11] Rotermund, "Das Jerusalem des Burchard," 3; Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 98-99. There are differences in the titles, for example. The long version divides the Holy Land into seven or eight sectors, when including the separate chapter on Jerusalem; the short version, in contrast, focuses on individual Holy Land locations and sites.

version, which is almost four times longer than the short version.[12] Accordingly, authors such as Johann Laurent and Paul Harvey privileged the short version. They argue that the latter tells us more about Burchard himself than the long version, as it supposedly omits some personal comments.[13] At the same time, however, Harvey emphasizes that many references made in the short version are meaningful only when read in the context of the long version, which, therefore, must form the basis of the short version.[14] This means that the short version, which contains more biographical information, must have come from the long version. The question of authorship of the individual versions and their biographical additions remains unanswered.

Adaptations and printed copies followed later. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the works were translated into German and French. These translations are available in only a few manuscripts. One copy of the short version and two copies of the long version in German are found today in Munich, Vienna, and Klosterneuburg, Austria.[15] The translated work was spread in the form of early printed books: German editions in 1534, 1583, 1584, 1609 and 1629, 1827; and a French edition in 1488. Approximately twenty editions of the Latin version were published by the middle of the eighteenth century, after its first printing in the *Rudimentum novitiorum* in 1475.[16] All of these texts offer different information about the

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[12] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent, 10.

[13] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 3-4; Harvey, "Medieval Maps," chapter 9.

[14] Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 98-100, with examples.

[15] Short version in Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1056, fol. 75r-98r; long versions: Munich, BSB, Cgm. 317, fol. 131ra-140vb; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4578, fol. 195va-207va. For the codex in Munich, dated 1406-1450, cf. Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Cgm 201-350* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970), 306-316; Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 260; Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae. Chronologisches Verzeichnis der von 333 bis 1878 verfassten Literatur über das Heilige Land mit dem Versuch einer Kartographie, Berlin 1890, verbesserte und vermehrte Neuausgabe mit einem Vorwort von David H. K. Amiran* (Jerusalem: John Trotter Publishers, 1963), 57. An edition of the unprinted German version is still missing.

[16] Rudimentum novitiorum (1475), fol. 176r-200r, map of the Holy Land ibid., fol. 174v-175r; Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 11-17, with a list of the twenty Latin editions from 1475 to 1746 and the print versions of the translations.

author and his travels through the Holy Land, along with a variety of pictures, diagrams, and maps that illustrate his experiences in foreign territories.

Some manuscripts tell us that Burchard of Mount Sion was of German origin (*Theotonicus*) and that he came from the Magdeburg region.[17] Because of his first name, he was always connected with the noble Barby family of the region, not to be confused with the then Earl of Barby. We can assume that he was a Dominican friar: he refers to himself as *frater* in the incipit of the short version (in later printed copies, however, the text refers to Burchard as *monachus*), and addressed a copy of the work to a Dominican friar of the same name, Burchard, in Magdeburg.[18] It is almost certain that Burchard of Mount Sion spent several years in the Middle East, certainly in 1283/1284, probably before and perhaps even after; however, the duration of his stay is difficult to estimate. It is possible he spent up to ten years there.

Above all, Burchard's account describes the Holy Land, including its borders, flora and fauna, and the religions of the inhabitants. When he later claims to have been in Cappadocia, in Cyprus, which was ruled at the time by the Hospitallers, and in Egypt, we must ask ourselves if this statement has any merit.[19] For, in the preface, he emphasizes his

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[17] Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile (henceforth referred to as BSV), Cod. 74, fol. 32^v, manuscript from the early 14th century with two pieces of important information: The explicit of this long version dates the account to 1284 and identifies Burchard as a German (*Theotonicus*). For the codex cf. Andrea Donello et al. (Ed.), *I manoscritti della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padova* (Venezia – Firenze: Regione del Veneto, Giunta regionale, 1998), 24. Cf. the explicit in Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 101v. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 94, infers the German decent also from the fact that the short version mentions a place called *Rotenburch*, located between Jerusalem and Jericho, where much blood was spilled; cf. Burchard, "Descriptio," ed. Canisius/Basnage 16: *Locus idem Rotenburch appellatur, propter multum sanguinem ibi susum.* For the origin from the Magdeburg region, cf. Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Canisius/Basnage , 17: *quod Ierusalem amplior multo sit & longior, quam antiqua civitas Magdeburgensis*.

[18] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Canisius/Basnage 9: *fratri Burchardo, Lectori Ordinis Praedicatorum in Maydenburch, frater Burchardus de monte Sion.* Even the long version in Hamburg (circa 1500) identifies Burchard as a Dominican: Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 59, p. 10 with the title *Itinerarius terre sancte valde bonus, editus a fratre Borchardo de Berghe ordinis predicatorum*; cf. Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 6.

[19] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 61 on the production of balsam in Egypt and 93-94 on the travel routes.

personal experiences and status as an eyewitness.[20] To fulfill the wishes of his readers, he

supposedly crossed the territory on foot many times. He claims to have observed everything

his readers would like to know, noted it with care, and written it down diligently. He states

that he recorded nothing in his account that he did not see with his own eyes, or, if he was

unable to access certain places, he rigorously questioned a native and precisely recorded the

answers.

It might be hasty to dismiss these recurring declarations as a topos, since the author

admits never setting foot in the remote regions east of Jordan and the Sea of Galilee.[21] In

other places he mentions which monuments and landscapes he saw and which ones he had to

forego.[22] For example, he reports that because of the wild animals and snakes, and

particularly because of the combative Bedouins, he was unable to travel to the region where

one could see the pillar of salt that was once Lot's wife.[23] Despite this, we do not know much

for sure, except that the inquisitive Burchard travelled the Holy Land and wrote a *Descriptio*

terrae sanctae.

Even the date of the transcript is questionable. According to Johann Laurent, the work

was written between 1271 and 1285, while Denys Pringle concludes that it was written

between July 1274 and May 1285.[24] The *explicit* of a manuscript in Padua from the early

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[20] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 20-21; cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 242: "I have inspected, diligently recorded and studiously described in so far as I have been able that land through which I have frequently passed on foot; and I would wish the reader to know that I have included nothing in this description except what I saw with my own eyes when I was in the place itself or, when I was unable to gain access, what I saw standing on some mountain or in another suitable place; and I have noted down what I have learnt from Syrians, Saracens or other inhabitants of the land, diligently questioning them."

[21] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 41; cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle , 264: "Note that the land beyond the sea of Galilee is extremely mountainous, as it seems to me, although I have not entered it."

[22] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent with words like *non uidi* or *non intraui*, such as on p. 53 to Samaria. We can find the word *vidi* nearly fifty times in the report.

[23] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 59; cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 283.

[24] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 4. Cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 50; cf. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 95.

13

fourteenth century indicates that the account was completed in 1284.[25] This would make a

date of composition between 1283 and 1284 plausible. In the long and short versions, the

author reports visiting Mount Gilboa on November 11, St. Martin's Day.[26] Later printed

copies surprisingly date this event as November 1, All Saints' Day, 1283.[27] This example also

demonstrates the need for a critical edition of the account; irrespective of whether the

different versions contain intentional changes or small scribal errors, we still do not know

who inserted and altered this information.

Other biographical information appears to be even less reliable. Are we really to

believe that Burchard could read Arabic, simply because one copy of the long version

proposes that he tried to read the Koran?[28] Did he belong to a delegation sent by the Roman

King Rudolf I of Habsburg (1273-1291) to the Sultan in Cairo, as the long version of the

manuscript in Nancy, not written until 1517, suggests?[29] Nevertheless, the long version

printed by Laurent mentions a visit to Egypt, where Burchard supposedly saw at the Sultan's

court how balsam was grown in large quantities.[30] Only a few manuscripts, including the long

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[25] For dating purposes cf. Padova, BSV, Cod. 74, fol. 32[v]: *Explicit liber de Descriptione terre sancte editus a fratre Borcardo theotonico ordinis fratrum predicatorum. Sub anno domini MCCLXXXIIII.*

[26] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 52: *cum in die beati Martini essem ibi*; Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Canisius/Basnage 15: *Nec est verum quod dicitur de monte Gelboe, quod in eo nec ros nec pluvia descendat: Quia cum in die sancti Martini essem in valle Jezrael sub monte, vidi pluviam maximam super montem, quae etiam aquae ad nos descenderunt de monte.*

[27] Venice 1519; Magdeburg 1593; the Antwerp edition of 1536 gives the year but not the day; cf. Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 342, Anm. 52.

[28] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 53; Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. De Sandoli 162: *Machometum dicunt nuncium Dei fuisse et ad se tantum a Deo missum. Hoc legi in alcorano, qui est liber eorum.*

[29] Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 250, fol. 89r-177r, here fol. 89r.

[30] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 61; cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 285-286: "On and around this mountain was a certain garden of balsam […]. This I also saw when I was coming to the sultan in Egypt. He had me taken to it and I took a great quantity of balsam wood and bathed in the well from which it is watered."

versions in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, and Paris (which is lost), give details of this supposed trip to Egypt.[31] Therefore, it is not hard to believe that the later transcripts and early printed books produced new biographical details that seem more and more removed from the lifestyle of a modest travelling Dominican friar. Later copyists designed Burchard's life to suit what they and their contemporaries needed from this traveler to the Holy Land.

II. The Account and its Graphical Presentation

As the crusader states dissolved and the Christians were pushed back, Europeans longingly set their sights on foreign lands. The pilgrimage accounts and regional maps produced after these events unfolded dealt with this loss by perpetuating the unrealistic image of biblical and historical traditions or by trying to render a more realistic picture of the lost lands in preparation for new crusades. In both cases, the account of Palestine by Burchard of Mount Sion, an observer familiar with the area, presented opportunities, if nothing else, because it was written shortly before the Latin Christians had to leave the Holy Land.

Like all other authors who wrote travel reports of the Holy Land, Burchard wrote for those believers unable to make the journey to the holy places, or for those who wanted to envision past experiences. In his description, Burchard records exactly what a visitor, whose knowledge was shaped by the Old and New Testaments, expected to find there; the rest was taken from Burchard's personal experience. Burchard's account was enriched with specifics

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[31] The supplement from the missing codex in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth referred to as BnF), NAL 781 was printed by Henri Omont, "Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de sir Thomas Phillipps récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 64 (1903): 490-533, here 498-503; available online at: http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/issue/bec_0373-6237_1903_num_64_1. Cf. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 1, 259. The Egyptian section is missing in the printed version of Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent ; it was transmitted in Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 354 Helmst., fol. 165rb-167rb (Incipit: *De descripcione egipti. Perueni usque ad ostia nyli fluminis*; Explicit: *Istud retulerunt omnes egyptij et cristiani et sarraceni bona fide. Explicit libellus de descripcione terre sancte cuius auctor ignorat*). This manuscript collection from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries contains a list of places including their longitude and latitude (ibid., fol. 4r-110v), Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* with two drawings of the world, a globe and a map (ibid., fol. 16r-18v), Burchard's *Descriptio* (ibid., fol. 132va-167rb), a description of the Holy Land by Beda, the *Imago mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis and the *Historia Hierosolimitana* of Robertus Monachus.

on physical distances and structured so that the reader could imagine those distances and understand his travel experiences. This is true for sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the coastal towns and landscapes. The account was even enhanced by observations on plants and animals.

A variety of pictorial forms illustrate the textual descriptions. For example, a miniature shows crusader-occupied Jerusalem.[32] Diagrams, maps of Palestine, and a city plan of Jerusalem help one position settlements and events. One manuscript, written around 1300, and found today in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, Italy, contains a small sketch of the most important holy places in Jerusalem and a double-sided schematic map of Palestine.[33] Three other manuscripts, written between the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries, show a diagram of the winds.[34] These diagrams divide the land into fan-shaped sectors, position Acre at the center and match the travel routes described in the text. The manuscript written around 1500 in Hamburg, which was possibly compiled as an apograph, a draft for print, includes yet another map of Palestine,[35] which appears to be closely related to the *Rudimentum novitiorum* (Lübeck 1475) and *Prologus Arminensis* (Lübeck 1478). Another diagram presents a T-O scheme with the three regions of the world.[36] Two other

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[32] Padova, BSV, Cod. 74, fol. 13v with a full-page miniature, ibid., fol. 1r and fol. 14 with figurative initials; cf. Donello et al., *I manoscritti* , 24.

[33] Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97r with a map of Jerusalem; cf. Reinhold Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo sen. als Kartograph Palästinas," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 21 (1898): 84-126 and the plates, here plate 8. Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97v-98r with the map of Palestine.

[34] London, BL, Add. Ms. 18929, fol. 1r-50v (long version), fol. 51r with a wind diagram; Munich, BSB, Clm 569, fol. 184r-210v (short version), fol. 186v with a wind diagram, cf. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 1, 258, without knowledge of the diagram; Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 59, pp. 10-69 (long version with an index), p. 13 with a wind diagram. The manuscript in Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, Gymnasium Josephinum 17, unfortunately missing, was originally accompanied by a wind diagram on a separate sheet.

[35] Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 59, p. 70-71 with a map of the Holy Land. Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 6, dates the paper codex, which he believed to be an apograph, to the sixteenth century. The manuscript could have originated as early as 1500. It is the only codex in which the wind diagram and map are depicted together.

[36] Munich, BSB, Clm 14583, fol. 454$^{\mathrm{r}}$-488$^{\mathrm{v}}$, here fol. 471$^{\mathrm{v}}$ with a T-O scheme.

16

relatively large maps, each on a separate, single sheet, comprise Burchard's knowledge. They were handed down separately and are not connected directly to one of the travel report manuscripts. These maps are located in the Archivio di Stato in Florence and in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.[37]

This complex situation makes it possible to track and analyze the interaction and paths of knowledge transfer between text and diagram and to obtain an understanding of the Holy Lands seizure, shape and composition in both media. In contrast to the biographical constructions that primarily enrich the short version, the maps and diagrams, all created by unknown hands, refer primarily to the toponyms of the long version. A few copied short versions written after 1400 do mention a figurative drawing in their prefaces (omitted by Heinrich Canisius in his edition) that was probably sketched on accompanying parchment (*pellis*).[38] In this preface, Burchard promises the recipient, a *confrère* in Magdeburg, a sketch designed to help him and his Dominican brothers understand the Holy Land. He aimed to describe and re-present everything for the eye so it could be better imagined.[39]

We still do not know which version of the received maps and diagrams this statement refers to or how the transmitted manuscripts of the Latin text are related. It still remains unclear who inserted this passage into the text and when. At present, there is no printed directory of the extant transmitted texts and their illustrations, via which a connection could

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[37] Florence, ASt, Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4; Reinhold Röhricht, "Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7.-16. Jahrhundert I," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 14 (1891): 8-11 and Figure I with map and transcription. The New York map is PML, M 877.

[38] The short versions in Breslau (Wrocław), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (henceforth referred to as BU), I. F. 221, fol. 232^r-242^r (dated 1407) and Munich, BSB, Cml 569, fol. 184^r-210^v (fifteenth century) are manuscripts with complete prefaces, including reference to the *pellis*. These three manuscripts should serve as the basis of a future edition. All of the other known short versions (approximately 21) provide a shortened preface, also including Wrocław, BU, IV. F. 191 fol. 142^r-151^r and the four short versions in Prague.

[39] Wrocław, BU, I. F. 221, fol. 232^v: *Que omnia, ut melius possint ymaginari, mitto vobis simul pellem, in qua omnia ad oculum figurantur*; cf. Munich, BSB, Clm 569, fol. 185^v-186^r; Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 10 with reference to an *addita tabula geographica*; both of which are not found in the edition of Canisius' short version; cf. Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Canisius. Cf. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 99, note 45 with the notation that the *addita tabula geographica* supplement most likely comes from Laurent himself and is not a Burchard quote.

17

be more easily made.[40] Because of this, it is difficult to determine what exactly this *pellis* is, whether it was a *tabula geographica*, as indicated by Johann C. M. Laurent and interpreted by him and his followers as a geographical map of Palestine, or a different kind of geographical representation. Alternatively, was the illustration for the eye mentioned in the preface only the descriptive visualization in the *Descriptio* itself? This ambiguity is compounded because, during the Middle Ages, the verb *describere* combined both elements: the creation of a text and the production of a drawing.[41]

All maps produced from Burchard's description locate biblical and historical elements of various origins in the context of rulership at the time. According to the *Descriptio*, they conceptualize territorial units into which the fortified cities and fortresses of the crusaders fit just as the mountains, landscapes and holy places mentioned in the Bible. The three diagrams show the Holy Land in great cartographic abstraction. They consider the political importance of the crusader bastion, the city of Acre, on which all three drafts are centered. From there the routes—in the text, the streets, and in illustrations, the straight lines of the wind directions— fan out across Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, all the way to Lesser Armenia in the north and Egypt in the south. The preface of the long version explains that the model was based on a systematic process.[42] The division of the world into four continents and twelve wind directions formed the basis for the textual and graphical structure, whereby only seven sectors spanned the land, due to the location of Acre by the sea.

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[40] I would like to thank the Gerda Henkel Stiftung for the initial funding of the project.

[41] For the meaning of *describere* and *descriptio* see Gautier Dalché, "Cartes de terre sainte," 590-592.

[42] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 21; cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 243: "[…] I thought of defining a central point among them and of setting out all land around it in due measure. And for this centre I have chosen the city of Acre, as it is better known than other places. However, it is not located in the centre but at its western border on the sea. From it I have drawn four lines corresponding to the four parts of the world and each quarter I have divided into three, so that those twelve divisions might correspond to the twelve winds of heaven."

18

The long version is the basis of this diagram. Its chapter headings, which divide the Holy Land into seven (or eight, including the separate chapter on Jerusalem) regions, determine this expansive fan-shaped division.[43] Its text describes how the sectors are organized from Syria in the north to the coastal areas in the south, such as Gaza. From the first four sectors (*prima, secunda, tercia* and *quarta divisio*) ensue the two densely populated regions of the Eastern Quarter (*secunda* and *tercia divisio quarte orientalis*), an accentuated section of Jerusalem and its surroundings, and the southern sector (*prima divisio quarte australis*) with its coastal towns. The concluding three chapters provide an overview of the size and tribes of the Holy Land, the crops and animals of the earth blessed with fertility, as well as the religions and the customs of the region.

It is quite clear that the long version's text and illustrations were coordinated, because the diagrams mirror the structure of the textual description. On the other hand, the short version focuses in greater detail on the individual locations and sites, without taking into consideration the classification according to sectors. In the short version, only isolated remnants of the sector divisions remained in the text, which no longer made sense in the new context.[44]

Despite this, at least one of these diagrams has also been added to the short version. The Münchner Clm 569, (**Figure 1**) a short version with a slightly different textual layout, shows Acre as a heavily fortified triangle with towers and city gates, from which twelve sectors of land and water, named after winds, emanate. In one case, the name of the wind is missing.[45] Seven labeled double lines with directional arrows traverse the land, and five

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[43] Cf. Padova, BSV, Cod. 74 with red chapter titles.

[44] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Canisius/Basnage 13: *Procedendo igitur de Accon per primam divisionem quartae Orientalis partis ad quinque milliaria de Accon, occurrit casale quoddam, quod dicitur sanctus Gregorius*; ibid. p. 13: *In secunda divisione hujus quartae partis Orientalis primo post Accon ad quatuor leucas occurrit Cana Galilaeae*; ibid. p. 14: *In tertia divisione hujus quartae partis Orientalis de Accon ad quatuor leucas contra Austrum est prima pars montis Carmeli*.

[45] Munich, BSB, Clm 569, fol. 184r-210v (short version), here fol. 186v.

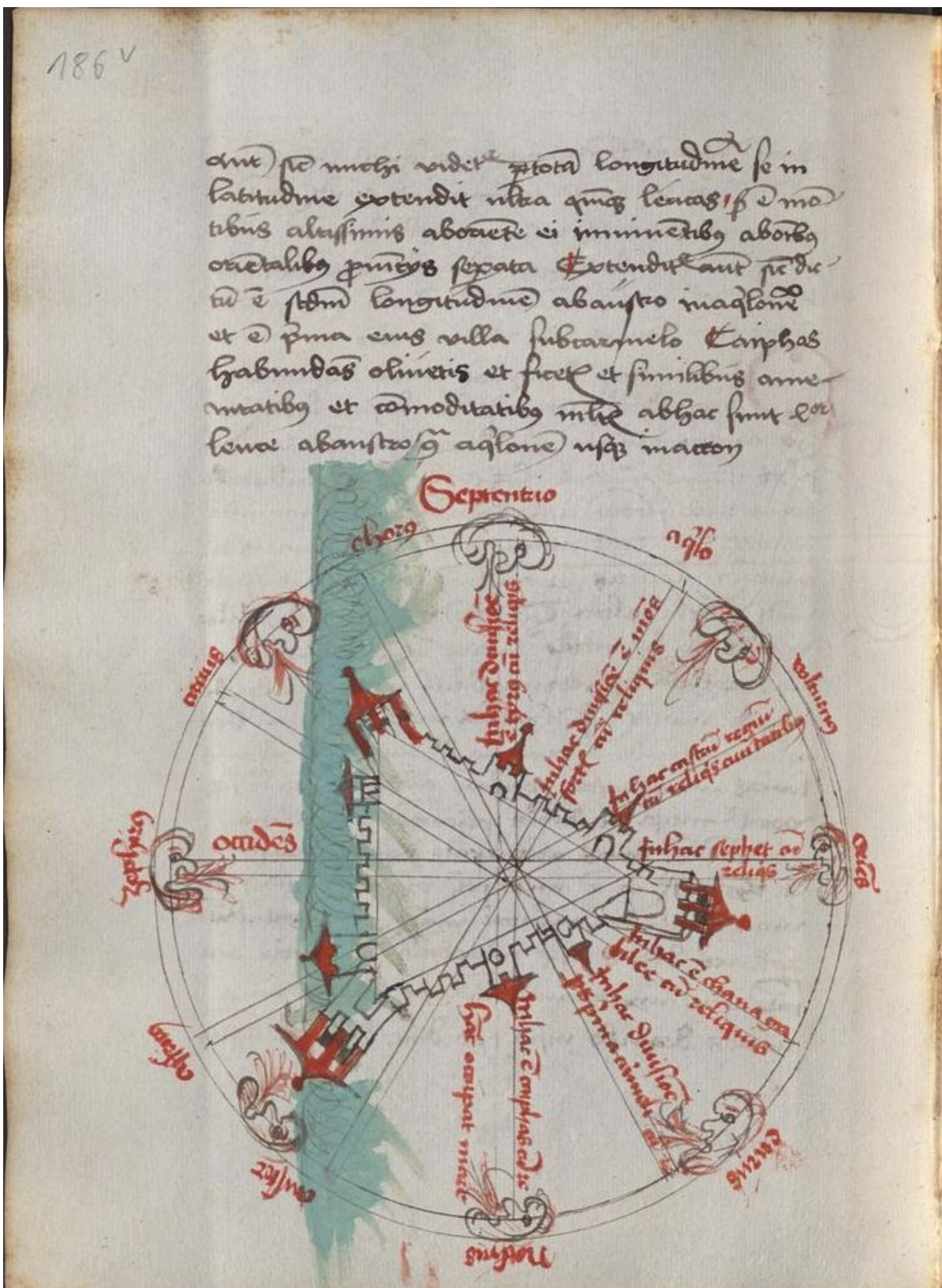**Figure 1**   Wind diagram according to Burchard of Mount Sion: Munich, BSB, Clm 569, fol. 186v. Photo: Munich, BSB

Figure 2   Wind diagram according to Burchard of Mount Sion: London, BL, Add. Ms. 18929, fol. 51r. Photo: British Library

unlabeled double lines cross the water on the diagram, which is oriented to the north. The decision to align the diagram with Acre was determined by which places and territories the crusaders had under control and the fact that only a small part of the Holy Land was under Christian rule at the time. Even Burchard organized his exploration of the area by starting at this Christian bastion.

The location of the metropolis also determined the layout of the second known diagram, now in London. **(Figure 2)** This diagram is oriented to the south and focuses more heavily on the part of the world that lies east of the harbor city.[46] The listing of the locations and regions between the sector lines appears uniform. It has more text, if for no other reason than because the six winds are named and because Acre itself is not shown as a voluminous pictogram, but only as a name. This left room for more text. This means that the geographic circumstances there were illustrated in a most efficient manner—in six evenly large sections of a single semicircle.

Even harder to interpret is the easterly oriented diagram in the Hamburg manuscript, because the interior labels that fan out from Acre have been crossed out.[47] Only a small hill with a church tower, perhaps a symbol for Jerusalem, remains within the semicircle. The surrounding texts name the heavenly directions and winds that lead north, northeast, east, southeast, and south. The distance calculations taken from the account determine the length and width of the Holy Land.[48]

Did a wind diagram corresponding to these manuscripts serve as a comprehension aid for those in Magdeburg to whom Buchard sent his travel report? Was this the figurative *pellis*

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[46] London, BL, Add. Ms. 18929, fol. 1r-50v (long version), here fol. 51r.

[47] Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 59, p. 13.

[48] Hamburg, SUB, Cod. geogr. 59, p. 13: *Longitudo terre sancte a Dan usque Bersabe cIo leuce* und *Magnitudo a mare magno usque ad mare mortuum xl leuce.*
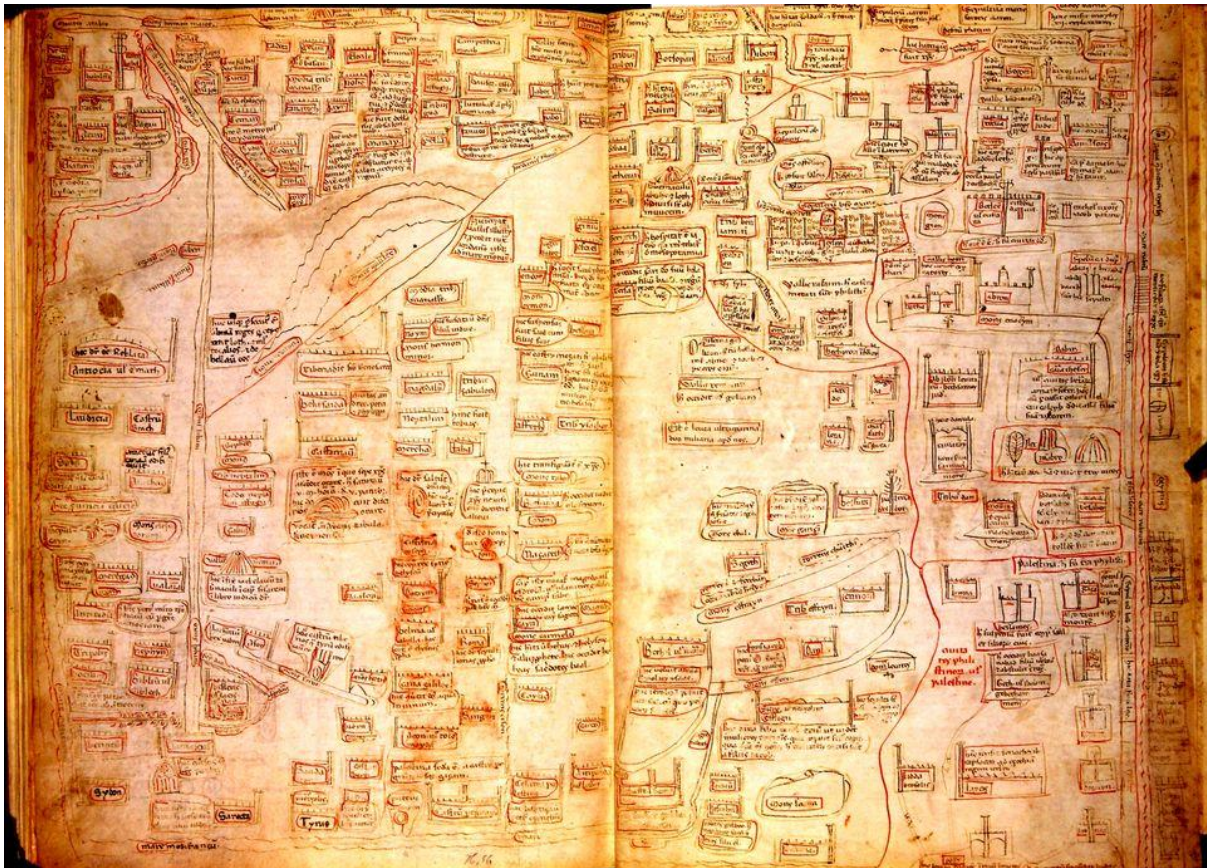
22

Figure 3   Map of Palestine according to Burchard of Mount Sion: Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97v-98r. Photo: Florence, BML

sketch announced in the letter that is mentioned only in the prologue of a few fifteenth-century manuscripts?[49] We cannot even be sure that this prologue version and a visualization of this type, if there were one, accompanied the original account. Perhaps it was an addition by later generations. It is tempting to think that Burchard himself conceptualized the geographical area in this simple, but most expert way. Whatever the truth may be, and independent of the author and his time, this seemingly innovative approach is based on ancient and medieval educational traditions.[50] A manuscript in Hildesheim, Germany, which was accompanied by a wind diagram on a separate sheet, could have provided us with more

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[49] Breslau (Wrocław), BU, I. F. 221, fol. 232ᵛ (dated 1407); Munich, BSB, Cml 569, fol. 185ᵛ-186ʳ.

[50] Alessandro Nova, *The Book of the Wind: The Representation of the Invisible* (Montreal, Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 21-57, on the iconography of the wind.

23

detailed information, were it not missing.[51] We must assume that this type of wind diagram fulfilled its purpose, while the creation of more complex geographical maps would have required an expert with specific skills.

III. Mapping methods in the codex

Abstraction and regularity characterize the unique map of Palestine located in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence,[52] which is also included in a codex of the long version. **(Figure 3)** The map with the boxes appears uniform and undifferentiated. This regularity is apparently intentional. The red-framed text entries in black are, at least for the most part, distributed uniformly across the surface; there are a total of 406. Only a few patches were left empty. The amount of text in the fields varies from one word to multi-line sentences. All fields should be identifiable by name and have a concrete meaning. The "imprisoned" texts became pictorial elements, which were subject to the primacy, so to speak, of regular distribution. The temporal dimensions, which were dominated by a higher-ranking principle of order, were thus equalized. The well of Rachel and the crusader fortresses are placed next to each other on the same level, as are the grave of Cain and the Mountain of the Leopards. This Holy Land presents the picture of a predominately systematically arranged square ruptured by a few borders, mountain ranges and roads. Even Jerusalem and Acre obey this regularity and dare not obtrude.

However, this uniformity can be deceiving. The legends contain toponyms of the most different origins, including terms from the Bible, classical antiquity, contemporary times, and words in Arabic. Similar to the account, they discuss biblical foundations, secular control, and religious differences; they specify the bastions and crusaders, as well as the intercultural

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[51] Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 258 still listed it in 1970, when he wrote the book.

[52] Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97ᵛ-98ʳ. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," (as note 30) 93-105 and plate 7 with the typographical rendering but without the coastline or other geographical details; Gautier Dalché, "Cartes de terre sainte," 607f.

24

competitors there. Signs of biblical significance are mixed with those of secular control.

Therefore, it is not always easy to understand the meanings and their multiple layers, and, at

times, the meanings of the entries can be found only after reading the account. In order to

interpret it in greater depth, it will be necessary to transcribe and examine more closely the

long version, transmitted in the same codex, which is difficult to read. Therefore, the

following specifies only a few examples of the interplay between account and map. To

achieve this, attention is placed on contemporary references and individualized statements,

which more likely deviate from other accounts than the biblical motives, which, in a more or

less unified form, were received in this map like everywhere else.

Figure 4 a-b Map of Palestine according to Burchard of Mount Sion: Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97v, section. Photo: Florence, BML

A section of the territory around Tripoli **(Figures 4a-b)** provides us with insight and

references to once contemporary events. First we see the mighty Margat (*merrgad*, 2; *mons*,

3), one of the most important crusader fortresses in Syria.[53] The Hospitallers, as the long

version reports, expanded the castle from which they ruled the area into their main settlement,

not far from the sea on the mountain above the city of Valenia/Bâniyâs (*ualania*, 4). In the

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[53] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 30f. on the location in a distance of seven leagues from Antaradus; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 252-253. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," 105 and plate 7: *Merigard* and *Mons*.

end, they even allowed the seat of the bishop to be moved there from the less-protected town,

due to the invasions of the Saracens, until they also lost the fortification to the Muslims in

1285. Not far from there one finds the famous crusaders' territory of Nephin (*nephyn*, 5) and

its impressive castle, whose location by the sea and fortress are described by Burchard, in

addition to its excellent wine and the fact that it belonged to the Principality of Antioch.[54]

The long version mentions that Tripoli (*Tripolis*, to the left of 5), which is surrounded by the

sea, has a large population of Nestorians, Greek and Latin Christians. The long version also

describes the economic prosperity of the region.[55] Finally, the presence of the crusaders is set

abreast the round and tall Mountain of the Leopards (*Mons eleopar/dorum*, 1). It marks the

place where the Muslims would visit the tomb of the prophet Joshua, which Burchard

believed to be the tomb of Canaan, a grandson of Noah, while Joshua would be buried in

Timnath-heres near Mount Ephraim.[56]

The framed short entries on the map can be understood only in combination with

Burchard's longer description of the Holy Land, which defines the location of the places with

precise distance data and specifies the operational framework. On the cartographic

representation, we are unable to account for the activities of regional rulers, pilgrims, or

crusaders. Dynamic motifs, such as the approaching crusader ships depicted on the map of

Matthew Paris, are missing completely.[57] This region is subject to other principles of

construction: it is not to be measured; indeed, it is immeasurable. The simple text and image

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[54] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 27-28; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 250. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Nephyn*.

[55] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 28; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 250. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Tripolis*.

[56] Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Mons leopardorum*. Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 28; cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 250-251. Jacob of Verona adopted this passage including this doubt circa 1335; cf. *Liber peregrinationis fratris Jacobi de Verona*, ed. Ugo Monneret de Villard (Rom: La Libreria dello Stato, 1950), c. 14.

[57] London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 C VII fol. 4ᵇ-5ᵃ; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 16, fol. IIIᵛ and IVʳ; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 26, fol. IIIᵛ-IVʳ.

structure unite salvific history with localities of war; religious differences and Christian dominance are placed on the same level. One could say that text and image merge time and space.

Despite this, the regular scheme is ruptured in some places. Borders that signify historical developments traverse carefully designed space. For example, the borders between the different crusader states as well as the boundaries between them and the outside world remain visible, even though they were no longer operative. **(Figures 5a-b)** We can see the frontier (7) between the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Principality of Antioch, which
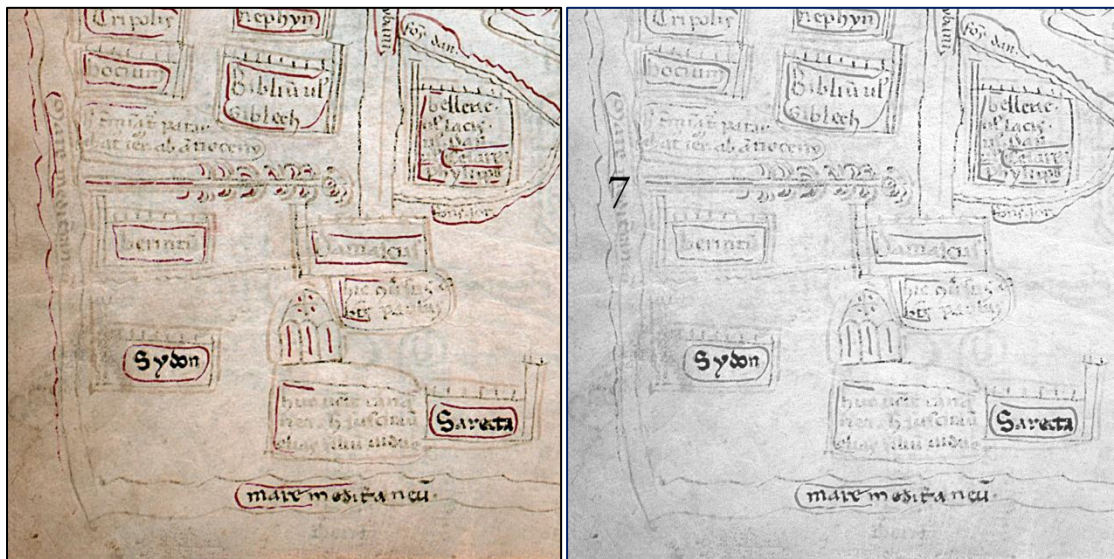
Figures 5 a-b Map of Palestine according to Burchard of Mount Sion: Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97v, section. Photo: Florence, BML

along with the northern part of Syria had been lost since 1268. The clearly intentional borderline on the map stresses the territorial setback and conceals it at the same time by refering to crusader possessions on both sides of the double line. The text inserted above the borderline **(Figure 4a-b, 6)** explains the graphical symbol in language that is nearly identical to the textual account.[58]

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[58] Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Hic terminatur patriarcatus Jerosolimitanus ab Antioceno*. Cf. almost literally in Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 27: *Terminatur similiter patriarchatus ierosolimitanus, et incipit patriarchatus antiochenus et comitatus tripolitanus*; cf. *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 249.
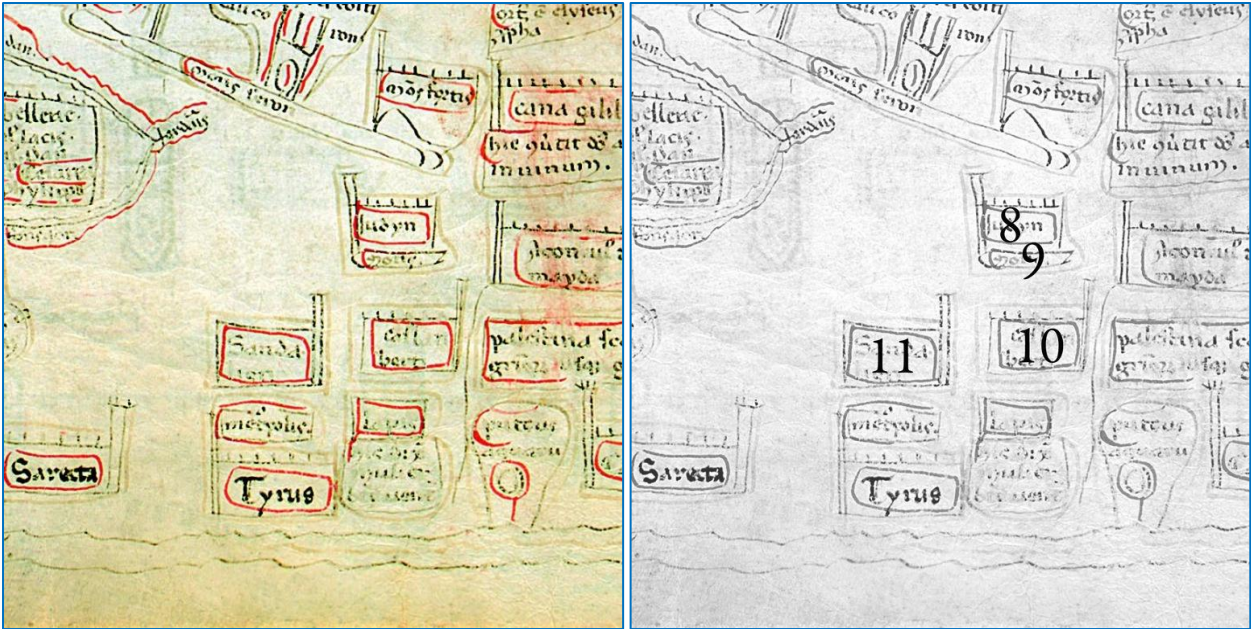
Figure 6a-b Map of Palestine according to Burchard of Mount Sion: Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97v, section. Photo: Florence, BML

In most cases, a deeper understanding can be obtained only after reading that account. The Teutonic Knights built Castle Judin (*Judyn*, 8) in 1192.[59] **(Figures 6a-b)** Burchard's account not only explains its location in the mountains of Sharon (*mons*, 9), above the city of Acre, but also the fact that the buildings had long been destroyed. Not far from here, located at the foot of the mountain, we see Lambert cottage by the sea (*casale lan/berti*, 10).[60] At nearby Castle Scandalion (*sandalion*, 11), Burchard does not fail to highlight the fact that the castle was located on a historical site. It was rebuilt in 1116 by King Baldwin I, who intended to pass it on to his vassals, and is tellingly located at the place between Acre and Tyre where Alexander the Great is said to have built his camp, Alexandroskena, during the siege of Tyre.[61]

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[59] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 34; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 257. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Iudyn* and *mons*.

[60] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 23; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 246 identified it as Al-Zīb, the biblical Akhziv. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Cattanberti*; Hartmann, *Wilhelm Tzewers* 372, note 39, identified it as ez-Zib, 14 km north of Acre.

[61] Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 24; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 246. Cf. Hartmann, *Wilhelm Tzewers*, 372,

What is striking is the lasting presence of impressive fortresses that once secured the coastal and mountainous borders of crusader states that had long been lost to the enemy. East of the Jordanian valley, far to the southeast, one finds al-Karak, not far from the hilltop fortress Montréal (*Mons Regalis*), founded in 1115, or al-Shawbak, which had already been surrendered to Saladin. Both the account and the map mention that the sultans kept their treasures there since that time.[62] The author did not try to hide his admiration for the Templar castle Safad (*Saphet*), found on the map on the mountain with the same name, located between Acre and Damascus.[63] In his opinion, it was the strongest and most beautiful fort, which was, however, besieged by the Muslims in 1266, fifteen years before Burchard's trip. It was a defeat that aided in the successive loss of the Holy Land, even if at that time conquering the massive city fortress of Acre still appeared impossible.[64] The Florentine map no longer emphasizes the fortifications at Safad and Acre.

Knowledge of the relationships between regional rulers in Palestine became even more important after the bitter loss of Acre. The Florentine copyist (active around 1300) adapted the text to contemporary events. Burchard, after all, always used the past tense when he mentioned defeats that reduced the size of the Christian Holy Land under the increasing military pressure of the Muslims. The copyist perpetuated this realism by updating information. He used the imperfect and perfect tenses in these passages, where Burchard had written in the present tense. He supplemented the text in a way that suggested that he wrote under the painful influence of the fall of Acre in 1291.

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note 40; Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Sandalion.*

[62] Burchard, "*Descriptio,*" ed. Laurent 58-59; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 282. Cf. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 96; Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Mons regalis. Hic habitat soldanus et hic tenet depositum.*

[63] Burchard, "*Descriptio,*" ed. Laurent 34; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 257. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Sephet mons*; Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 96, notes that it is the latest event mentioned on the map.

[64] Cf. Burchard, "*Descriptio,*" ed. Laurent 23; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 245-246. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," plate 7: *Acon uel Tolomayda* no longer emphasized.

29

The scribe of the Florentine manuscript even supplemented his text with precise additions not found in Laurent's edition. He first changed Burchard's present tense verbs, which he used to describe Acre.[65] Thus the city's splendid walls and towers, the fortresses of the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights, and its lively harbor are said to have perished. He then added that the town was seized by the Muslims and razed to the ground in 1291, on Friday, 17 May (the *calendae* of June).[66] On this day, when several thousand Christians had been massacred, a huge cross was said to have appeared in the sky before vespers to indicate that many people had to suffer martyrdom for Christ's sake. Perhaps these observations also explain why the mapmaker did not follow common precedent, instead choosing not to place any visual stress on Acre.

On this Laurenziana map, only Jerusalem, with all of its sites, is fanned out to a greater extent, and serves rather unobtrusively as a point of concentration. An eastward orientation dominates one's initial perception of the countryside. From Jaffa, the port of arrival for pilgrims, there is a road indicated in red that passes by Hebron, past Jerusalem, to the Dead Sea and Jordan, on whose east side the baptismal place of Jesus is indicated. On the right and left sides at the page margins, the Mediterranean coast does not end but bends upward. Because of this, north of Tyre the map is oriented north, and south of Jaffa it is oriented south. On the extreme right, we also see Egypt beyond the Red Sea, the Exodus route, and the statues of idols in the Egyptian city of Heliopolis.[67] This is unique and astonishing, because Burchard's visit to Egypt, mentioned in only a few surviving copies of

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[65] Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 94rb, line 25-30. I am grateful to Dr. Ekkehart Rotter for having pointed out this paragraph to me.

[66] Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 94rb, line 30-34.

[67] On Heliopolis cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," 105 and plate 7: *Elyopoleos hic stabant ydola*; Omont, "Manuscrits," 500: *Eliopolis est villa multum bona et dives, sed non est munita, sicut nec aliqua villa in toto Egypto, preter Alexandriam et Babiloniam, sed habundat fructibus et omnibus deliciis mundi; cassia fistula in magna quantitate crescit ibidem.* Cf. ibid. 502: *In Elyopoli et in Babilonia ostenduntur loca in quibus beata Virgo mansit cum puero Jhesu, quando a facie Herodis fugerat in Egyptum et casus ydolorum et*
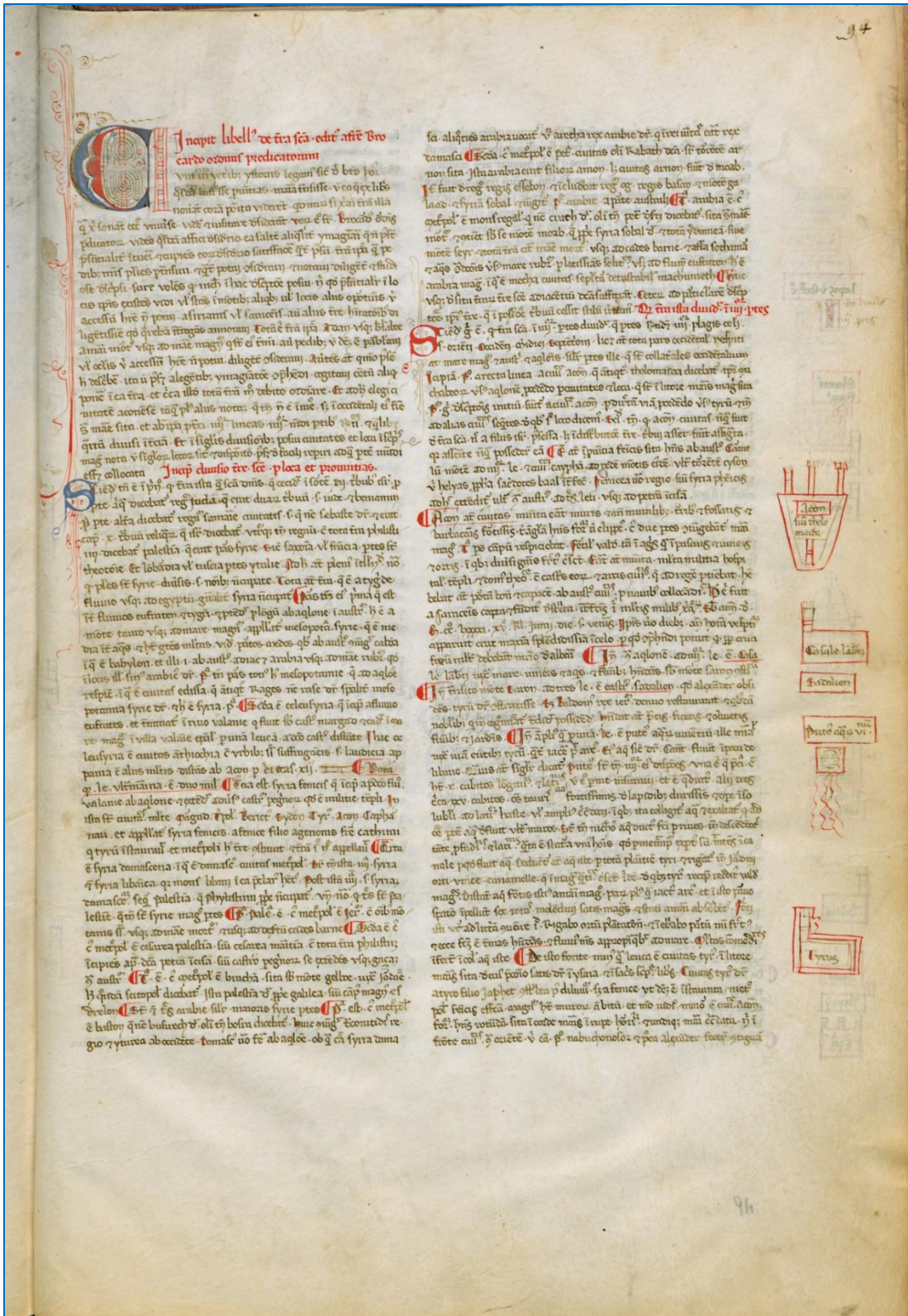
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Figure 7 Burchard of Mount Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, long version with glosses: Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 95r [or fol. 94r]

templorum, secundum prophetiam Ysaie. Cf. Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 354 Helmst., fol. 132[r]-167[r], here fol. 166[v].

 Figure 8 Map of Palestine according to Burchard of Mt. Sion: Florence, ASt, Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4[section].

the text, is not even registered on the other Burchard maps. The textual and visual

representation of an entry like Heliopolis, which is found so seldom, bears witness to the

close interplay between both media.

The relationship between map and travel account is strengthened by an additional

element in the Laurenziana codex: the pictograms of the buildings on the margin of the

manuscript folios. **(Figure 7)** As figurative glosses, they accentuate and illustrate the

toponyms buried in the text. The marginal notes help to unite the complex description with

the cartographic localization in order to topographically localize the stories of the account.

Thus text and image are interrelated, and at times even dependent upon one another. Clearly,

the modifications to the transmitted texts and their pictorial implementations can hardly lead

back to Burchard himself, which means that every copyist added his own principles of order.

IV. Measurability and Portolan Mapping

Despite their similar content, on two other copies of the Burchard map the structures

of local power and government have been depicted in a totally different manner. Measuring

an impressive 52 x 168 cm, neither is part of a codex; both were therefore more suited as

presentation objects for an informed audience. The place-names mentioned in Burchard's text

32

provide the basis for the layout, even if a few settlements, such as Scandalion and Judin, are missing. Nonetheless, both maps organize the geography of Palestine in an innovative way that is closer to modern than medieval conventions, even when they retain the traditional eastern orientation. What results is a completely different picture, with rivers, roads, mountain ranges, towns, and fortresses. This image was highly influential in subsequent decades, because most of the Palestine maps of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from the treatises and historiographical works of Marino Sanudo and Paolino Veneto to the travel report of Bernhard von Breidenbach, followed this model. In Italy, mapmakers like Pietro Vesconte worked this development into the production of portolan charts.

The copy from the Archivio di Stato in Florence, **(Figure 8)** measuring 51.5 x 168 cm, is probably the oldest of this group.[68] Harvey dates it to approximately 1300 and regards it as the earliest known Burchard map.[69] The map is oriented toward the east and also refers to the text found in the long version. Blocks of text on the southern (right) and, particularly, on the northern (left) edges of the map explain the geographical context in detail. The alphabetized index of place-names has three columns containing some 200 entries.

The map shows fortresses, cities, and bridges, whose fortified constructions strategically cover the vastness of the land. It is clear that this representation of Palestine corresponds more to today's conventions and the present requirements of using signs, colors and symbols. For instance, the geographical contours of the coasts, rivers, and mountains appear in brown ink, just like the place-names and texts. Other colors, such as olive green,

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[68] Florence, ASt, Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4; Reinhold Röhricht, "Karten und Pläne I,": 8-11 and Figure I with the map and a transcription of the text. Cf. Cornelio Desimoni, "Una carta della Terra Santa del secolo XIV," *Archivio Storico Italiano,* ser. 5, 11 (1893): 241-258; Hans Fischer, "Geschichte der Kartographie von Palästina," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 63 (1940): 1-111, here 7; Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto. Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (1973): 1-138, here 76; Harvey, "Medieval Maps, " 94-106.

[69] Harvey, "Medieval Maps," 94.

now faded, have been used for the bodies of water. However, we can see that various sections were possibly never completely colored in.

The map's apparent "realism" cannot cloak the fact that the different levels of time and argumentation remain active. The twelve tribes of the Old Testament structure the area in the same way the various views of the cities and crusader fortresses do, whose red walls and towers can clearly be seen from a distance. In general, places are identified by name. Only Jerusalem differs; without an accompanying name, it is located in the southern half and represented by a Greek cross within a circle. It thus stands out significantly from the crusader strongholds as the religious center, though it is marked with the same color in a rather inconspicuous way. Even the heavily fortified city of Acre loses it substantial prominence, although three massive towers with city walls secure the area of the peninsula that protrudes into the Gulf of Haifa. South of here, other places along the coast dominate, such as the almost invincible Château Pèlerin (*Castrum pelegrinorum*), the Templar residence abandoned as late as the summer of 1291, and the smaller Templar fortress Merle, built in the old harbor town of Dor, whose location in the middle fold helped to maintain its vibrant red color. The adaptation of portolan conventions determines the cartographical picture: its grid, which traces are barely discernible, structures and organizes the region.

The somewhat more recent copy at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, (**Figure 9**) measuring nearly the same size 52 x 165.5 cm and also not included in a codex, is almost identical to the older copy in Florence.[70] However, the portulan-like pattern, with grid lines, 83 columns running north-south and 28 running east-west, has emerged clearly, and the well-preserved, intense colors – like the deep olive green used for the bodies of water

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[70] New York, PML, M 877; cf. Frederick Baldwin Adams, *Seventh annual report to the fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1957), 14-17; Henry S. Morgan and Arthur A. Houghton, *The Pierpont Morgan Library. A review of acquisitions 1949-1968* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1969), 5; Harvey, "The biblical content," 58-59. For the function of the different types of maps, cf. Eitay Mayraz, "Place and Space in the Mediterranean: The (Mental) Map of a Pilgrim in the Holy Land," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19 (2004): 25-33.

34

Figure 9   Map of Palestine according to Burchard of Mt. Sion: New York, PML, M 877 [section].

– make it almost more impressive. The maps are similar in size and character and also in their arrangements of explanatory texts and geographical details, like the mountain ranges that surround the coherent territory of Palestine in the north and east.

It is clear that the maps have a common origin or at least that the Pierpont map, with a reduced amount of text, is more or less directly related to the copy in Florence.[71] The most significant difference between the two is that the index of place-names on the left edge of the Florentine map is missing from the New York copy. The portolan-like presentation emerges even more clearly in the Pierpont map. The neck of the animal from which the parchment was made is evident and the grid lines recall the rhumb lines on portolan charts. Furthermore, both Burchard maps are similar to portolan charts in size and in the accuracy of coastlines and water ways. These features correspond to Holy Land images from after the fall of the last bastions in Palestine and Syria, when crusading fervor was reignited. The grid lines that structure and outline the region suggest a new accuracy, as do the mountains, rivers, and towns that are carefully arrayed along the new coastline from Gaza to Sidon. The grid system gives the impression of measurability and operational practicability, and a copyist could transfer it to a new parchment quadrant for quadrant.

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[71] For details cf. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 128-132.

Figure 10   Burchard of Mount Sion, Descriptio terrae sanctae, long version with glosses: Florence, BNC, F. 4. 733, fol. 32v-33r. Photo: Florence, BNC.

Distances and their measurements are an important issue for both texts and images. In the account, the regional distances are usually indicated in leagues (*leucae*), shortened leagues (*leucae modicae*) and number of day's journeys. Burchard estimated the width of the Dead Sea, for example, to be six leagues, though he could not determine its length; he estimated it to be a five-day journey after consulting with local inhabitants.[72] Dimensions as large as these are, of course, not suitable for short distances. Places of interest, for example, are measured in feet (*pedes*), paces (*passus*), and stades (*stadia*).[73] Gardens, temples, and urban neighborhoods are calculated in bowshot distances (*quantum potest iacere arcus*) and

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[72]   Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 59; *Pilgrimage*, ed. Pringle 283. On the distances, cf. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 95.

[73]   Burchard, "*Descriptio*," ed. Laurent 25, 28, 30, 70-72 with *pedes* as measurement; 72 with conversions: *125 passus faciunt unum stadium*. Cf. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 95.

36

stones' throws.[74] The diverse dimensions in the different parts of Europe that accrued over time meant that even scribes and readers of those days had trouble understanding their size precisely and could only imagine their relative significance. Measurability seems to have been more important than consistency of scale and accuracy of dimension.

Distance data such as these are particularly emphasized in some copies of the long version. Two manuscripts from the fourteenth century preserved by the national library in Florence exhibit a principle of order (which has not been studied) noted in the margins. This technique of structuring the text with words, comments, and signs on the margins was apparently passed on more often with the *Descriptio*. At the beginning of each chapter, on the external side margin, the long version manuscript, F. 4. 733 **(Figure 10)** names the place described.[75] The glosses in the other fourteenth-century copy, C.8.2861, **(Figure 11)** emphasize not only the cities described in the text, but give their distances from Acre in leagues, and sometimes in miles.[76] This corresponds to the pictograms of buildings, including the registered toponyms, in the margins of the Laurenziana manuscript. All three copyists were aware of current representational conventions. Their method of presenting content via marginalia and pictograms is unlike most of the short versions, like Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale,

Irrespective of this, the layout of both independent copies created a new type of cartography, a record of the land to be measured, conquered and ruled. The copyists went to great lengths to reproduce the distances and their visual representation as accurately as

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[74] Burchard, "*Descriptio,*" ed. Laurent 24, 35, 47, 49-51, 55, 58, 61, 62, 66, 70, 73, 78, 81 and 82 for the bowshot as a unit of measurement, ibid. 25, 62, 72, 74 and 75 for the stone's throw; cf. Harvey, *Medieval Maps,* 95.

[75] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (henceforth referred to as BNC), F.4.733, fol. 29ra-43vb; dating according to Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 258.

[76] Florence, BNC, C.8.2861, fol. 1-26; dating according to Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 258.

37

Figure 11   Burchard of Mount Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, long version with glosses: Florence, BNC, C 8. 2861 fol. 21v-22r. Photo: Florence, BNC.

 possible, and the grid system helped to emphasize their function as a guiding system. [77] This approach was expanded in the decades that followed, as authors and cartographers attempted to give Holy Land pilgrims and Levant merchants practical instructions for their trips, and to move the Europeans towards a new crusade.

V. Burchard's Reception

The use of various forms of spatial representation in the Burchard tradition, from geographically and topographically structured travel accounts to diagrammatic and cartographic visualizations, encouraged their employment in new contexts. This broad set of intellectual tools facilitated and stimulated the depiction of the territories in question, locally,

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[77] Florence, BNC, Magl. XXII.22, fol. 107ra-119rb, short version from the 15th century with shortened preface; dating according to Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 258.

regionally, and throughout the known world. Burchard's narratives and their visualizations helped distant readers envision the Holy Land, gave travelers the directions, legitimized the Christian claim to power over the Holy Places, and generated military strategies. Geographic measurement meant being tied to a particular time and vision, but also timelessness, because a copyist could utilize a model created at an earlier time and in another place by modifying it to suit current needs.[78] Burchard's spatially organized knowledge flowed into world chronicles, itineraries, and geographical manuals, just as it influenced crusader propaganda, exegetic writings, and pilgrim accounts. A few examples will suffice.

The content and style of the "Burchard maps" influenced the presentation of the Holy Land in the widespread *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, written by the Venetian merchant Marino Sanudo (d. 1343).[79] Seven of a total nineteen transmitted copies of the *Liber* are accompanied by a map of Palestine.[80] Sanudo placed even more importance on the harmonic interplay of both media than the Burchard copyists. He engaged the Venetian portolan maker, Pietro Vesconte, to design the maps, whose only purpose was to accentuate the

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[78] Gautier Dalché, "Cartes de terre sainte," 603f.

[79] Marino Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae sanctae recuperatione et conservatione," in *Gesta dei per Francos 2*, ed. Jacques de Bongar (Hannover, 1611, Reprint Jerusalem, 1972); cf. the translations by Aubrey Stewart, *Marino Sanuto's Secrets for True Crusaders to Help them to Recover the Holy Land, written in A.D. 1321* (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 3,14) (London: AMS Press, 1896) (only book 3); Peter Lock, *Marino Sanudo Torsello. The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross* (Crusade Texts in Translation 21) (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011). Cf. Sylvia Schein, *Fideles crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 269-270; Evelyn Edson, "Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconte's Maps," *Eastward Bound. Travel and travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 131-155, here 134; Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Cartes, réflexion stratégique et projets de croisade à la fin du XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècle: une initiative franciscaine?" *Francia* 37 (2010): 77-95.

[80] Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis,* atlas of 1320 with a map of Palestine: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth referred to as BAV), Pal. Lat. 1362; first to second redaction Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Tanner 190; second redaction: Rome, BAV, Reg. lat. 548; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 237; London, BL, Add. Ms. 27376, fol. 188v-189r; Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 9347-9348; Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 9404-9405, fol. 173ᵛ-174ʳ, all of them from the workshop of Pietro Vesconte, before 1332. Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," Degenhart/Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo," 21-24, 105 and 116-117 with illustrations of Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 9404-9405, fol. 173ᵛ-174ʳ; Edson, "Reviving the Crusade," 136-137 and 151-152; Gautier Dalché, "Cartes de terre sainte," 598-603; Harvey, "The biblical content," 55-63.

propagandistic imperative for a revival of the crusades by pictorializing the accompanying text.

Over time, Burchard's vision of the Holy Land was subjected to changes and adaptations; it was integrated into shifting perspectives on the Christian world. Two versions of the Sanudo map accompany the *Chronologia magna*, a world chronicle by Paulinus Minorita or Paolino Veneto (d. 1344), a Franciscan born in Venice, who was a member of the papal examination commission employed for the *Liber* and its plea for a crusade.[81] Later, the map and the longer account version were incorporated into an encyclopedic world chronicle, the *Rudimentum novitiorum*, printed in 1475 by Lucas Brandis in Lübeck [82]

The Sanudo map's verbal and pictorial description of geography was modified only slightly so as to enhance the reader's understanding of events in Holy Scripture by localizing the regions and events of the Old and New Testaments. This eastern-oriented map is centered on an enlarged, heavily fortified Jerusalem, emphasizing, like its Sanudo predecesor, a political imperative: the longing for Christian domination of the holy city and the Holy Land. An additional map of Jerusalem serves, as it does in the Laurenziana codex, to accentuate the center of the crusaders' and pilgrims' world.

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[81] Paulinus Minorita (Paolino Veneto), *Chronologia magna*, map of Palestine (Neopolitan, *circa* 1329): Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 4939, fol. 10^v-11^r and ibid., fol. 10^r on the eastern Mediterranean, figure in Degenhart/Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo," 118, 119 and 115; Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1960. Cf. Edson, "Reviving the Crusade," 137-138.

[82] Cf. Röhricht, "Marino Sanudo," 105f.; Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Universalkartographie und geographische Schulkenntnisse im Inkunabelzeitalter (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des „Rudimentum Novitiorum" und Hartmann Schedels)," in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1978 bis 1981* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3. Folge 137), ed. Bernd Moeller (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 398-429, repr. in: Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken and Thomas Szabó (Ed.), *Studien zur Universalkartographie des Mittelalters* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 229) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 263-296; Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Atlas zum Heiligen Land. Karten der Terra Sancta durch zwei Jahrtausende* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995), 62; Michael Herkenhoff, *Die Darstellung außereuropäischer Welten in Drucken deutscher Offizinen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 147-156.

In conclusion, and as these brief examples illustrate, the spread of Burchardian knowledge made possible the creation of purposely designed accounts and maps of Palestine, which were handled differently by creators of geographical works, Christian devotional books, and world chronicles. These works offered the reader an overview and explanation of local customs in these holy places, localized the geographical component of salvific history in a concrete way, and carried forward political biases. Examining these different verbal and visual adaptations of Burchard's work makes it possible to trace the ways in which information about a hotly contested region bordering Europe was acquired and transferred between authors and cartographers from diverse countries over time. As this study has shown, these verbal and pictorial transmissions will have to be studied closely and critically edited, before we are able to evaluate them more thoroughly.

Transfer of Knowledge: *Mappae Mundi* Between Texts and Images[1]

By Bettina Schöller, Universität Zürich

During the Middle Ages, the geography of the world could be described either as a text or as a map. These two possibilities of representing terrestrial space have different medial qualities and make use of different strategies to convey geographical knowledge: While the text presents information in a linear order, the map is a two-dimensional hybrid of textual and graphical signs.[2] Consequently, reading a text or comprehending a map requires different methods. Nevertheless, geographical texts and maps were closely connected: most medieval maps are parts of manuscripts and therefore in a close relationship with texts.[3]

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[1] The following article shows one aspect of my forthcoming thesis "Wissen speichern, Wissen ordnen, Wissen übertragen. Schriftliche und bildliche Aufzeichnungen der Welt im Umfeld der Londoner Psalterkarte."

[2] Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Graphische Gestalt und Signifikanz. Europa in den Weltkarten des Beatus von Liébana und des Ranulf Higden," *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters* (eds.) Ingrid Baumgärtner and Hartmut Kugler (Berlin, 2008), pp. 81–132, esp. p. 82; Hartmut Kugler, "*Imago Mundi*. Kartographische Skizze und literarische Beschreibung," *Mediävistische Komparatistik. Festschrift für Franz Joseph Worstbrock zum 60. Geburtstag*, (eds.) Wolfgang Harms and Jan-Dirk Müller (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 77–93, esp. p. 83; Winfried Nöth, "Die Karte und ihre Territorien in der Geschichte der Kartographie," *Text – Bild – Karte. Kartographien der Vormoderne*, ed. by Jürg Glauser and Christian Kiening (Freiburg i. Br./Berlin/Wien, 2007), pp. 39–68, esp. pp. 60–65.

[3] According to David Woodward, 900 of the then known 1100 maps were part of a manuscript, see Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1. *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, (eds.) John B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, 1987), pp. 286–370, esp. p. 286; Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers viewed their World* (London, 1997), pp. 12–13.

This relationship has already been widely discussed. In this context, the so-called cartographic textbooks turned out to be of great interest.[4] These autonomous geographical treatises have been produced during the whole Middle Ages, but in the twelfth century, they have been modified: As Patrick Gautier Dalché showed in his comprehensive editions and commentaries,[5] these treatises were mainly based upon existing world maps. The *Expositio Mappe Mundi*, for example, shows some literal analogies with the famous Hereford map, which originated around 1300, a fact also pointed out by Scott Westrem.[6] These parallels were explained by suggesting that the *Expositio* and the Hereford map were based on a similar cartographic model.

Westrem first carefully broached the possibility that these textbooks could have been used again as sources of maps.[7] Others then criticized the current view, which holds that maps were always copied from other maps, for example Hartmut Kugler. His most substantial argument is that this view requires an implausible quantity of lost world maps. Therefore, he concluded that copying from maps was not the only method of producing new maps, and he proposed textbooks as additional sources.[8] Many recent studies confirm this

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[4] This is a translation of Hartmut Kugler's term „kartographische Textbücher", see Kugler (Ed.): "Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte, Band 2: Untersuchungen und Kommentar" (Berlin, 2007), esp. p. 55.

[5] See for example Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Carte et enseignement de la géographie, durant le haut Moyen Âge: l'exemple d'un manuel inédit," *Du copiste au collectionneur: mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet* (eds.) Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda and Jean-François Genest (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 49–56; Gautier Dalché, *Du Yorkshire à l'Inde. Une "Géographie" urbaine et maritime de la Fin du XIIᵉ Siècle (Roger de Howden?)* (Geneva, 2005); Gautier Dalché, Eucher de Lyon, Iona, Bobbio: "Le Destin d'une *Mappa Mundi* de l'Antiquité tardive," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 41 (2010), pp. 1-22; Gautier Dalché, *La "Descriptio Mappe Mundi" de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Texte inédit avec introduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1988); Gautier Dalché, "Maps in Words: The descriptive Logic of medieval Geography," *The Hereford World Map. Medieval World Maps and their Context* (ed.) Paul D. A. Harvey (London, 2006), p. 223–242; Gautier Dalché, "Situs orbis terre vel regionum: un traité de géographie inédit du haut Moyen Age," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 12/13 (1982–1983), pp. 149–179.

[6] Gautier Dalché, *Roger of Howden*, pp. 143–164; Scott Westrem, "Making a *Mappamundi*: The Hereford Map," http://www.sochistdisc.org/2002_articles/westrem.htm (Accessed 14–1–2013).

[7] "If it is not the recipe for making a *mappamundi*, EMM [*Expositio Mappe Mundi*] is certainly a careful record of the content of an existing one (so careful, in fact, that even if it was originally composed only as a *descriptio*, it could have been used to produce another)", see Westrem, "Making a *Mappamundi*."

[8] Kugler, *Imago Mundi*, pp. 80–81; Kugler, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, pp. 53–56.
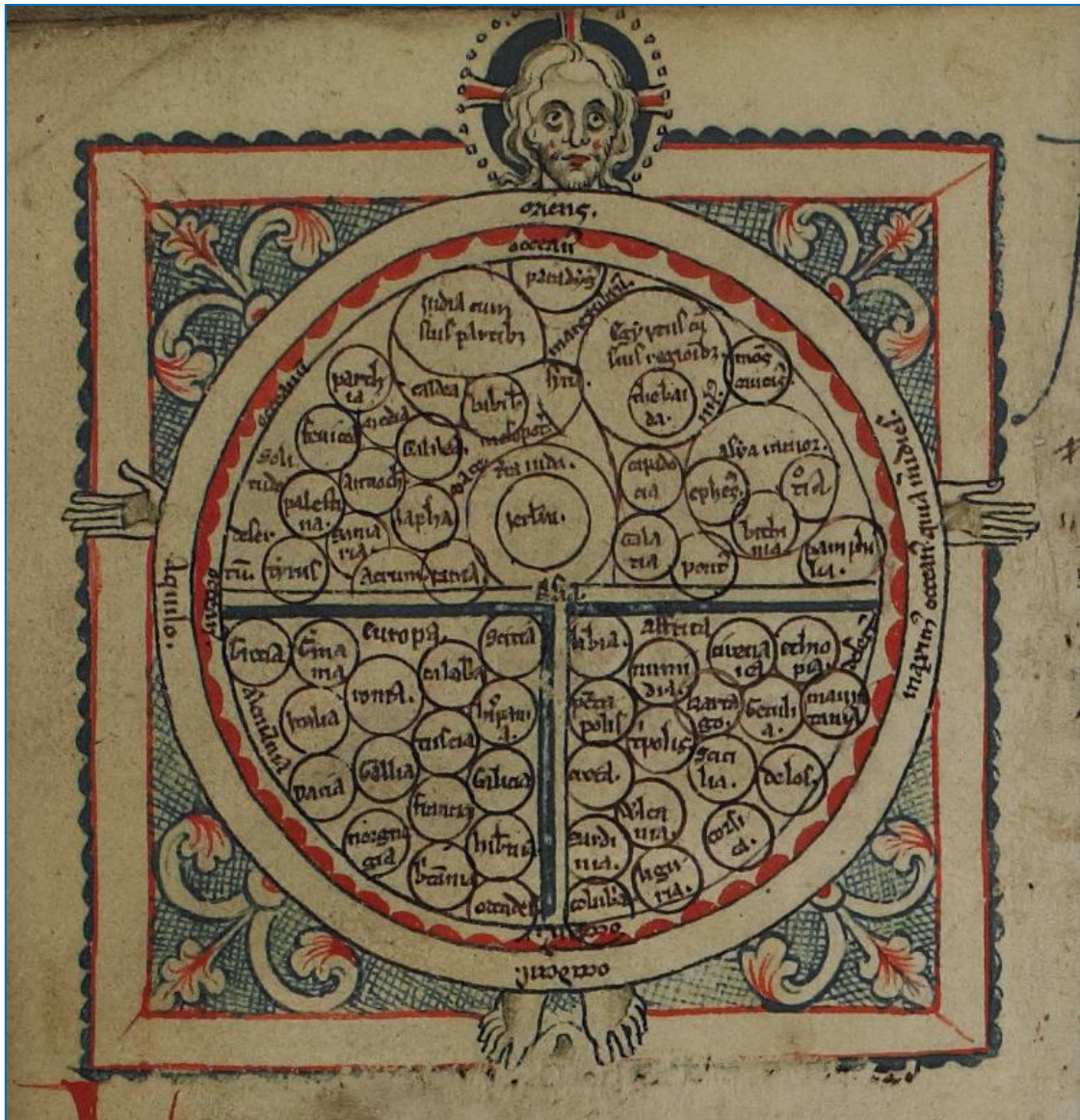
Figure 1 Lambeth Map, 13th century, London, Lambeth Palace, MS 37l, folio 9v. Photo: Lambeth Palace, by permission of the Trustees of the Lambeth Palace Library.

argument, showing the transfer of textual knowledge on maps, for example those of Ingrid Baumgärtner, Martin Foys, Margriet Hoogvliet, Marcia Kupfer, Felicitas Schmieder and Antje Willing.[9] Bruno Reudenbach pointed out that not only geographical, but also biblical knowledge could be transferred into maps.[10]

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[9] Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Die Welt im kartographischen Blick. Zur Veränderbarkeit mittelalterlicher Weltkarten am Beispiel der Beatustradition vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert," *Der weite Blick des Historikers. Einsichten in Kultur-, Landes- und Stadtgeschichte*. Peter Johanek zum 65. Geburtstag (eds.) Wilfried Ehbrecht, Angelika Lampen, Franz-Joseph Post and Mechthild Siekmann (Köln, 2002), pp. 527–549, esp. pp. 527–528; Baumgärtner, "Reiseberichte, Karten und Diagramme. Burchard von Monte Sion und das Heilige Land," *Geschichtsvorstellungen. Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter* (eds.) Steffen Patzold, Anja Rathmann-

44

In this study, I present another remarkable example of a transfer of knowledge from text to map. It is noteworthy because the map concentrates the information of three different texts standing in the same manuscript. A register of marginalia that turns out to be a link between map and texts completes this particular arrangement.

The so-called Lambeth map is a very small illustration from a thirteenth-century manuscript in the collection of Lambeth Palace, London (**Figure 1**). The texts that frame the map are the following: an excerpt of the *Elucidarium* written by Honorius Augustodunensis, a geographical chapter of the *Historia Brittonum*, formerly attributed to Nennius, and the first part of the *Imago Mundi*, also by Honorius, which includes a detailed description of the world. I intend to demonstrate not only the influence of these texts on the Lambeth map, but also the ways in which they complement each other. I do not deny the consensus that geographical knowledge was transferred from map to map, but I propose that texts could have an intermediary function.

After providing a short description of the manuscript, I compare the geographical content of the *Imago Mundi* to the Lambeth map. I then examine its analogies with the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Elucidarium* and conclude that the map is a specific organization of knowledge: between three different texts, the map arranges the textual information in a new way and connects these texts in one diagram.

MS 371 is a manuscript of the thirteenth century, produced in the Benedictine Abbey of Reading near London. Since the seventeenth century, the manuscript has been in the

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Lutz and Volker Scior (Wien, 2012), pp. 460–507, esp. pp. 472–473; Martin Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainsville, 2007), esp. p. 122; Marcia Kupfer, "Medieval world maps: embedded images, interpretive frames," *Word & Image* 10 (1994), pp. 262–288, esp. p. 271; Margriet Hoogvliet, *Pictura et Scriptura. Textes, images et herméneutique des Mappae mundi (XIIIe-XVIe siècles)* (Turnhout, 2007) (Terrarum Orbis 7), esp. p. 147 and p. 286; Felicitas Schmieder, "Anspruch auf christliche Weltherrschaft: Die Velletri/Borgia-Karte (15. Jahrhundert) in ihrem ideengeschichtlichen und politischen Kontext," *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (eds.) Ingrid Baumgärtner and Martina Stercken (Zürich, 2012), pp. 253–271; Antje Willing, "Orbis apertus," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 86 (2004), pp. 283–314.

[10] Bruno Reudenbach, "Die Londoner Psalterkarte und ihre Rückseite. Ökumenekarten als Psalterillustrationen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 32 (1998), pp. 164–181.

collection of Lambeth Palace.[11] From 1647 to 1664, the whole collection was temporarily

transferred to Cambridge, where the archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, newly

arranged many manuscripts.[12] In 1972, Edward Bill studied the collection of Lambeth Palace

and numbered MS 371 among the manuscripts that were cut to a specific size and newly

bound, but not changed in content.[13] Therefore, in the thirteenth century, the three texts and

the map were conceived of as an entity. Furthermore, two of the texts are probably written in

the same hand that drew the map, and map and texts belong to the same quire.[14]

The Lambeth map has a side length of only 6½ cm. Scott Westrem published the map

first in his article "Geography and travel" as an example of a diagrammatic and idealized

world map.[15] The map was reproduced again in Alessandro Scafi's study of paradise in maps,

and finally in an article by Chet van Duzer and Sandra Sàenz Lópéz Pérez, where it was

introduced as a map accompanying the *Historia Brittonum*, including a figure of Christ

showing similarities with the Christ in the Ebstorf map.[16]

The circular map is framed by a square, and leaf ornaments fill the spaces. Christ's

head, hands and feet are depicted at the positions of the four cardinal directions. The map is

illuminated in black, red and blue ink. The map is a T-O diagram: the circular earth is

surrounded by the ocean and divided by a structure in the form of the letter T, symbolizing

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[11] For the history of the collection see Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books. The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 61–80.

[12] Edward G. W. Bill, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library. MSS. 1222-1860* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 3–4.

[13] Bill, *A Catalogue*, pp. 5–17.

[14] While the second quire begins with the *Elucidarium*, about one third of the *Imago Mundi* belongs to the third quire. For a more detailed description of LPL MS 371 see James Montague Rhodes, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace. The Medieval Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 503–513.

[15] Scott Westrem, "Geography and Travel," *A Companion to Chaucer* (ed.) Peter Brown (Oxford, 2000), pp. 195–217, esp. pp. 206–208.

[16] Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise. A History of Heaven on Earth* (London 2006), p. 131; Chet van Duzer and Sandra Sáenz López Pérez, "*Tres filii Noe diviserunt orbem post diluvium*: The World Map in British Library Add. MS 37049," *Word and Image* 26/1 (2010), pp. 21–39, esp. p. 30.

Figure 2 Psalter Map recto, 13th century, London, British Library, MS Add. 28681, fol. 9r. Photo: By permission of the British Library.

the Mediterranean Sea and the rivers Don and Nile which separate the three known

landmasses of Asia, Africa and Europe. The continents are filled with labeled circular

vignettes, symbolizing provinces or towns. The larger circles in Asia represent superior

provinces, including smaller regions or towns. No other medieval map uses similar circular

47

vignettes. Therefore, we can distinguish three different map layers: first, the T-O diagram, based on a transfer of pictorial cartographical knowledge; second, the apparently original layer of the continents filled with circles; and third, the figure of Christ, who appears in variations of this pose on the two Psalter maps, **(Figure 2)** the Ebstorf map, and other maps of the thirteenth century.

On the same double page as the Lambeth map are the prologue and the table of contents of the *Imago Mundi*. This text was written by Honorius Augustodunensis, one of the most important writers of his age, in the first third of the twelfth century. It was extensively copied, and also translated into several vernacular languages.[17] The first book of the *Imago Mundi* includes a detailed description of a world map, beginning at paradise in the east, then describing Asia, Europe, Africa and finally the islands of the Mediterranean Sea. It very systematically lists provinces: first the natural borders are named, followed by towns, rivers, mountains and people.

MS 371 organizes the *Imago Mundi* in two columns. The five pages containing the geographical description show a greater number of rubricated marginalia than the majority of the manuscript. **(Figure 3)** These marginalia were most likely written before the manuscript was bound in the thirteenth century, since they are partly hidden in the binding. It would

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[17] For an edition of the *Imago Mundi* and a commentary see Valerie I. J. Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis *Imago Mundi,*" *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* XLIX (1982), pp. 7–47. About Honorius see, for example: Flint, "The 'Elucidarius' of Honorius Augustodunensis and Reform in Later Eleventh Century England," *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975), pp. 178–189; Flint, "Henricus of Augsburg and Honorius Augustodunensis: Are they the same Person?" *Revue Bénédictine* 92 (1982), pp. 148–158; Marie-Odile Garrigues, "L'oeuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis: Inventaire critique I–III," *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 38 (1986), pp. 7–136; Dagmar Gottschall, *Das "Elucidarium" des Honorius Augustodunensis. Untersuchungen zu seiner Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum mit Ausgabe der niederdeutschen Übersetzung* (Tübingen, 1992); Marlies Hamm, *Der deutsche "Lucidarius"* (Tübingen, 2002); Hermann Menhardt: "Der Nachlass des Honorius Augustodunensis," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 89 (1958/1959), pp. 23–69; Loris Sturlese, "Zwischen Anselm und Johannes Scotus Eriugena: der seltsame Fall des Honorius, des Mönchs von Regensburg," *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi* vol. 2, (eds.) Burkhard Mojsisch and Olaf Pluta (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 927–951.
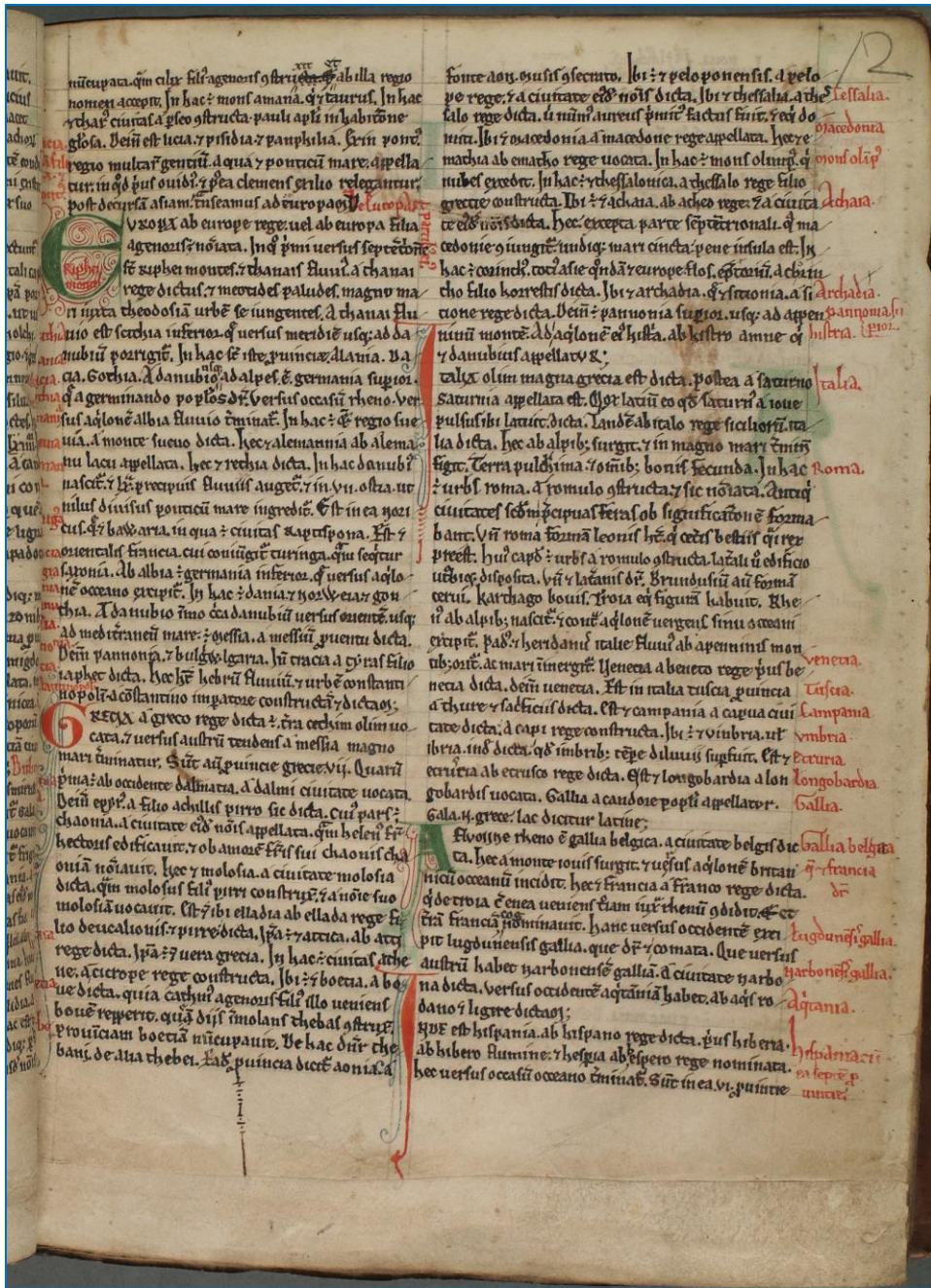
Figure 3 *Imago Mundi*, 13th century, London, Lambeth Palace, MS 371, fol. 12r.
Photo: Lambeth Palace, by permission of the Trustees of the Lambeth Palace Library.

appear that the scribe selected several regions and towns that seemed to be of importance to

him, and that he repeated and highlighted them in the geographical register in the margin.

There is a remarkable correlation between the *Imago Mundi*, the marginal register and the
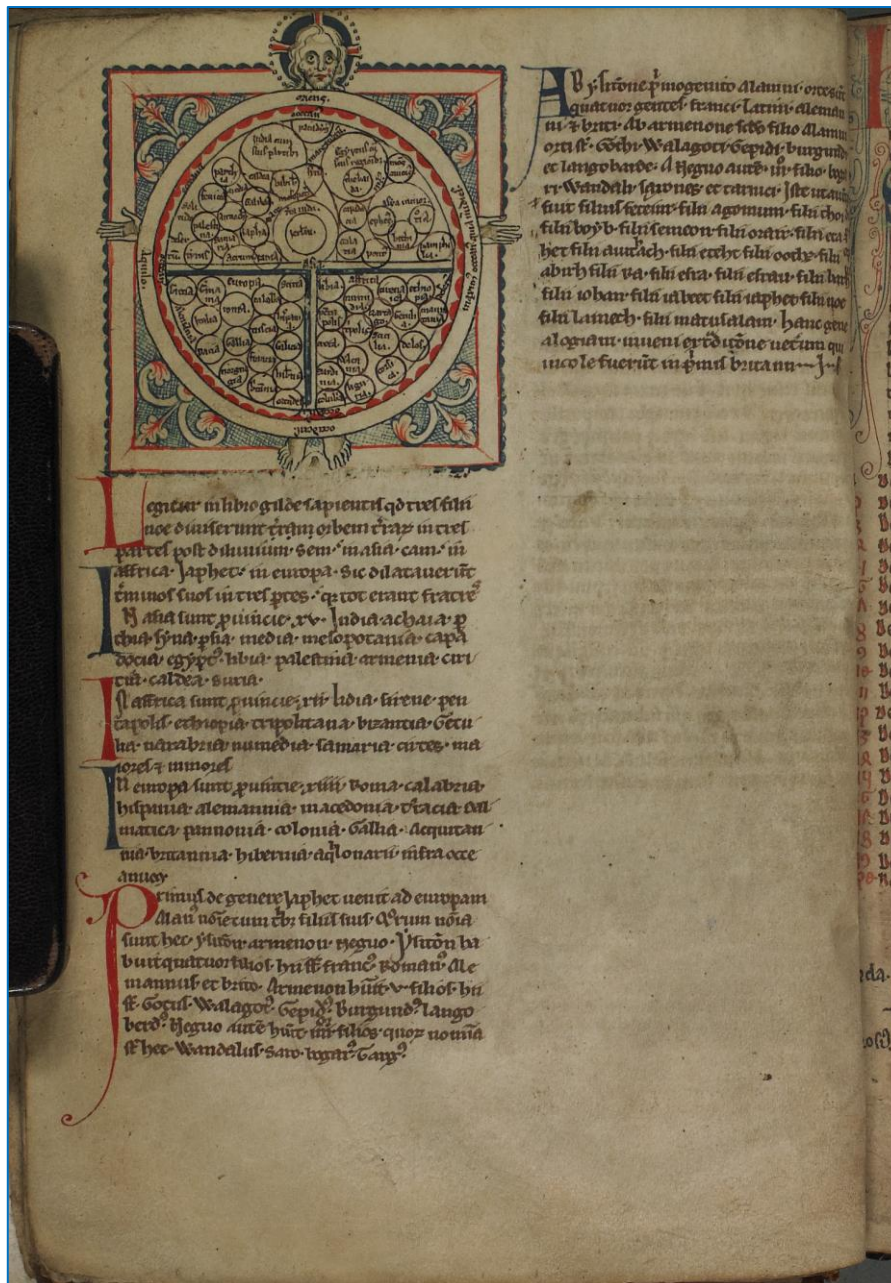
Figure 4 Lambeth Map and *Historia Brittonum*, 13th century, London, Lambeth Palace, MS 371, folio 9v. Photo: Lambeth Palace, by permission of the Trustees of the Lambeth Palace Library.

Lambeth map: 63 of the map's 68 toponyms are mentioned in the text,[18] and 53 are repeated in the margin. Assuming that text, marginalia and map were produced at the same time, and before the manuscript was bound, the following procedure is the most probable: after the

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[18] Not mentioned in the *Imago Mundi* are the following toponyms on the Lambeth map: *iapha*, *acrum*, *solitudo desertorum* and *calabria*. In addition, there is a hardly legible toponym in the southwest portion of the map.

transcription of the *Imago Mundi*, the scribe made a selection of geographical names to be transferred to the map.[19] Then the map was sketched in the space that had been left free, based on the current T-O diagram. In a third step, the circles were inserted, probably inspired by the explicit demarcation of provinces in the *Imago Mundi*. Finally, the toponyms were added with the help of the marginal register. Due to the small size of the map, another shortening of the register was necessary.

Some details support this thesis. For one thing, the positioning of the toponyms within the T-O map does not primarily depend on geographical factors. In what follows, I focus on Asia, by way of example. Some cartographic conventions of the thirteenth century can be observed, like the position of the earthly paradise at the top or the centering on Jerusalem. In addition, a roughly vertical line running from Syria to the Mediterranean divides the continent. This line could be interpreted as a Syrian border. All circles to the left are Syrian towns or regions, according to the *Imago Mundi*. From a geographical point of view, Tyre and Acre – just above the bar of the T-O's 'T,' toward the east – are correctly depicted as seaports. In contrast, the large circle denoting Asia Minor is on the right side of the map, a very unusual position for this region; on medieval maps, it is commonly sketched on the other side. See, for example, the Psalter Map. **(Figure 2)** This could be because the map is a direct transcription of the marginal register and reflects the linear textual order. Like the text, the map is divided into two columns, marked by the vertical line. The mapmaker first filled in the toponyms on the left side from top to bottom, then on the right side, following the description of Honorius. This procedure generated the following order: Paradise, India, Parthia, Syria and his regions, then Egypt, the Orient and Asia Minor. Even the microstructure of Asia Minor

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[19] There is some evidence that the texts (including the major part of the *Imago Mundi*), the map and the marginalia were written by the same scribe. This was the usual procedure, as there were no specialized map makers during the Middle Ages and scribes were often responsible for the production of maps. See Kugler, *Imago Mundi*, p. 80; Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," p. 286.

reflects this method of transcription: Ephesus, Bithynia and Troy are written in the linear reading order from left to right.

In addition to the information he took from Honorius, the mapmaker probably added information from his own stock of knowledge. This would explain the positions of Tyre and Acre at the Mediterranean. Beyond that, Acre and Jaffa, written in the circle above, do not even appear in the *Imago Mundi*. The mapmaker had probably heard of these towns because of their importance during the crusades.

That the textual order has an influence on the map's positioning of toponyms is supported by another fact. The mapmaker places the Mediterranean islands onto Africa. The *Imago Mundi* describes these isles right after the African continent. Because the mapmaker adopted this textual order, he situated the islands after the African provinces and, consequently, they are located in Africa. In summary, the Lambeth map is a concentrated *Imago Mundi*, with the locales of the world arranged graphically, but according to their original textual order rather than their traditional geographical distribution.

Despite the close correlation between map and *Imago Mundi*, the map stands at the top of a page containing the seventeenth chapter of the *Historia Brittonum*. **(Figure 4)** This text, previously ascribed to Nennius, is today ascribed to an unknown British compiler of the ninth century.[20] The *Historia* is a compilation of several older texts, including the writings of Gildas, whose name is mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. The account of the division of the earth among the three sons of Noah, a well-established topos in medieval cartography, follows this. Then, preceding a detailed genealogy of the British people, is a list of the provinces of the earth: 15 in Asia, 12 in Africa and 14 in Europe. This geographical list does not correspond to the map or the *Imago Mundi*. It is another textual recording system, probably easier to read than the map, but not visualized graphically.

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[20] For an edition and commentary of the *Historia* see Ferdinand Lot (ed.), *Nennius et l'*Historia Brittonum. *Étude critique suivie d'une Édition des diverses Versions de ce Texte* (Paris, 1934).

The reason for inserting a third geographical recording system next to the Lambeth map and *Imago Mundi* is difficult to determine. I would like to propose, first, that it was meant to complement the *Imago Mundi*, which mentions the division of the earth, but does not provide a Noachide explanation for it; and, second, that the text of the *Historia* connects the world map to British history. The *Historia* quotes a genealogy beginning with Japhet, son of Noah and ancestor of the European people. Therefore, map and text together allowed British readers to locate themselves within geography, history, and the divine order of the world.

The aspect of salvation is further emphasized by the image of Christ surrounding the world. Originally, the figure of God or Christ was a motif found in mostly cosmological schemes, adopted by some maps of the thirteenth century.[21] The figure around the Lambeth map recalls the Ebstorf map, which includes Christ in the world's circle, as well as the verso side of the Psalter map, where Christ embraces the world, expressing his power and his mercy. Therefore, Christ or God surrounding the map is a motif of some standing in the pictorial tradition. Yet, analogies can also be found to the *Elucidarium*, the third text accompanying the Lambeth map.[22] This text was written by Honorius Augustodunensis around 1100, and is a dialogue between a master and his pupil on aspects of Christian faith.

MS 371 includes an excerpt of the first book, extending over the three pages preceding the map. One article is of particular importance for the Lambeth map. The pupil desires clarification of the following paradox: God's presence is everywhere at any time, but at the same time, God cannot be located. The master's answer: God is said to be everywhere,

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[21] Barbara Bronder, "Das Bild der Schöpfung und Neuschöpfung der Welt als orbis quadratus" *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972), pp. 188–210, esp. fig. XVI–XVII; Hartmut Kugler, "Symbolische Weltkarten – der Kosmos im Menschen. Symbolstrukturen in der Universalkartographie bis Kolumbus," *Gutenberg und die neue Welt* (ed.) Horst Wenzel (München, 1994), pp. 33–58, esp. pp. 48–52.

[22] For an edition and commentary see Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires. Contribution, par l'Histoire d'un texte, à l'Histoire des Croyances religieuses en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1954).

because his power has the same strength in all parts of the world. He continues to explain that God cannot be located in any given place, because "place" is physical and God is not physical. The passage closes as follows: "In nullo loco continetur deus cum ipse contineat omnia, in quo 'vivimus, movemur et sumus.'"[23] The last words are cited from the Acts.[24]

By mentioning east and west, Honorius refers to a spatial cartographic visualization. The words "vivimus," "movemur," and "sumus" define this space as the area where human beings live and act. The mapmaker depicts God's omnipresence by surrounding this space with the figure of Christ. Therefore, the world here is not to be understood as the body of Christ, because Christ is not physical, as Honorius wrote. Rather, the figure symbolizes the omnipresence of God, unifying the world in divine order.

To sum up, the connections between the Lambeth map and its textual environment lead to the conclusion that medieval world maps did not develop solely in a pictorial tradition and they were not independent from texts. Lambeth map is not only an example of a medieval world map that mediates between verbal and pictorial sign systems, but also, one that proves the use of information from a text in the spatial layout of a map. Therefore, texts have to be considered as playing an active role in the transmission of cartographical knowledge.

On the Lambeth map, the T-O format is a traditional element of medieval cartography. By contrast, the arrangement of circular provinces within it is probably an original invention influenced by the *Imago Mundi*. Christ surrounding the world pictorializes his divine omnipresence and the order expressed by the *Elucidarium* and reveals a synoptical view of the world and of God's almightiness. Finally, the *Historia Brittonum* allows the

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[23] "No place contains God, since everything is contained in Him. 'For in Him we live, and move, and have our being.'" MS 371, fol. 8r. According to Chapter 12, pp. 362–363, in Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium*.

[24] Acts 17:27-28: "That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: For in him we live, and move, and have our being ... "

54

reader to determine his position in time and space. Therefore, the map and its textual environment reflect three fundamental themes of the Middle Ages: the description of the physical world, the interpretation of the transcendental world and the historical passage of time.

The Lambeth map is related to synoptical diagrams of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the one hand, it collects and concentrates the extensive information of three different texts in one clearly arranged scheme. The map, as a newly arranged composition, combines textual and pictorial elements. On the other hand, the map expresses a particular interpretation of the texts, and was probably meant to guide the reader to this particular understanding of the world and its transcendental order. As a result, the map and the three texts as different medial forms stand in a discursive relation to each other, with the map functioning as an overall summary.

55

The so-called Genoese World Map of 1457: A Stepping Stone Towards *Modern* Cartography?

By Gerda Brunnlechner, FernUniversität in Hagen

Around the time of Christopher Columbus's birth, we find on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, especially in the north of Italy, a variety of people particularly interested in problems of geography and cartography. Humanistic circles met for debates, exchanged ideas, and more often than not brooded over maps. Mapmakers moved from port to port, found purchasers and merchants interested in investing in books and maps. At the councils of Constance (1414-18) and Florence (1431-45), geographical treaties changed hands, while maps and the geography of foreign regions were discussed.[1] To some extent these people were able to find the information they were looking for on the medieval *mappae mundi*, which, with their pictures and stories, constitute a historiography of the world (including its end times).[2] The Humanists looked back to antiquity for geographic information, and Ptolemy's *Geography*, 1409 translated into Latin by the Florentine Jacopo Angeli, was the center of much attention. In addition, travelers' and merchants' news of foreign lands and people gleaned from their voyages also found its way into these discussions. Portolan charts,

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[1] Patrick Gautier Dalché, "The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)" in (ed.) David Woodward, *The History of Cartography* Vol. 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 1 (Chicago; London, 2007), pp. 285–364, here p. 303, 309; Evelyn Edson, *The World Map 1300-1492. The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation* (Baltimore, 2007), pp. 120, 132-33.

[2] Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Mappa mundi und Chronographia. Studien zur imago mundi des abendländischen Mittelalters," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968), pp. 118–186. Newly published in Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Studien zur Universalkartographie des Mittelalters* (ed.) Thomas Szabó. (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 17-81, here: p. 123 / new ed. p. 22.

maps of the Mediterranean and Black Seas with – to the modern eye – their near-natural

depictions of shorelines, had been in use by seaman for at least 150 years and came to be of

increasing interest in these scholarly circles.[3] These charts provided to many a new,

unfamiliar depiction of the world, contrasting sharply with the view presented by *mappae*

mundi.

These different strands of information would be merged in so-called transitional or

hybrid maps of the period. [4] The so-called Genoese World Map of 1457, a *transitional* map

and the focus of this article, presents preliminary questions regarding the conceptions of

space. Merging medieval *mappae mundi* with portolan charts and Ptolemy's data with the

information gathered by contemporary travelers, the Genoese World Map is frequently seen

as a step towards *modern* cartography, which, in part, is defined by a homogeneous

conception of space.[5] Its classification as *transitional* emphasizes progressive and conscious

development towards a new stage. But does this *transitional* period in the history of

cartography really represent a natural and inevitable development towards *modernity*? Or

could it be that this concept merely interferes with a view of continuities, such as the

persistence of various dimensions of meaning in these maps, continuities that hint at the

continuance of heterogeneous conceptions of space?[6]

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[3]   The notion of a near-natural depiction of the world is understood throughout this article in the sense of an approximation of the representation towards nature in contrast to an approximation towards reality, as nature represents but one dimension of a multidimensional reality. A further distinction has to be made between how nature was perceived at the time of the Genoese map and how it is perceived today.

[4]   See David Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi" in (eds.) John Brian Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography* Vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean (Chicago, 1987), pp. 286–370, here: p. 314, classifying the Genoese World Map as *transitional*.

[5]   See below p. 60.

[6]   See Jörg-Geerd Arentzen, *Imago Mundi Cartographica. Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelalterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild* (München, 1984), pp. 325-26 for the point of view, that the rediscovery of Ptolemy caused fundamental changes in

The Homogenization of Space?

Building on the concept that space and its perception are cultural constructs rather than anthropological constants, Alain Guerreau has found a distinct connection between feudal structures and spatial perception. He states that from the Middle Ages until the eighteenth century, the perception of space was determined by a mixture of feudal rights, privileges and liabilities, in such a way that space was felt to be heterogeneously structured.[7] This heterogeneous conception of space is expressed in medieval *mappae mundi*, which show a geographically-structured view of history and theology, thereby melding space and time. In structuring proportions and distances according to meaning and importance, these maps demonstrate a hierarchic view of the world.[8] In a cartography based on a homogeneous conception of space, every location is a point in a grid of parallels and meridians, every location is theoretically of equal value, and, normally, space and time are separated from one another.[9] As early as the thirteenth century, the English scholar Roger Bacon proposed the use of a grid to depict the world, which has been seen as a first step toward homogenizing space. However, as Patrick Gautier Dalché has explained, Bacon had in mind a projection of the grid of the celestial vault onto the surface of the earth.[10] This celestial grid served to

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cartography, but that there were also continuities until the seventeenth century, preserving the melding of time and space within and the multidimensional contents of *mappae mundi*.

[7] Alain Guerreau, "Quelques caractères spécifiques de l'espace féodal européen" in (eds.) Robert Descimon, Alain Guerreau, and Neithard Bulst, *L'État ou le Roi : les fondements de la modernité monarchique en France (XIVe-XVIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1996), pp. 85–101, here p. 85.

[8] Edson, *World Map*, pp. 14-15, 18, 22-24 (n. 1); von den Brincken, "Mappa mundi," p. 123 / new ed. p. 22 (n. 2); see Martina Stercken, "Kartographien von Herrschaft im Mittelalter," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 70 (2006), pp. 134–154, esp. 146.

[9] See (eds.) Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography* Vol. 1, p. 505 (n. 4); David Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change" in (ed.) David Woodward, *History of Cartography* Vol. 3/1, pp. 3–24, here 16-17 (n. 1).

[10] Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Vers une perfecta locorum doctrina: Lieu et espace géographique selon Roger Bacon" in (eds.) Tiziana Suarez-Nani and Martin Rohde, *Représentations et conceptions de l'espace dans la culture médiévale / Repräsentationen und Konzeptionen des Raums in der Kultur des Mittelalters* (Berlin; Boston, Mass., 2011), pp. 9–43, here 17-18, 21; Gautier Dalché, "Ptolemy's Geography," p. 292, 301 (n. 1).

measure the movements and relations of the celestial bodies. Bacon's aim was to determine the individual characteristics of every location on earth by tracing its exact relation to the planets. Bacon's grid is, therefore, not a step towards the homogenization of space. It is rather the expression of a decidedly heterogeneous conception of space, one that prevailed into the fifteenth century, when the French cardinal Pierre d'Ailly's concept of a grid and Jacopo Angeli's understanding of Ptolemy ran along the same lines. Nevertheless, the propagation of Ptolemy's *Geography* by fifteenth-century humanists is often seen as another step towards the homogenization of space, although their main concern was with Ptolemy's toponyms: as the first few decades after its translation, no evidence of interest in Ptolemy's projection methods has yet been established.[11] Yet Ptolemy's coordinates were frequently copied.[12] This raises two questions: Did the people brooding over these coordinates in fifteenth-century Latin Europe understand them in the sense of heterogeneous space, as in Bacon's and d'Ailly's grid, or in the sense of homogeneous space as it was presumably meant by Ptolemy? And, more specifically, does the Genoese World Map constitute one step towards a homogeneous conception of space?

The Genoese World Map: More Traditional than One Might Think?

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are generally classified as a *transitional* period in cartography. Comments on the melding of the Christian tradition of *mappae mundi* with relatively precise maps of the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts, as well as information of travelers and Ptolemy's toponyms can be traced back to Charles de La Roncière in the late

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[11] See for view of Ptolemy as a step towards a homogenization of space e.g. Edson, *World Map*, p. 234 (n. 1); (eds.) Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography* Vol. 1, pp. 505-506 (n. 4).

[12] Gautier Dalché, "Ptolemy's Geography," p. 298, 305 (n. 1).

nineteenth century.[13] David Woodward also observes this fusion of traditions, but goes even further in interpreting it as an anticipation of the Renaissance, forming "a transitional stage between the medieval and modern worlds of mapping."[14] The Genoese World Map, as suggested above, is generally understood as a *transitional* map, melding *mappae mundi*, portolan charts, Ptolemaic data and contemporary information gathered by eye witnesses, but it is absent from Peter Barber's description of the most important *mappae mundi* of the Middle Ages.[15] It seems that Barber did not regard it as such.

Others classify it as stepping stone towards the homogenization of space, mainly because the Earthly Paradise, though discussed, is not illustrated on the map. Alessandro Scafi – for whom the depiction of the Earthly Paradise forms the watershed between *mappae mundi* and *modern* cartography – classifies it as map in which time loses importance to space while measured space gets more important, becoming an abstract container on these maps as well as in the minds of their makers.[16] Evelyn Edson likewise interprets the disappearance from the maps of unreachable locations like Paradise or the uninhabitable regions as sign of the growing homogenization of the conception of space. She notably sees the fifteenth-century reception of the Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* as the catalyst for this development. Both of them are right, but we must still decide when, for whom, and on which occasions this change came into effect, given that Edson remarks that Christopher Columbus saw Paradise as a definite location, waiting to be found and mapped.[17]

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[13] Charles de la Roncière, "Mappemondes de Giovanni Leardo. Venise, 1442, 1448, 1452-54" in (ed.) Marcel Destombes, *Mappemondes A.D. 1200-1500: Catalogue préparé par la Commission des Cartes Anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale* (Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 208-211, pl. XXX, here: p. 208.

[14] Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," p. 296, 299, 318 (n. 4).

[15] See Peter Barber, "Medieval Maps of the World" in (ed.) Paul Dean Adshead Harvey, *The Hereford World Map. Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London, 2006), p. 1–44.

[16] Alessandro Scafi, "Defining Mappaemundi" in (ed.) Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, pp. 345–354, here: 350-351 (n. 15).

[17] See Edson, *World Map*, pp. 228-29, 234 (n. 1).

This article is not intended to contradict the assertion that important changes in cartography occurred during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries or the relevance of the depiction of Paradise on maps. The objective is rather to inquire into the nature of these changes. Surely, if *modernization* is understood as an innovation, a change gaining in momentum, it has to be measured by what was perceived at the time of innovation or shortly thereafter.[18] But was the change in the geographical picture presented by world maps really so important at the time; or, does it only appear important today, because it seems like a step towards *modern* cartographical models of mapping space? Did the near-natural depiction of the world really mean that space gained importance over time, that maps did not anymore show hierarchies, in short, that space came to be seen as homogeneous?

Striving for *truth* and accuracy was especially important in order to determine one's position in salvation history. Eschatology had the desire to predict the future at its core. To arrive at precise predictions, it was necessary to learn to read the signs of nature correctly, which stimulated the enhancement of scientific methods.[19] Maps were not only or always about navigating the world, or finding one's place on its surface; they were important tools to locate oneself in history. Thus, achieving a near-natural depiction of the world - in contrast to conventions which were only vaguely related to geographical factors - does not mean that dimensions of meaning were removed, but that their basis was updated. Thus, the desire to converge representation and nature does not necessarily contradict a heterogeneous

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[18] See Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Modern, Modernität, Moderne" in (eds.) Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* Vol. 4 (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 93–131, here p. 96, 126.

[19] Arentzen, *Imago Mundi*, pp. 327-328 (n.6); Johannes Fried, *Das Mittelalter. Geschichte und Kultur.* (München, 2011), pp. 367-368; Felicitas Schmieder, "Apokalyptik und Politik im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert" in (ed.) Ulrich Knefelkamp, *Der Antichrist. Die Glasmalereien der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)* (Leipzig, 2008), pp. 45–52, here p. 47.

conception of space. Edson regards the Genoese World Map's many pictures as a temptation

Figure 1   So-called Genoese World Map, 1457. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Portolano 1, with permission by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

to see the map as more traditional than it really is.[20] Turning this thought around results in a

new question: Because this map's geography is so easily identifiable to the modern eye, does

it mislead us into regarding this map as more *modern* than it really is?[21]

The Homogeneous Conception of Space in the Genoese World Map?
A Map Frame as a Sign of Secularization?

At first glance **(Figure 1),** the most striking feature of the Genoese World Map is its

frame, a unique almond shape, no other known, painted world map of the time has a similar

frame. Geometric map frames did not appear regularly before the early Renaissance and are

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[20]   See Edson, *World Map*, p. 193 (n. 1).

[21]   Building on Victoria Morse, "The Role of Maps in Later Medieval Society: Twelfth to Fourteenth Century" in (ed.) Woodward, *History of Cartography* 3/1, p. 27 (n. 1), who claims that discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance tend to get overemphasized in the historiography of cartography.

interpreted today as auxiliary constructions that separate the space of the map from the space of the wider world. To the modern eye, these frames imply completeness, but this was not necessarily the case for their contemporaries. Therefore, the reason for the mapmaker's framing choice is best searched for in its own context.[22] Yet, outside the frame of the Genoese World Map one sees scales and coats of arms, but there are no symbols of Christianity, as on some *mappae mundi*. Over time, one can see a shift from the Christian *mappae mundi*'s theological cartography to a focus on a more secular topography, where Christianity is but one thread among many, which was to disappear with time.[23] The Genoese World Map's geometric frame, its scales and coats of arms, suggest a secularization of the map, an exclusion of the Christian background once depicted so prominently in the *mappae mundi*. **(Figure 1)**

Along with the displacement of Christian imagery, one could presume pragmatic reasons for the use of this almond-shaped frame, as the shape allows for a more efficient utilization of the given space of the parchment, providing space for an expansion of Asia that was necessary due to the new findings of travelers.[24] The mapmaker could have been inspired to use this solution by maps in the Ptolemaic style, which depict an expanded Asia by showing the world in the form of a scallop, by maps in the tradition of fourteenth-century English Benedictine Ranulf Higden, which come in circular, oval and - only in their textual form - an almond shape, or by a poem from the fourteenth century by the North Italian poet

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[22]   See Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance," pp. 12-13 (n. 9). See Arentzen, *Imago Mundi*, p. 30, 320 (n. 6). The singular term, "mapmaker," is used throughout this article for reasons of convenience, although it is probable that more than one person was involved in making the map. In addition, the map might also have been influenced by the wishes of the mapmaker's patron or customer.

[23]   "Ute Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Darmstadt, 2012), pp. 150-151. See for examples for depictions of Christian faith outside the oikumene: Edson, *World Map*, pp. 21-22 (n. 1).

[24]   Gautier Dalché, "Ptolemy's Geography," p. 317 (n. 1); Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, "Ranulf Higden" in Destombes, *Mappemondes*, pp. 149–160, here: pp. 150-151 (n. 13); see Arentzen, *Imago Mundi*, p. 32 (n. 6).

Fazio degli Uberti, which states that a *true* rendering of the world must be almond shaped.[25] Following this line of thought, the frame of the map would be solely functional, which in turn points towards a homogeneous conception of space.

The use of an almond shape could also have been an attempt to tie the Genoese map to antique geographic and cartographic conventions: for instance, to the revival of Eratosthenes, a reference to the concept of an ellipsoidal world with cut edges by Posidonius, or the combination of Strabo's scallop shape of the world with Marinus of Tyres' projection method.[26] As a result, one could presume humanistic influences affecting the mapmaker, with his references to the classical world.

Another explanation could be the intention to depict the world as an egg, drawing on the concept of an egg-shaped world, which is explained in great detail on the Catalan World Atlas of 1375. This thought builds on the analogy between the different layers of eggs – embryonic disk, egg yolk, egg white and shells - and the spherical structure of the earth.[27] A desire to depict the world within the celestial spheres of medieval cosmology recalls Roger

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[25] Edson, *World Map*, p. 194 (n. 1) lists these possibilities for inspiration and expands on the scallop form on Ptolemaic style maps as means to show space for the new discoveries in the East and the West. On Higden Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Graphische Gestalt und Signifikanz. Europa in den Weltkarten des Beatus von Liébana und des Ranulf Higden" in (eds.) Ingrid Baumgärtner and Hartmut Kugler, *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters. Kartographische Konzepte* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 81–132, here p. 104-105. See for the assumption that the almond shape was a widely accepted conception of the world Angelo Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457. Carta conservata presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze con la segnatura Portolano 1* (Rome, 2008), p. 10.

[26] Manuel Francisco Barros de Santarém, *Essai sur l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie pendant le moyen-age, et sur les progrès de la géographie après les grandes découvertes du XVe siècle* Vol. III (Paris, 1849-1852), pp. 82-83; Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Graphische Gestalt," p. 119 (n. 25); Osvaldo Baldacci, "L'Ecumene a 'Mandorla'," *Geografia* 6 (1983), pp. 132–138, here pp. 133-134, 136 and Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi, " p. 318 (n. 4). There are differing interpretations as to when exactly Strabo was available in Latin Europe: Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 158 n. 1 (n. 25), believes it was not distributed before 1458; Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance," p. 8 (n. 9) cites 1439 as the date it was introduced to Florence by George Gemistus Plethon in Greek; and Aubrey Diller focuses on 1450 in *The textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam, 1975), p. 116, especially as cited extensively by Flavius Biondo.

[27] (Ed. and comment) Georges Grosjean, *Mapamundi. Der katalanische Weltatlas vom Jahre 1375*. Facs.-ed., (Dietikon-Zürich, 1977), p. 41; Hans-Christian Freiesleben, *Der katalanische Weltatlas vom Jahre 1375. Nach dem in der Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, verwahrten Original farbig wiedergegeben.* (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 25. Edson, World Map, p. 194 (n. 1).

Bacon's aim to determine individual qualities of locations via their relation to the celestial bodies. Moreover, taking into account, that medieval cosmology locates the angels and the Blessed in the outermost sphere, this puts the depiction of the world as an egg within the realm of Christian philosophy. Both possibilities hint at a heterogeneous conception of space.

The Genoese map's shape also might have been inspired by the twelfth-century Parisian scholar Hugo of St. Victor's description of drawing an almond-shaped world map, containing an Ark. Since late Christian antiquity, the Ark was seen as symbol of the church, sailing the world ocean. Hugo interpreted the Ark historically as Ark of Noah, allegorically as Ark of the Church, and tropologically as Ark of sapiency.[28] In this context, the frame and overall shape of the map gains salvific historical relevance. In general, Christian symbolism connects the mandorla to Christ Cronocrator, who rules over time. Its light aura was and is still a symbol for sanctity, and thus the frame might signify that the world is Christ's domain.[29]

The motif of using a single eye to represent God became popular among fifteenth-century humanists. Hence, the almond-shaped frame might represent God's omniscience.[30] In this case, the elaborate depictions of Christian stories traditionally depicted outside a map's

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[28] Patrick Gautier Dalché, *La 'descriptio mappe mundi' de Hugues de Saint-Victor.* Texte inédit avec introduction et commentaire, (Paris, 1988), pp. 21, 109-111; Patrice Sicard, *Diagrammes médiévaux et exégèse visuelle. Le Libellus de formatione arche de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1993), pp. 167-170; Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," p. 313, 335 (n. 4); Scafi, "Defining Mappaemundi," p. 347 (n. 16); Hanna Hohl, "Arche Noe" in (ed.) Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* Vol. 1 (Rome, 1968) pp. 178–179, here p. 179. See also Conrad Rudolph, *First, I find the center point": Reading the text of Hugh of Saint Victor's The mystic ark* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp. 84-85, Rudolph shows a reconstruction of Hugo's map, which is not preserved in the original: fig. 1.

[29] Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," p. 335 (n. 4). See Wilhelm Messerer, "Mandorla" in (ed.) Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* Vol. 3 (Rome, 1971), pp. 147–149, here p. 147. For examples of depictions of Christ in the mandorla in Last Judgement Scenes, see Beat Brenk, "Weltgericht" in (ed.) Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* Vol. 4. (Rome, 1972) S. 514–524, here p. 514, 517.

[30] Peter Stephan, "Auge Gottes" in (eds.) Walter Kasper and Michael Buchberger, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 1. Special Edition, Rev. of 3rd ed. 1993 - 2001 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2009), p. 1223. Lore Kaute, "Auge, Auge Gottes" in (ed.) Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* Vol. 1, pp. 222–223 (n. 28).

frame would have been replaced by the frame itself.[31] Accordingly, the Genoese map's depiction of the earth would be read in a Christian context, which could argue for a heterogeneous conception of space.

The question of why the mapmaker might have decided to use this particular frame and setting is not easy to answer. The circle was widely taken as symbol of perfection, of God's love and absoluteness.[32] Could it have been so easy for the mapmaker to discard it without any proper reason, without replacing it with a different spiritual, symbolic concept? Some arguments explaining the use of the almond shape point towards homogeneous and others towards heterogeneous conceptions of space. The possibilities presented here are not new, but comparing them shows that it is not possible to draw unambiguous conclusions about the character of Genoese World Map's conception of space, based solely on the shape of its frame. Other features of the map need to be explored before such conclusions can be drawn.

Map Scales and Rhumb Lines: On the Way to *Modern* Cartography?

The mapmaker painted two scales outside the map's frame, **(Figure 1)** one indicating 100- and the other 50-mile increments. Whether the mapmaker took measured distances as the basis for his scales or whether he painted scales as a pretense is irrelevant to a study of the map's spatial conception. The important thing is his purpose, about which we can only hypothesize.[33] Naturally, scales suggest space defined purely by measurement, not space defined by meaning. But this does not automatically imply a homogeneous conception of

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[31] Examples for depictions of Christian faith outside the oikumene: Ebstorf, Hereford, Psalter maps, see n. 23.

[32] Oskar Holl, "Kreis" (ed.) Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* Vol. 2 (Rome, 1970), pp. 560–561. Differing: Arentzen, *Imago Mundi*, p. 320 (n. 6), who sees the agent for the dominance of the circle shape in world maps in the settings of Isidore of Seville, in the conception of an egg-shaped cosmos and in the desire to locate Jerusalem in the center of the map.

[33] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 174 (n. 25), for an extrapolation from the scales of the Genoese World Map to the supposed radius of the earth, arriving at figures similar to Eratosthenes.

66

space. Did the mapmaker want to give every point on this map equal value? Or do the scales just indicate that he valued a near-natural depiction of the world?

The system of rhumb lines the mapmaker used is clearly reminiscent of portolan charts, whose coastlines are shown on the Genoese map as well. The inclusion of this system could be interpreted as an attempt at spatial accuracy. Connecting the frame of the map and its rhumb system, Osvaldo Baldacci suggests that the mapmaker tried to unite Strabo's scallop form of the world and Marinus of Tyre's grid.[34] In **Figure 2**, the lines, still partly visible on a
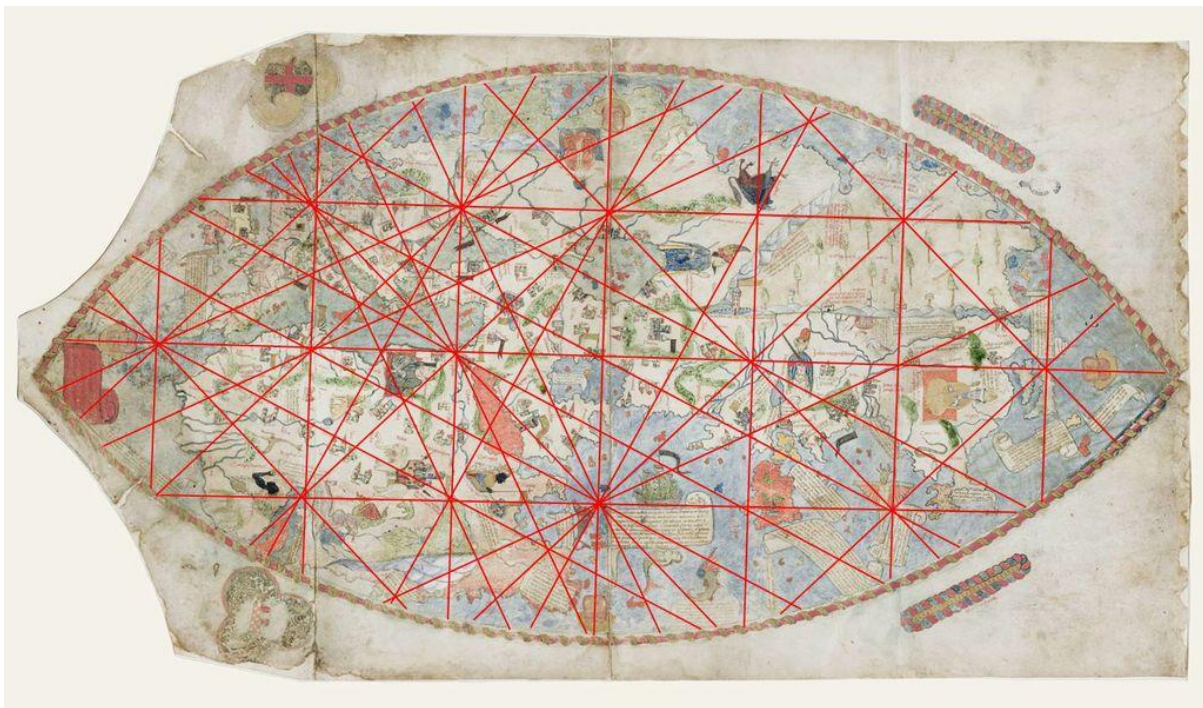
Figure 2   So-called Genoese World Map, with rhumblines retraced by the author, with permission by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

digitized reproduction in possession of the author, are retraced. Even if these lines are connected to Marinus's projection, there is not much known about Marinus's grid due to the lack of source material.[35] However, on the Genoese World Map, no projection method was used, and the rhumb line system seems unfinished – either this or it is deliberately concentrated on Europe, West Asia, and the Indian Ocean. If the map is unfinished, this

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[34]   Baldacci, "L'Ecumene a 'Mandorla'," pp. 133-134, 136 (n. 26).

[35]   See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 10-11 (n. 25).

indicates that these lines were not important for the construction or the use of the map. If, on the other hand, the map is finished as it stands, one might expect the rhumb lines to concentrate on the areas modeled on portolan charts. But this is not the case, as the node in the Indian Ocean, about which no measurements were known, is the most prominent one. Moreover, the lines cover much ground onshore, which makes its use for navigational purposes seem unlikely. But, then, perhaps the mapmaker simply wanted to emphasize certain regions.

As with the frame of the map, its scales and rhumb system do not point clearly to a homogeneous or a heterogeneous conception of space, yet the mapmaker valued a near-natural depiction of the world. He explicitly declares this, using golden letters on red background, in the most elaborate cartouche of the map (in the extreme west): "This is the true [*vera*] description in agreement with Marinos, having rejected the frivolous tales of certain cosmographers: 1457."[36]

The mapmaker writes not only that he takes his description of the world to be *true*, but that he eliminated tales he thought *untrue*. It is most interesting to note that, for him, tales, *narrationes*, are an important part of the map, and that those he included he took to be *true*. This suggests that his *truth* includes the stories of Gog and Magog, Alexander the Great, and the dragons and composite beings he depicted. Is it, subsequently, still possible that the mapmaker had a homogeneous conception of space in mind, with every location of equal value, a space devoid of meaning? Striving for a near-natural depiction of the world certainly limited his means of expression: measured distances cannot be expressed any more according to meaning. But striving for accuracy, for *truth*, was also important in order to be able to find

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[36] "Hec est vera cosmographorum cum marino accordata de(scri)cio quorundam frivolis narracionibus reiectis 1457," transcription and translation Edson, *World Map*, pp. 192-193 (n. 1).

68

one's place in salvation history.[37] Could it be possible that on the Genoese World Map space is not devoid of meaning, but that meaning is expressed in a new way?

The Depiction of a Homogeneous World?

If one regards the map as a whole, considering its legends and pictures, that the mapmaker had a clear focus becomes clear. The most elaborate legend is located, as discussed above, in the extreme west. Other focal points lie in the Indian Ocean, Asia, and Africa, all of which contain numerous large, detailed legends, pictures and vignettes. Europe, in contrast, seems quite unimposing. The viewer's gaze is steered away from Europe toward Asia, Africa, and the margins of the world, which is not uncommon in world maps of the time. Out of forty-three legends with more than four words, twenty are concerned with Asia, eleven with the Indian Ocean, seven with Africa, four with the Atlantic, and only one with Latin Europe. Rivers and mountains are shown on the map, but generally without denomination or explanatory legend. However, the Ganges, the Indus, and the Nile are specially designated: in India, the Ganges and the Indus are not only depicted, but the Ganges is furnished with six and the Indus with three legends or denominations.[38] In Africa, the source of the Nile is described as being located in the mountains of the moon.[39] While the majority of mountains are painted green and shown in plan view, the mountains of the moon are depicted in white and in profile, creating an illusion of depth. Other mountains in white and in profile are the mountains forming the border around the region enclosed by Alexander the Great, named "*Ymaus mons*," and the mountains in the enclosure, which are labeled three

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[37] See n. 19.

[38] For the legends and toponyms concerning the Ganges see Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 175 n. C20, p. 180 n. D6, p. 187 n. D16, D19, D20, D22; for the Indus Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 187 n. D7, D8, D11 (n. 25).

[39] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 192 n. E8.

69

times as "*Montes inaccessibiles*."[40] In Northwest Asia, in the area were the Mongols are depicted the only white mountains shown in profile without any legend are to be found. All the other mountains on the map are of the green flat type, even when legends are attached to them, which only occurs three times. These three legends inform the viewer about a mountain in China where carbuncles originate, about burning mountains in Africa, where a spring with alternately hot and cold water is located, and denominate as "*Mons Synai*" a mountain with a church on the shore of the Red Sea.[41] A similar alternation of perspective can be seen in the vignettes representing towns, which appear in different sizes and colors. Most of them are flat, elevated representations of towers and walls, but some shown from an oblique perspective, giving an illusion of depth through the alignment of buildings - though very few provide a convincing illusion of depth.[42]

Overall, the mapmaker does not present a picture of a homogenous world. He does not depict a space uniformly furnished with explanations and pictures. He emphasizes certain regions, certain locations, allotting more space to explanations in some areas than in others, creating differences through variations in distribution, content, size, color, and perspective. In short, he represents a hierarchical space.

Following Ptolemy?

As discussed above, the mapmaker aimed to create a *true* description of the world. In order to achieve this, he claims to be weighing authorities against each other. In two cases,

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[40]   See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 175 n. C11, C12, C16, C17.

[41]   See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 173 n. C11, p. 194 n. E12, p. 195 n. E71.

[42]   See for examples of oblique perspective, giving an illusion of depths: Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 195 n. E76, E68, p. 182-83 n. D12; for examples of a convincing illusion of depths: Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 161 n. A49, p. 195 n. E14.

Figure 3   Detail of so-called Genoese World Map: West Africa with gulf and passable ocean, with permission by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela are explicitly named. The mapmaker lists their differing opinions in writing and once decidedly contradicts Ptolemy. To the right of the depiction of a gulf containing three islands, he writes: "Contrary to the tradition of Ptolemy, this is a gulf, but Pomponius speaks of it with its islands."[43] **(Figure 3)** In both cases, the mapmaker's depictions follow Pomponius Mela, opting for a circumnavigable Africa and the existence of

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[43]   Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 193 n. E9: "Preter Ptolemei tradicionem est hic gu[l]fus sed Pomponius eum tradit cum eius insula." Translation Edward Luther Stevenson, *Genoese World Map 1457. Facsimile and critical text incorporating in free translation the studies of Professor Theobald Fischer* (New York, 1912), p. 55.

a gulf on the west African coast.[44] It is unlikely that this gulf is meant to be the Gulf of

Guinea, as it was not known at the time. The mapmaker might have drawn on the *Libro del*

conoscimiento from the fourteenth century, which mentions a gulf on the west African coast,

interpreted as passageway either to the land of Prester John or to the River of Gold, allusions

that are also found on the Fra Mauro, the Borgia-Velletri and the Catalan Estense

world maps of the fifteenth century.[45] By showing an open Indian Ocean without any

southern continent, our mapmaker rejects Ptolemy once again. This time he does not

comment overtly, but explains in a legend situated in the far west of the Atlantic Ocean that

this infinite ocean covers the rest of the world and quotes the thirteenth century scholar

Albertus Magnus to show that its tides are caused by the moon's influence. Most

interestingly, another legend in the Persian Gulf assures the reader that it has tides, just like

the ocean. Consequently, the two oceans must be connected, whereby the mapmaker manages

to support his depiction of an open, navigable Indian Ocean in an indirect way.[46]

The mapmaker, when weighing antique authorities against each other, possibly

looking for further information gained by eye-witnesses, in the end sets himself against

Ptolemy. Implicitly, he follows Ptolemy, as in his picturing of a Ptolemaic landlocked

Caspian Sea, which was confirmed by the findings of travelers like the Venetian merchant

Marco Polo and the Franciscan William of Rubruck.[47] Apart from a denomination in the

Caspian Sea (unfortunately no longer legible), the mapmaker did not make any further

clarifying comment. But to the north of the Caspian Sea, a bay or a gulf is depicted. This

might be a second Sea, as it traditionally was represented. Other mapmakers of the fourteenth

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[44] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 193 n. E9, p. 194 n. E13 (n. 25).

[45] Edson, *World Map*, p. 158, 178, 198 (n. 1). For an introduction on Prester John, who appeared since the 12th
century in varying constellations as opponent of the enemies of the Christians, see Ulrich Knefelkamp,
"Johannes Presbyter" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. 5 (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 530-32.

[46] Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 158 n. A2, p. 190 n. E1 (n. 25).

[47] See Edson, *World Map*, p. 8, 73 (n. 1).

72

and fifteenth centuries like Marino Sanudo, Paulinus Minorita and Andreas Walsperger also showed two Caspian Seas.[48] Could it be possible that the mapmaker of the Genoese World Map expressed his doubts about the Caspian Sea by showing it twice, thereby acting in line with a heterogeneous conception of space?

In the Indian Ocean appears a fish with a human head, identified as a swordfish by the mapmaker, who quotes Pliny here. Alongside, we find a humanlike figure with horns, fins, and a fishtail, for which the mapmaker refers to the Venetians, claiming they had captured the creature and distributed its picture.[49] This is not the only case where contemporary information finds its way onto the map, although the other sources are not explicitly named. The west African coast carries the names of Portuguese discoveries down to Cape Bojador, while Cape Verde and Cape Rosso, discovered in 1446, are not mentioned.[50] In the Atlantic Ocean, the Canaries are named, and Madeira and probably the Azores are shown.[51] Much of the information given in Asia stems from Niccolò de'Conti, the traveling merchant who came back to Venice in 1439, but it also might emanate from Marco Polo.[52] The Genoese map's depiction of Scandinavia, too, could have been influenced by the Danish mapmaker Claudius Clavus' map of Northern Europe, which was discussed around 1439 at the council of Florence.[53]

All in all, the mapmaker weighed the information available to him and put ancient authorities and contemporary information on an equal footing. After considering these sources, he depicted regions or elements as he believed them to be, based on the information

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[48] Edson, *World Map*, p. 72, 132, 181.

[49] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 180 n. D7, p. 185 n. D20 (n. 25).

[50] Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 195 n. E1, E2, E3.

[51] Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 161 n. A1.

[52] Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 11.

[53] See Gautier Dalché, "Ptolemy's Geography," p. 303 (n. 1).

they provided, and backed up his decisions in accompanying legends. This critical approach seems to be one of the map's more innovative elements. Here the mapmaker does not stand alone, as this quality is even more prominent in the *mappa mundi* of Fra Mauro, dated around the time of the Genoese World Map.[54] Favoring one option out of several could point to the mapmaker's conscious homogenization of space, to a new way of conceptualizing space by assigning every element of the map its definite location. But in the case of the Caspian Sea, it might be that the mapmaker reached no decision or that no decision seemed necessary, and so he listed all available information in a visual way. The depiction of two Caspian Seas, without the need for a decision, contradicts the notion of a homogeneous space, where every object has but one exact location, and therefore could create an entirely different picture.
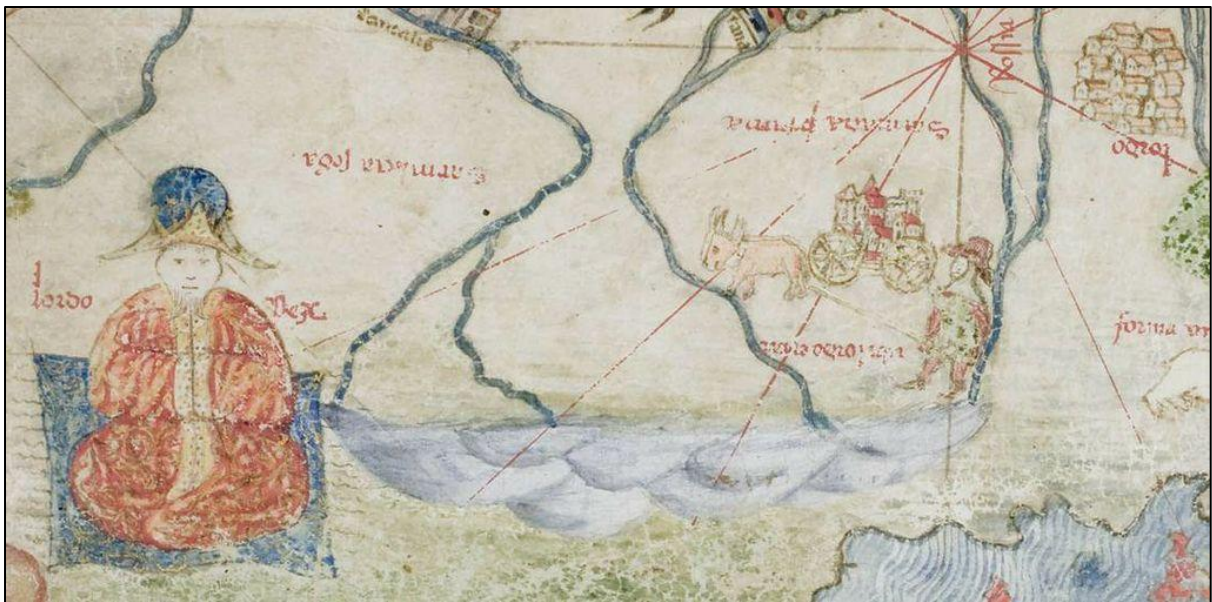
Figure 4   Detail of so-called Genoese World Map: Mongols north of the Caspian Sea, with permission by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

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[54]   See Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Weltdarstellung und Selbsterfahrung: Der Kartograph Fra Mauro" in (eds.) Heinz-Dieter Heimann and Pierre Monnet, *Kommunikation mit dem Ich. Signaturen der Selbstzeugnisforschung an europäischen Beispielen des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Bochum, 2004), pp. 39–51, here pp. 44-46. See Gautier Dalché, " Ptolemy's Geography," p. 315 (n. 1).

A Synchronic Depiction?

The critical approach of the mapmaker extends to other topics as well. Out of the forty-three legends with more than four words, ten long and seven shorter ones deal with the Mongols, the area enclosed by Alexander, or Prester John. North of the Black Sea, **(Figure 4)** Mongols are shown wandering about with their houses packed on a wagon, settled in a town which bears the denomination "*Lordo,*" an approximation of the Mongolian *ordo,* which means campsites, and in the person of their ruler "*Lordo rex*." In East Asia, they reappear as Tartars – the contemporary Western term for Mongols – enclosed by Alexander. The ruler depicted east of the Caspian Sea is identified as son of the Great Khan and the one in China as the Great Khan himself, the latter mentioned again in the more precise designation of the region.[55]

This portrayal does not quite do justice to the power relations in the region during the mid-fifteenth century. Timur's descendants admittedly enjoyed a new bloom at the time, but the descendants of the Golden Horde, though still in power, were weak, and Moscow's influence was growing. The Mongolian dynasty in China had long been replaced by the Ming dynasty. Even considering that in the Latin Europe of the fifteenth century, a conception of mighty Mongols in China still persisted, it nevertheless seems that the mapmaker pictures an exaggerated Mongolian presence in Asia, neglecting other powers, which might be connected to the renewal of an interest in the Mongols at the time, due to growing danger from the Turks.[56] On top of that, the mapmaker shows the Mongols at different times: as more or less contemporary rulers and people, as a people enclosed by Alexander a long time ago, and, through this depiction, as a people of the end times. **(Figures 4 and 5)**

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[55] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 160 n. A4, A5, p. 161 n. A41, p. 169 n. C3, p.175 n. C14, p. 178 n. D1, p. 179 n. D5 (n. 25).

[56] See Felicitas Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 195-196, 302-303.

A similar observation can be made in the area enclosed by Alexander. There are two Iron Gates, the one further east **(Figure 5)** explicitly related to Alexander and illustrates the tendency at the time to move landmarks eastwards, when their earlier, supposed location proved to be false. A bit to the east of the far eastern gate, Prester John is said to have built towers to ensure that the enclosed people could not escape.[57] Thus, Prester John appears as Alexander's co-constructor in enclosing the people of the end times. In the walled area itself, trees are painted, which is a singular occurrence on this map and is, in fact, exceptional for the whole genre. Within the enclosed region these trees set the area even further apart,
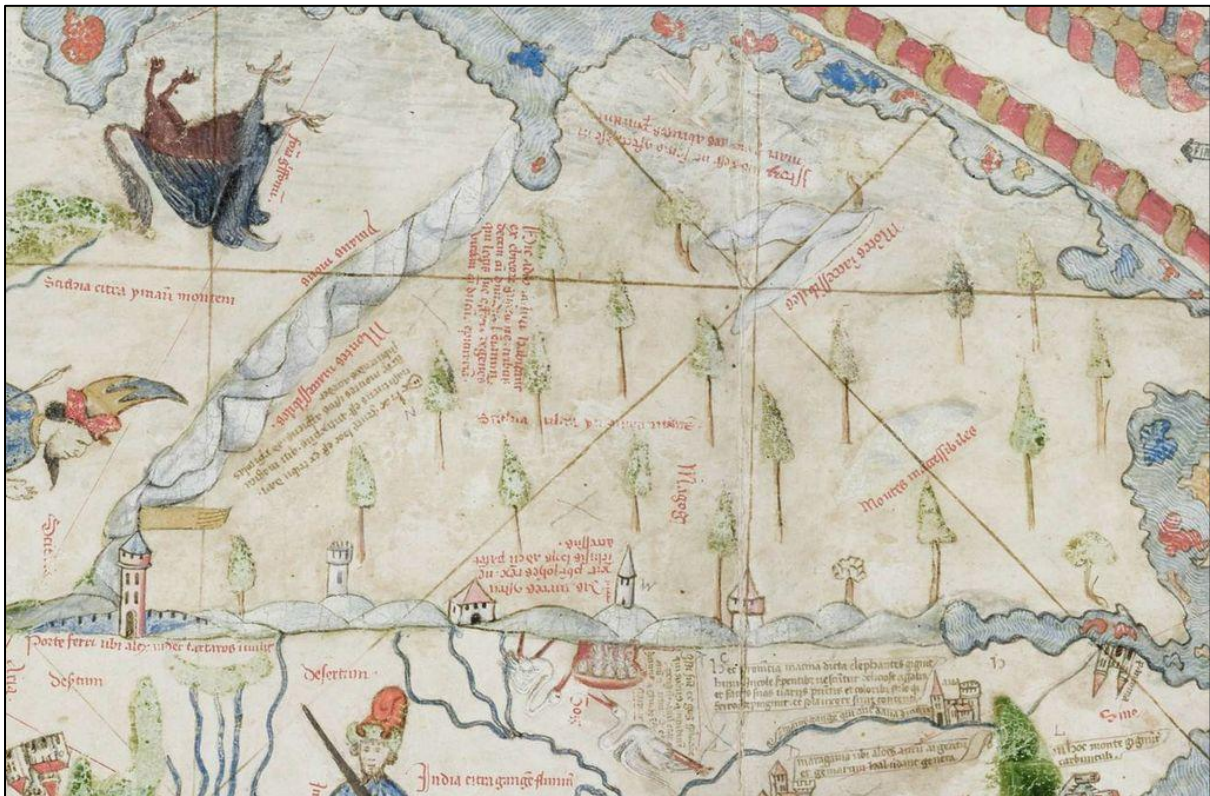

Figure 5   Detail of so-called Genoese World Map: Region enclosed by Alexander, with permission by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

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[57]   See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457* , p. 160 n. A6, p.175 n. C14, p. 170 n. C7.

irrespective of whether the mapmaker's aim was to show the Siberian Woods or to indicate a

legally or cultural separate area, which forests then often formed.[58]

Moreover, there seems to be some doubt about the identification of the people

enclosed. As mentioned above, the inscription at the gate states that Alexander enclosed the

Tartars. In the enclosed area, "Magog" is inscribed in a style used elsewhere to indicate

names of regions, but the Tartars are not mentioned. The same is true of "Gog," which is

written just outside the enclosure, along with a picture of two cranes attacking dwarves, the

latter likewise identified as Gog. Inside the

enclosure, inscriptions identify the

 Hebrews, who lead an excessive lifestyle, and

the tribe of Dan, from which the Antichrist

will be born.[59]

Figure 6 Detail of so-called Genoese World Map: "Presbyter Johannes rex" in Africa, with permission by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

On the Genoese World Map we find

representations of the Mongols as

contemporary rulers and as enclosed people,

of the medieval Prester Johan as co-

constructor of Alexander the Great and of the people of the end times side by side with a

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[58] See Ulrich Mattejiet, (1991): "Wald. B. Literarische und kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* Vol. 8 (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 1944–1946.

[59] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 169 C4, C5, p. 170 n. C6, p. 171 n. C8, p.175 n. C14, C15, C18 (n. 25). Gog and Magog as people of the end times: Ez 38-39; Rev. 20,8. On the amalgamation of Gog and Magog with the ten lost tribes of the Hebrews and the conception of Antichrist coming from the people Dan: Andrew Colin Gow, "Das Gefolge des Antichristen: Zur Legende von den ‚roten Juden" in Knefelkamp, *Antichrist*, pp. 102–112, here pp. 103-105.

prediction of the coming Antichrist. This reflects the multiple timelines depicted on the map: the past of Alexander, the present of more or less contemporary rulers, and the apocalyptic future of Antichrist. A closer look at the map's representations of Prester John (in varying guises) raises further questions about the mapmaker's understanding of space. Prester John is explicitly named and pictured again in Ethiopia, **(Figure 6)** where he is shown as ruler. This is in line with a tendency, starting in the fourteenth century, to show him in Africa, as it became increasingly clear that he could not be found in Asia.[60] It is possible that the "*Indorum rex*" in India **(Figure 7)** is another allusion to Prester John, as he was named ruler of the three Indias, in the twelfth-century letter supposedly written by him to the Byzantine emperor.[61] It seems that the mapmaker gathered all of the information available to him and situated Prester John in three distant locations. The interesting question is whether the appearances of Prester John on different continents represents two options with a decision pending, or if it means Prester John is located in different places – which could jeopardize the thesis of a homogenous conception of space. Apparently, the mapmaker has no quibble with illustrating the same people at different times or one person at different locations on the map.

Conclusion

Does the Genoese World map represent an intermediate step between a heterogeneous *medieval* conception of space and a more *modern* homogeneous one? To tackle this question, it is necessary to hypothesize on the mapmaker's intentions and study the way he handles the space on his map. What is clear is the mapmaker's declaration of intent, his striving for

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[60] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p.170 n. C7, p. 191 n. E5 (n. 25). Edson, *World Map*, p. 98 (n. 1). For another example showing Prester John in Africa as a black man, see Catalan Estense World Map, c. 1450-1460 (Ernesto Milano and Annalisa Battini, *Il mappamondo Catalano Estense. Die katalanische Estense-Weltkarte* (Dietikon-Zürich, 1995), p. 178).

[61] See Cattaneo, *Mappa Mundi 1457*, p. 184 n. D16 (n. 25). For the letter see Ulrich Knefelkamp, *Die Suche nach dem Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes. Dargestellt anhand von Reiseberichten u. anderen ethnographischen Quellen d. 12. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Gelsenkirchen, 1986), pp. 180-88. Although the depictions of the "Indorum rex" and the "Presbyter Johannes rex" appear quite different, they seem to relate to the same idea.

accuracy and a near-natural depiction of the world, all of

which make his map look rather *modern*.

Figure 7 Detail of so-called Genoese World Map: "Indorum rex" in India, with permission by Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.


He shows a critical approach in dealing with his

sources, backing up his decisions or listing information,

which is a very innovative feature. He also saw story-

telling and history essential parts of his enterprise. Using

these histories, he concentrated his attention on certain

regions, emphasizing especially Asia, distinguishing

certain locations through different forms of depiction, thereby creating a hierarchical space.

The mapmaker saw apparently no inconsistency in depicting different times simultaneously

or one element in multiple locations, melding time and space seems to be effected

unconsciously. Taking his stated aim for *truth* seriously would imply that all of these features

were part of his *truth*.

As shown above, social customs and spatial perceptions are connected, and the

mapmaker's intent to provide a near-natural depiction of the world might be related to the

Christian faith.[62] It is problematic to presume a homogenous conception of space is operative

in the later Middle Ages or the Early Modern period, just because a mapmaker painted a

mappa mundi using coastlines drawn from portolan charts, since geography is but one

dimension of a map's content. Just as important are the various dimensions of meaning on the

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[62] See above p. 58 and 61.

Genoese World Map relating to faith and social life. Perhaps in answering certain questions one should not look too hard for historical transitions or changes in cartography, as this tempts one to privilege current representational conventions. In studying cosmological models of the Middle Ages, it would be more constructive to look for continuities that might even expose our modern understanding of homogeneous space as an illusion. These continuities could perhaps explain why, as Evelyn Edson and Emilie Savage-Smith write, [the medieval cosmological model's] "overthrow in the seventeenth century caused a profound spiritual and psychological disorientation from which we have yet to recover."[63] Studying conceptions of space in *mappae mundi* reveals how these conceptions change over time. Today, in character with the preferences of our own culture, we are persuaded to live our everyday life in a homogeneous, absolute space, neatly separated from time, notwithstanding that Albert Einstein disproved this notion. Therefore, although this study focuses on maps that are centuries old, it just might enhance our understanding of the current conflict between our daily experience and our theoretical knowledge of space and time.

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[63] Evelyn Edson and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views of the Cosmos: Picturing the Universe in the Christian und Islamic Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2004), p. 20.
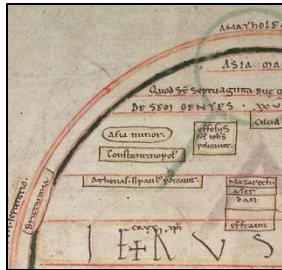
The Noachide Dispersion in English *Mappae Mundi c.* 960 – *c.* 1130

By Marcia Kupfer, Independent Scholar

How did medieval inhabitants of the British Isles understand their place on the Atlantic fringe of the known world, a place that, from the classical Roman perspective, put them outside the civilized order?[1] Exploring texts, maps, and pictorial art through the lens of cultural geography, historians have delineated various responses to the challenge of remoteness and insularity. Three mutually compatible solutions stand out. First and foremost are compensatory strategies of spiritual and ecclesial incorporation. Thomas O'Loughlin, Jennifer O'Reilly and Diarmuid Scully, for example, explicate Adomnán's and Bede's concern to integrate their respective communities into God's unfolding plan for humanity.[2] Membership in Christendom, under the aegis of the Roman church, voided the extreme spatial and temporal remove from the

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[1] I am especially grateful to Martin Foys whose question during a discussion at Leeds 2011 prompted this study, and to Diarmuid Scully and Faith Wallis for their comments on an earlier draft. Ideas elaborated here were first sketched out for a piece on a different topic, "The Jerusalem Effect: Rethinking the Centre in Medieval World Maps," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel with G. Noga-Banai and H. Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming 2014). Some overlap has proved unavoidable.

[2] Thomas O'Loughlin, "The view from Iona: Adomnán's Mental Maps," *Peritia* 10 (1996), pp. 98–122; Jennifer O'Reilly, "Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth: Exegesis and Conversion in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*," in *Bède le vénérable. Entre tradition et posterité*, ed. Stephane Lebecq, Michel Perrin, and Olivier Szerwiniack (Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle, 2005), pp. 119–145; Jennifer O'Reilly, "Bede on Seeing the God of Gods in Zion," in *Text, Image and Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. Alistair Minnis and Jane Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 3–29; Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Multitude of Isles and the Corner-Stone: Topography, Exegesis, and the Identity of the Angli in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*," in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), pp. 201–227; Diarmuid Scully, "Location and Occupation: Bede, Gildas and the Roman Vision of Britain" in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, 2011, pp. 243–272.

scriptural wellspring of grace and election in the Holy Land. Patrick Gautier Dalché similarly interprets the production at Iona, perhaps during Adomnán's abbacy, of the earliest detailed *mappa mundi* for which there is now compelling evidence.[3] The cartographic representation brought the conversion of the oceanic frontier into relation with the mission of the apostles and early desert saints in the world's interior regions.

This centripetal propensity, albeit foundational, should not be taken for granted. Martin Foys and Kathy Lavezzo have observed ways in which later Anglo-Saxon and English works reclaimed the periphery as a center in its own right.[4] The hinterland of the frozen north became a zone of spiritual privilege akin to the desert where alienation from human society allowed for closeness to God. Separation from the world conferred an exceptionalism that validated a national identity in tension with the unifying project of *res publica Christiana*. Yet a third dynamic evades the binary of center and periphery. Asa Mittman has considered the artistic ramifications of Britain's location on a continuum with the world's monstrous circumference.[5] Not only did the "marvels of the east" propagate in manuscript illumination, but liminality—both dangerous and powerfully transformative—energized the very role of ornament. For his part, Nicholas Howe, in framing the Anglo-Saxon predicament, moves elegantly between all three

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[3] Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Eucher de Lyon, Iona, Bobbio: le destin d'une *mappa mundi* de l'antiquité tardive," *Viator* 41, multilingual issue (2010), pp. 1–22.

[4] Martin K. Foys, "The Virtual Reality of the Anglo-Saxon *Mappamundi*," *Literature Compass* 1/ 1 (2003): ME 016, 1–17; for an extended discussion, see his *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), pp. 110-158; Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[5] Asa Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

Figure 1 *Mappa mundi* in the Thorney *Computus*, c. 1110. Oxford University, St Johns College, MS 17, fol. 6r. Photo: by permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford).

83

complementary possibilities, magnetic attraction to Christian Rome, investment in the local and the vernacular, and fascination with the distant mirror of radical otherness.[6]

The inquiry at hand develops the "centripetal" argument in a reading of triplet English *mappae mundi*—three nearly identical versions of the same cartographic template—from the late eleventh and early twelfth century. The best-known and most artistically accomplished appears in the deluxe *computus* manuscript of *c.* 1110 from Thorney Abbey (Oxford, Saint John's College, MS 17, fol. 6r, hereafter SJ), a digital facsimile of which can be consulted in an Internet resource side-by-side with an extensive scholarly apparatus by Faith Wallis.[7] **(Figure 1)** A sibling *computus* manuscript of *c.* 1120 from Peterborough includes a less carefully executed iteration (London, British Library, Harley MS 3667, fol. 8v, hereafter H).[8] **(Figure 2)** Both compilations derive from, among other sources, an exemplar associated with the computist Byrhtferth of Ramsey Abbey (d. *c.* 1016), whose famous cosmological diagram lies in close proximity to the map in each book (SJ, fol. 7v; H, fol. 8r). Because the cartographic scheme pushes Jerusalem into the center of the *orbis terrae*, its design is usually attributed to new European engagement with the holy city during the era of the First Crusade.[9] Wallis

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[6] See in particular Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

[7] Faith Wallis, "2. Computus Related Materials: 16. Mappamundi," *The Calendar & the Cloister: Oxford, St. John's College MS 17* (McGill University Library. Digital Collections Program, 2007), http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/index.htm, accessed September 4, 2012. See also the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Ms Oxford St. John's College 17: A Mediaeval Manuscript in Its Context" (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985).

[8] On the relationship between SJ and H, see Wallis, "2. Computus Related Materials: 19. Taxonomy of Knowledge," and *eadem*, "Ms Oxford St. John's College 17," p. 689.

[9] Anna Dorothee von den Brincken, "Gyrus und Spera: Relikte griechische Geographie im Weltbild der Frühscholastik," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 73 (1989), pp. 129–144, esp. 141–144; Anna Dorothee von den Brincken, "Jerusalem on Medieval *Mappaemundi*: A Site Both Historical and Eschatological" in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 362–363; Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Die Wahrnehmung Jerusalems auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten," in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung - Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Nikolaus Jaspert, vol. 28, Campus Historische Studien (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2001), pp.

acknowledges the maps' alignment with contemporary continental examples that radially link "home" communities at the far west to Jerusalem at center. However, she also notes the strong

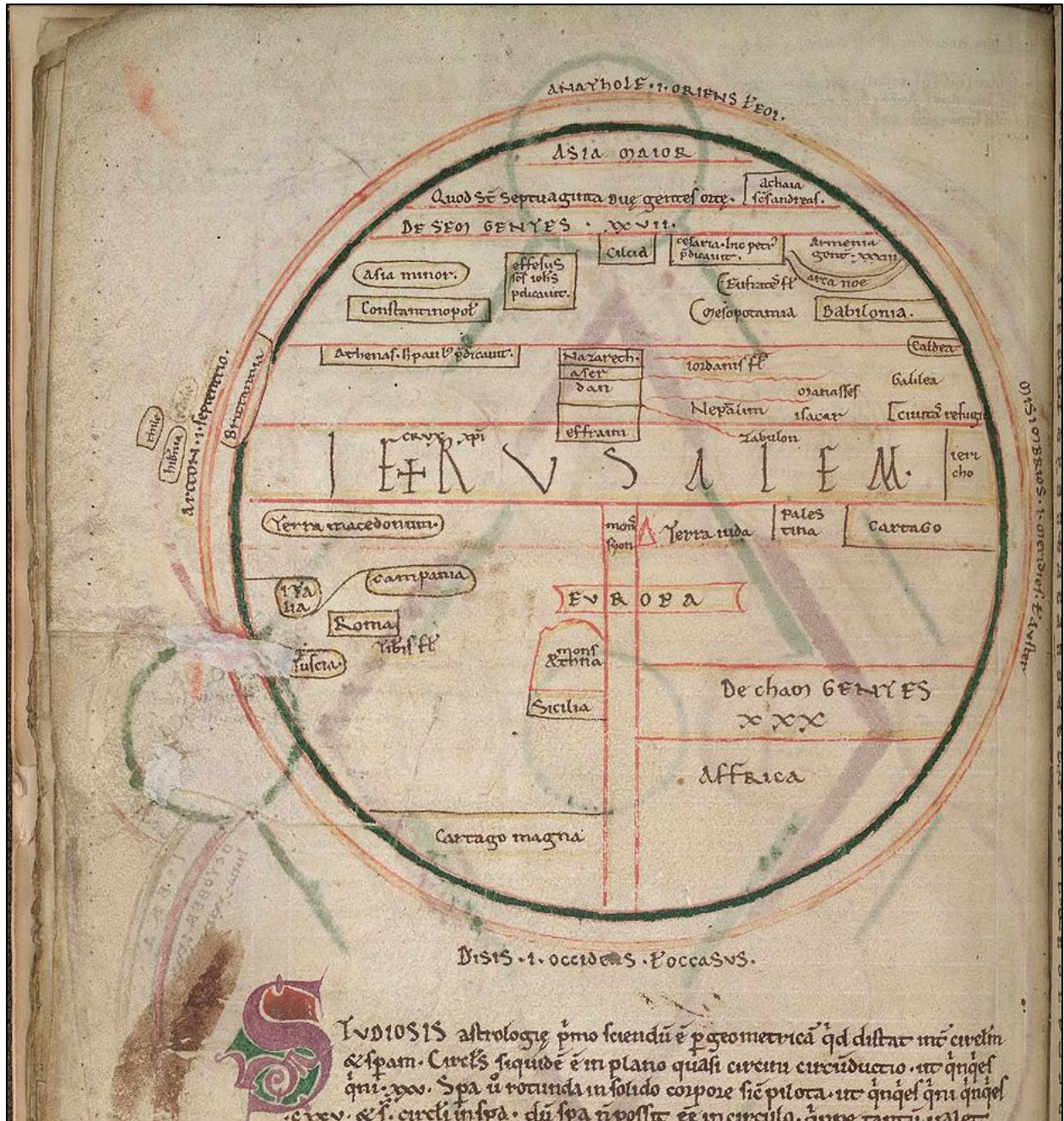**Figure 2**   *Mappa mundi* in the Peterborough *Computus*, *c*. 1120. British Library, Harley MS 3667, fol. 8v. Photo: British Library.

294–296; Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Erzählungen kartieren. Jerusalem in mittelalterlichen Kartenräumen" in *Projektion-Reflexion-Ferne. Räumliche Vorstellungen und Denkfiguren im Mittelalter*, ed. Sonja Glauch, S. Köbele, and U. Störmer-Caysa (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 199–200.

85

appeal of such spatial connectivity in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Already at the Synod of Whitby (663/664), in Bede's retelling, his champion Wilfred enlisted universalizing geography on behalf of the drive to orient the Insular liturgical calendar to the Roman date for Easter, the operation at the heart of the *computus*.[10] Thematic and codicological ties between the map and Byrhtferth's Diagram in both SJ and H lead Wallis to posit an origin for the cartographic template at Ramsey.

Martin Foys has introduced yet a third, if unfinished, version into the picture.[11] (**Figure 3**) This example (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 265, p. 210, hereafter C) was begun *c.* 1090-1100 on an originally blank page in a Worcester book containing no computistical materials at all. Rather, the map was added to a collection of ecclesiastical extracts traced to the "commonplace book" of Bishop Wulfstan II (1065-95). Evidently, the cartographic template circulated earlier and more widely than previously thought. Comparative analysis of the subtle differences between the three versions in their larger manuscript settings may well illuminate the genealogy of the prototype and the stemma of the copies, matters as yet unresolved. Foys has promised such an investigation. In the meantime, he suggests that the source map initially served a pastoral function and traveled through Worcester to Ramsey, where it was only then incorporated into the scientific framework of the *computus*. Furthermore, he maintains that agreements between the Peterborough and Worcester analogues make Thorney the outlier. Whereas Wallis sees correlations with Byrhtferth materials as integral to the map's original formulation, Foys cautions that the linking components may be additions.

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[10] Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 126-128, 158, fleshes out this point.

[11] Martin K. Foys, "An Unfinished *Mappa Mundi* from Late-Eleventh-Century Worcester," *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006), pp. 271–284.
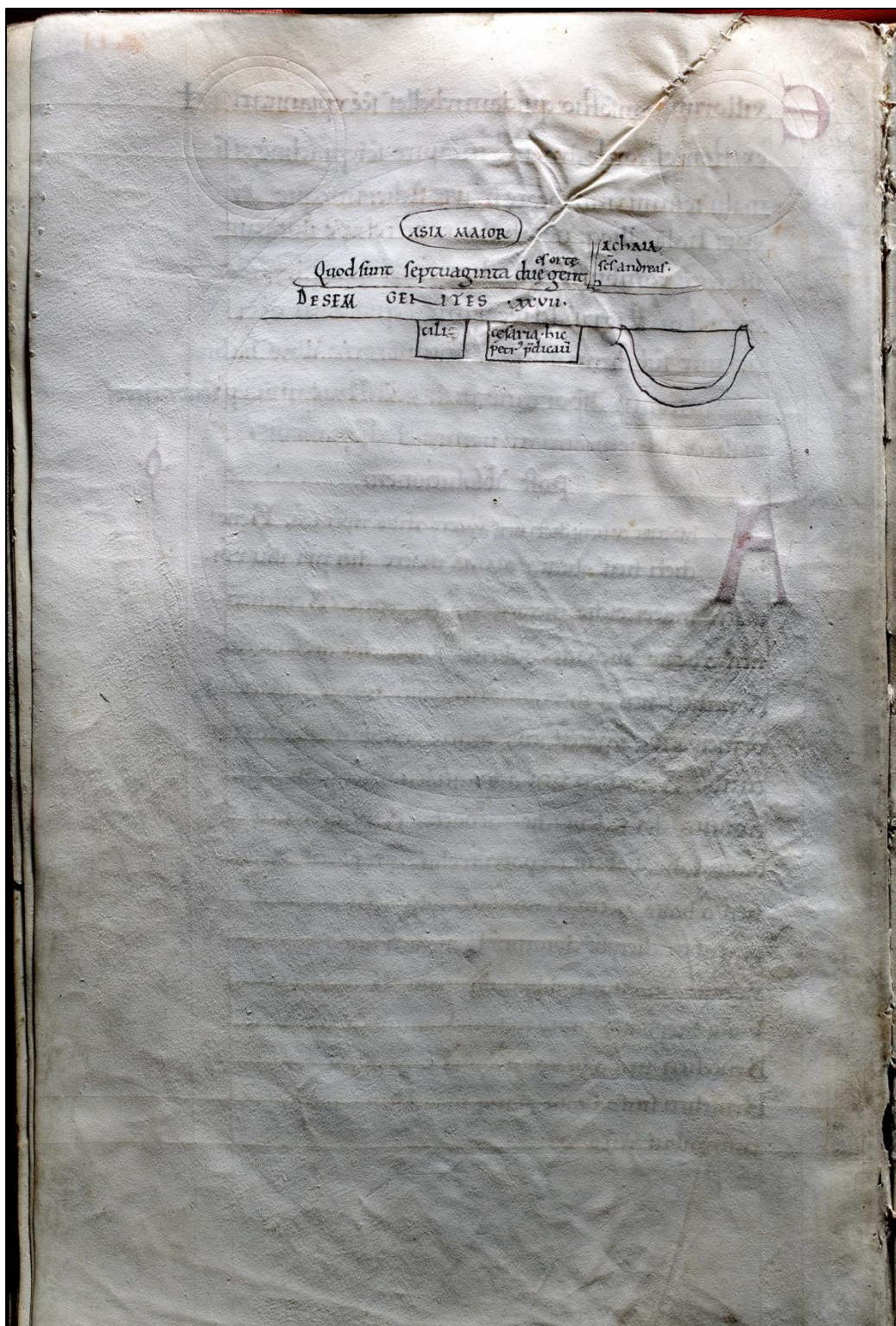
Figure 3   Unfinished *mappa mundi* in Commonplace Book of Bishop Wulfstan II, c. 1100. Cambridge University, Corpus Christi College, MS 265 p. 210. Photo: by permisssion of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

87

Whether the cartographic template is an Anglo-Saxon invention, a product of the First Crusade, or a turn-of-the-century revision of an earlier design, I cannot answer.[12] My purpose is to elucidate the maps' formal organization and programmatic rationale, heretofore misunderstood. In clarifying the logic of the cartographic scheme, I will not so much adjudicate Wallis's and Foys's competing perspectives as triangulate them. Finally, I insert a fourth element into the conversation, an unfinished map of *c*. 1125 that shares the rhetorical conceit, but not the design of the triplets. **(Figure 4)** Its content, attenuated as it is, may shed light on missing elements unique to the Worcester version.

Wallis aptly characterizes the SJ map (and by implication its two analogues) as "a rather exceptional graphic gazetteer constructed of three overlapping lists: . . . provinces of the inhabited world . . . ; nations . . . descended from the three sons of Noah . . . ; and . . . places associated with Biblical and apostolic history."[13] It is the idiosyncratic spatialization of the lists that remains to be explained. The triplet maps embed a T-O schema, but refuse its formulaic means of establishing a tripartite *orbis terrarum*. The normative referential armature of the "T," signifying the aquatic boundaries between the "continents," is redefined along the horizontal axis and violated along the vertical axis. When at some point during the early Middle Ages the T-O schema for the tripartition of lands was amended to include reference to the Noachide dispersion

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[12] I am inclined to date the map as it is found in the form preserved in SJ and H to *c*. 1100 for reasons outlined in my forthcoming article, "The Jerusalem Effect: Rethinking the Centre in Medieval World Maps," cited in n. 1. This dating is upheld in a brilliant study by Faith Wallis, "*Computus*, Crusade, and Construction: Writing England's Monastic Past and Future in Oxford, St John's College 17" in *Writing England: Books 1100–1200*, eds. Elaine Trehearne and Oriana Da Rold, *New Medieval Literatures* 13 (2011), forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Wallis for sharing her article with me prior to its publication.

[13] See above n. 7.

of peoples, the resultant maps typically assigned Europe to Japheth, Asia to Shem, and Africa to
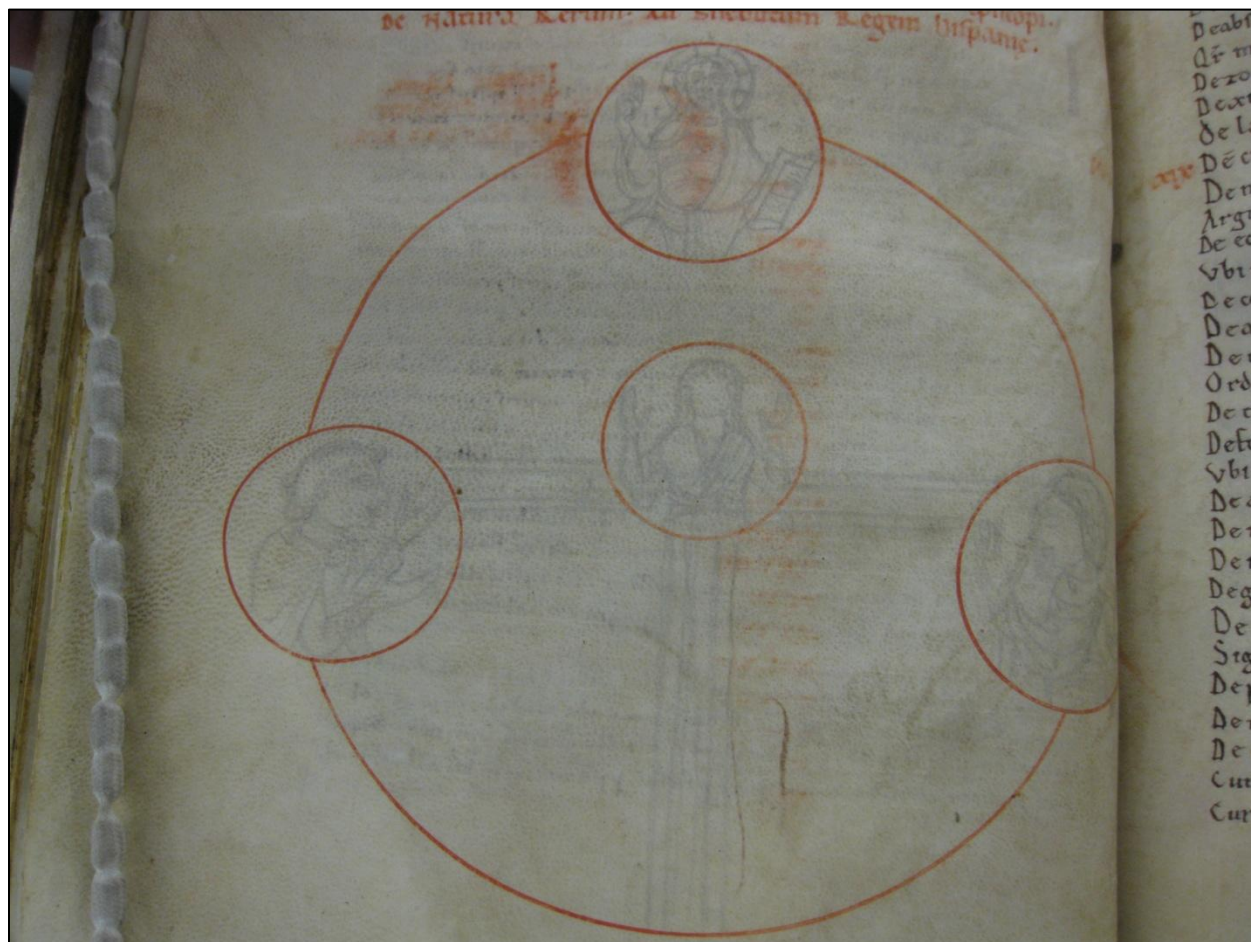

Figure 4 Unfinished *mappa mundi* concluding Isidore's *De natura rerum* in the *Computus* of William of Malmesbury, c. 1120–before 1125. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 3. 14., fol. 19v. Photo: Author's, reproduced by permission of The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford University.

Ham.[14] The triplets, however, do not follow through on this score. Then, too, remarks Foys, the

location of places "appears quite jumbled."[15] He and Evelyn Edson address the "muddled

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[14] The Noachide addition is sometimes mistakenly attributed to Isidore of Seville (d. 636). See Patrick Gautier Dalché, "L'héritage antique de la cartographie médiévale: les problèmes et les acquis" in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, eds. Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 29–66, esp. 56–57; Chet Van Duzer and Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "*Tres filii Noe diviserunt orbem post diluvium*: the World Map in British Library Add. MS 37049," *Word & Image* 26/ 1 (2010), pp. 21-39, esp. 32-33; Chet Van Duzer, A Neglected Type of Medieval *Mappamundi* and Its Re-imaging in the *Mare Historiarum* (BnF MS Lat. 4915, fol. 26v)," *Viator* 43/ 2 (2012), pp. 277-301, esp. 277-282. Van Duzer, "A Neglected Type of Medieval *Mappamundi*," pp. 278–280, mischaracterizes the V-in-square figure as used to

89

geography" and "confusion" by picking up Anna Dorothee von den Brincken's idea that the maps adapt a north-oriented Byzantine model to the conventional true orientation of the Western medieval *mappa mundi*.[16] Yet no evidence supports such a hypothesis, doubtful on its face, given that the minimal, scattered cartographic production extant from the Byzantine realm is altogether unrelated to the *mappa mundi* tradition.[17] I show that the disruption of the T-O schema, the representation of the Noachide dispersion, and the arrangement of places go hand in hand, the whole homing closely to exegetical topoi rooted in Latin etymological gloss.

Within the imbricated lists enumerated by Wallis, the treatment of Jerusalem is especially salient. *HIERUSALEM* (without the *H* in the Peterborough version) boldly stretches across most of the horizontal bar of the "T;" the title is centered in SJ, but not quite in H, where it is roughly double the width. A miniscule *crux xpi* is written in superscript between the second and third letters, and a cross is drawn between the *E* and *R*; in SJ a second, partially encircled cross

diagram the Noachide dispersion in copies of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Book 14), where it is almost always juxtaposed with a T-O map. The V-in-square figure does *not* correlate Noah's sons with the world's *partes*, which are nowhere included: the name Shem written inside the "V" cannot be said to "indicate" Asia, nor Japheth at left Europe, nor Ham at right Africa. Rather, the V-in-square functions precisely to offer an *alternative* to the tripartition of the T-O; the former epitomizes the distribution of peoples according to passages in *Etym*. 9.2, esp. lines 9, 25, and 37, which depend on Jerome, *Hebraicae Quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, 10.2–22. Early exegetical tradition hesitated too rigidly to align Noachide inheritance with the geographic division of lands. For example, Bede in *Hexaemeron*, 3.10.1–2: "the first-born Shem obtained Asia, the second son Ham Africa and the last-born Japheth Europe—at any rate with the proviso that, since Asia is greater by far in the geographical area of its lands than either Europe or Libya, the descendants of Ham and Japheth also possessed some portions of Asia," quoted from *On Genesis*, trans. Calvin B. Kendall, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. 215, see also 22–27. To read the V-in-square "by analogy" (278) with the T-O is thus to miss their *complementarity*—the two spatializing figures are based on different premises, both equally valid to the medieval editor(s) who interpolated them into Isidore's text. Van Duzer finds "confusing" the "curious arrangement of the cardinal directions" around the V-in-square figure in *Etymologiae* manuscripts (279). Fair enough; however, the disposition—three directions instead of four, with east at top, south at right, and west at left instead of at bottom—cannot be dismissed as "a strange error" (293, fig. 2). What is needed is an explanation for the why the west substitutes for the north, which is elided.

[15] Foys, "An Unfinished *Mappa Mundi*," p. 274, 275, 282 (quote, 275).

[16] von den Brincken, "Gyrus und Spera," pp. 141-144; Foys, "An Unfinished *Mappa Mundi*," pp. 276-277 and n. 26 (for quotes), 282; Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 86-92 and 179 n39.

[17] A. O. W. Dilke, "Cartography in the Byzantine Empire," in *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 1, *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), pp. 258–275.

accentuates the juncture with the vertical stem. These elements bring into play not the crucifixion, but the *sign of the cross*, an iconographic distinction on which it is necessary to insist.[18] The image visually identifies Jerusalem *not as a place*, but as a dynamic movement of the cross that spans the world's breadth. The explosive burst of spiritual energy reaches all the way north, while at the south end, a small piece of the band is allotted to Jericho. If Jerusalem is the crossbeam that girds the ecumenical edifice, the tie that binds, it is also the foundation for the blocks of labels above even as it is the horizon for the sectors below.

Seconding the name Jerusalem is the inscription at the joint of the "T," *Mons Syon*. In SJ, the two stacked words fall just below the visible compass hole; in H the composition centers on this landmark. Next to the inscription at right appears a graphic symbol for "mountain," rows of arcs in one, a triangle in the other. The combined verbal and graphic device performs a double role: it designates a particular hill in the Christian topography of Jerusalem, while introducing the primary cognomen for the holy city itself. The treatment of the two names, Jerusalem and Zion, cues a commonly-known etymological gloss, originating in the Latin writings of the Church Fathers, absorbed into Old English homiletics, and widely circulated in any number of exegetical contexts on both sides of the Channel. To put the matter succinctly: as *Hierusalem* means *visio pacis*, so *Sion* means *speculatio*, a beholding from a watchtower or elevated look-out (*specula*).[19] Zion is a figure of speculation, the contemplative ascent whereby the as yet

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[18] A corrective to Foys, "An Unfinished *Mappa Mundi*," p. 275.

[19] For a sense of the patristic tradition, see Allan Fitzgerald, *Augustine through the Ages: an Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1999), pp. 462-463. Augustine reiterates the gloss many times; particularly apt examples include his *Enarrationes in psalmos* 50.22, 64.3, 101.2.4, 134.26; and *De civitate Dei* 17.16. For the Old English tradition, see Paul E. Szarmach, "*Visio Pacis*: Jerusalem and Its Meanings," *Georgia State Literary Studies* 7, *Typology and English Medieval Literature* (1992), pp. 71-87, esp. 72 and 84 n8. On the importance of the *specula* to the function of the *mappa mundi*, see Patrick Gautier Dalché, "De la glose à la contemplation. Place et fonction de la carte dans les manuscrits du haut moyen âge" in *Testo e immagine nell' alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, 41, 1994), vol. 2, pp.693-771, esp. pp. 753-769, reprinted in *Géographie et culture. La représentation de l'espace du VIe au XII siècle* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate, 1997),

91

embodied soul fixes its gaze far off on the eternal reward, Jerusalem/vision-of-peace, that awaits the blessed at the end time.[20] The allegorical senses of Zion and Jerusalem overlap in that both refer to the universal church, the former signifying its earthly existence and the latter its heavenly status, one the church militant, the other the church triumphant.

The ecclesial symbolism of the semantic nexus Zion/Jerusalem finds confirmation in the prominence accorded in the maps to Noah's ark, figure of the church par excellence.[21] One thread in the rich exegetical fabric woven around the ark seems particularly relevant to the earthly/heavenly distinction triggered by the paired cognomina. For Bede, drawing on Augustine (*Contra Faustum* 12.19) and Isidore (*Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* 7.21), the ark at rest signifies the "Sabbath rest of the church expectant," the middle phase between its present tribulations and post-*saeculum* peace.[22] The ark atop the "mountains of Armenia" means that the church: "not only awaits rest in this life but also acquires eternal rest in the next. And … having trampled underfoot the peak of earthly ostentation, the church draws near to the soul with heavenly joys even while living in this exile on earth (*Hexaemeron* 2.8.4)."[23] Earlier in his

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no. VIII; *idem*, "L'héritage antique de la cartographie médiévale," esp. pp. 58-61, and more expansively, *idem*, "Pour une histoire des rapports entre contemplation et cartographie au moyen âge," in *Les méditations cosmographiques à la Renaissance*. Cahiers V. L. Saulnier 26 (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009), pp. 19-40, esp.19-31. On how the trope "Jerusalem, *visio pacis*/ Zion, *speculatio*" relates *speculatio* to both *specula* and *speculum*, see my forthcoming *From Panoramic Survey to Mirror Reflection: Art and Optics in the Hereford Mappa Mundi*.

[20] Jean Leclercq, *Études sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen âge* (Rome: Herder, 1961), pp. 83-85; Robert Javelet, *Image et resemblance au 12e siècle, du saint Anselme à Alain de Li*lle (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967), 1:376-90 and 2:287-94; O'Reilly, "Bede on Seeing the God of Gods in Zion," esp. pp. 18-29.

[21] On this topic, see H. S. Benjamins, "Noah, the Ark, and the Flood in Early Christian Theology: The Ship of the Church in the Making," in *Interpretations of the Flood*, ed. Florentino García Martinez and Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 134–49; and Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 101–120, 156–180.

[22] Wallis, "Ms Oxford St. John's College 17," pp. 795-796.

[23] Bede, *Hexaemeron*, 2.8 lines 1731–35 in the *Library of Latin Texts*, Series A (electronic resource, available by subscription at http://apps.brepolis.net/BrepolisPortal/default.aspx; hereafter LLT-A); *On Genesis*, trans. Kendall, p. 192.

commentary on the Flood, Bede offers that mountains submerged in the turbulent waters symbolize "all those who are proud and puff themselves up in the glory of this world (*Hexaemeron* 2.7.18-19)."[24] The maps situate *Armenia* and the ark farther to the south than usual, above *Babilonia*. The displacement is productive. It effectively creates new meaning by coupling tropological analogues—Armenia with its mountains, Babylon with its great tower—and eschatological antitheses, the ark of the church vs. its persecutor. The ark, like the cross, is a graphic sign rather than a narrative device. And, as will become increasingly clear, the organizing principle of the image is not geographical, but rhetorical.

Expanding laterally from Zion at the map's core juncture, Jerusalem embraces the world in the church. But how is the spiritual plenitude of the cross relayed along the east-west axis? This ecclesial concern, I submit, lies behind structural dislocations that distinguish the triplet maps. Uniquely in the Thorney version, the lead inscription couples *Iafeth* with *Sem*. Edson has suggested that the displacement of Japheth from Europe to Asia "could reflect" adherence to the biblical verse Genesis 9.27: "May God enlarge Japheth, and may he dwell in the tents of Sem, and Chanaan be his servant."[25] Foys nonetheless finds it "puzzling" and "odd" "given the overwhelming cartographic tradition of locating Japheth in Europe."[26] The interpretive difficulty arises, however, because *we* remain fixated on a convention from which the cartographic design intentionally and meaningfully deviates. Edson's insight applies to more than just the inscription. Noah's blessing of Japheth, universally understood in Latin exegesis to be a prophecy pertaining

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[24] Bede *Hexaemeron* 2.7 line 1645 in LLT-A; *On Genesis*, trans. Kendall, p. 189.

[25] Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 89.

[26] Foys, "An Unfinished *Mappa Mundi*," p. 282 and n 47.

to the church, motivates the program as a whole. The absence of Japheth's name from the Worcester and Peterborough versions is a red herring, a point to which I will return.

To the extent that the maps override the tripartite order of the T-O formula, they strengthen the ascendency of Europe in association with Asia. The upper half of the *orbis terrae*, the more densely packed with inscriptions, comprises not only Asia as usual, but also the eastern portion of Europe (e.g. Athens, Constantinople, Achaia). The spilling over of Europe into Asia— the cartographic expression of Europe's enlargement—quite literally illustrates Genesis 9.27. Straddling both lower sectors, the label *Europa* "rules over" the peoples descended from *Cham* in *Affrica*. This layout turns Africa into a subsection of Europe in conformity with the alternative, bipartite division of lands reported by Orosius (*Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem* 1.2.1).[27] Because Africa is set *beneath* Europe, the legends *Terra Iuda* and *Palestina* at right below the arm of the "T" are not relegated to the wrong continent, but belong, like *Mons Syon* and *Iericho*, to the same Holy Land toponymy in which Jerusalem is embedded. The visual and calligraphic hierarchy of the design makes *Europa* the second most important word after Jerusalem (emphatically so in SJ), the former echoing the latter both formally (in SJ, down to the triangular formation of dots at the end of each word) and symbolically.[28] By virtue of the position at which *Europa* intersects the T's vertical stem, the label forms the horizontal arm of a proper Latin cross "written" into the earth (in H, the lettering, though not its rectangular framing, maintains the conceit). The visual economy of the image realizes *Europa* as a veritable *crux christi geographica*, claiming the world's western *partes* for the church.

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[27] von den Brincken, "Gyrus und Spera," p. 143.

[28] Baumgärtner, "Erzählungen kartieren," pp. 199-200, similarly notes the mirroring of the legends for Jerusalem and Europe in SJ.

94

The key source for the wording of the maps' lead inscription supplies an exemplary reading of Genesis 9.27. Foys has pointed out that *Quod sunt septuaginta duae gentes ortae* "matches almost precisely text from Isidore's *Chronicon* and his *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*."[29] In the *Quaestiones*, Isidore declares that the benediction foretells how "in the people of the nations the church has taken possession of the whole world."[30] The gentile progeny of Japheth, Noah's Benjamin, have moved into the domain of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, born of Shem, the eldest; the minor in temporal terms has become the major according to grace. Most importantly, Isidore interprets the blessing by way of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, directly quoting verse 2.19: "you are now no longer strangers and foreigners, but you are citizens with the saints and members of God's household." The maps show the top half of the world to be the home of the apostles, three of whom preach in Greece and one in the Holy Land: Paul at Athens, John at Ephesus, Andrew at Achaia, Peter at Caesarea. To be sure, interest in representing the apostolic mission is an important aspect of the *mappa mundi* tradition since at least the seventh century, as Patrick Gautier Dalché has determined from the lost Iona work.[31] But the maps under discussion have additional concerns to which they owe their peculiar form and content. They spatialize the ecclesial typology that informed Isidore's recourse to a Pauline

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[29] Foys, "An Unfinished Mappa Mundi," p. 276 and n. 21

[30] Isidore, *Quaestiones* 8.8-10, PL 83, 236A-C: 8. "Et unde hoc factum est, nisi ex benedictione Japheth? in populo enim gentium, totum orbem terrarum occupavit Ecclesia. Hoc praenuntiabatur, cum diceretur: *Dilatet Deus Japheth, et habitet in tabernaculis Sem.* 9. Ecce quomodo dilatat Deus Japheth, et habitat in tabernaculis Sem, ut Paulus dicit: '*Non estis peregrini et hospites, sed estis cives sanctorum et domestici Dei, aedificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum* (Ephes. 2.19).' *Benedictus,* inquit, *Deus Sem; sit Chanaan puer illius. Dilatet Deus Japheth, et habitet in tabernaculis Sem.* Hic Sem major natu ipse est, ex quo patriarchae, prophetae, et apostoli generati sunt.10. Japheth autem gentium est pater, quia etiam *latitudo* interpretatur. Cum ingenti enim multitudine dilatatus est populus ex gentibus, qui cum prophetis et apostolis erat habitaturus. Siquidem et vidimus, juxta Noe patris propheticam benedictionem, in tabernaculo Sem transisse habitationem Japheth, hoc est, in domo legis et prophetarum Ecclesiam potius justificari, minorem quidem tempore, sed gratiae lege majorem."

[31] Gautier Dalché, "Eucher de Lyon, Iona, Bobbio," pp. 13-14.

hermeneutic. For Augustine (*De civitate Dei* 16.2), Japheth's merger into Shem stands for the union of Greek and Jew, that is, the uncircumcised and the circumcised.

In the triplet maps, the Noachide prophecy unfolds cartographically through Pauline metaphor. Paradigmatic order takes precedence over geographic location, with places layered in delineated horizontal strata. Japheth's presence in Asia increases "latitude" by "latitude," a formal strategy that coincides with the standard Latin etymology of the name Japheth, meaning *latitudo* (breadth, enlargement). Athens and Israelite tribes inhabit the same band above Jerusalem. In the next, the transition to a new spiritual regime occurs, for now Ephesus is paired with Caesarea, where Jesus had proclaimed the Petrine foundation of the church (Matthew 16.18) and where, later, Peter instructed his brethren among the circumcised to perform the first gentile baptisms (Acts 10.44-48). Caesarea, in SJ, falls exactly on longitudinal axis with Mount Zion; thus the historical site where the nascent church initiated its universal mission lines up with the allegorical figure of the same. Finally, the bundling of the Noachide origins of the church into the metaphor of Greek and Jew accounts for the translocation of Achaia, situated in the far southeast corner of *Asia Maior* diagonally across from Athens at north. In the first stratum, Greek Athens, however close to the Holy Land, represents the foreign party who receives God's message originally designated for the children of Israel; in the third, it is from Greek Achaia, however distant, that the good news spreads to the eastern ends of the earth. The younger Japheth has now completely supplanted the elder Shem. The supersessionist argument proceeds through chiasmus.

Geographic subordination to paradigmatic logic is equally evident in the lower half of the *orbis terrae*. The maps combine the eastward dynamic of Japheth's blessing with the westward progress of *translatio imperii*. The legends for the second and third world empires according to

96

the Orosian series, *Terra Macedonum* and *Cartago*, lie directly across from each other at the cardinal north and south in a temporal stratum between *Babilonia* and *Roma*, the first and fourth, which lie on an east-west diagonal equidistant from the center point. Why the repetition *Kartago Magna* at the extreme west in the place where we might expect Gaul and Spain? Because here the iteration, respecting the design's visual hierarchy, shows vanquished Carthage to be *inferior* to Rome in parallel with Africa's subservience to Europe. Japheth, following the scriptural verse, has both entered into the house of Shem and become, through Rome, the master of Ham.

Says Paul in Ephesians, "you, who were once afar off, have been brought near through the blood of Christ" (2.13). These words, implied by Isidore's reference to the Epistle, are the maps' refrain. As Achaia, so too the British Isles have been radically displaced. Tailed by *Hibernia* and *Thile* (Thule) beyond the outer perimeter of the *orbis terrae*, *Britannia* is pinned to the end of the word *septentrio* in SJ and lined up with it in H. The visual linkage makes explicit Britain's arctic association, a familiar geographical trope.[32] Especially striking, however, is the archipelago's north*eastern* position: instead of taking its usual place toward the western *fines*, Britain floats into the Greek sector of Asia (in H, fitting between Jerusalem and Athens). The archipelago's eastward shift neither reflects a shaky grasp of geography, nor is it the result of a confused rendition of some prior model. On the contrary, Britain's re-orientation signals a spiritual reversal of the physical order paralleling, as per Isidore's exegesis, the spiritual upset in the sons' birth order. The dislocation makes a statement about apostolic communion and renewal: through the power of the cross reaching to the farthest north, the farthest west is reborn in Shem's domain a full "citizen with the saints and member of God's household."[33]

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[32] Scully, "Location and Occupation," pp. 245, 253-58, 268.

[33] The coupling of west and north in the world's Christianization is a trope also found in Radulfus Glaber's gloss relating the cardinal directions to Christ's crucifixion: "But here is matter for meditation. We have told how it very

Britain's change of geographical place reflects its people's change of heart. Conversion to Christianity reverses the hardened disposition that follows from the glacial climate of the natural world. Diarmuid Scully's observations on the ways in which Gildas and Bede weave the arctic trope into their histories also pertain to the visual interpretation of the maps. The island experiences a "spiritual melting" as "part of the first warming of the cold gentile world that occurred in the age of the apostles, when Christ's followers began to preach the faith from Jerusalem at the center of the earth to its uttermost periphery."[34] To quote from a papal letter that Bede transcribes into his story of Northumbria's conversion, "it has pleased God . . . by the heat of his Holy Spirit wonderfully to kindle the cold hearts also of the nations seated at the extremities of the earth in the knowledge of Himself."[35] Given the historical weight of this topos, the correlation in Byrhtferth's Diagram of the cardinal north with the element fire, usually

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often happened that the infidels were converted to the faith of Christ in both the northern and western parts of the world, but we do not chance to have heard of the same thing happening in the east and south. This was faithfully foretold in the position of the Lord's cross from which he hung in the place called Calvary. When He was hung from the cross the immature people of the east were hidden behind His head, but the west was open before His eyes, ready to be filled with the light of the faith. So too His almighty right arm, extended for the work of mercy, pointed to the north, which was to be mellowed by the holy word of the faith, while His left was the lot of the south, which swarmed with barbaric peoples. But although we make but brief mention of this sacred portent it remains an inviolable tenet of our catholic faith that, in all places and amongst all peoples without exception, he who is regenerated by baptism and believes in the Almighty Father and His Son Jesus Christ and in the Holy Spirit, the one and only true God, and who performs some good deed through faith, will be acceptable to God, and everyone who persists in this way will live in blessedness the life eternal. Moreover, God knows why it is that men are more able to receive their own salvation in some parts of the world than in others. But we have said this because the Gospel of the Lord Christ, in coming to the regions of these two areas of the world, the north and the west, had laid the best foundations for the holy faith amongst these peoples while on the other hand it has penetrated less in the other two parts, the east and the south, and has left the peoples there trapped for longer in the wilderness of their own errors (*Historiae* 1.24)." *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. and trans. John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 40-43. I thank Faith Wallis for this reference.

[34] Scully, "Location and Occupation," p. 255.

[35] "Eius ergo bonitatis misericordia totius creaturae suae dilatandi subdi etiam in extremitate terrae positarum gentium corda frigida sancti Spiritus feruore in sui quoque agnitione mirabiliter est dignata succendere." *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 2.10. paragraph 3, line 28 in LLT-A. The English translation, which I have only slightly modified, is taken from *Internet History Sourcebooks*, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/bede-book2.asp, accessed September 15, 2012 The passage is cited and discussed in Scully, "Location and Occupation," p. 256.

assigned to the south, cannot be anything other than deliberate.[36] With air at west, rather than at

its usual place at east, the seasonal warming of spring and summer is laterally transposed to

privilege the northern region inhabited by the archipelago. As Wallis has observed, Byrhtferth's

Diagram and map overlap in some details: the two share the ADAM acronym of the Greek words

for the cardinal directions; the Diagram in SJ seconds the cartographic reference to Noah, with

the name's appearance among the cryptic symbols in the upper band of the inner diamond.[37]

Diagram and map, it turns out, further have in common the rhetorically strategic use of inversion.

In mapping the Pauline union of the uncircumcised and circumcised, the cartographic

images express a sentiment to which Bede gives voice: "the Lord has not summoned the Jews

alone, but us too, who are able to cry out to him from the ends of the earth."[38] Christian

expansion to the "ends of the earth" is a well-known spatial corollary to the culmination of

history.[39] Bede's exegesis of Genesis 9:26-27 builds on the Augustinian and Isidorian themes

already considered. In addition, he takes up the word "tents," the gear of warfare and wandering,

to see in Japheth's blessing the earthly peregrination of the gentile faithful who, "placed on the

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[36] Contra John E. Murdoch, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), p. 365 and Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 92. Wallis, "Ms Oxford St. John's College 17," p. 798 does not explain the displacement of the elements, but shows how, as a result, the corresponding equinoctial and solstitial coordinates point to the following season, the whole creating a clockwise temporal rotation that repeats the dynamic of the central star-like wheel.

[37] Wallis, "Ms Oxford St. John's College 17," p. 801 and *eadem*, "2. Computus Related Materials: 16. Mappamundi, 2. A Crusade era map? Or Byrhtferth's map?" She is currently preparing a new study of the Diagram in which she revisits her earlier thoughts on the symbols (private communication).

[38] "non solum iudaeos sed et nos qui de finibus terrae ad eum clamare . . . advocavit." Bede, *Homiliarum evangelii libri ii*.10, line 222, in LLT-A. The English is cited after O'Reilly, "Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth," p. 126 n32. On the map's relationship to Bede's writing, see Lucy E.G. Donkin, "'*Usque ad ultimum terrae*': Mapping the Ends of the Earth in Two Medieval Floor Mosaics," in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, pp. 189-217, esp. 196-198.

[39] Scully, "Location and Occupation," p. 248, with further bibliography.

99

road of this life, sigh for the heavenly fatherland."[40] The maps orient their readers, proleptically,

to the eternal peace of the New Jerusalem, yet not without recalling the prior ordeal of Judgment

to which the earth will be subjected. God once destroyed the world through the waters of the

Flood; a second judgment will come through fire (*Hexaemeron* 2.8.22, 2.9.11-15).[41] Just as

Noah's ark brings to mind the element of water, so the prominent *mons Ethna* does for that of

fire. Although parallel signs with respect to the physical world, the ark and Mount Etna are

contrary eschatological symbols. Whereas the ark exemplifies salvation through the church, the

restive volcano exemplifies just the opposite—according to Isidore, Gehenna, whose perpetual

fires torment the bodies of the damned unto eternity.[42]

I mentioned above that Japheth's name appears only in SJ's version of the map. Foys

may well be right that the prototype lacked the name, and that the Thorney scribe added it in the

process of creating an artistically more accomplished version.[43] Even so, the scribe's intervention

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[40] Bede, *Hexaemeron* 2, lines 2346-69 in LLT-A: "dixit que, benedictus dominus deus sem; sit chanaan seruus eius. Diximus in sem primogenito filio noe primitiuam ecclesiam, quae ex israhelitico populo collecta est, in iapheth minimo filio electionem gentium quae secuta est esse designatam. Vnde et recte dicitur, benedictus dominus deus sem. Quamquam enim sit deus omnium gentium, quodammodo tamen proprio uocabulo et in ipsis iam gentibus dicitur deus israel; et unde hoc factum est, nisi ex benedictione iapheth? in populo enim gentium orbem terrarum occupauit ecclesia. Hoc prorsus praenuntiabatur cum dicitur subsequenter. Dilatet deus iapheth, et habitet in tabernaculis sem. In tabernaculis quippe sem habitet iapheth quia in fide patriarcharum et prophetarum - in scripturis propheticis, in sacramentis legalibus spiritaliter intellectis - peregrinatur ecclesia in terris. Tabernaculis namque in bello uel itinere uti solemus, et in tabernaculis israhelitici populi nos, qui de gentibus ad christum uenimus, habitamus, quia nimirum quamdiu in huius uitae uia positi celestem patriam suspiramus, quamdiu contra insidias antiqui hostis, christo duce atque adiutore, certamus, necesse est ut semper antiquorum patrum dicta pariter et facta et opera in exemplum uitae et professionis teneamus.; Quatenus horum auctoritate protecti, certius ac securius ad palmam remunerationis perfecto agone tendamus. Congruit autem profectibus sanctae ecclesiae, quibus orbem impleuit totum, etiam nomen iapheth, quod 'latitudo' dicitur; unde alludens ad nomen ipsum, dicit noe, dilatet deus iapheth, id est latitudinem." *On Genesis*, trans. Kendall, pp. 211-213.

[41] Bede, *Hexaemeron* 2.8 lines 2062-69 and 2.9 lines 2207-50 in LLT-A; *On Genesis*, trans. Kendall, p. 203, 207-208; Wallis, "Ms Oxford St. John's College 17," p. 791.

[42] Isidore, *De natura rerum* 47 (De monte Aetna).4: "Constat autem ad exemplum gehennae, cujus ignis perpetua incendia spirabunt ad puniendos peccatores, qui cruciabuntur in saecula saeculorum. Nam sicut isti montes in tanta temporis diuturnitate usque nunc flammis aestuantibus perseverant, ita ut nunquam exstingui possint, sic ignis ille ad crucianda corpora damnatorum finem nunquam est habiturus." Jacques Fontaine, ed. and trans., *Traité de la nature* (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960), pp. 322-335.

[43] Foys, "An Unfinished *Mappa Mundi*," p. 282.

should be considered less a revision that alters the map's original purpose than a clarification of an aspect integral to the cartographic image. Medieval readers of H, and by extension C, would hardly need Japheth's name written out in order to supply the final term of the Noachide triad, an automatic mental act. Diametrically opposed in the two complete maps, the inscriptions *De sem gentes xxvii* and *De cham gentes xxx* relegate the descendants of the first and second sons to comparatively small sectors at top and bottom; by contrast, the "house" of Japheth ever increases to fill the expanse between. In fact, one could argue that the absence of the third name amounts to a refusal to pin down an ongoing movement, a diffusion that exceeds geographical bounds and ends only by overtaking the world. With the words *De iafeth*, the Thorney scribe makes explicit the youngest son's rightful place in the eldest's domain. Still, the formulation does not enumerate peoples, so can be read as a spatial reference to the universalizing mission of the gentile church. Wallis points to elements similarly unique to SJ, notably in its version of Byrhtferth's Diagram (the band of symbols in the inner diamond), which may represent initiatives or "refinements" on the part of Thorney scribes.[44]

Wallis and Foys have eloquently written about the maps' purpose to demonstrate the interconnection between center and periphery, specifically the English periphery, within a unified *orbis christianus*. In crediting the maps with a rhetorical purpose, I have only fleshed out the interpretive consensus. The new finding to emerge from my analysis is the significance of Japheth's blessing, which extends beyond the triplet maps.

The spatialization of Genesis 9.27 takes a pictorial turn in an unfinished map in a *computus* manuscript made for William of Malmesbury *c*. 1120-before 1125 (Oxford, Bodleian,

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[44] Wallis, "Ms Oxford St. John's College 17," p. 792.

101

MS Auct. F. 3. 14, fol. 19v).[45] Isidore's *De natura rerum* here concludes with a T-O map in which roundels form part of the diagrammatic armature. **(Figure 4)** The design is a variant of a rare type found, to my knowledge, only in manuscripts that belong to an Anglo-Saxon edition of the text. The earliest analogue (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3507, fol. 97v) dates from *c*. 960–

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[45] Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 3 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966-73), 3:11 no. 89; Rodney M. Thomson, "The 'Scriptorium' of William of Malmesbury" in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, eds. Malcolm B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 117-142, esp. 126-130, 132; Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, revised edition (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 83-85.

80 **(Figure 5)**; a second appears in a much later Salisbury manuscript (second half of the
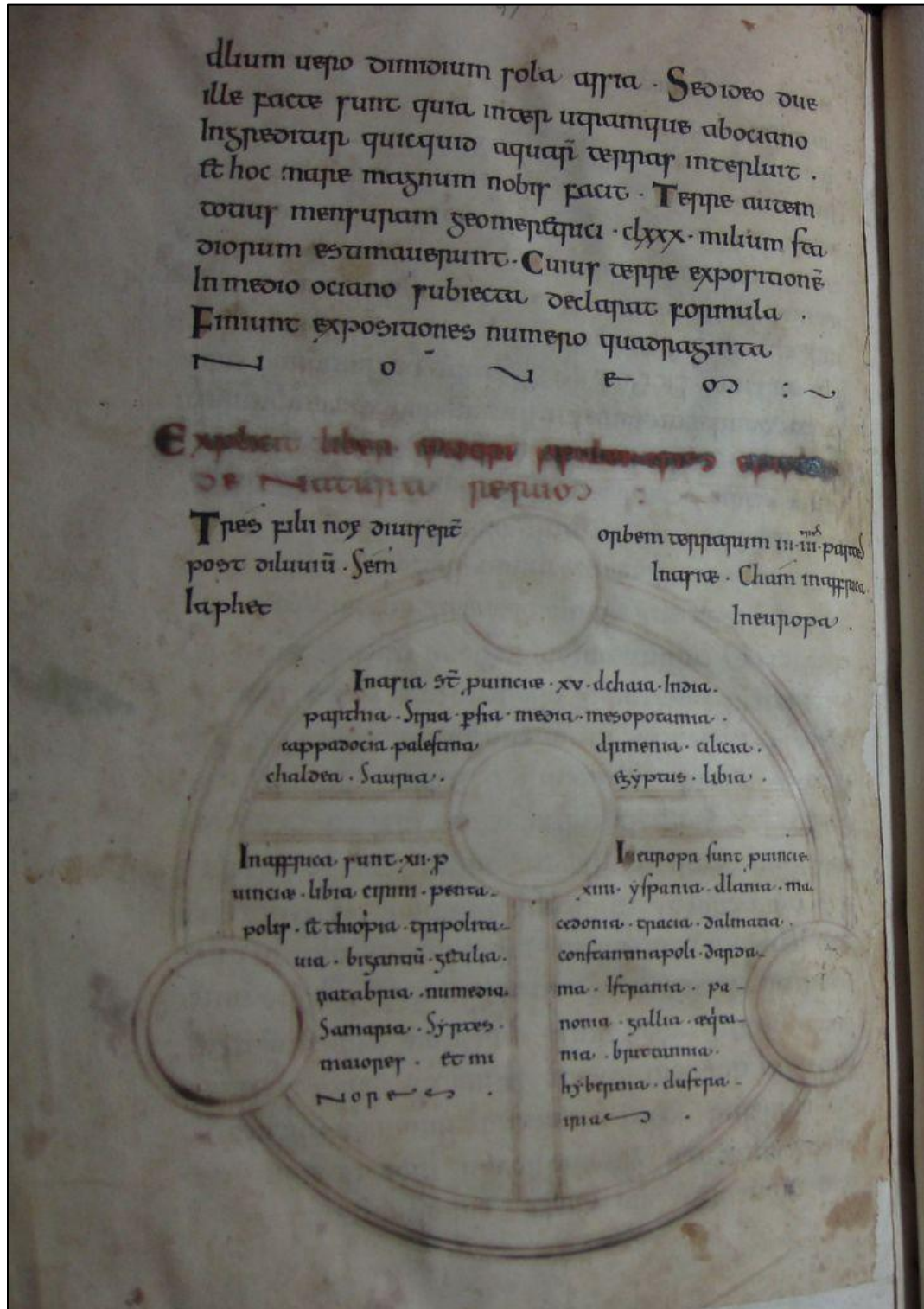

Figure 5   *Mappa mundi* concluding Isidore's *De natura rerum* in a *Computus* compilation, *c*. 960–80. Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3507, fo. 97v. Photo: author.

103

eleventh century) copied from a common exemplar (London, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius A. xii, fols. 63v–64r).[46] The sister list-maps, the provinces of the tripartite world, follow an interpolated note: *Tres filii noe diviserunt orbem terrarum in tres partes post diluvium. Sem in Asia. Cham in Affrica. Iaphet in Europa*.[47] This pair of Isidore maps have attracted attention on account of their transposition of Europe and Africa, for which ingenious explanations have been advanced.[48] A simple rationale, however, should not be overlooked. What appears to us a lateral reversal of the geographic order is merely an effect of our taking the maps out of their material context in the book. In fact, the cartographic content perfectly corresponds to the *writing/reading order* of the introductory inscription naming the sons according to their *birth order*: Asia occupies the maps' top sector as usual (top=first), while Africa and Europe, assigned to the second and third sons, occupy the left and right sectors respectively. As with the triplet maps in SJ, H and C, geography per se is not an absolute value; rather the spatialization of toponymic lists privileges rhetorical values. In the Exeter map, the active distribution of lands (*diviserunt*) aligns with the chronology of filial descent. Parallel temporal modalities—Noachide propagation and textual processing— govern the visual disposition of the image. Because the Malmesbury map, without caption, was abandoned before the scribe tackled the list, the would-be disposition of the two western sectors remains indeterminate.

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[46] The Vitellius map is reproduced in Edson, *Mapping Space and Time*, p. 6, fig. 1.3. See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 813-814. This particular edition of the DNR is discussed by Wesley M. Stevens, "Sidereal Time in Anglo-Saxon England" in *Voyage to the Other World: the Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, eds. Calvin B. Kendall and Peter S. Wells (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1992), pp. 125-154, esp. 136-137. A third copy of the DNR that belongs to the same textual recension but features a map of the traditional T-O design is found in London, BL, Cotton MS Domitian I (mid-tenth century). Conversely, the Malmesbury text of the DNR has not, so far as I am aware, been identified as a member of the group.

[47] On the textual source of the inscription, see Van Duzer and Sáenz-López Pérez, "*Tres filii Noe*," pp. 28-30.

[48] Wesley M. Stevens, "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's *De natura rerum*," *Isis* 71/ 2 (1980), pp. 268-277, esp. 274-277; Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, pp. 21-23. I will consider these Isidore maps, along with Stevens's and Mittman's ideas about them, in my forthcoming book mentioned in n. 19 above.

Uniquely, the Malmesbury map turns the medallions into *clipei* for half-figures, left in the state of leadpoint underdrawings. The top roundel at the cardinal east clearly portrays the figure of Christ in Majesty. The central medallion at the crux of the "T" contains a female figure; like the Majesty directly above, she is shown frontally, her arms raised in the *orans* pose. The outer medallions, placed at the cardinal north and south, but lower than the central one, enclose identical male figures in lay garb; they are turned toward the central figure, looking up at her with arms raised in acclamation. Wallis has identified these "praying" figures as "standing in for the three continents."[49] But why would only one continent take the form of a female personification even as the draftsman insisted on twinning the lateral pair? How to explain the privileged status accorded the female bust, a compositional strategy reinforced by the deferential attitudes of the facing males? An alternative identification better fits the iconography: the cartographic framework must present Shem and Japheth, types of the two branches, circumcised and uncircumcised, that unite in the one church, *Ecclesia* personified.

Might the iconographic transformation of this Isidore map be brought to bear on the unfinished version of the map in C? Remarking on two empty drypointed roundels that intersect the top left and right of the main circle, Foys wisely admits that "the intended content . . . remains a mystery." Nevertheless, he goes on to say, "Possibilities for content range widely, from the sun and the moon in a computistical context to any of a number of Old and New Testament figures in a scriptural mode."[50] Shem and Japheth, I venture to speculate, might make good candidates.

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[49] Wallis, "2. Computus Related Materials: 20. Byrhtferth's Diagram, 2, Byrhtferth's Diagram as symbolic diagram" in *The Calendar & the Cloister*, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17. Van Duzer and Sáenz-López Pérez, "*Tres filii Noe*," p. 30 identifies the three praying figures as Noah's sons, which clearly cannot be the case.

[50] Foys, "An Unfinished *Mappa Mundi*," p. 274 n. 12.

Deciphering the triplet *mappae mundi* raises questions about the nature of their form. If we are correct to call these images maps—and we are—how do they work cartographically and, given the subservience of geographical order to hermeneutics, what is it that they map? We can use the maps' material context in SJ and H to help sort out their distinctive visual status on the one hand and integrated functionality on the other.[51] The immediately proximate materials—astronomical *rotae*, alphabet and calendrical tables, diagrams pertaining to kinship, types of knowledge, and macro-/microcosmic linkage—graphically process intangibles through color-coded geometric (including columnar) grids whose formal relationship to content is purely arbitrary. By contrast, the maps correspond to a physical entity, the *orbis terrarum*, from which they extrapolate their overall representational structure however conventionalized and abstract. But such iconicity only goes so far. The tables and diagrams spatialize concepts and the maps conceptualize space according to common principles. The maps share, with the surrounding tables and diagrams, an approach to the generation of thought: verbal signs create meaning associatively by virtue of juxtaposition, parallelism and opposition. Inscriptions perform the cartographic task of mapping Britain into an exegetical legacy, a spiritual patrimony that establishes the island's claim to a place in the unfolding telos of election and salvation.

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[51] For example, in SJ (see http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/index.htm): alphabet table and astronomical schema (fol. 5v), map and feria table (fol. 6r), degrees of consanguinity (fol. 6v), taxonomy of knowledge (fol. 7r) and Byrhtferth's Diagram (fol. 7v). In H (see http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts): taxonomy of knowledge (fol. 6v), diagram of Creation (fol. 7v), Byrhtferth's Diagram (fol. 8r), map (fol. 8v).

Augustus, Rome, Britain and Ireland on the Hereford *mappa mundi*: Imperium and Salvation

By Diarmuid Scully, University College Cork

The Hereford map (*c*. 1300) depicts the *orbis terrarum* of Europe, Asia and Africa – the three parts of the Earth's known, inhabited circle of lands – hugging the Mediterranean and surrounded by Ocean and its islands, most prominently Britain and Ireland. A representation of the Roman Emperor Augustus (r. 27 BC-14 AD) appears next to the archipelago in the map's pictorial framework. Surveying the *orbis terrarum*, the map describes itself as an "*estorie*."[1] It tells multiple stories, but one cartographical narrative, derived from Orosius, dominates: the providential, global, westward progression of spiritual, cultural and political authority, and enlightenment.[2] **(Figure 1)**

Orosius's *Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem* responds to a request from Augustine (one of only two figures given a framed portrait on the Hereford map) to refute pagan claims

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[1] S. D. Westrem (ed.), *The Hereford Map: a transcription and translation of the legends with commentary* (Turnhout, 2001), p. 11, no.15; hereafter abbreviated as *Hereford*, with images and legends cited by page and number. I am grateful to Dr Catherine Ware for her comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

[2] Westrem, *Hereford*, p. xxxii. S. McKenzie, "The westward progression of history on Medieval *mappaemundi*: an investigation of the evidence," in P. D. A. Harvey (ed.), *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London, 2006), pp. 335-344. For Orosius's impact on earlier English cartography, see M. K. Foys, "The Virtual Reality of the Anglo-Saxon *Mappamundi*," in M. K. Foys , *Virtually Anglo-Saxon* (Gainesville, 2007), pp. 110-158; M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (ed. and trans.), *Orose: Histoire (contre les päiens)* 3 vols. (Paris, 1990-91), hereafter abbreviated as *Hist*; C. Zangmeister (ed.), Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii*, CSEL 5 (Vienna 1882); English translation from A. T. Fear (trans.), *Orosius: Seven Books of History against the Pagans* (Liverpool, 2010). On Orosian geography: Y. Janvier, *La Geographie d'Orose* (Paris, 1982); A. H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 35-99. After completing the present article, I received a copy of P. Van Nuffelen, *Orosius and the Rhetoric of History* (Oxford, 2012).

Figure 1 The Hereford map (c. 1300), oriented east-west, reveals the known world and its islands surrounded by Ocean. Photo: with the permission of the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust and the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

that the Gothic sack of Rome in 410 was a punishment for abandoning the gods and accepting Christianity.[3] Orosius traces Roman and universal history in order to demonstrate that the Christian God has privileged Rome above all preceding empires (Babylon, Macedon and Carthage) and that Christian times have been the best in human experience.[4] The map acknowledges Orosius, who begins with a survey of world-geography, as its essential textual source: "Orosius's account, *De Ornesta Mundi*, as is shown within."[5] Considering the Hereford map's response to Orosian providential history and geography, this paper suggests that it locates Augustus next to Britain and Ireland, and accords Rome great honor, in order to explore themes of *translatio imperii* and celebrate the islands' place in the history of salvation centred on imperial and papal Rome.

The Location of Augustus, Rome, Britain and Ireland on the Hereford Map: Context and Implications

"Rome, head of the world, holds the bridle of the spherical earth."[6] Thus the Hereford map proclaims Rome's continuing universal rule in this legend placed next to an architectural device representing the city. Virgil, writing in the age of Augustus, tells of its beginnings: how Aeneas fled the sack of Troy and finally reached Italy, where his descendants built "the high walls of Rome" and were destined to confront its rival, Carthage, "opposite Italy and the distant mouth of the river Tiber."[7] On the map, Rome is a tall, high-towered city on the Tiber,

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[3] *Hist.* preface; 7.43, 16-20; *Hereford*, p. 359, no. 918. The map (*Hereford*, p. 89, no. 183) also assigns a framed portrait to Abraham, father of the Jewish people (Genesis 12:1-3) and spiritual father of the new Chosen People drawn from Jews and Gentiles in the Christian dispensation (Galatians 6-29). This visual pairing of Abraham with Augustine, whose *De Civitate Dei* traces humanity's pilgrimage to its eternal home, and its identification of Orosius as its historical source is a clear statement of the map's concern with salvation history.
[4] *Hist*. 2.1, 4-6; *Hist*. 7.43, 16-20.

[5] *Hereford*, p. 7, no. 10. See p. 6 for Westrem's analysis of "*Ornesta*." The map's reference to Orosius is located in the lower right pictorial framework, opposite the Augustus scene.

[6] "*Roma, capud mundi, tenet orbis frena rotundi,*" *Hereford*, p. 271, no. 680.

[7] "*altae moenia Romae,*" *Aen*. 1.7; "*Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe ostia,*" *Aen.* 1.13-14; English translation from D. West (trans.), *Virgil: The Aeneid* (Harmondsworth, 1990). The map's largest towered city,

close to the Mediterranean and facing across that sea toward "*Cartago Magna*" in Africa.[8]
Warlike Troy, "*Troia civitas bellicosa,*" ancestral city of the Romans (and the founders of
Britain too, as Geoffrey of Monmouth and his successors relate) lies in a straight line north-
eastward from Rome to Asia Minor.[9] The map depicts a flag drooping from the walls of this,
the original city of "topless towers," indicating its fall and the translation of its power to
Rome under Aeneas's descendants. Orosius and Augustine concluded that Rome's
destruction of Carthage marked a decisive and corrosive moment in its own rise; without
Carthage to instill fear and discipline, the Romans became torpid: hence their weakness when
the barbarians struck.[10] The fall of Carthage, then, initially secured, but ultimately
undermined ancient Rome's *imperium*, which, after Orosius, was transferred first to the
Frankish and then to the German monarchs, who held the imperial title when the Hereford
map was made; this is a good reason for the map to draw attention to that African "*urbs
antiqua*" facing Rome.

The theme of continuity and change in Roman *imperium* pervades the sources. The
Aeneid proclaims that under Augustus, the "Trojan Caesar," the Romans would enjoy
dominion reaching to Ocean and stretching beyond the Garamantes and Indians, beyond the

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Babylon, lies in a straight line directly east of Rome; the map legend's source is Orosius, who depicts Babylon as the first empire, thus making this image evoke themes of *translatio imperii* (*Hereford*, p. 87, no. 181; *Hist.* 2.6, 8-10). The map's architectural device suggests the Tower of Babel. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* 16.17 makes Babel/Babylon ("confusion") the symbol of the earthly city and views pagan Rome as a second Babylon in the west (cf. 1 Peter 5:13).

[8] Westrem, *Hereford*, p. 270, notes that map's most important textual analogue, the *Expositio Mappe Mundi* discovered by Partick Gautier Dalché, locates Rome opposite Carthage.

[9] *Hereford*, p. 153, no. 345; the map refers to Illium at p. 151, no. 344. Westrem, *Hereford*, p. 152, draws attention to the British link via Layamon's *Brut*. Geoffrey traces the Britons' Trojan origins in Book I of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, D. Reeve and N. Wright (ed. and trans.), *Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain. An edition and translation of De gestis Britonum* (Woodbridge, 2007), hereafter *HRB*. For the Trojan legend's impact on Geoffrey, see F. Ingledew, "The Book of Troy and the genealogical construction of history: the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*," *Speculum* 69 (1994), pp. 665-704. For the legend's wider impact, see M. Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: the Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993).

[10] *Hist*. 4.23, 1-11; *De Civitate Dei* 1.30.

stars and sun.[11] Virgil's Jupiter promises Venus: "On them I impose no limits of time and place. I have given them an empire that will know no end."[12] These promises are echoed in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the British origin legend. Diana promises the Trojan Brutus, who gives Britain its name, that he will win an island in the western Ocean where a new Troy will arise and his descendants produce kings "who will be masters of the whole world."[13] Geoffrey describes the realization of this promise in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, demonstrating the imperial reach of Britain's early kings that culminated in Arthur's empire dominating the entire British-Irish archipelago and stretching across Europe to Rome itself, which Arthur was ready to conquer.[14] The Anglo-Norman kings viewed themselves as the heirs to the *imperium* enjoyed by Britain's previous rulers, and in the age of the Hereford map, they invoked the rights and achievements of the Trojan Britons, when claiming dominion over the archipelago.[15]

Brutus's city of Troia Nova, its name corrupted to Trinovantum, was finally renamed London.[16] In his early thirteenth-century *Otia Imperialia*, Gervase of Tilbury, expanding on Geoffrey, comments on the city's Trojan heritage; Brutus named it "to the keep alive the memory of the old Troy … within it, he built a citadel like Illium … where the Tower of London now is; it contained a palace enclosed by mighty fortifications, while around it

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[11] *Aen.* 1.286; 6.795-98.

[12] "*His ego nec metas nec tempora pono, /imperium sine fine dedi,*" *Aen.* 1.278-79. P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*, translated from the French by H. Leclerc (Ann Arbor, 1991).

[13] "*et ipsis tocius terrae subtitus orbis erit,*" *HRB* 1.16, 305-312.

[14] *HRB* 9-10.

[15] On insular *translatio imperii* to the Anglo-Normans, see, for example, Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* 1.4; 5, preface, in D. E. Greenway (ed.), *Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). On this theme in Geoffrey of Monmouth, see Ingledew, "The Book of Troy." Anglo-Norman claims to the entire archipelago will be examined in a separate study of Ireland and the Hereford map.

[16] *HRB* 1.22, 490-503; 3.53, 370-379; J. Clark, "Trinovantum: the evolution of a legend," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), pp. 135-151.

flowed the waters of the river Thames."[17] The map's London resembles this vision of the

city; situated on the Thames, it is the most elaborately turreted city in Britain and the

archipelago, with one high tower rising above its walls.[18] A straight line drawn from London

to Rome would cut across Paris, represented on the map as a great towered city, too. Paris is

the principal city of Francia, which, Gervase writes, is named "after King Francus, who fled

from Troy, according to some sources, with Aeneas, and gave his name to his people."[19]

Linking these cities pictorially, the map suggests their states' and rulers'

interconnections and the origins of their inherited and evolving authority. Compare the *Otia

Imperialia*, a textual counterpart to the map, in its attempt to convey all human historical,

geographical and cosmographical knowledge. Gervase links the Trojan history of Britain and

France with that of the Roman Empire, then incarnate in the German monarchy. Addressing

the Emperor Otto IV, he says: "this Roman empire, over which you, most serene prince, hold

dominion, and the kingdom of Great Britain which gave you birth … and the kingdom of

France, over which you have ruled … all arose from the same destruction of Troy."[20]Gervase

testifies to Rome's continuing *imperium* by quoting the same leonine hexameter that the

Hereford map applies to the city: "*Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi*."[21] The

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[17] "*Brutus ad veteris Troie recensendam memoriam condidit firmissismam urbem Trinovantum, in ipsa velut Illium ad orientem constituens, ubi turris Londoniensis est, firmissima munitione palatium circumseptum continens, aqua Tamasis fluvii … in ambitu decurrente,*" *Otia Imperialia* 2.17 in J. W. Binns and W. J. Blair (ed. and trans.), *Gervase of Tilbury: Otia Imperialia. Recreation for an Emperor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 398-401.

[18] *Hereford*, p. 311, no. 799.

[19] "*Francia est, a Franco rege dicta, qui de Troia, ut quidam dicunt, cum Enea fugiens populo nomen dedit,*" *Otia Imperialia* 2.10.

[20] "*et quoniam ex eodem Troiano excidio imperium Romanorum cuius tenes dominacionem, princeps serenissime, regnumque maioris Britannie ex cuius utero prodiisti … regnumque Francorum … dominium gessisti, prodiere,*" *Otia Imperialia* 2.16; Gervase compares the three kingdoms to three sons, matching the number of the Trinity, and explains that Rome's power passed to the "Allemani and the Gauls" after Gothic and Lombard assault and Otto inherited his own imperial authority from Charlemagne's acceptance of the title of emperor and Augustus from Pope Leo (cf. 2.18-19).

[21] *Otia Imperialia* 2.8.

German emperors themselves used that phrase on official seals to express their *romanitas*. In his *Chronica Maiora*, some fifty years before the map was made, Matthew Paris sketched and described one such seal featuring the phrase and styling Frederick II "by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans and eternal Augustus."[22] A second reference to "*Roma caput mundi*" in the *Chronica Maiora* suggests another interpretation of the phrase, which depends upon a further *translatio imperii*: from the emperors of ancient Rome to the popes as the spiritual successors of Peter and the temporal heirs of Constantine. In a commentary beneath the plan of Rome on his itinerary map, Matthew writes:

> It was once the capital of the whole world when the great emperors were lords and governors over it, and conquered all the lands … That is why the title which is on the seal of the Roman emperor reads: "*Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi*."
>
> The holy apostles of God, Sts. Peter and Paul, converted it to the law [of] Jesus Christ and sanctified it with their holy blood. And as Rome had been the capital of all miscreance and error, thus God wanted it to be the capital of Christendom.[23]

Matthew explains that, providentially, Romulus and Remus founded the city so that it could achieve this status. God put the pope there, with Peter's privilege of binding and loosing souls, and it was Pope Sylvester who cured Constantine of leprosy, so that Constantine became Christian and defender of the universal Church.[24] Matthew alludes to the Donation of Constantine (exposed as a forgery in the fifteenth century), which imagines Constantine's

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[22] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16, fol. 126; see Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris* (London, 1987), pp.77-81.

[23] "*E fu iadis chef de tut le mund quant le grant empereur en furent sires e guvernurs e conquistrent tutes terres … Pur co est le title tel ki est en la bulle lempereur de rume. 'Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi* [in rubric]. *Li seint apostle du deu seint pere e seint pol le cunvertirent a la lei Jesu Christ e la sacrerent de lur seint sanc. E si cum ele estoit avant chef de tut mescreance ed errur, si vout deus kele fust chef de la crestiente.*"; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 26, fol. 3r (itinerary from Pontremoli to Apulia). English translation cited in Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 344, Latin text cited at p. 505, n. 49. See further D. K. Connelly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), in particular pp. 109-127.

[24] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 26, fol. 3r, Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 344, 505, n. 49.

113

transfer of temporal imperial authority in the west to the papacy following his cure and baptism.[25] In the Donation, as a symbol of that transfer, Constantine gives his imperial insignia, including his diadem, to the pope. The thirteenth-century frescoes in the chapel of St Sylvester in the complex of Ss Quattro Coronati in Rome show the vital moment of *translatio imperii*; Constantine genuflects before the enthroned Sylvester and offers him the imperial diadem, now transformed into the papal tiara: compare the tiara worn by the Hereford map's Augustus.[26] Gervase of Tilbury spells out the Donation's implications to his imperial reader. Constantine ruled the kingdoms of the Franks, Germans and Britons, the whole west and the whole round world, but gave his *imperium* over the west to Peter, under Christ:

> By the pope's gift, not her own, Rome regained the title of empire in the time of Charlemagne. By the pope's gift, the imperial sovereignty was conferred on the king of the Franks. By the pope's gift, the sovereignty is now due to the king of the Germans, not the king of the French. Nor is the sovereignty granted to whomever Germany chooses, but to whomever the pope has decreed it should be granted.[27]

Considering the Hereford map's depiction of Augustus, Gervase's further comment is noteworthy: the pope alone bears the imperial insignia and proclaims himself lord of the city of Rome and of the capital of the empire.[28] Viewing the Hereford map in the context of Gervase, Matthew Paris and the Donation of Constantine, we see that it displays a world once dominated by imperial Rome and now by its Petrine successor, who holds spiritual and temporal supremacy. The map implies that, even in pagan times, and specifically under

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[25] J. Fried, *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini* (Berlin and New York, 2007).

[26] L. Barelli, *The Monumental Complex of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome*, trans. C. McDowall (Rome, 2009), pp. 70-75; fig. 112. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 58, n. 15 suggests the *Golden Legend* as the source of the map's representation of Augustus; its account of St Sylvester refers to the Donation.

[27]"*Petro Constantinus imperium occidentis dedit, cui servierat regnum Francorum, regnum Teutonicorum, regnum Britonum, quin imo totus occidens et totus circumfusus orbis. Hic Petro voluit sub Christo totum servire occidentem. Beneficio pape, non suo, Roma tempore Caroli nomen receipt imperii. Beneficio pape Francorum regi conferetur imperium. Beneficio pape regi nunc Teutonicorum et non Francorum debetur imperium. Nec cedit imperium cui vult Theutonia, sed cui cedendum decrevit papa,*" *Otia Imperialia* 2.19; cf. pref. (pp. 10-13); 2.8; 2.16.

[28] *Otia Imperialia* 2.18.

Augustus, the empire served God's purposes. It may also imply papal support for the English crown's imperial ambitions in the archipelago.

The map's pictorial framework depicts Augustus as a composite Roman emperor-pope. **(Figure 2)** He sits enthroned, wearing elaborate robes and an imperial-papal tiara surmounted by a cross; he hands a document, with a great seal attached, to three diminutive men. The map provides a textual commentary on this scene. Augustus's decree – its design and authenticating seal in conjunction with the tiara suggests an ecclesiastical document or

Figure 2 The Hereford map depicts Caesar Augustus as a composite emperor-pope and locates him next to Ireland and Britain at the north-western oceanic limits of the known world. Photo: with the permission of the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust and the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

115

papal bull – contains an order echoing Christ's final commission to his disciples in Matthew

28:19: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations [*euntes ergo docete omnes gentes*]: baptizing

them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." Augustus orders: "Go

into all the world and make a report to the senate on all its continents: and to confirm this

[order] I have affixed my seal to this document."[29] The seal declares: "+ The seal of the

emperor, Augustus Caesar."[30]

A legend next to the three men names them as Nichodoxus, Theodocus and

Policlitus.[31] The upper left of the outer edge of the map's pictorial framework refers to these

men in connection with an earlier Roman mapping of the world. There, the text states that the

orbis terrarum began to be measured by Julius Caesar and that Nichodoxus measured the

east, Theodocus the west, and Policlitus the south. Julius Honorius's fourth- or early fifth-

century *Cosmographia Iulii Caesaris*, via Pseudo-Aethicus's late seventh- or early eighth-

century *Cosmographia*, is the map's source, with Julius Honorius's four surveyors being

reduced to three, since the map follows Pseudo-Aethicus's reckoning.[32] Westrem observes

that the map "thus tacitly gives to each man one of the three principal areas of the terrestrial

landmass as defined during the Middle Ages."[33] There may be an allusion here to the

Noachide dispersion of Japheth to Europe, Shem to Asia and Cham to Africa, after the

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[29] "*Ite in orbem universum et de omni eius continencia referte ad Senatum. et ad istam confirmandum, huic scripto sigillum meum apposui*," *Hereford*, p. 10, no. 13.

[30] "+ *SIGILLUM AUGUSTI CESARIS IMPARATORIS*," *Hereford*, p. 10, no. 13.

[31] *Hereford*, p. 11, no. 14. On Augustus's document and its seal, see also V. Flint, "The Hereford Map: Its author(s), Two Scenes and a Border," *TRHS* sixth series, 8 (1998), pp. 19-44, at 22; N. Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: the Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 58-60.

[32] C. Nicolet and P. Gautier Dalché, "Les "Quatres Sages" de Jules César et la mesure du monde selon Julius Honorius: réalité antique et tradition médiéval," *Journal des Savants* (1987), pp. 157-218; T.P. Wiseman, "Julius Caesar and the Hereford World Map," *History Today* (November 1987), pp. 53-57; Wiseman, "Julius Caesar and the *Mappa Mundi*," in idem, *Talking to Virgil: A Miscellany* (Exeter, 1992), pp. 22-42; *Hereford*, pp. 2-3; note Westrem's comments on pp. xxx and xxxiii-iv.

[33] *Hereford*, p. 3, nos. 1-4, with Westrem's comments on p. 2.

116

Flood.[34] It is their descendants, the entire human race, that Christ's disciples were commissioned to teach and baptize in Matthew 28:18-20, a missionary enterprise ultimately under the authority of the Roman pontiffs, successors of St Peter, the rock on whom Christ built his church (Matthew 16:18).

To map the world is to dominate it. The late third-century panegyrist Eumenius invites Rome's rulers to imagine a great world-map displayed in a school to demonstrate the empire's universality: "it is a delight to see a picture of the world, since we see nothing in it which is not ours."[35] The Hereford map and its cosmographical sources function like Eumenius's imagined map, revealing Rome's global empire (spiritual as well as secular, from Hereford's perspective). Pseudo-Aethicus links Julius Caesar's measurement of the world to his victories extending to its oceanic limits.[36] The map may credit Julius Caesar with initiating this measurement, but it is emphatic that his successor Augustus completed the work. The legend placed directly over Augustus's cross-crowned head provides a precise timeframe: "Luke in his gospel [Luke 2:1]: There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be described."[37] In Luke's gospel, the Augustan description or enrollment of the world (depending on the translation of "*describeretur*") brought Mary and Joseph to Joseph's ancestral home of Bethlehem, where Christ was born (Luke 2:1-7). The Hereford map here conflates Augustus's census with his measurement of the *orbis*

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[34] For Noah's sons on earlier English *mappae mundi* concerned with salvation history, see Marcia Kupfer, "The Noachide Dispersion in English *Mappae Mundi ca.* 960- *ca.* 1130" in the present volume.

[35] "*Nunc enim, nunc demum iuvat orbem spectare depictum, cum in illo nihil videmus alienum.*," *Pan. Lat.* IX (IV) 20.2; 21.3, C. E. V. Nixon and B. S. Rodgers (ed. and trans.), *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini: introduction, translation and historical commentary with the Latin text of R. A. B. Mynors* (Berkeley, 1994).

[36] Wiseman, "Julius Caesar and the *Mappa Mundi*," p. 26. A follower of Pseudo-Aethicus, Lambert of St Omer, in the early twelfth-century *Liber Floridus*, dates Julius Caesar's measurement of the world to his return from the conquest of Britain, implying the conquest of the ends of the earth; see Gautier Dalché in Nicolet and Gautier Dalché, "Les 'Quatres Sages' de Jules César," pp. 203-204.

[37] "*Lucas in evvangelio: Exiit edictum ab augusto cesare ut describeretur huniversus orbis.*"

terrarum.[38] Bede, via Orosius, provides a further historical context for Christ's birth at this moment, namely Augustus's establishment of universal Roman rule, the *Pax Romana*, that made the census possible: "In the forty-second year of Caesar Augustus …… that is to say the year in which the movements of all peoples throughout the world were held in check, and *by God's decree Caesar established genuine and unshakeable peace*, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, hallowed the Sixth Age of the world by his coming."[39]

Orosius on Augustus, the Incarnation, and Britain in the Context of Roman Geography and Imperialism

Long before Orosius, Christian authorities believed that divine providence had ordained the empire's rise and synchronized Christ's birth with Augustus's establishment of the *Pax Romana*.[40] Exegetes believed that global Roman rule was designed to allow the rapid fulfilment of Christ's command to go and teach all nations.[41] Orosius provides the most extensive and positive exploration of this idea, in terms of its implications for God's commitment to the empire. Thus, Augustus's achievement of a global Roman peace, ordained to prepare for Christ's coming, was heralded by signs and wonders in Rome itself.[42] Roman authority was acknowledged in the north, south, east and west: the south (Africa) was pacified, ambassadors from Scythia in the extreme north and India in the extreme east came

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[38] A manuscript of Lambert of St Omer (Gand, Universitätsbibl., 92) is the first to explicitly link Augustus's measurement of the world with the Lucan census, as Gautier Dalché establishes in Nicolet and Gautier Dalché, "Les "Quatres Sages" de Jules César," pp. 203-205.

[39] "*id est, eo anno quo conpressis cunctarum per orbem terrarum gentium motibus firmissimam verissimamque pacem, ordinatione Dei, Caesar conposuit, Iesus Christus filius Dei sextam mundi aetam suo consecravit adventu.*," *De Temporum Ratione* 66.971-8; Orosius, *Hist.* 6.22 (cf. Orosius, *Hist.* 7.2, 3), in T. Mommsen (ed.), *Chronica Minora Saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, iii, MGH AA 13 (Berlin, 1898), pp. 223-354, repr in C. W. Jones (ed.), Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, CCSL 123B (Turnhout, 1977), pp. 461-544; English translation from F. Wallis (trans.), *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, TTH 29 (Liverpool 1999).

[40] See the second-century Melito of Sardis, quoted in Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.26,7.

[41] Ambrose quotes Matthew 28:19 to this effect in his commentary on Ps 45:10, "making wars to cease even to the end of the earth," *Ennarationes in Psalmos XII*, PL 14, 1142-43B.

[42] *Hist.*6.20,1-9.

as suppliants to Augustus in the extreme west (Spain) and universal peace was secured when the Parthians, too, sought a treaty with Rome.[43] The gates of the temple of Janus were closed, and Christ was born and enrolled on the Roman census as a Roman citizen.[44] The census demonstrated global power on a scale unmatched by any previous empire, including Babylon and Alexander's Macedon; appropriating the Virgilian Jupiter's prophecies, Orosius proclaims that it "marked out Caesar as the lord of all and the Romans as *masters of the world.*"[45]

In contrast, Orosius depicts the world before the incarnation and Augustan peace as a maelstrom of war and cruelty.[46] Given the Hereford map's indebtedness to Orosius, we see here a possible reason for its downplaying of Julius Caesar's role in the measurement of the world. The *Historia* shows that Caesar's endless wars never secured peace or universal Roman rule, and after his assassination there was yet more war, until Augustus's accession to power. Orosius uses Rome's first invasion of Britain to illustrate the violence of the pre-incarnational world, locating Julius Caesar's expeditions (55 and 54 BC) in a period when there was no Church to intercede for God's mercy.[47] Tremendous violence raged across the Roman world and its borderlands from east to west.[48] Orosius emphasises the bloodiness of Julius Caesar's British expeditions, the strength of British resistance and the severe storm damage that Caesar's fleet suffered at sea.[49]

Orosius's presentation of Rome's encounters with Britain after the incarnation is very

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[43] *Hist* 6.21,18-29.

[44] *Hist* 6. 22,1-9.

[45] *Hist* 6.22,6; *Aen*. 1.282.

[46] *Hist*. 5.1,8 in the context of 5.1,1-15.

[47] *Hist*. 6.1, 27.

[48] *Hist*.6.12,7; 6.12,1-6.19,21.

[49] *Hist*. 6.9,2-9.

different. He depicts Caligula (r. 37-41) as one of Rome's worst rulers, but says that the

emperor was unable to break the peace brought by Christ. The surrender of the exiled son of

the Britons' king deprived him of any justification for a planned invasion of Britain.[50]

Orosius's account of Claudius (r. 41-54) links his conquest of Britain to the foundation of the

papacy and the continuation of peace. Because Peter arrived in Rome to preach salvation in

Claudius's reign, and a Christian community was established there, divine grace made

Claudius merciful and prevented civil war and rebellion. When Claudius invaded Britain, "in

the words of Suetonius Tranquillus, *within but a few days he received the surrender of most*

of the island without having fought a battle and without any blood being shed."[51] Orosius's

use of Suetonius is selective: he suppresses Suetonius's account of two near shipwrecks that

Claudius experienced in the Mediterranean on his way to Britain and Suetonius's dismissive

comments on the campaign's significance.[52] He invites the reader to contrast the British

experiences of Julius Caesar and Claudius, and therefore to appreciate the extent to which

Rome's past achievements were due to God's hidden providence:

> Now let anyone who wants to do so, make a comparison concerning this
> single island between the one time and the other; between the one war and
> the other; and between the one Caesar and the other. I shall say nothing
> about the outcome, since the latter produced the happiest of victories, but
> the former the bitterest of disasters.[53]

God's favor manifested in Claudius's British victory connects the first-century AD empire to

that of Orosius's day; the *Historia* claims that God continues to care for Rome by granting

her victories costing little blood.[54] But why does Orosius single out Britain to illustrate his

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[50] *Hist.* 7.5, 5; cf. Suetonius, *Caligula* 44.2.

[51] *Hist.* 7.6, 3-8; "*ut verbis Suetonii Tranquilli loquar, sine ullo praelio ac sanguine intra paucissimos dies plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit*," *Hist.* 7.6, 9; Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.2.

[52] *Claudius* 17.1.

[53]" *Confertur nunc si placet, sub una insula, tempus et tempus, bellum et bellum, Caesar et Caesar. Nam de fine nihil confero: quoniam hoc felicissima victoria, illud acerbissima clades fuit*, " *Hist*. 7.6, 9-11.

[54] *Hist*.7.35, 6-9; 7.35, 19; 7.36,12.

argument that God has shown special favor to Rome? The answer may be connected to the Hereford map's decision to locate Augustus next to Britain and Ireland. The implications of the archipelago's geographical location provide a key to understanding both issues. The legend "*Terminus Europe*" appears on the map's western Iberian coastline.[55] Britain, Ireland and their adjacent islands, including the Isle of Man, the Orkneys and Ultima Thule, lie in northwestern Ocean beyond Gaul, Iberia and the prominently displayed Pillars of Hercules (the ancient boundaries of civilisation and the world of men).[56] There is nothing beyond the archipelago except Ocean and the map's pictorial framework containing Augustus and his surveyors.

The map's depiction of the archipelago, though enriched by later sources and contemporary concerns, is fundamentally Orosian. Summarising Graeco-Roman geographical knowledge, Orosius describes Britain as an island of Ocean, notes its proximity to Gaul, locates the Orkneys to its north, Thule a vast distance northwards, the Isle of Man near Ireland, and Ireland itself between Britain and Spain.[57] The map's representation of Ireland reflects Orosius with particular force, emphasizing its geographical association with Britain and Spain, repeating Orosius's account of the mouth of the Shannon facing Spain and the Luceni and the Velabri occupying that region.[58] The map-designer's interest in Orosius's account of Ireland may reflect knowledge of the Irish origin legend found in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (*The Book of the Takings of Ireland* or *Book of Invasions*) and summarized in the *Historia Britonnum*, which traces the Hiberni (Irish) most immediately to Iberia in

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[55] *Hereford*, p. 335, no. 863.

[56] *Hereford*, p. 427, nos. 1090-1091 (the Pillars); pp. 297-325, nos. 756-837 (Scotland, Man, England, Wales, Ireland); p. 195, no. 462 (the Orkneys); p. 195, no. 459 (Thule).

[57] *Hist.* 1.2, 76-82.

[58] *Hist.* 1.2, 80; the Shannon and the Velabri and Luceni facing Spain appear in *Hereford*, p. 325, no. 835-837.

response to Orosius and Isidore.[59] The Irish origin legend and its re-interpretation by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gerald of Wales played a fundamental role in legitimizing the English crown's claim to Ireland. [60] This claim was sanctioned by the papacy on the basis of the Donation of Constantine some one hundred and fifty years before the making of the Hereford map, with its figure of an emperor-pope, evocative of that particular *translatio imperii*, next to Ireland.[61]

The archipelago's size and location gave it an exceptional place in the classical and medieval imagination. The Hereford map follows tradition, when it depicts Britain and Ireland as the largest islands in the terraqueous world. Adomnán of Iona repeats an ancient belief when he refers to "Britain, the largest of Ocean's islands."[62] Gerald of Wales, echoing Bede, does the same when he uses the phrase "Ireland, the largest of islands after Britain."[63] Lying beyond the boundaries of the *orbis terrarum*, the archipelago is the last habitable place in the vast and terrifying space of northwestern Ocean.[64] For the ancients, Ultima Thule (Furthest Thule) marked the beginning of the planet's frozen northern zone, and the Orkneys were therefore the furthest inhabited place north of Britain.[65] Catullus is representative, when

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[59] J. Carey, "The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory," *Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1994); R. Baumgarten, "The Geographical Location of Ireland in Isidore and Orosius," *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 189-203.

[60] To be explored in a separate study of the map's representation of Ireland.

[61] The papal decree, *Laudabiliter*, issued by Adrian IV to Henry II; M. P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland, 640-1261*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1962), pp. 15-16.

[62] "*omnium totius orbis Insularum maximam Britanniam,*" *Vita Columbae* 3.23, A. O. and M. O. Anderson (ed. and trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (2nd edn; Oxford, 1991); compare Tacitus, *Agricola* 10.3.

[63] "*Hibernia, post Brittaniam insularum maxima,*" *Topographia Hibernica* 1.1, J. F. Dimnock (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, vol. 5 of *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (London, 1867) in Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 8 vols, Rolls Series; cf. Bede, *HE* 1.1, B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (ed. and trans.), *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), hereafter *HE*.

[64] On this part of Ocean: P. Gautier Dalché, "Comment penser l'Océan? Modes de connaissances des *fines orbis terrarum* du nord-ouest (de l'Antiquité au XIIIe siècle)" in M. Balard (ed.), *L'Europe et L'Océan au Moyen Age; contribution à l'histoire de la navigation* (Nantes, 1988), pp. 217-33.

[65] L. G. De Anna, *Thule: le fonti et le tradizioni* (Rimini, 1998); J. A. (D.) Scully, "The Atlantic archipelago from Antiquity to Bede: the transformation of an image" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University College

he refers to Britain itself as "furthest Britain" ("*ultima Britannia*," a phrase that evokes Ultima Thule), and "the furthest island of the west" ("*ultima occidentis insula*").[66] Antique sources also depict Britain as an *alter orbis*, another world entirely severed from the *orbis terrarum* by Ocean; Shakespeare serendipitously alludes to this topos in connection with Roman claims to the island in Augustus's reign: "Britain's a world by itself."[67] Gerald applies similar classical topoi to Ireland; beyond it, there is "only Ocean to the west" and the island itself is "as it were another world."[68]

Rome claimed dominion not only over Britain, but also Ireland, the Orkneys and, poetically, Thule; it announced the conquest of unknown peoples, Ocean, and nature itself in the archipelago, reveling in its power over the world's outer limits. It is noteworthy, then, that Orosius includes the Orkneys's annexation in his celebration of Claudius's conquest of Britain.[69] The sources link victory over the archipelago to victories over the world's other cardinal points to demonstrate Rome's universal rule. Thus, Pseudo-Hegesippus writes of east-west Roman rule from Britain to India, and Claudian of north-south Roman triumphs from frozen Thule, Britain, Ireland and the Orkneys to burning Africa.[70] Given the archipelago's extraordinary location and role in Roman claims to global *imperium*, it is no

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Cork, National University of Ireland, 2000), pp. 24-29.

[66] Catullus, 29.4; 29.13.

[67] *Cymbeline*, Act 3, Scene 1. For ancient sources using this topos: D. Scully, "Proud Ocean has become a servant: a classical topos in the literature on Britain's conquest and conversion" in E. Mullins and D. Scully (eds.), *Listen, O Isles, unto me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in honour of Jennifer O'Reilly* (Cork, 2011), pp. 3-15; 313-318 at 315, n. 44. On Britain in the Graeco-Roman imagination: V. Santoro, "Sul concetta di *Britannia* tra Antichità e Medioevo," *Romanobarbarica* 11 (1992), pp. 321-334; P. C. N. Stewart, "Inventing Britain: the Roman adaptation and creation of an image," *Britannia* 26 (1995), pp. 1-10; D. Braund, *Ruling Roman Britain* (London and New York, 1996); Scully, "The Atlantic archipelago", pp. 7-20; 30-56.

[68] "s*olum oceanum ab occidente*"; "*quasi alter orbis*," *Topographia Hibernica* 1.1; 1.2.

[69] C. Adams, "Hibernia Romana? Ireland and the Roman Empire," *History Ireland* 4 (1996), pp. 21-25; Scully, "The Atlantic archipelago," pp. 7-29. Orosius on Claudius and the Orkneys: *Hist.* 7.6,10, following Eutropius, *Brev.* 7.13.2-3.

[70] Pseudo-Hegesippus, *Historiae libri v* 5.15; Claudian, *Panegyricus de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti* 24-40.

coincidence that Orosius uses Britain's conquest to support his argument that God has shown special favour to Rome since the incarnation. However, he makes no connection between Augustus and Britain at the moment of Christ's birth. The Hereford map seems to imply such a connection through its placement of the emperor and the accompanying legends next to the archipelago. The map may be responding to textual sources that link Augustus and Britain and claim that the emperor conquered the island. A number of these sources specify that this conquest occurred at the time of the incarnation and see a providential purpose at work there.

Imagining the Augustan conquest of Britain at the time of the incarnation.

The sixth-century British prophet-historian Gildas synchronizes the Roman conquest of Britain with the universal Augustan peace at the time of Christ's birth. Situating Britain in the extreme, wintry northwestern Ocean, he says that Rome conquered the island when "the Roman kings, having won the *imperium* of the world and subjugated all the neighboring regions and islands towards the east, were able, thanks to their superior prestige, to impose peace for the first time on the Parthians, who border on India: whereupon wars ceased almost everywhere."[71] This dating allows Gildas to locate Britain's conversion within a Roman framework in the apostolic age; re-working Eusebius on the earliest gentile conversions, he claims that Britain became Christian under Augustus's successor Tiberius.[72] Gildas's account of the Roman conquest responds to Orosius, who, as we have seen, hails Indian submission to Rome and emphasizes the first Parthian peace as the harbinger of the unprecedented Augustan peace embracing "every nation from east to west, from north to south, and all

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[71] "*Etinem reges Romanorum cum orbis imperium obtinuissent subiugatisque finitimis quibusque regionibus vel insulis orientem versus primam Parthorum pacem Indorum confinium, qua peracta in omni paene terra tum cessavere bella,*" *De Excidio Britanniae* 6.2, M. Winterbottom (ed. and trans.), *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works* (Chichester, 1987).

[72] *DEB* 8; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2-3, which does not mention Britain.

124

around the encircling Ocean."[73]

Sources from the age of Augustus proclaim the extension of Roman hegemony to Britain. In the *Res Gestae*, the public record of his achievements, Augustus writes of two British kings coming to him as suppliants, while Strabo writes of British chieftains going to Rome, making offerings on the Capitoline and acknowledging Roman power. According to Strabo, Augustus did not consider an invasion of Britain worthwhile, but Dio describes him preparing for war there on three occasions.[74] The poets include Britain in their boasts of global *imperium*; Horace, for instance, displays the wildest barbarians from north, south, east and west marveling at Augustus, along with the great rivers and their father Ocean: "Ocean teeming with monsters, that roars around the distant Britons."[75]

In a particularly significant reference, given Gildas's vision of Augustan *imperium* on an east-west axis, Virgil links Britain and India under Augustus. In the *Georgica*, he reveals Augustus's universal empire by decorating an imagined temple in his honor with representations of Roman victories from east to west.[76] Virgil describes carvings on the doors of Roman wars in India and a curtain decorated with British figures: "The embroidered Britons raise the purple curtains."[77] The Britons' inclusion, indicating their subjection, is all

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[73] "Caesar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem ac per totum Oceani circulum cunctis gentibus una pacis conpositis," *Hist.* 6.22,1. Orosius also links the Parthian peace and the incarnation in *Hist.* 3.8,5-8; cf. *Hist.* 1.1,6; 6.21,29. F. Kerlouégan, *Le De Excidio Britanniae de Gildas: Les Destinées de la Culture Latine dans l'Îsle de Bretagne au VIe Siècle* (Paris, 1987), pp. 82-83 emphasises *Hist.* 3.5,8 as Gildas's source. C. E. Stevens, "Gildas Sapiens," *English Historical Review* 56 (1941), pp. 353-373 at 355 suggests *Hist.* 6.21,19-20; 22. On Gildas's reading: N. Wright, "Did Gildas read Orosius?" *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 9 (1985), pp. 31-42, repr. in idem, *History and Literature in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval West: Studies in Intertextuality* (Aldershot, 1995), paper IV; idem, "Gildas's Reading: a Survey," *Sacris Erudiri* 32 (1991), pp. 121-162 at 133-134, repr. in idem, *History and Literature*, paper V.

[74] *Res Gestae* 32 (the same entry records a Parthian visit and the preceding one an Indian embassy; cf. Orosius, *Hist.* 6.21,21); Strabo, 2.5,8; Dio 49.38,2; 53.22,5; 53.23,2.

[75] "*beluosus qui remotis/ obstrepit Oceanus Britannis*," *Carm.* 4.14, 47-48, C. E. Bennett, (ed. and trans.), *Horace: Odes and Epodes*, LCL (Cambridge, Mass, 1927).

[76] *Georg.* 3.12-49; cf. *Aeneid* 6.794-97. On Roman claims to India: C. R. Whittaker, "To reach out to India and pursue the dawn: the Roman view of India," *Studies in History* 14 (1998), pp. 1-20.

[77] "*purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni*," *Georg.* 3.25; "the figures rise as the curtain on which they are depicted rises, and they can be said to raise it," R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *Virgil: Georgics. Edited with a*

125

the more significant given Britain's status as another world in the *Eclogae*; in a phrase

repeated by several Christian authorities including Origen, Jerome and Isidore, Virgil refers

there to "the Britons entirely severed from the whole world."[78] Rome's empire has indeed

reached the ends of the earth. The Hereford map eloquently conveys the ancients' sense of

the British-Irish archipelago and India as the western and eastern limits of the *orbis terrarum*:

a straight line drawn eastwards across the map from the archipelago would terminate in Sri

Lanka, the Romans' Taprobane, and most likely one of Gildas's "eastern islands"; the words

attributed to Alexander the Great's counsellors, gazing on Ocean beyond India, are apposite:

"beyond all, Ocean; beyond Ocean, nothing."[79] Explaining Virgil's reference to the

embroidered Britons, the late antique Virgilian commentator and grammarian Servius says,

> *The embroidered Britons raise the purple curtains*. He spoke this according
> to history. After Augustus conquered Britain, he donated to theatrical
> ceremonies a great number of the captives whom he had brought. For he gave
> curtains, that is veils, on which he had painted his victories and in this
> manner the Britons, themselves donated by him, carried these same curtains,
> which indeed were accustomed to carry them; which matter he expressed
> with marvellous ambiguity, saying 'woven, they raise'; for they were
> embroidered on those very curtains, the same curtains which they carried.[80]

In Britain, the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* also interpreted Virgil's words to mean that

Britain was subject to Augustus. When Octavian Augustus held the monarchy of the whole

world, he alone accepted tribute from Britain: "as Virgil says: 'the embroidered Britons raise

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Commentary (Oxford, 1990), p. 183.

[78] "*et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*," *Ecl.* 1.66; Origen, *In Lucam Homilia* 6; Jerome, *Ep.* 46.10; Isidore, *Etym.* 9.2,102.

[79] "*post omnia Oceanus, post Oceanus nihil*," Seneca, *Suasoriae* 1.1; cf. 1.10-11,16. Sri Lanka on the Map: *Hereford*, p. 67, no. 138, where it is called Taphana.

[80] "*Hoc secundum historiam est locutus. Nam Augustus postquam vicit Britanniam, plurimos de captivis, quos adduxerat, donavit ad officia theatralia. Dedit enim aulaea, id est velamina, in quibus depinxerat victorias suas et quemadmodum Britanni ab eo donati eadem vela portarent, quae re vera portare consueverant; quam rem mira expressit ambiguitate dicens intexti tollant; nam in velis ipsi erant picti, qui eadem vela portabant.*" G. Thilo and H. Hagen (eds.), *Servii Gramaticii qui feruntur in Virgilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarii*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1887; repr. Hildesheim, 1961), p. 276.

the purple curtains'. "[81] The *Historia Brittonum* is an essential source for the *Historia Regum Britanniae* on the Britons' Trojan and Roman links, and it is no coincidence that Geoffrey of Monmouth, who ignores Gildas's reference to an Augustan conquest, nevertheless indicates a peaceful and friendly British recognition of Roman *imperium* at the time of the incarnation, with the Britons voluntarily paying Rome a tribute that they could have withheld, and Kimbelinus (Shakespeare's Cymbeline) being reared and war-trained in Augustus's own household.[82] Geoffrey, too, shares the providential Orosian vision of a world at peace under Rome at the time of Christ's birth, and wishes to associate Britain with it; he later depicts the island becoming Christian via contact with Rome: King Lucius obtains missionaries from Pope Eleutherius.[83]

The late antique exegete Apponius, who celebrates Christ as the means of universal salvation, gave a providential interpretation to the claim that Augustus had conquered Britain. Citing Livy's authority on Augustus announcing the conquest of the world in Rome, following his return from the conquest of Britain, Apponius synchronizes Augustus's announcement of universal peace with Christ's birth in fulfilment of Psalm 71:7: "In his days shall justice spring up, and abundance of peace." This is a peace of souls – peace between God and man – and the *Pax Romana*:

> For from that time, it was shown to the world that not only did the peace of
> souls illuminate the world but triumphed over public and civil matters, and
> with the Roman empire exalted, war laid to rest and peace of all barbarian
> races obtained, peace triumphed, and the whole human race, in whatever place
> it dwelt, from that time was bound by a chain of peace. On the day of his
> appearance, which is called Epiphany, Caesar Augustus during public shows,
> as Livy tells us, announced to the Roman people, that having returned from the
> island of Britain, all the world is subdued as much as by war as by the

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[81] *"ut Virgilius ait: Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea Bryttani,"* *Historia Brittonum* 9, D. N. Dumville (ed.), *Historia Brittonum: the Vatican Recension*, (Cambridge, 1985).

[82] *HRB* 4.64,271-77.

[83] *HRB* 4.72, 400-433, without acknowledging Bede, *HE* 1.4.

abundance of peace to alliance with Roman *imperium*.[84]

Considering the Hereford map in the light of the sources cited above, Augustus's placement next to the British Isles might reflect the map-designer's providential understanding of history: by associating Britain with his world-rule at the time of the incarnation, the map connects Britain's history to the greatest moment in the history of salvation, and implies that God permitted Rome to conquer the island so that it could become an integral part of the worldwide Christian community. Compare Henry of Huntingdon in the twelfth century, reading the *Historia Brittonum* and Virgil on Augustus and Britain in the light of scriptural prophecy:

> Augustus succeeded Julius Caesar and held the monarchy of the whole world. He surveyed the entire globe and took tribute from the Britons as from his other kingdoms. As Virgil says: "Embroidered Britons raise up purple tapestries [*Historia Brittonum.* Vat., c 9; Virgil, *Georgics,* 3.25]." He did this in the forty-second year of his imperial rule, when the True Light was born and shone on earth [cf. John 1:9-10], by which all the kingdoms and islands of the world, which were hidden in darkness, knew that there is one God [cf. Deuteronomy 6:4; Mark 12:29], and saw him who created them.[85]

Henry of Huntingdon's words reveal him as an attentive reader of classical, patristic and Insular sources on the Roman conquest and conversion of the archipelagic ends of the earth. His reference to islands knowing God is particularly relevant to Britain, since exegetes

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[84] "*Nam, ex quo facto est et mundo ostensa, non solum animarum pax illuminat mundum, sed publica, etiam civilia, romano imperio exalto, bella sopita, pace omnium gentium barbarorum reperta, exsultat; et omne humanus genus, quocumque terrarum loco obtinet sedem, ex eo tempore, uno illigatur vinculo pacis. In cuius apparitionis die, quod Epiphania appelatur, Caesar Augustus in spectaculis, sicut Livius narrat, romano populo nuntiat, regressus a Britannnia insula, totum orbem terrarum tam bella quam amicitiis romano imperio pacis abundantia subditum,*" B. de Vregille and L. Neyrand (eds.), *In Canticum Canticorum Expositionem*, CCSL 19 (Turnhout, 1986), 12.798-807 (cf. Apponius on *Cant*. 7:1 at 10.62-65). See T. E. Mommsen, "Apponius and Orosius on the Significance of the Epiphany," in K. Weitzman (ed.), *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honour of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 96-111. Investigations of Apponius's reference to Livy include T. E. Mommsen, "Augustus and Britain: A Fragment from Livy?" *American Journal of Philology* 75 (1954), pp. 175-183; N. Reed "Three Fragments of Livy Concerning Britain," *Latomus* 32 (1973), pp. 764-785; CCSL 119, lxxiiv. Apponius's reference, if genuine, belongs to a lost section of Livy's work.

[85] "*Augustus Julio Caesari succedens monarchiam totius mundi tenuit: descriptsit autem universum orbem, et a Britannia, sicut ab aliis regnis, censum accepit, ut Virgilius ait: Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea Britanni* [*Hist. Britt*. Vat., c 9; *Georg*. 3.25]. *Hoc autem fecit anno imperio eius quadragesimo secundo, quando lux vera mundo nato innotuit, per quem omnia regna mundi et insulae caligine oppressae cognoverunt Deum unum esse, et viderunt qui creavit eos*', *Historia Anglorum* 1.16.

associated scriptural promises of salvation reaching even the remotest gentile islands with the British-Irish archipelago, on the basis of Genesis 10:1-5, which connected Noah's son Japheth and his descendants with islands.[86] The *Historia Britonnum* integrates Britain's Trojan history into this tradition, ultimately tracing Brutus's ancestry to Japheth, via his son Javan.[87] The Lambeth *mappa mundi*, illustrating a manuscript of the *Historia Britonnum* and dating from the same period as the Hereford map, provides a visual expression of the providential theme underlying the text's integration of Trojan and scriptural British foundation legends and enumeration of the peoples of the world descended from Noah's sons. The Lambeth map depicts the *orbis terrarum* as the body of Christ, resembling the eucharistic host, with Jerusalem almost at its centre as Christ's navel, and the world's most significant places named within a series of circles radiating from the center.[88] At the furthest possible point westward from Jerusalem, above Christ's right foot, lie the Orkney islands, the archipelago's remotest outpost, facing India in the furthest east. The Atlantic Isles and the rest of the world are literally incorporated into the body of Christ in a cartographical demonstration of Paul's words in Ephesians 5:30 -- the Church is Christ's body, and we are its living members.

Papal Rome Supersedes Imperial Rome

Henry of Huntingdon's choice of scriptural quotations on universal salvation in the *Historia Anglorum* recalls Pope Vitalian's letter to King Oswiu of Northumbria, included in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which celebrates the archipelago's conversion in a chain of

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[86] J. O'Reilly, "Islands and idols at the ends of the earth: exegesis and conversion in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*" in S. Lebecq, M. Perrin, O. Szerwiniack (eds.), *Bède le Vénérable: entre tradition et posterité. The Venerable Bede: Tradition and Posterity* (Lille, 2005), pp. 119-145 at 119-122.

[87] *Historia Britonnum*, Vat., c 7; Genesis 10:4.

[88] Lambeth Palace Library, London, MS 371. fol. 9v; see the discussion in S. D. Westrem, "Geography and Travel" in P. Brown (ed.), *A Companion to Chaucer* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 195-217, at 206-209, with the map reproduced at 209, figure 12.2.

129

quotations from Isaiah evoking images of light, darkness, islands and universal gentile salvation.[89] Vitalian wrote to Oswiu in the context of Northumbria's acceptance of the Roman dating of Easter in 664; he declared in Pauline language that Oswiu as "a member of Christ" must obey "the holy rule of the chief of the apostles in all things."[90] Vitalian's connections between salvation, orthodoxy, Rome and the archipelago are tremendously developed in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Bede makes no reference to a providentially ordained imperial Roman conquest of Britain at the time of the incarnation. Instead, he emphasizes that, directly and indirectly, salvation came to the Britons, Irish, English and Picts from papal Rome, the guarantor of orthodoxy and head of the universal Church.[91]

As Jennifer O'Reilly has shown, Bede and other patristic and early Insular authorities believed that the conversion of Britain and Ireland -- undertaken in obedience to Christ's command to preach to all peoples -- fulfilled prophecies of the extension of salvation from Jerusalem to the furthest gentiles in the last days, represented in microcosm the conversion of the whole world and prepared the way for the Second Coming: the very scene that dominates the lunette of the Hereford map.[92] Bede establishes Christ and not any Roman emperor as the islands' true and eternal ruler. His *Historia Ecclesiastica* makes it clear that, for all their boasts, the Romans never subdued all of Britain, let alone Ireland, and the ancestors of his own English people had lived unconquered beyond the empire's Continental frontiers.[93]

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[89] *HE* 3.29; Henry mentions the letter in *Historia Anglorum* 3.46.

[90] "*Quamobrem oportet vestram celsitudinem, utpote membrum existens Christi, in omnibus piam regulam sequi perenniter principis apostolorum,*" *HE* 3.29.

[91] Britons: *HE* 1.4; Irish: *HE* 1.13; English: *HE* 1.23; 2.1; Picts: *HE* 3.4.

[92] J. O'Reilly, "Introduction" in S. Connolly (trans.), *Bede: On the Temple* (Liverpool, 1995), pp. xiii-lv, at xxxiii-li); O'Reilly, "Islands and idols"; O'Reilly, "The multitude of isles and the corner-stone: topography, exegesis, and the identity of the *Angli* in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*" in J. Roberts and L. Webster (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Trace*, (Tempe AZ, 2011), pp. 201-227. *Hereford*, 6-7. A version of the succeeding paragraphs appears in D. Scully, "The Third Voyage of Cormac in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*: Analogues and Context," in J. Roberts and A. Minnis (eds.), *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Eamonn Ó Carragáin* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 209-230 at 220-221.

[93] D. Scully, "Bede, Orosius and Gildas on the early history of Britain" in S. Lebecq, M. Perrin, O. Szerwiniack

130

When Rome finally conquered the English, it was a spiritual conquest: the late sixth-century

Christian mission initiated by Pope Gregory I, the successor of St Peter, not Augustus. For

Bede and other early Insular writers who followed patristic traditions that diverge from an

Orosian reading of history, imperial Rome's failure to conquer the entire archipelago and its

peoples demonstrated that only Christ's spiritual empire, centered in papal Rome, could claim

true universality.

Thus, Columbanus tells Pope Boniface IV that, although the Irish are aware of

Rome's imperial greatness, for them the city's true glory comes from its association with the

Chair of Peter, the source of Irish Christianity (a reference to Palladius's mission, sent by

Pope Celestine in the early 430s); writing about Ireland's conversion in words reminiscent of

imperial proclamations of triumph over Ocean and world-rule from east to west, he depicts

the apostles Peter and Paul drawing Christ's chariot across vast Ocean to the world's western

limits.[94] He does not need to state the obvious to Boniface: no Roman emperor ever matched

this achievement. The pope's predecessor Leo I and the chronicler Prosper of Aquitaine, who

recorded the Palladian mission, made that point in the fifth century. They describe the faith

winning territories beyond the boundaries of the empire and declare that Rome's greatness

lies in its apostolic primacy, rather than earthly dominion.[95]

(eds.), *Bède le Vénérable*," pp. 31-42; D. Scully, "Location and Occupation: Bede, Gildas and the Roman vision of Britain" in Roberts and Webster (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, pp. 243-272.

[94] *Ep*. 5, G. S. M. Walker (ed. and trans.), *Sancti Columbani opera*, SLH 2 (Dublin, 1957); D. Bracken, "Authority and duty: Columbanus and the primacy of Rome," *Peritia* 16 (2002), pp. 168-213 at 175-177.

[95] Leo, *Tractatus* 82; Prosper, *De Vocatione omnium gentium* 2.16. T. M. Charles-Edwards, "Palladius, Prosper and Leo the Great: mission and primatial authority" in D. Dumville (ed.), *Saint Patrick, A.D. 493-1993* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 1-12; T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 202-214; D. Bracken, "Authority and duty."
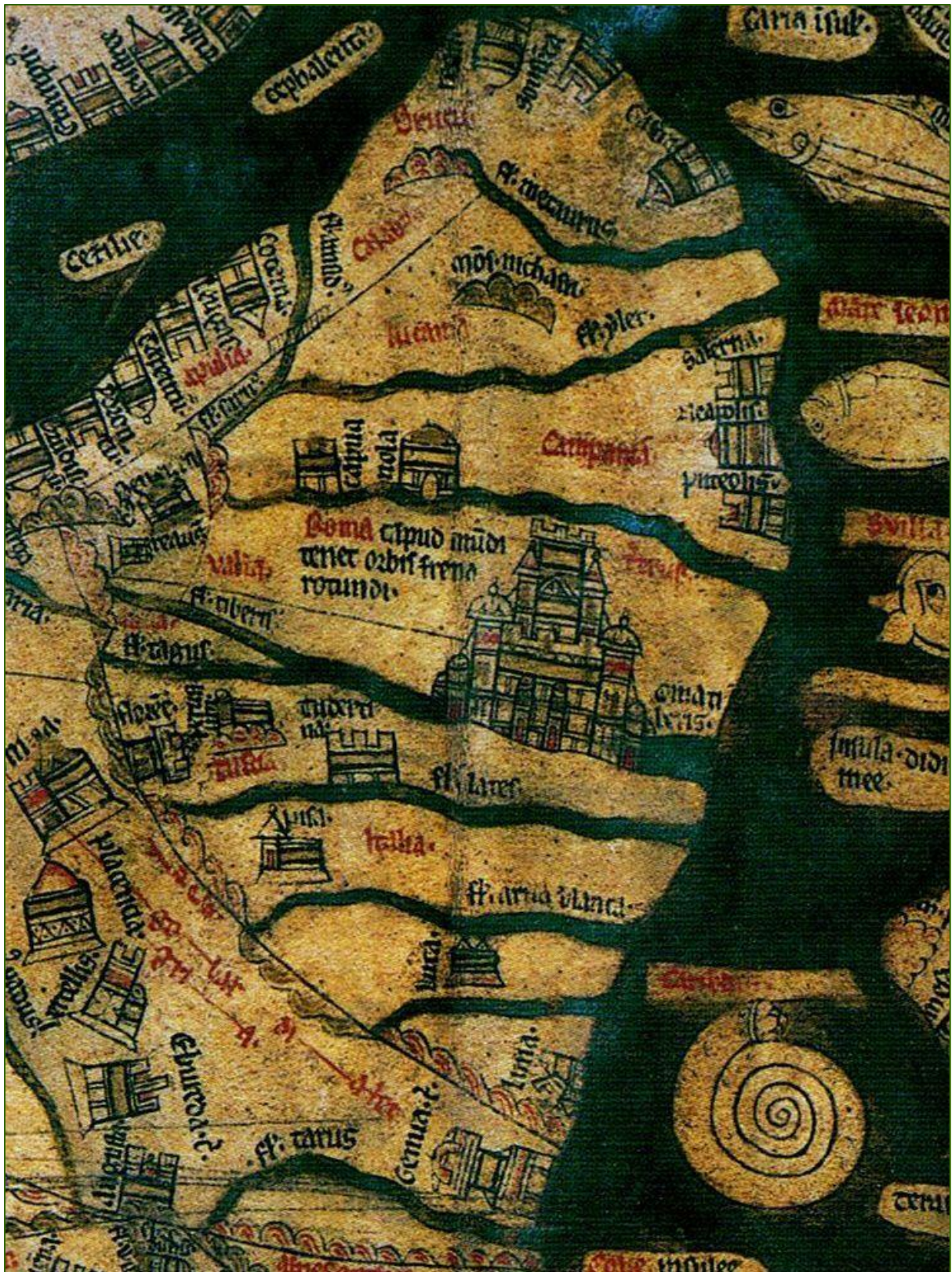
Figure 3 The Hereford map asserts Rome's continuing world-rule as spiritual capital of Christendom: 'Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi.' Photo: with the permission of the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust and the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

The Hereford map may share this understanding of papal Rome and its relationship with the archipelago. The map can be read in several ways at once. It associates the archipelago with an Orosian narrative of providential Roman global *imperium* at the time of Christ's birth, but its positioning of Augustus as composite emperor-pope next to the archipelago, and most closely Ireland, simultaneously asserts the primacy and true universality of papal Rome. To adapt Matthew Paris's words, the "the capital of Christendom" has replaced the pagan capital of "all miscreance and error." The post-imperial conversion of the unconquered Irish and English peoples under papal Roman direction is proof of the claim advanced by Matthew, Gervase of Tilbury and the Hereford map: "*Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi.*"[96] **(Figure 3)**

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[96] Matthew Paris: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16, fol. 126; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 26, fol. 3r; Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* 2.8; *Hereford*, p. 271, no. 680.

133

Forking Paths? Matthew Paris, Jorge Luis Borges, and Maps of the Labyrinth

By Asa Simon Mittman, California State University, Chico

In "The Garden of Forking Paths," Argentine magical-realist Jorge Luis Borges writes of Ts'ui Pên, a Chinese scholar who retreats into an unexpected seclusion, during which he plans to write a novel and construct a labyrinth. The novel he produces is a mess of contradictions and confusion, an embarrassment to Pên's family, but a British Sinologist explains his revelation about the process to the narrator, a descendant of Pên: "Ts'ui Pên must have said once: *I am withdrawing to write a book*. And another time: *I am withdrawing to construct a labyrinth*. Everyone imagined two works; to no one did it occur that the book and the maze were one and the same thing."[1]

The narrator of Borges' story tells us that Pên's "novel was incoherent and no one found the labyrinth … Their publication was senseless. The book is an indeterminate heap of contradictory drafts."[2] This study concerns intersections between Borges' tale and Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora*, which Suzanne Lewis describes in strikingly similar terms: "There seems to be no unifying design in a history of unconnected events, disrupted by constant lapses,

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[1] Jorge Luis Borges, *Labyrinths: Selected Stories & Other Writings*, ed. Donald A. Yates, James E. Irby (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1964), p. 25.
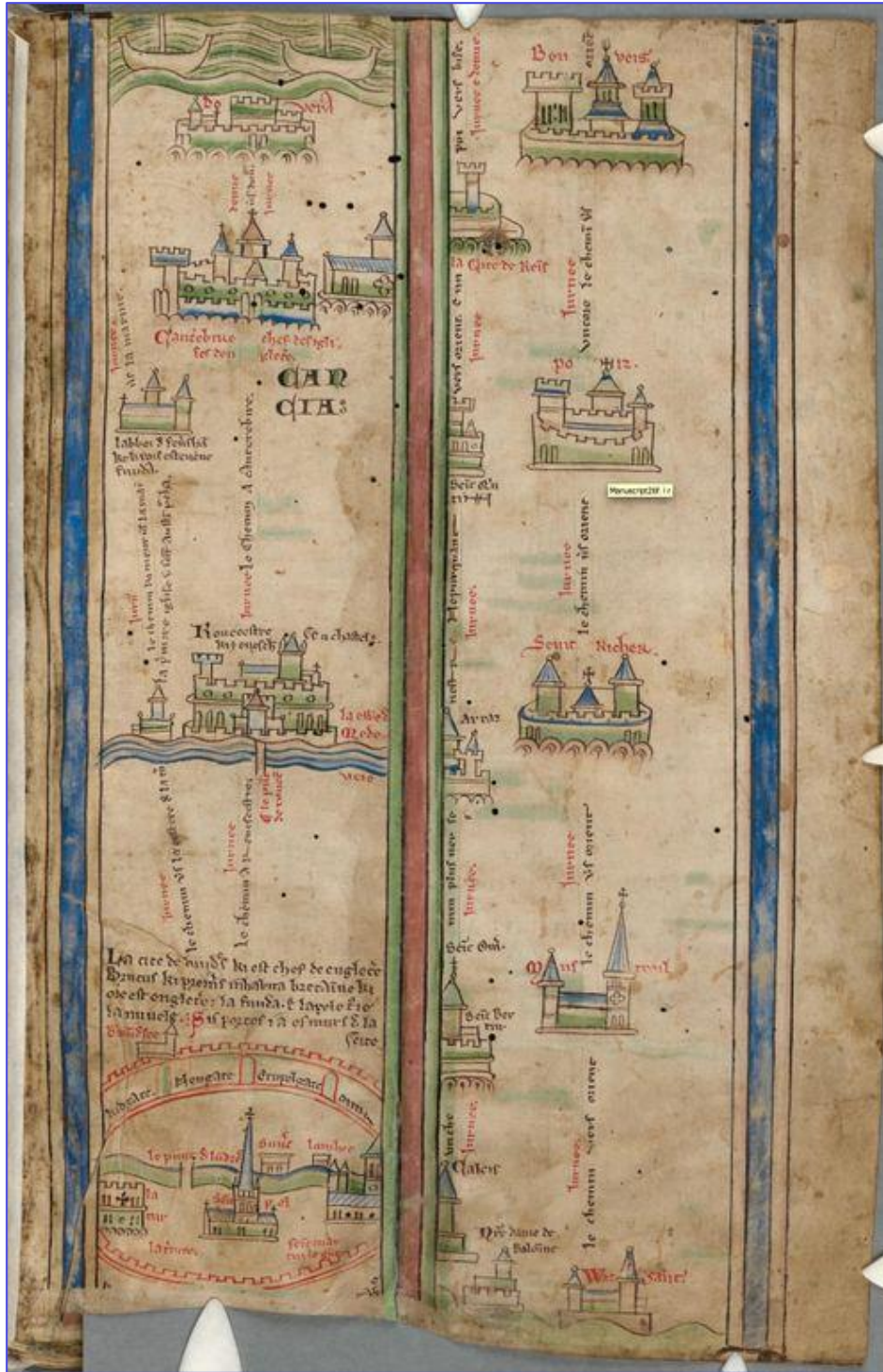
[2] Borges, *Labyrinths*, pp. 23-24.

134

Figure 1   Itinerary Map from London to Bouveis, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 26, f. i r. Photo: by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

135

backtracking, and confusion, which simply ends at an arbitrary point where the chronicler has laid down his pen."[3] These two texts – the fictional book by Pên and the *Chronica* – are separated by more than a millennium, and by language, genre, and intended audience, among other things. Their comparison might appear wholly arbitrary. They are, though, productively linked by the labyrinthine constructs they contain. In "The Garden," the apparent labyrinth is a confusing book, not unlike the *Chronica,* a work itself containing an apparent labyrinth consisting of a series of maps filled with "forking paths." Reading Borges' story reveals elements of Matthew's maps that lie beneath their surfaces, and suggests that the maps are more constrained, more rigid and, ultimately, unidirectional than they appear to be.

The *Chronica* is housed in three manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 26 and 16 (hereafter CCCC 26 and CCCC 16); and London, British Library MS Royal 14 C.viii.[4] CCCC 26 contains the annals from creation to 1188, CCCC 16 from 1189 to 1253, and Royal 14 C.viii from 1254 to 1259, when Matthew died.[5] I will concentrate on the maps appended to the beginning of the first volume, though similar maps appear at the start of all three volumes, suggesting their great importance to Matthew's conception of the *Chronica*, his major work. These maps, along with the marginal images throughout the *Chronica,* have been securely

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[3] Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)*,* p. 51.

[4] In the most recent monograph on Matthew's cartography, Daniel Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), p. 14, writes that Matthew began the *Chronica majora* "as a fairly strict copy up to about 1235, of Roger Wendover's *Flores historiarum* (*Flowers of History*). In 1240, or soon after, Matthew started writing, covering the material from 1235 and continuing to the middle of 1258, at which time another hand takes over." Leonid Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006), 198-199, dates CCCC 26 to *ca.* 1240-1250 and later, and CCCC 16 to 1240-1253 and later, both being autograph copies and produced at St. Albans.

[5] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 9.

attributed to Matthew himself and "may be regarded in large part as original conceptions and
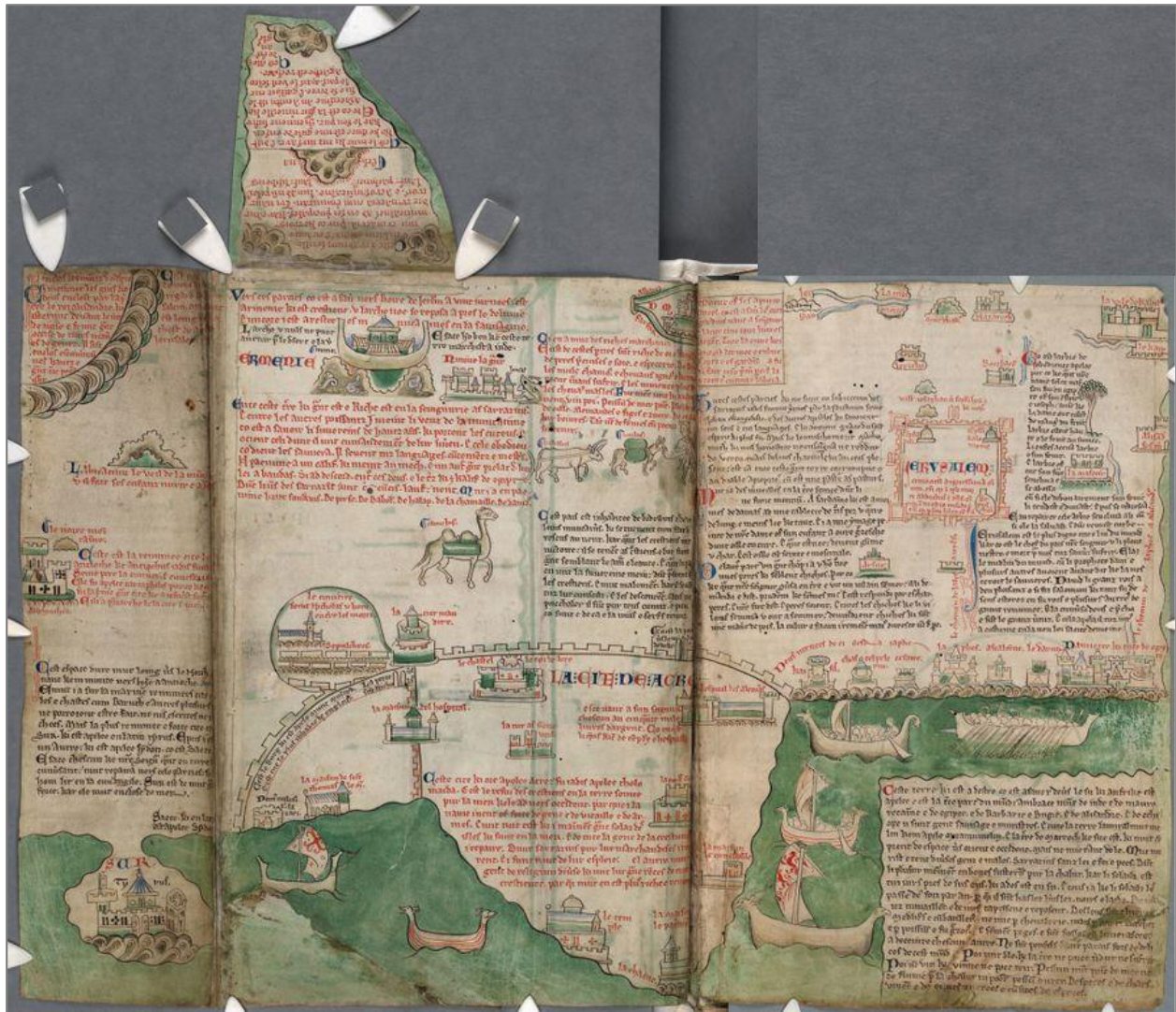

Figure 2   Map of the Holy Land, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 26, f. iii v-iv r. Photo: by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

inventions," rather than derivatives of traditional models.[6] The maps, in particular, are startling

in their originality and aberrancy. CCCC 26 opens, following the flyleaves reused from a

manuscript of canon law, with a series of linked maps running from folio i recto through iv

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[6] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 15-33, 322.

137

recto.[7] **(Figures 1 and 2)** It is possible – and quite instructive – to page through the full run of the itinerary maps, and the rest of the manuscript, at the *Parker Library on the Web* site.[8] The first several folios are each divided into two vertical columns. These contain images of cities, connected by clearly marked roads inscribed "*journee*" [a day's journey]. Each column, then, represents a segment of the voyage from London, at the base of the first column of folio i r, through Sienna, at the top of the final column of the itinerary on f. iii r. **(Figure 1)** Beyond Sienna, the columns end and the space of the maps opens up. **(Figure 2)** There is, though, some transition from the orderly paths at the beginning of the itinerary to the trackless expanses of territory on the final folios. The first columns contain cities connected by clearly marked paths; these are followed by columns with cities still arranged in clearly linear fashion, but without the marked paths. Then, the linearity ends, and we are left with images that are more conventionally "map-like" in their appearance.

Our potential engagement with the maps echoes that of Borges' narrator, Pên's descendant, to the actual garden: at first it appears to be a traditional, contained Chinese scholar's garden, but it transforms conceptually into something "infinite, no longer composed of octagonal kiosks and returning paths, but of rivers and provinces and kingdoms."[9] As garden path becomes highway and fishpond becomes sea, so Matthew's little red lines become roads, inches become miles, vignettes become cities to be traversed by the viewers of his manuscripts. This mode of associating travel's "micro" with its "macro," as it were, was of increasing

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[7] The lowercase Roman numerals indicate the status of these folios as prefatory.

[8] See "Matthew Paris OSB, *Chronica maiora* I," *Parker Library on the Web* <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=26> (accessed February 2013). Information on the flyleaves from "Manuscript Description: Matthew Paris OSB, *Chronica maiora* I," *Parker Library on the Web* <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=26> (accessed February 2013).

[9] Borges, *Labyrinths*, p. 23.

138

significance in the thirteenth century, when pavement labyrinths were either first used in

European churches or were newly popular. As Connolly argues:

> [T]he labyrinth at Chartres, I submit, was constructed in response to the recent loss of Jerusalem to Muslim forces in 1187. And by presenting its audiences with a richly meaningful image of the city of Jerusalem – one whose centrality in the nave mimicked that city's centrality in the world and whose fundamental geometry signaled a cosmic architecture – this pavement triggered associations with the city, both in its earthly and historic instance and with its future, heavenly instantiation, and it did so as it invited its audiences to perform an imagined pilgrimage to this sacred center.[10]

With the actual city lost to travelers, labyrinths created a space for virtual travel, much in the

same way as Pên's garden, and Matthew's maps do. Labyrinths allowed church visitors to travel

short distances in the densely confined knots of their paths, while simultaneously travelling to

the very "center" of the world, emphatically emphasized by their symmetrical forms.[11]

The maps Matthew's manuscripts contain, even the "linear" itinerary pages like the one

that opens CCCC 26, **(Figure 1)** are not as straightforward as they at first appear. Perhaps

unsurprisingly, they are filled with problems, and become "very muddled and confusing," with

cities that are "misplaced" or appear twice.[12] These "errors" might or might not be caught by the

viewer. There is, though, a more substantive manner in which the itineraries break down their

apparent linearity: like Pên's labyrinth, they "fork" from the very start, with two paths diverging

from London. As Dan Connolly writes, "the main or central route took the monk through the

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[10] Daniel K. Connolly, "At the Center of the World: The Labyrinth Pavement of Chartres Cathedral," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, eds. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden, Boston: Brill), p. 287.

[11] On the centrality of Jerusalem, see, for example, Psalm 73, Ezekiel 5:5, and Jerome, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem* in the *Patrologia Latina* 25, 52, and Iain MacLeod Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center in a Medieval 'Multi-Text': Jerusalem in the Book of John Mandeville," *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, eds. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1998); and Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 34-44.

[12] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 340.

139

major political and ecclesiastical cities of south England and France … The peripheral routes … [show] major religious centers, most often with Benedictine houses."[13] Connolly asserts that "by constricting the landscape to such a tight path, Matthew effectively compressed vision toward the upper edge of the codex, the only point of relief to the confined passage," and yet the forking paths seem, at first, to allow for a less restrained experience than this implies.[14] We *are* able to choose our path to the Holy Land – should we, leaving London, travel via the main route, "*Le Chemin a Rouescestre*" [the Road to Rochester] or the side route, "*le chemin ver la costere et la mer*" [the road toward the coast and the sea]?[15] Once in the Holy Land, we are free to choose any routes we desire, as the roads themselves disappear (up until the very end, as will be discussed below). **(Figure 2)**

These labyrinthine maps of Matthew Paris are quite different from those of his contemporaries in important respects. The well-known Psalter Map, for example, is a typical *mappamundi*, displaying the entire *ecumene*, that is, the inhabitable world, as known to thirteenth-century English cartographers.[16] **(Figure 3)** It is worth mentioning that the Psalter Map is only a few inches tall, and that the whole codex fits comfortably in the hand, unlike

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[13] Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage," p. 608.

[14] Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage," p. 606.

[15] Transcription from Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage," p. 607.

[16] London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9r, *ca*. 1265. According to the British Library, "Map Psalter," *British Library Online Gallery* (March 26, 2009) <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/mapsviews/psalter/index.html> (accessed January 2013): "The Psalter can be dated to 1262 or later: the year in which Richard of Chichester was made a saint. He appears as such in the calendar. Other saints in the calendar (such as the relatively obscure St Erkenwald, a seventh-century bishop of London) indicate that the book was probably made in London, and this is supported by the style of the illumination. It has also been proposed that the map is a miniature version of one that is known to have been painted on the wall of the King's bed-chamber in the Palace of Westminster." Chekin, *Northern Eurasia*, p. 140, concurs, listing it as "the early part of the 1260s after 1262, probably Westminster Abbey in London." See Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Welkarten* (Stuttgart: J. Roth, 1895–98), vol. 3, pp. 37–43; Peter Barber, "Medieval Maps of the World," in P.D.A. Harvey, ed., *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: The British Library, 2006), pp. 15–19 and Chet Van Duzer, "*Hic sunt dracones*: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters," *Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, Asa Simon Mittman and Peter Dendle, eds., (London: Ashgate, 2012).

Matthew's larger, more cumbersome (and ever-expanding) volume. Still, the Psalter Map

Figure 3   Psalter Map, London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9r. Photo: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons.

141

remains a strong point of comparison for two reasons: first, it was made within perhaps a dozen years of Matthew's maps. Second, unlike some *mappaemundi*, including Hereford and Ebstorf, the Psalter map was not freestanding. Rather, it was, like Matthew's maps, part of a manuscript. Indeed, before the late-thirteenth-century insertion of additional prefatory miniatures, it was positioned before its text as a sort of frontispiece, as are Matthew's, and was also one of a series of maps.[17] The Psalter Map, like medieval labyrinths, is emphatically centered on Jerusalem – following a new thirteenth-century trend – and around its circumference, we find points of great interest.[18] Beginning at the top and proceeding clockwise, we encounter the Garden of Eden, the Red Sea, a band of monstrous peoples, Britain, and the gates in the Caucus Mountains, retaining the hordes of Gog and Magog. Wonders of this sort are not incidental to the function of medieval maps like the Psalter; rather, they are essential components thereof, supplying a necessary antipode to a central Jerusalem, rooted in biblical and patristic texts.[19] In essence, the center is presented as sacred and the margins as problematic, potent, and potentially monstrous, but also thereby seductive and attractive. While Iain Macleod Higgins is correct that "the viewer of a circular map can never quite lose sight of a well-marked center, since the very shape of the map keeps one's gaze circling around it," by the same logic, we cannot lose sight of the periphery for long, and the visual attention given to the monstrous peoples of the South, as well as the other peripheral points of interest, keep pulling the gaze back.[20] We find similar arrangements of

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[17] The Psalter map is one of two that form a sort of series, like Matthew's maps, with one more geographical and one more linear, text replacing itinerary but no less clearly directional and effacing of actual geographic arrangement. See Chekin, *Northern Eurasia,* Fig. X.9.2 for a color reproduction.

[18] Connolly, "At the Center of the World," p. 302, argues that "the centered display of the Holy City was not a dominant tradition in medieval cartography until the thirteenth century and was occasioned … by the recent loss of Jerusalem."

[19] See note 11.

[20] Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center, p. 51. See also Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, esp. p. 42.

142

center and periphery on the Hereford and Ebstorf Maps. On the peripheries of both maps, we see the Garden of Eden, the Red Sea, a plethora of monstrous peoples, and the hordes of Gog and Magog (feasting in bloody cannibalism, on the Ebstorf and also, perhaps, on the Hereford). At the center of each is Jerusalem, marking the *umbilicus mundi*.

Matthew was not immune to the common medieval interest – monastic and secular – in marvels like the monstrous peoples of Africa and Asia, reflected not only by their presence on the Psalter, Hereford and Ebstorf Maps, but also by their near ubiquity in texts and images of all types.[21] Matthew represented marvels known from monster cycles like the *Marvels of the East* and the *Liber monstrorum,* and from contemporary narratives about cultural others like the "Tartars" – a medieval Christian term for the Mongols – but also from personal observation, such as the elephant given by Louis IX to Henry III, which appears as one of the prefatory images appended to CCCC 16.[22] Matthew writes, "[w]e believe that this was the only elephant ever seen in England, or even in the countries this side of the Alps; thus people flocked to see the novel sight."[23] He also represented distant and feared horrors, like the cannibal rapist "Tartars" who appear in the margins of CCCC 16.[24] Ensconced within St. Albans, Matthew's position is analogous to that of Ts'ui Pên – each was essentially "*withdrawing to write a book*" that occupied him for many years.[25] Matthew managed through his texts, marginal illustrations and

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[21] See Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, chapter 8, "The Monster Within."

[22] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 9.

[23] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 213. For a color image, see "Matthew Paris OSB, *Chronica maiora* II," *Parker Library on the Web* <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=16I> (accessed February 2013), f. ii r.

[24] For a color image, see "Matthew Paris OSB, Chronica maiora II," *Parker Library on the Web* <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=16I> (accessed February 2013), f. 167 r.

[25] Borges, *Labyrinths*, p. 25.

143

maps, to bring the whole of the world and its history, from Creation to the present, from sacred Jerusalem to the monstrous elephant, to himself and his monastic brethren.

Just as audiences flocked to see Henry III's elephant, they may also flocked to see some of the world maps, such as the Hereford Map, likely displayed in Hereford Cathedral as part of a pilgrimage route dedicated to Bishop Thomas Cantilupe, who died in 1283.[26] As Dan Terkla writes, "Cantilupe's relics made Hereford Cathedral an immensely popular destination for thirteenth and fourteenth-century pilgrims."[27] While they presumably came to see and worship before the bishop's tomb, once there, they would have been confronted with the large-format map. In contrast, "[t]he main audience for [Matthew's] maps doubtless was the brethren at St. Albans," though it, too, was likely of interest to St. Albans' many visitors.[28] As Connolly writes, "The *Chronica majora*, and the maps that prefaced it, may well have been made available to the kings or other nobles, who could have seen them during their numerous visits to this most important abbey."[29] In this way, too, Matthew drew the world to him.

While monsters and marvels played an important role on *mappaemundi* like the Psalter, Hereford and Ebstorf, their role on Matthew's maps is strongly curtailed. They are wholly absent from the itinerary maps, and appear in a limited scope on the Holy Land maps).[30] **(Figure 2)** This may result from the shift from counterpunctual arrangement of sacred center and monstrous

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[26] Marcia Kupfer, "Reflections in the Ebstorf Map: Cartography, Theology and *dilectio speculations*," *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300-1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), with citation to Thomas de Wesselow, "Locating the Hereford *Mappamundi*," *Imago Mundi* (forthcoming).

[27] Dan Terkla, "The Original Placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*," *Imago Mundi*, vol. 56/2 (2004), p. 135. Terkla provides documentation in the form of lists of miracles attested to have occurred at the tomb.

[28] Connolly, *Maps of Matthew Paris,* p. 19.

[29] Connolly, *Maps of Matthew Paris,* p. 27.

[30] Matthew produced at least three maps of the Holy Land: CCCC 26, f. f. iii v-iv r; CCCC 16, f. iiiv-ivr; and London, British Library, Royal MS 14.C.vii, f. 4v-5r. For the provenance of 14.C.vii, see Chekin, *Northern Eurasia*, p. 199. I concentrate on the map in CCCC 26, but the other two echo it substantially.

margins on the Psalter, Ebstorf and Hereford maps, among others, to the less clearly structured arrangement of Matthew's maps. Unlike these other maps, Matthew's maps of the Holy Land decenter Jerusalem and, since it is not replaced with anything else, they do not have a clearly defined umbilicus. Since they fill bifolial openings, their centers lie in the folios' gutters. In CCCC 26, the center would be just east of (that is, above) the crenellated wall of Acre. Jerusalem – so ardently central on the Psalter Map – is shunted off to the right by Matthew. He adds an inscription referring to Jerusalem as "the midpoint of the world," which seems visually contradicted by his map, whereas such an inscription would have been redundant on the Psalter Map.[31]

What, then, *is* central on the CCCC 26 map of the Holy Land? Roughly centered, on either side of the gutter and just above the wall of Acre, are two large blocks of text. Both are of a somewhat marvelous vein: to the left of the gutter, we read of Bedouins, whose description is reminiscent of wonders texts like the *Marvels of the East*. To the right, more promisingly, we find a passage that begins, in Lewis's translation, "There are many marvels in the Holy Land, of which [only a few] shall be mentioned."[32] However, these marvels are, in comparison to the *Wonders of the East* and other such texts, somewhat anemic. Two are mentioned: the first is an image of the Virgin and Child that oozes medicinal oil that "becomes gummy or like rubber [that] … is holy and medicinal."[33] The second is still less impressive – a field of stones shaped

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[31] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 356.

[32] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 354. For the Old French, see Henri Victor Michelant and Gaston Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem: et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XIe, XIIe & XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1882), p. 131: "*Mut i a des merveilles en la terre seinte, dunt li … [erasure] ne sunt mentiun.*"

[33] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 354; Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, pp. 131-132: "*e i a une ymage peinte de Nostre Dame of sun enfant à ovre grezesche, dunt oille en curt, e quant est vée[e], devent gumme u char: cest oille est seinte e mescinale.*"

like chickpeas, remnants of a rather spiteful apocryphal miracle in which Jesus turns a farmer's seeds into stones for having been spoken to disrespectfully.[34]

This passage contains an odd erasure. These are not, to my observation, a common feature of the maps, and of course I cannot speculate on the date of this erasure. The erasure comes at a curious point, containing what Lewis reconstructs to mean "only a few." Without the reconstruction, we have a text that instead reads, "There are many marvels in the Holy Land, of which … are not to be mentioned."[35] In this way, the eraser has furthered the work Matthew began, reducing yet further the map's monstrous or marvelous content. *No marvels*, it seems, should be mentioned. In a sense, this follows the logic of the *mappaemundi* discussed above; we appear to have zoomed in on the center of these maps, to focus on the area around Jerusalem, which would necessitate cropping the world's monstrous fringe. However, if we assume some consistency of geographical space from map to map, Matthew's expansive map, filling the complete manuscript opening and extending out onto added flaps of vellum, *does* reach to the margins of the world. At the upper left corner of the foldout flap along the folio's left edge, as if to ensure the clarity of their separation from the Holy Land, are the peoples of Gog and Magog, visually implied by the wall of the Caspian Mountains, held there until the end of time, when they are to be released to rampage across the face of the earth. The Caspian Mountains, restraining the hordes of Gog and Magog, actually touch the very margins of the world on the Psalter and Ebstorf Maps, and nearly do so on the Hereford Map.

Working inward from the Caspian Mountains toward the center of the map, we find small serpents slithering along the slopes of Mount Ararat, protecting Noah's Ark from the approach of

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[34] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 354; Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 132.

[35] See note 30.

146

humans: "The Ark," we read, is "where no one can approach it on account of the desert and

Figure 4   "Generous Men," and Ethiopians, *Marvels of the East*, London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.v., fol. 86r. Photo: The British Library Board.

vermin."[36] This passage strongly recalls one from the *Wonders of the East:* "Because of the abundance of dragons, no person can easily travel in that land."[37] Nearby, we see Jonah being spit up by the sea monster, here a crocodile labeled "*coco*," on the shores of Nineveh.[38] Further toward the center, and less wildly wondrous, we see a camel, centered on f. iii v, labeled with a rubricated inscription, and given a cushion of negative space as if to ensure that he receives due attention. Indeed, these beasts – fairly ordinary to modern eyes – *do* appear just above the two-faced people in the *Beowulf* manuscript's version of the *Wonders of the East*.[39] **(Figure 4)** Finally, a text to the lower right of f. iv r forms an opposing pole to the Caspian Mountains and describes Ethiopia in terms familiar from marvels texts and purported travelogues: "there are wild people and monsters … withered, sun-burnt, black and ugly."[40] Still, Matthew declined to include an image, like those contained in works like the *Marvels of the East* in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v.[41] **(Figure 5)**

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[36] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 353; Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 126: "L'Arche u nuls ne puet avenir pur le desert e la vermine."

[37] Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim, *Inconceivable Beasts: The* Wonders of the East *in the* Beowulf *Manuscript* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2013), p. 64 and 48: "*for þara dracena micelnesse ne mæg nan man na yþelice on [þæt] land gefaran.*" For the Latin *Marvels of the East*, see Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), p. 179: "*propter multitudinem draconum nemo facile adire potest trans flumen.*"

[38] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 362.

[39] Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies,* p. 2, follows David Dumville in giving 997-1016, "Beowulf Come Lately: Some Notes on the Palaeography of the Nowell Codex," *Archiv* 225 (1988), pp. 49–63, here 63. For more on the dating, see, among other sources Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* p. 72, no. 52; Colin Chase, *The Dating of Beowulf* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Kevin Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*, rev. ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); Audrey Meaney, "Scyld Scefing and the Dating of Beowulf – Again," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 7 (1989), pp. 7–40; Michael Lapidge, "The Archetype of Beowulf," *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000), pp. 5–41.

[40] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* pp. 363-364; Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 138, "*de Ethiope, ù sunt gent sauvage e munstres ... sunt hasléz, husléz, noirs e laidz.*"

[41] Tiberius B.v has been dated by Elzbieta Temple, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), p. 104, no. 87, to the second quarter of the eleventh century. Martin K. Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), p. 113, dates the manuscript to around 1050. It is likely

148

Matthew also chooses not to dwell in his maps on the horrifying hordes of Gog and Magog, lurking behind the Caspian Mountains, which is surprising, given his millennialism. In contrast, the Ebstorf Map, for example, gives us a gory presentation of these cannibal hordes.[42] In the *Chronica* and contemporary accounts, Gog and Magog are conflated with the two most prominent cultural Others perceived as threats to thirteenth-century 'Christendom': Jews and Mongols. Lewis sums up Matthew's views, characterizing Gog and Magog as "the apocalyptic Mongol hordes … unleashed beyond the frontiers of civilization as harbingers of the end of the world."[43] In the *Chronica,* Matthew quotes a letter from Ivo of Narbonne to Bishop Gerald of Bordeaux describing these "Tartars" in grotesque and horrifying terms and accompanies it by a marginal illustration. Matthew writes, "The old and ugly women were given to the cannibals … as their daily allowance of food; those who were beautiful were not eaten, but were suffocated by mobs of ravishers in spite of all their cries and lamentations," and worse.[44] Matthew, who seems to have invented "the most sadistic and offensive passages in Ivo's letter," says the Tartars "are

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from Christ Church, Canterbury, or Winchester. A copy of this manuscript was made somewhat closer in date to Matthew Paris, though still substantially earlier: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 614. C. M. Kauffman, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), p. 77, no. 38, dates this to 1120–1140. In his recent dissertation, Alun Ford, "The 'Wonders of the East' in its Contexts: A Critical Examination of London, British Library, Cotton Mss Vitellius A.xv and Tiberius B.v, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Bodley 614" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2009), chap. 3, locates it at the Abbey of St. Martin, Battle, where it could have been copied from the Tiberius manuscript, which was sent there in the 1150s.

[42] For a color image with transcription and German translation, see Martin Warnke, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* <http://www.uni-lueneburg.de/hyperimage/EbsKart/start.html> (accessed February 2013).

[43] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 244.

[44] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 286. For a color image, see "Matthew Paris OSB, Chronica maiora II," *Parker Library on the Web* <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=16I> (accessed February 2013), f. 167 r; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV: *A.D. 1240- A.D. 1247,* ed. Henry Richards Luard (London: Longman & Co., 1877), p. 273: "*Mulieres autem vetulas et deformes antropofagis, qui vulgo reputantur, in escam quasi pro diarrio dabant; nec formosis vescebantur, sed eas clamantes et ejulantes in multitudine coituum suffocabant. Virgines quoque usque ad exanimationem opprimebant, et tandem abscisis earum papillis, quas magistratibus pro deliciis reservabant, ipsis virgineis corporibus lautius epulabantur*."

inhuman and of the nature of beasts, rather to be called monsters than men, thirsting after and

Figure 5 "Generous Men," and Ethiopians, *Marvels of the East*, London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.v., fol. 86r. Photo: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons.

drinking blood, and tearing and devouring the flesh of dogs and human beings."[45] On Matthew's map, though, Gog and Magog become "the Jews … whom God locked up at the request of King Alexander [and] who will go forth on the eve of the Day of Judgment and will massacre all manner of peoples."[46] In a moment of wildest paranoia, Matthew unites these three groups. Upon hearing that the Mongols – feared by Christians to be the apocalyptic hordes – are making progress toward Europe, he imagines that continental Jews "assembled on a general summons in a secret place, where one of their number who seemed to be the wisest and most influential amongst them" instructs them to undertake a complex plot to smuggle arms to the Mongols, so that they can defeat the Christians.[47] Matthew's fantasy is not merely xenophobic, but outright eschatological, a vital distinction in the context of the maps of CCCC 26. If the Mongols (or the Jews, or for that matter, the Mongols *and* Jews, or even the *Jewish Mongols*) are the hordes of Gog and Magog, then they have already broken out of the gate prophesied to contain them until the apocalypse. This would suggest that End Days were nigh.

Borges' Sinologist concludes that Pên's novel, his labyrinth, his Garden of Forking Paths, teaches us that "time forks perpetually toward innumerable futures."[48] It is here that Borges and Matthew sharply diverge, and the contrast is illuminating. Matthew's maps – from the first legs

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[45] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 501 n. 108, and 287; Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 76: "*Viri enim sunt inhumani et bestiales, potius monstra dicendi quam homines, sanguinem sitientes et bibentes, carnes caninas et humanas laniantes et devorantes.*"

[46] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 349, 507 n. 63; Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 125: "*Ci meinne[n]t les gius ke Deus enclost par la priére le roi Alisandre, ki isterunt devant le iur de iuïse e frunt grant occise de tutes manéres de gentz.*" See also Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage," p. 615. I have an essay currently under review on "Mandeville's 'East,' Colonialism, Certainty, and Art History" that pursues the conflations of Gog and Magog, the Tartars and Jews on Matthew's maps at greater length.

[47] J.A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273* (London: G. Bell, 1889), p. 357, available online through the Hathi Trust Digital Library at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000000637670> (accessed August 2012); Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, 131-132: "*convenerunt in loco secretissimo ex communi condicto. Quos, qui sapientissimus eorum et potentissimus videbatur.*"

[48] Borges, *Labyrinths*, p. 28.

of the itinerary, branching out from London along two paths, to the (nearly) pathless tracts of the

Holy Land – present a range of spatial options to the ocular traveler moving through them. In

contrast, Borges' Sinologist reads a letter from Pên, cryptically stating "*I leave to the various

futures (not to all) my garden of forking paths*." The Sinologist responds:

> Almost instantly, I understood: "the garden of forking paths" was the chaotic
> novel; the phrase "the various futures (not to all)" suggested to me the forking in
> time, not in space. A broad rereading of the work confirmed the theory. In all
> fictional works, each time a man is confronted with several alternatives, he
> chooses one and eliminates the others; in the fiction of Ts'ui Pên, he chooses –
> simultaneously – all of them. He creates, in this way, diverse futures, diverse
> times which themselves also proliferate and fork.[49]

Whereas for Pên there the forks are temporal, for Matthew they are spatial. For Matthew and his

contemporaries, there existed only *one* future, and its expected arrival was nearly coincident with

his creation of the maps. In his entry for 1250, Matthew famously heralded the impending

apocalypse:

> Matthew's Chronicle here ends,
> And the Jubilee Year sends
> Repose down from the skies;
> May repose to him be given,
> Here on earth, and in heaven,
> When he there shall rise …
> Matthew, here your toils are over,
> Stop your pen and labor no more:
> Seek not what the future brings;
> Another age has other things.[50]

But again, this invites a question: If these maps, which were likely made just after 1250, are

millennial, why not populate them with prodigies, with monstrous births heralding doom, with

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[49] Borges, *Labyrinths*, p. 26.

[50] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 105; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. V: *A.D. 1248- A.D. 1259,* ed. Henry Richards Luard (London: Longman & Co., 1880), pp. 197-198: "*Terminantur hic Mathæi/Cronica ; nam jubilæi/Anni dispensation/Tempus spondet requiei./Detur ergo quies ei,/Hic, et cæli solio. ... Siste tui metas studii, Mathæe, quietas,/Nec ventura petas quæ postera porferet ætas.*"

monsters of the sorts found on the Psalter Map, or with images of the people of Gog and Magog,

who appear three times on the Hereford Map, once behind their wall and twice *already outside of*

it, released into and upon the world?[51] One response might be that the sorts of monsters found on

the Psalter Map and other *mappaemundi* were seen as normal elements of creation, rather than as

portents of the apocalypse. Second, and more importantly, the choice to include or exclude such

images might have been predicated on chronology. Lewis describes the period in which Matthew

was making his maps as follows:

> Not only is the Holy Land to be inexorably lost, despite the valiant efforts of these
> last Crusaders, but the invasion of Europe itself is threatened by the apocalyptic
> Mongol hordes, believed to be Gog and Magog unleashed beyond the frontiers of
> civilization as harbingers of the end of the world.[52]

This is, indeed, the moment of *production* for the maps, but this is not the moment (or moments)

depicted on the maps, themselves. Returning to Matthew's off-center image of Jerusalem, we

find that the three structures it contains are not as they were at the time of the map's creation. By

1250, the Crusader kingdom had fallen, and the Khorezmians had sacked Jerusalem. Muslims

occupied the Holy Sepulcher, as well as the Temple of Solomon – home of the Knights Templar

– and the Temple of the Lord by 1250. Indeed, two of the three sites were originally Muslim

structures – the Temple of Solomon was a mosque and the Temple of the Lord was the Dome of

the Rock – and they had reverted to Muslim control by the time the maps were made. As Lewis

notes, Jerusalem is the "only instance on the Palestine map in which Matthew uses Latin for the

descriptions and captions of the city and its landmarks, perhaps … to underline the present

reality that the Holy City no longer existed in its former Christian state and now belonged to the

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[51] Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, p. 15; see Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, pp. 55-58.

[52] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 244.

past."[53] The map, then, does not show Matthew's present moment. Instead, it presents the period before, but also simultaneously, the period after, the transient, lost glory of the Crusader Kingdom and the immutable glory of the Heavenly Kingdom to come.

Connolly translates *jurnee*, the repeated inscription on the paths throughout the itineraries, as "one day," rather than the customary "day's journey," perhaps unintentionally conjuring a sense of longing for travel by a cloistered monk – *one day, one day* – but also for the reclamation of the Holy Land – *one day, one day* – and, of course, ultimately, the return of Jesus, the end of time, the Last Judgment, and the creation of the Heavenly Jerusalem – *one day, one day*. The journey may be long – at least 46 days in Lewis's reckoning – and the path may not be singular or even, further out on the journey, marked at all, but *one day, one day, one day*, for Matthew and his monastic audience, one day the reader would at last arrive.[54] Matthew's itinerary is analogous to Ts'ui Pên's

Figure 6 Hereford Map, detail of Crete and the Labyrinth. Photo: by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust.

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[53] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* pp. 355-356.

[54] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 342.

154

Garden of Forking Paths, in that we have the ability to choose our own paths as we move from

city to city. However, in practice it has more in common with the labyrinth we find on the

Hereford Map **(Figure 6)** and on the pavements of many medieval churches. Chartres is "the one

remaining, original cathedral labyrinth pavement from the Gothic era" and was possibly the

earliest, *ca*. 1220.[55] The Middle Ages saw labyrinths not as mazes or prisons like Minos'

prototype.

Instead, they were conceptual spaces, locations for *ruminatio*, even for imagined

pilgrimage.[56] As Connolly writes,

> In contrast to the classical myth of the Minotaur, which describes a prison of
> multiple passages and horrible confusion, these labyrinths, and indeed all the
> labyrinths inscribed on medieval pavements, church furniture, or in manuscripts,
> were *uni*cursal, that is of a single path.[57]

Dutiful walkers of these labyrinths have no alternate paths by which to physically stray.

However, their minds might well wander. If those mental wanderings took them to the right

destination, they would realize the function of the labyrinths rather than contradict them. By

tracing their routes on foot or on their knees, virtual pilgrims would hope to reap spiritual

rewards akin to those gained on pilgrimage, effecting *peregrinatio in stabilitate* – that is,

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[55] Connolly, "At the Center of the World," pp. 285-286, 288. While most of the recorded labyrinths were in France, southern England did (and does) have turf mazes, though dating them is quite difficult. It is therefore possible – if unlikely – that Matthew was familiar with such labyrinths. Still, the connection I would draw is conceptual, not formal, and no direct influence is implied.

[56] Connolly, "At the Center of the World," p. 287, n. 7, argues for the term "imagined pilgrimage" over the more common "spiritual pilgrimage."

[57] Connolly, "At the Center of the World," p. 309.

155

pilgrimage without moving.[58] Evelyn Edson and Connolly have rightly connected this notion to medieval maps.[59] Like medieval labyrinths, Matthew Paris's maps were not mazes *per se*, in that there are not alternate routes leading to dead ends: both contain *singular* paths. Matthew's paths *seem* to fork out from London, but ultimately all converge at one geo-chronological endpoint, at a place that is also a time: the Heavenly Jerusalem, at the center of the physical world and simultaneously the end of human history. Like the labyrinths' single paths, Matthew's many roads can only guide the viewer toward one destination.

Connolly nicely evokes the phenomenological experience of walking a medieval labyrinth:

> You first enter the labyrinth, … moving from West to East, from the cathedral doors towards the altar. Very quickly however, the labyrinth focuses your concentration on the path, else you are likely to stray from it. The path is narrow, and the turns are small and tight, requiring attention and focus. The labyrinth is at first a challenge of some dexterity, and so it also foregrounds your sense of balance and of bodily position relative to it. At the same time, there is a loss of your sense of "place" in the church as orientations are constantly shifting and revolving. Its movements to and fro, back and forth create a regular and somewhat wearying effect that combines with the hypnotic vision of the pavement receding beneath your alternating steps. Awareness of your surrounds diminishes as the labyrinth choreographs your body in space.[60]

The itinerary maps in Matthew's manuscript provide an inverse experience. **(Figure 1)** Their path from town to town has the appearance of being perpetually straight and direct, but in fact would twist and turn. In walking a labyrinth, virtual pilgrims orient themselves to its shifting

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[58] Jean LeClerq, "Monachisme et Pérégination du IXe au XIIe Siècle," *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961), pp. 33-52, Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976), pp. 125-146, and Connolly, "At the Center of the World," pp. 310-311.

[59] Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997), p. 14; Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, pp. 40-43; and Connolly, "At the Center of the World," pp. 310-311.

[60] Connolly, "At the Center of the World," p. 310.

156

orientation; in traversing the itinerary, the world is bent, reorienting itself constantly to our perspective, making the shift to the trackless conclusion, the map of the Holy Land, all the more powerful.

Connolly characterizes the performative experience of walking a labyrinth as "a prolonged, sometimes frustrating process," but, after all its disorienting divagations, "[a]t the very end of the labyrinth, a straight line appears to lead you directly to the center, to arrive, metaphorically, at the holy city of Jerusalem."[61] Returning to Matthew's map of the Holy Land, **(Figure 2)** we find that there *is* a pathway charted on its largely pathless surface, a road marked out like those of the itinerary pages that precede it. Just beneath Jerusalem, inscribed in red and oriented ninety degrees counter-clockwise to the rest of the map, again following our orientation from our bodies, forward, we read "*le chemin de Iafes à Ierusalem*" ["the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem"].[62] The road is "marked at its midpoint by an unidentified fortification, perhaps intended to represent the so-called Castellum Emmaus … the last halting place for the armies of the First Crusade before proceeding to Jerusalem."[63] The final destination of the journey mapped out from London forks many times through space, but the end is clear: the Heavenly Jerusalem. Connolly's understanding of the ways labyrinths guide pedestrians applies equally well to Matthew's maps; both direct "a viewer's appreciation of Jerusalem from its earthly guise towards its future, heavenly instantiation."[64]

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[61] Connolly, "At the Center of the World," p. 310.

[62] Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 137. Leading up to this is another implied pathway, "*devers journees de ci geska japhe*" (Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 356). There is a second pathway, also rubricated and turned ninety degrees, at the right edge of the map. It reads, "*Le chemin de laphes à Alisandre.*" This seems to be a vestige, a latent echo of the itinerary's multiple paths.

[63] Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 356.

[64] Connolly, "At the Center of the World," pp. 298-299.

157

Borges' reclusive author, Ts'ui Pên, "did not believe in a uniform, absolute time. He believed in an infinite series of times, in a growing, dizzying net of divergent, convergent and parallel times … which approached one another, forked, broke off," and he thereby "embrace[ed] all possibilities of time."[65] Visitors to his garden, readers of his novel, experience an overlap of time and space, such that they perceive forking paths in space, but are actually reading an account of multiple simultaneous chronologies. In contrast, Matthew's maps seem to present a maze of pathways, but like the labyrinths, present a unitary destination. Here, as with Pên's garden, we seem to see movements in space as we traverse the paths – initially forking for Matthew, but ultimately as singular on his maps as on the labyrinths. However, since the endpoints on Matthew's maps and at the centers of the labyrinths are the *Heavenly* Jerusalem, the motion is as chronological as it is geographical.

We might more tightly bind together the works discussed here – Pên's garden, Matthew's maps and the *mappaemundi* – by considering the notion of the maze.[66] The word is etymologically related to "amaze" – "[t]o overwhelm with wonder, to astound or greatly astonish."[67] The usage history of maze runs directly counter to what I would have assumed. The *first* sense given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* is "[a] state of mental confusion, and related senses. … Delirium; delusion; disappointment."[68] This usage can be traced to *ca*. 1300. To get to the more common Present Day English usage – "[a] structure designed as a puzzle, consisting of a complicated network of winding and interconnecting paths or passages, only one of which is

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[65] Borges, *Labyrinths*, p. 28.

[66] My thanks to Dan Terkla for suggesting this line of inquiry.

[67] "amaze, v." *OED Online* (December 2012) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6066> (accessed February 26, 2013).

[68] "maze, n.1," *OED Online* (December 2012) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/115347> (accessed February 26, 2013).

158

the correct route through" – we must wait for the fourth sense.[69] That is, actual mazes are named for the feelings of disorientation they induce. Moving yet deeper into the definition, we find that "[i]n extended use," maze can signify "a complex network of paths or streets: a bewildering mass of things (material or immaterial), in which the individual components are difficult to separate or make out."[70] Taken piece by piece, these usages echo closely the subjects under consideration here. Matthew's itinerary maps contain "a complex network of paths or streets." His *Chronica* and Pên's novel are "bewildering mass[es] of things (material or immaterial)." So too, though, are his maps of the Holy Land, and the *mappaemundi*. The maps echo and invoke the actual experience of pilgrimage, which – like modern travel – was surely bewildering, disorienting, but also amazing.

In an account of the semiotic powers of "Words, Images and Knots," Massimo Leone argues that "[i]n verbal texts," a clear reading sequence "can be easily identified … in visual texts, on the contrary, it is impossible to define what succession of elements constitutes the axis of the process." However, he continues, "although in images a temporal succession of elements cannot be found, it is always possible to find a succession of elements without temporality."[71] In short, images function spatially rather than temporally. This is surely the case, more often than not, but medieval maps are frequently anagogic, pointed a spiritual meaning only to be realized in a heavenly future. That is, while medieval maps are organized spatially, they are in a sense oriented temporally. Yes, they are oriented toward the east, but on several *mappaemundi*, beyond the east, it is Jesus who rises. Hereford, Ebstorf, and the Psalter Map are all oriented not only

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[69] "maze, n.1," *OED Online* .

[70] "maze, n.1," *OED Online*.

[71] Massimo Leone, "Words, Images, and Knots," in *Reading Images and Seeing Words*, ed. Alan English and Rosalind Silvester (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), p. 84.

159

toward Earthly Paradise at their eastern extreme, but beyond it to the creator of that paradise. So, too, while these maps are centered on Jerusalem, this umbilical point presses the viewer to consider the future. Matthew's maps challenge these dynamics further. Leone is right in that most images function spatially, not linearly, but the itinerary pages present "[a] line or course of travel; a route," much as a text would.[72] They prepare and condition the viewer, raising an expectation that the maps will function in a linear fashion, and thereby convey motion in time as well as space. The final segment of the path – "*le chemin de Iafes à Ierusalem*" ["the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem"] – realizes this expectation.[73]

While Matthew's text might seem, at times, like Pên's novel, to be "incoherent" and "senseless … an indeterminate heap of contradictory drafts," his maps are complex, ruminative, and ultimately fixed in their orientation, pointing us toward a single End.[74] The decentered maps of Matthew, unlike the labyrinths or the Psalter Map and its cognates, do not announce their radial orientation toward Jerusalem. Instead, they challenge the viewer to work though them slowly, meditatively, to explore and wander as we do in life. They become all the more powerful, therefore, when their off-center, deemphasized Jerusalem turns out to be the only and inevitable end.

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[72] "itinerary, n." *OED Online* (December 2012) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/100339> (accessed February 26, 2013).

[73] Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 137. Leading up to this is another implied pathway, "*devers journees de ci geska japhe*" (Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris,* p. 356). There is a second pathway, also rubricated and turned ninety degrees, at the right edge of the map. It reads, "*Le chemin de laphes à Alisandre.*" This seems to be a vestige, a latent echo of the itinerary's multiple paths.

[74] Borges, *Labyrinths*, p. 23, 24.

3-D Medieval Art & Architectural History

Art & Architectural History by its very nature is three dimensional, but most of the time, when not teaching in situ, we make do with two-dimensional images. As lovely as they can be, they do not *quite* approximate the three-dimensional experience. Using new technology, though, it is possible to present something akin to the real thing.

Videos: A number of videos can now be accessed that reconstruct medieval churches now and in the past. Notre Dame, Paris, in particular has been the subject of a number of these studies. http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xtqrf6_paris-reconstituee-en-3d-le-chantier-de-la-cathedrale-notre-dame_tech?goback=.gde_4008284_member_173861508#.UVwkGzdXoUw

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HrMcuKxBwBY

Also see the work done on medieval sculpture at the Louvre http://tousmecenes.com/acquisition_ivoires/?goback=.gde_4008284_member_184407165#/trois dimensions

Computer modeling has also been used to explore the structures of many cathedrals such as:
Nidaros Cathedral
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bm4HCVUekvc

Bamberg Cathedral
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bYM30bqmnnA

Cologne Cathedral
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VhZ1c1jHVSU

Santiago de Compostela
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmVJSmLA7BU

Model of Parish Church
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OhnLhKyBwg4

3-D Printing And, lately, with the advent of relatively
inexpensive 3-D printers, you can now (with the right equipment) print up your own three-dimensional model of a cathedral:
Video of Cathedral being printed
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bb-lEQt9l2s

Print your own model of Reims Cathedral
http://www.thingiverse.com/thing:35798

Not your Father's Medieval Art: Contemporary Medieval Inspiration and Interaction

"Medievalism is the system of belief and practice characteristic of the Middle Ages, or devotion to elements of that period, which has been expressed in areas such as architecture, literature, music, art, philosophy, scholarship, and various vehicles of popular culture.[1]

It's surprising how medievalism shows up in contemporary art. Some, such as fashion designers Dolce & Gabbaba's Fall 2013 line was inspired in a number of creative

ways by Byzantine mosaics from Monreale. Portions of haloed heads, adorned in gold and padded "jewels" stare out from the dresses, shifts, and blouses. If you've ever fancied a pair of jewel-encrusted shorts, this is your opportunity. Jewelry, handbags, and shoes, too, get the Byzantine treatment. An orange, crushed-velvet shoe perches on platform wedges seemingly made of a filigreed gold reliquary with enamel work.

Not all contemporary takes on medieval art are medieval inspired. Rather, sometimes contemporary ideas, such as installation art, take over true medieval works. Last summer, in preparation for the Queen of England's Diamond Jubilee, the nave of York Minster was covered with 1500 square metres of real grass. A grand dinner was held on the lawn, so to speak, raising funds for the church. Even an indoor lawn, though, requires maintenance.

[1] (Eds.) J. Simpson and E. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn., 1989), c.f. "Medievalism." For further information on the Fashion Collection, see http://www.tomandlorenzo.com/2013/03/dolcegabbana-fall-2013-collection.html and on the York lawn, see http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/06/07/york-minster-gets-grassy-makeover-jubilee-dinner_n_1576891.html

et al.

Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture
Volume IV, Number 1 (Spring 2013)

Databases: Libraries, Museums, Churches, Major Digitizing Projects

As the idea of digital humanities spreads, more and more institutions, museums, libraries, and historical/cultural societies have created and made available incredibly useful databases. Using these you can locate magnificent manuscripts or obscure churches. Sometimes the photographs are so good that it rivals studying the real thing.

Libraries, for example, are leading the way:
http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/don/b/006.htm Bodleian Library, Oxford

http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/search.html?fq=collection_facet%3A%22Medieval%20%26%20Renaissance%20Manuscripts%22 University of Pennsylvania Library

http://digidol.llgc.org.uk/METS/lhw00003/physical?div=0&subdiv=0&locale=en&mode=thumbnail National Welsh Library

Museums in certain countries have begun to make available large numbers of medieval images. Hungary, for instance, has a number of resources as described by Zsombor Jékely in his excellent Medieval Hungary blog.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest launched two separate databases this year: one is a general collection database, which provides basic inventory data on thousands of artworks. Integrated into the newly revamped museum website, the database is available in English as well - although the translation seems to have been made with a translation software, and contains a lot of peculiarities and inaccuracies. You can browse the objects based on the collections and also by period, so it is fairly easy to get to the medieval and Renaissance objects. The Museum also launched another, more scholarly database: an online catalogue of Italian and French prints before 1620. The catalogue, containing 4.604 objects, is the first complete publication of a section from the rich collection of 100.000 prints preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts. The catalogue was edited by Eszter Seres and Zoltán Kárpáti, and provides detailed catalogue records of each print, as well as new, zoomable images.

Published by Digital Kenyon: Research, Scholarship, and Creative Exchange, 2013

The Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest also launched its collection database, which contains over 2000 objects, but is growing. There are plenty of medieval objects in this rich and varied collection of decorative arts, some of which have already appeared in the database. At this point, the database is only available in Hungarian, but an English language version is currently in preparation. Medium-size images can be downloaded for personal use after registration.

A large number of objects in the collection of the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest have been available on the museum's bilingual website for some time - including of course medieval artworks. These are accessible from the 'advanced search' page of the museum website - where you cannot really search, only browse according to various criteria (such as period or collection, or artist). Either way, you get relatively small images and only basic information - the basis of the information is a system separate from the collection management system used in the Gallery.

Christian Museum, Esztergom is the largest ecclesiastical collection in Hungary, conserving European and Hungarian works of art of several centuries. Besides late medieval works of art – including the Calvary Altarpiece by Thomas of Coloswar, the Lord's Coffin from Garamszentbenedek, and the Passion scenes by Master MS , a significant collection of Italian Trecento paintings, as well as a rich collection of the decorative arts. The collection page of the website of the museum gives a generous selection of these objects - with rather small images, but good detailed information. Most important objects are also accessible in the form of a virtual tour. Not having a medieval collection, the collection database of the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest still includes a number of medieval objects, such as European furniture, ceramics and textiles. The website of the museum is available in English, but the collection database is only in Hungarian. The Ethnological Archives also contain a lot of material about medieval buildings and wall-paintings, which is largely available online.

Rewritten from http://jekely.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/collection-databases-of-hungarian-art.html?goback=.gde_4008284_member_201266637

Heritage and scholarly groups are also publishing databases of **medieval churches**, wall paintings, sculpture, etc. Here is a brief selection:

http://www.visitchurches.org.uk/wallpaintings/ Churches Conservation Trust

http://en.structurae.info/structures/data/photos.cfm?id=s0013247 Structurae –Gallery of Structures

http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/figurae/index.php

http://www.englishheritageimages.com/r1/low.php?xp=gm&xg=8789

What is pushing much of this sharing online are **major historic digitizing projects**, often comprising years of future work.

Vatican puts 3.5 million historical treasures online

The Vatican has put a catalog of the Italian Catholic Church's artistic heritage online. It features 3.5 million objects, from paintings to crucifixes, belonging to thousands of Italy's churches. The project is a collaboration between the Church and the State, with initial funding of around €51.6m, *The Art Newspaper* reported. The Church hopes the database could help in the recovery of works if they are stolen. Thousands of pieces are still to be cataloged in some dioceses, including Florence and Naples.

It will be regularly updated and is to be expanded to feature the Church's architectural heritage as well as literary archives. Users are invited to search by artist, object, by subject matter, diocese and date range. "It'll be years before this task is complete," art historian at Università Federico II in Naples, Tomaso Montanari, told *The Art Newspaper*. "It's an enormous job and it's still rough around the edges, but anything that promotes the knowledge and preservation of the Church's artistic heritage can only be good for the country," he said, adding that "cataloged items will now be harder to sell on the black market."

Rewritten from http://rt.com/art-and-culture/church-catalogue-online-vatican-800/

Oxford University, Vatican libraries to digitize works

The Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) intended to digitize 1.5 million pages of ancient texts and make them freely available online. The libraries said the digitized collections will focus on Greek manuscripts, 15th-century printed books and Hebrew manuscripts and early printed books, chosen because of the strength of the collections in both libraries and their importance for scholarship in their respective fields. With approximately two-thirds of the material coming from the BAV and the remainder from the Bodleian, the digitization effort will also benefit scholars by uniting virtually materials that have been dispersed between the collections for centuries.

"Transforming these ancient texts and images into digital form helps transcend the limitations of time and space which have in the past restricted access to knowledge," Bodley's librarian Sarah Thomas said. "Scholars will be able to interrogate these documents in fresh approaches as a result of their online availability." The initiative has been made possible by a 2 million pound ($3.17 million) award from the Polonsky Foundation.

"The service to humanity which the Vatican Library has accomplished over almost six centuries, by preserving its cultural treasures and making them available to readers, finds here a new avenue which confirms and amplifies its universal vocation through the use of new tools, thanks to the generosity of the Polonsky Foundation and to the sharing of expertise with the Bodleian Libraries," Holy See Librarian Cardinal Raffaele Farina said.

Re-written from http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/11/net-us-vatican-oxford-digital-idUSBRE83A1HF20120411

Featured Website

Flickr, a popular image-hosting site, obviously, is not a medieval website, but it does offer a treasure trove of images for questing Medievalists. You will find not only endless views of famous places, such as Chartres Cathedral, but pictures of obscure parish churches, photos taken in museums by visitors, and photos taken by the museums themselves and placed on Flickr for public viewing.

Try looking up a monument name and you'll be amazed at the marvelous quality of images available. Of course, available is a relative term. As these are mostly private individuals posting their work, so allow for downloads and others don't. Nonetheless, just being able to access images on this scale is useful for both teaching and research.

There are thematic groups that may appeal to those interested in medieval studies such as:

Medieval Architecture & Art with 33,338 images

http://www.flickr.com/groups/medievalarchitecture/

The fancily-named Manuscripta Mediaevalia with 3, 277 images http://www.flickr.com/groups/678065@N22/ or the much more specific, Medieval Churches of Sussex with 468 pictures

http://www.flickr.com/groups/medieval_churches_of_sussex/

DISCOVERIES

Collection of ancient Jewish Manuscripts Found in Afghanistan Fox Cave

Israel's National Library has acquired 1,000-year-old Jewish documents discovered in Afghanistan. The collection of 29 pages includes writings by Saadia Gaon, and has been compared in significance to the 19th-century discovery of the Cairo Genizah. The rare documents were discovered by villagers near the Iran-Uzbekistan border in a cave believed to be the home of a family of foxes. The manuscripts include religious writings, as well as letters and civil contracts written in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Persian, and in a variety of alphabets. The key manuscript acquired by the library is a page from Saadia Gaon's commentary on the Bible. The document is a 10th-century commentary on Isaiah 34, written in Judeo-Arabic.

Although the exact number of manuscripts in the Afghan Genizah is not known, it rumored to be in the hundreds – tiny in comparison to the 200,000 of the Cairo cache, which is

spread among dealers in Switzerland, England and other nations, Haaretz said. Historians have drawn parallels between the growth of the Jewish communities in the region to the Silk Road. "Along the way, Jewish trading stations were established for Jewish traders, and over time they became Jewish communities. There is documentary evidence of Jews from Baghdad and Aleppo, of Karaite Jews and Jews from Persia, all of whom settled in the same region," Haaretz quoted Ben-Shammai as saying. The pages will be scanned and uploaded to the National Library's website in the near future.

Re-written from http://rt.com/art-and-culture/ancient-jewish-manuscripts-found-331/

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DISCOVERIES

Cross of St. Oran Reassembled for 1450th Anniversary

Historic Scotland is reassembling the Cross of St. Oran, one of the first Celtic High Cross ever made, so that it may be raised on the island of Iona in time for the 1450th anniversary of St. Columba's arrival on the island and his founding of the monastery in 563 A.D. Created in the mid-8th century, the massive cross has been in five pieces for centuries. Before January 2012 when the project began, the pieces were on display on the floor, resting on their back at the Iona Abbey museum.

The broken pieces of St. Oran's Cross were sent to Selkirk, Scotland, to the workshop of museum mount maker Richard West, who is fabricating a steel structure to keep the cross pieces together upright so visitors can see the one-ton, 14 ft. 4 in.-tall sculpture, as pilgrims to Iona saw it for hundreds of years.

Artists chiseled the cross from three large blocks of schist stones and erected it at Reilig Òdhrain (Sr. Oran's graveyard), the cemetery that would serve as the burial ground of at least seven early Scottish kings, kings of Ireland and Man, and the chieftains of important Scottish clans in the later Middle Ages. The carved decorations fuse pre-Christian Celtic and early Christian symbols. The spirals and vines have been interpreted as Celtic symbols of the intertwining of heaven and earth and as the snakes, whose shedding skin

symbolized Christ's resurrection. The bosses, which recall metalwork, are grouped into patterns of fives (the number of wounds Christ suffered) and arranged into cross shapes.

These designs dovetail into Christian iconography on the cross arms, including Daniel in the Lion's Den. In the center underneath the cross arm is the Virgin Mary holding the infant Christ flanked by angels on either side – a very early example of this iconography.

It was a challenge creating the steel structure that

would support the cross in its original posture, but moving it back to Iona is going to be an even greater challenge. The cradle and cross are huge and heavy. It will take two ferry trips and a walk across a field to get it to the museum, and then it will have to be squeezed into the building. Once they manage to get it in the door, the final stages of cleaning, conservation and stabilization will take place at the museum.

Rewritten from http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/23957

DISCOVERIES

Confirmed: Capitoline Wolf is Medieval (Romanesque), not Etruscan

The bronze sculpture of a she-wolf nursing the infants Romulus and Remus is not the masterpiece of Etruscan metalwork it has been reputed to be since the 18th century. The latest radiocarbon dating performed on organic residue from the casting process confirms that La Lupa, iconic symbol of Rome, was made in the 11th or 12th century, not the 5th or 6th century B.C.

The early history of the sculpture is murky. It's possible that it's a copy of an antique piece that once stood guard in front of the Lateran Palace, but that's speculation based on descriptions of such a sculpture going back as far as the 10th century. The Capitoline Wolf only enters the historical record in 1471 when Pope Sixtus IV donated it to the Roman people. They were moved to Palazzo Dei Conservatori on the Capitoline, and would form the core of the new Capitoline Museum collection.

The wolf's symbolic power and sculptural quality has invested it with antiquity. It was Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a German art historian, archaeologist and pioneer in the study of Greek, Etruscan and Greco-Roman art, who classified the wolf as Etruscan in his 1764

masterpiece *The History of Art in Antiquity*. Although other scholars contested Winckelmann's classification and suggested far later production dates, the Capitoline Wolf's ancient origin (Etruscan, Roman or Greek) was popularly assumed to be true until 1996 when art-historian Anna Maria Carruba restored the bronze. She fully examined the sculpture and found that it was cast in one complete piece using the lost wax method. Ancient bronze sculptures were cast in pieces and then fused together, allowing them to make more elaborate pieces. Single-piece casting was a common medieval technique, used to produce objects like bells and cannons that required a rigid structure to function properly.

  "The new dating ranges between 1021 and 1153," said Lucio Calcagnile, who carried out radiocarbon tests at the University of Salento's Center for Dating and Diagnostics. Using accelerator mass spectrometry, the researchers extracted, analyzed and radiocarbon dated organic samples from the casting process. The results revealed with an accuracy of 95.4 % that the sculpture was crafted between the 11th and 12th century AD.

Re-written from http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/17774

DISCOVERIES

14th-Century Bishop's Seal Found in Field on Display at Museum

A 14th century Bishop's seal discovered by a metal detector is on display at the Manx Museum for the first time. The silver seal, which was discovered by Andy Falconer, is described by historians at Manx National Heritage (MNH) as "incredibly significant." Curator of archaeology at MNH, Allison Fox, said: "It is a very rare find and an important part of Manx history." Mr Falconer said: "I've found a few coins over the years but this is by far my most important discovery and I am over the moon that it is on display."It's been my ambition to find something that will change history."

The silver seal measures about three centimeters in length, illustrates two saintly figures under carved canopies with a third figure below, kneeling in prayer. The Latin inscription identifies the two saints: "Let the prayers to God of Germanus and Patricius help us." Artifacts on the Isle of Man from this period are exceedingly rare.

Rewritten from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-isle-of-man-20204111

DISCOVERIES

Jersey Team Discovers Medieval Priory

Jersey archaeologists had the first chance to explore a rare medieval priory after uncovering a stone wall. Robert Waterhouse, Societe Jersiaise Archaeologist, said the St Clement's priory had been an accidental find. He said the society knew had existed based on documentary evidence, but its exact location was not known until now. Mr Waterhouse said: "In the summer we carried out a student excavation in the cemetery looking for [an] Iron Age and Roman settlement that was known to exist here. At the end of the investigation one of our

trenches came up with a substantial stone wall while the one behind came up with a great mass of building rubble and medieval pottery. We put in a larger trench and came up trumps. We got a substantial medieval wall in the south west corner of the building." It is thought the wall belonged to the chapel of a priory founded by the Abbey of Mont St Michel in Normandy around 1150.

Waterhouse said there were rumors of where the priory would be -- most thought it would be on the site of the former Priory Inn, now a housing development. But archaeological work on that site in early 2000 showed no trace of medieval buildings. The team believes the priory would have been a collection of small buildings, with the chapel as the most important, as they have uncovered evidence it had a slate roof. "Previously no small medieval priories have been studied in Jersey. The only one that has been examined in the Channel Islands is at Lihou in Guernsey (reconstruction drawing at right). "We know of four or five of them and the best one is the one that was on Elizabeth Castle Island before Elizabeth Castle was built. We have no illustrations of this one so this is really exciting," Waterhouse noted.

Neil Molyneux, Vice President of the Societe Jersiaise, said: "We knew we were looking at the remains of a building of some importance. It is within a distinct date range that appears to be 12th or 13th century, which is the date the priory was fully functioning here. The priory would have been dissolved on the orders of King Henry V in 1413. He said: "The site of the priory has been lost for several centuries, so this is a very exciting find and a considerable coup for the Archaeology Section."

Waterhouse stated "There was an important building of the priory where we dug and we are confident it was the chapel. All the houses in Jersey and even the court house in town were known to have been thatched in the medieval period. Slate was only imported for the most important buildings." There would have been three or four monks living within the priory as well as a number of servants who would cook and look after the farm. "We know what the monks had on their tables, we know what their servants were cooking with so we can start to build a picture of what their life would have been like." Early in 2012 Mr Waterhouse was part of the team that recovered a hoard of nearly 70,000 Celtic coins from a Jersey field. He said this was a more important discovery for him. He said: "It is very enjoyable finding something this good, personally you can keep your coin hoards, give me a nice medieval building any day."

Re-written from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-jersey-20206395?goback=.gde_4008284_member_184408048

DISCOVERIES

*Cologne Archeological Dig Revives Ancient Jewish Heritage*

After long being sidelined for Roman excavations, an archaeological dig in western Germany has unearthed myriad traces of daily life in one of Europe's oldest and largest Jewish communities. From ceramic dishes and tools to toys, animal bones and jewelry, some 250,000 artifacts have so far shed light on various periods in 2,000 years of the city of Cologne's history, the *AFP* news agency reported. But plans to display the findings, discovered since 2007 by head archaeologist Sven Schuette's team at the 32,800 square-foot (10,000 square-meter) city center dig, in a new museum have proved divisive. Just over 260 miles (400 kilometers) away, Berlin already hosts a large Jewish museum, and critics argue that Cologne cannot afford a new cultural project when its financiers are already in the red.

"For a very long time, archaeologists quite simply ignored the Jewish past of Cologne," Schuette told *AFP*. "Anything that wasn't of Roman origin wasn't excavated, since the Middle Ages were of little matter and Jews weren't supposed to have played any role," he lamented. From the 10th to 12th centuries, Cologne, today Germany's fourth-largest city, was one of Europe's biggest cities, even ahead of Paris and London, with about 50,000 inhabitants. Its prosperous Jewish community numbered nearly 1,000 at its height. On Hebrew-inscribed fragments of slate, aspects of daily life from the Middle Ages have intriguingly come to light via school children's teachings, rules and regulations, a bawdy knight's tale and even a bakery's customer list, *AFP* reported.

The history of the city's Jewish quarter spans 1,000 years, from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages, and far from being closed-off, it was open and adjoined the Roman governor's imposing palace and later the city hall. "Excavations show that the Jews in Cologne for a very long time were on good terms with the Christians, that their cohabitation saw long phases of peace and harmony," Schuette said. He pointed to the synagogue's Gothic-style and richly decorated altar having been constructed by craftsmen, possibly French, who had been working on the nearby cathedral building site.

But two events finally sounded the death knell for the Jewish quarter – a crusader massacre in 1096, followed by its eventual annihilation in 1349 when the Christians made the Jews the scapegoat for a black plague epidemic. Archaeologists hope to see their treasures on display in the new museum by 2017. "It won't be a so-called ghetto museum limited to presenting religious artifacts but a museum tracing this quarter's daily life, its integration in to the Christian city, with the positive and negative aspects," Schuette told the news agency.

Rewritten from
http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/166673#.UVxcgjdXoUx
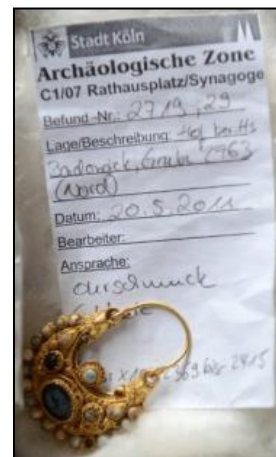
DISCOVERIES

Six Centuries Ago, a Cat Walked across this Medieval Manuscript

While "pawing" through a stack of medieval manuscripts from Dubrovnik, Croatia, University of Sarajevo doctoral student Emir O. Filipović stumbled upon a familiar set of splotches marring the centuries-old pages. Years ago, a mischievous kitty had left her ink-covered prints on the book. Filipović explains: "I was doing some research in the Dubrovnik State Archives… I came across some [15th-century] pages which were stained with cat paw prints, I took a few photos of this (as I do whenever I notice something interesting or unusual on any old book I'm reading), and carried on with my work not paying too much attention to something which at that time could essentially be only a distraction."

But that was not to be. Thanks to a frenzy of Twitter and blog coverage, a French historian picked up on the photo and decided to include it in her Interactive Album of Medieval Paleography so that other historians can utilize the unique finding, which gives insight into daily life in 14th century Dubrovnik. Filipović elaborates:

> The photo of the cat paw prints represents one such situation which forces the historian to take his eyes from the text for a moment, to pause and to recreate in his mind the incident when a cat, presumably owned by the scribe, pounced first on the ink container and then on the book, branding it for the ensuing centuries. You can almost picture the writer shooing the cat in a panicky fashion while trying to remove it from his desk. Despite his best efforts the damage was already complete and there was nothing else he could have

done but turn a new leaf and continue his job. In that way this little episode was 'archived' in history.

Filipović hopes the finding may move beyond a simple cat meme and inspire more interest in the medieval Mediterranean.

Rewritten from: http://blogs.smithsonianmag.com/smartnews/2013/03/centuries-ago-a-cat-walked-across-this-medieval-manuscript/#ixzz2PQ5JrQ8q

DISCOVERIES

Early Printed Book Contains Rare Evidence of Medieval Spectacles

Many scholars rank the invention of eyeglasses among the most important contributions to humankind in the last 2,000 years. They were probably invented at the end of the thirteenth century by a craftsman living near Pisa. The evidence originates from a passage by Friar Giordano da Pisa who recounts having met the anonymous craftsman in 1286. A friend of Giordano named Friar Allesandro della Spina learned how to make them shortly thereafter and shared the secret with the public.

Scholars believe that by the end of the fifteenth century, spectacles were probably being sold and produced throughout most of Europe, with countries like England importing them by the thousands. Florence led the way in manufacturing and apparently produced some of the highest quality spectacles. Despite this widespread production, there are relatively few surviving specimens.

Yet, while conducting a survey of manuscript waste found in early printed books, a scholar noticed a faint reddish-brown impression of a pair of spectacles on the rear parchment endpapers of a copy of the *Opera of Fr. Luigi di Granata*. The endpapers in this book comprise a piece of parchment taken from a page in a medieval manuscript. Among the many thousands of medieval manuscripts and early printed books in U.S. libraries, only a handful of similar discoveries have been made: a pair of spectacles found in the Folger copy 46 of the First Folio at the Folger Shakespeare Library; the outline of a pair spectacles carved into the wooden boards of a sixteenth-century volume in the rare books department at Catholic University of America and in a 15th -century Breviary at the Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire (seen in

Christopher De Hamel's *History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* fig. 193); and an impression in a manuscript at the Walters Art Museum.

The spectacles here conform to the physical features and rough time period for early medieval leather-framed spectacles (late 1400s-early 1500s) --see those of Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530). Because the book was printed in Venice, Italy, the tantalizing possibility exists that the wearer who deposited his spectacles in between the parchment leaves may have been using a pair of the earliest eyeglasses ever made, because Florence, where eyeglasses were invented, is less than 165 miles from Venice.

Re-written from http://www.utexas.edu/opa/blogs/culturalcompass/2012/04/17/medieval-spectacles/

DISCOVERIES

Portrait of Louis I of Orléans Found in The Agony in the Garden

Prado Museum conservators have uncovered a portrait of Louise I, son of Charles V of France and brother of Charles VI, hidden under overpaint in *The Agony in the Garden*, a 15th-century French painting depicting Jesus praying in the Garden of Gethsemane while Peter, John and James slumber. When a private owner offered it to the Prado for study and potential acquisition, the lab examined it with ultraviolet photography, X-rays, Infra-red reflectography, and tested the pigments and the panel.

The X-rays and Infra-red reflectography revealed the artist had painted two figures on the bottom left which were later painted over with a thick layer of brown. At the feet of the standing Saint Agnes is a kneeling male figure holding a scroll. Dressed in sumptuous clothes that were fashionable around 1400, his posture and position indicates that he was included in the painting because he or his family commissioned the work. Agnes was the patron saint both of his father

King Charles V, to whom he was devoted, and of his wife Valentina Visconti, daughter of the Duke of Milan. There are only three extant portraits of Louis, all of them manuscript illuminations; if the Donor could be confirmed as Louis of Orléans, this would be the only panel painting of him ever found.

Once liberated from their brown prison, the figures were revealed in all their brilliant glory. The colors were far brighter and richer than the colors on the saints and Jesus. The Donor's scroll was found to be inscribed with the first words of the Psalm 50, aka the Miserere mei. This painting is a small piece, probably intended for a use in a private chapel rather than a large church. The Gethsemane theme and the Miserere mei were usually included in funerary artworks, and since Louis' family is not included in the panel, it's likely that it was commissioned by his wife or son after his assassination.

The decorations on the sleeves turned out to be gold nettle leaves and they looked like appliqué rather than a fabric print. The nettle leaf was one of the duke's emblems, one he particularly favored from 1399 until his death in 1407. The distinctive nose and chin are similar in all the images, but his bald pate is only visible in the painting because Louis wears a hat in all three illuminations. He can't wear a hat in Gethsemane, however, because he's in the presence of God, Father and Son, no less.

The work could have been done by Colart de Laon, who worked as a painter and as personal valet to the duke from 1391 until Louis' death. Contemporary sources praise him as one of the most significant artist of the day, but none of his work has been known to survive. For more about the painting and restoration, watch these subtitled videos on the Prado's website.

Re-written from http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/23466

DISCOVERIES

### *Discovered: Scale Model of Florence Cathedral Dome*

Italian archaeologists have unearthed the remains of a mini dome near Florence's cathedral — evidence, they say, that the structure served as a scale model for the majestic structure designed by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446). Found during excavations to expand the Cathedral museum,

the model measures 9 feet in circumference and is made of bricks arranged in a herringbone

pattern. "This building technique had been previously used in Persian domes, but Brunelleschi was the first to introduce it into Europe when he worked at the dome," said Francesco Gurrieri, professor of Restoration of Monuments at the University of Florence. "Although at the moment we cannot confirm the small dome was the demonstration model for Brunelleschi's plans, it did belong to the yard he created between 1420 and 1436, when he worked at one of the most incredible feats of engineering."

One of the most instantly recognizable churches in the world, the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore is the highest and widest (143 feet in diameter) masonry dome in the world. For
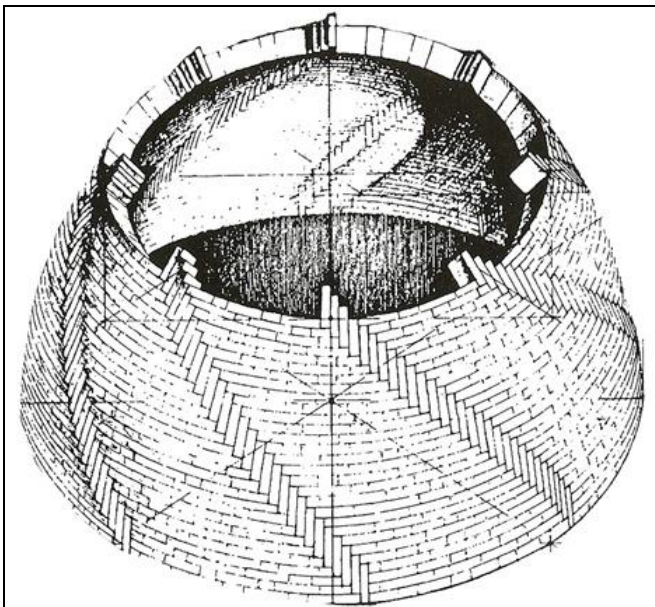
centuries scholars have wondered how the Florentine architect could roof the huge octagonal of the Cathedral using not concrete and steel, but 25,000 tons of stone, timber and brick — and no scaffoldings. Indeed Brunelleschi won the right to build the dome by saying that he wouldn't need any internal scaffolding. To do so, the Renaissance artist used an inventive brickwork that shared the weight around the dome so that it wouldn't collapse. Laying the bricks in the herringbone pattern was a crucial aspect as it allowed the bricks to convey the forces downward along the curving of the dome. "The small dome could be the first example of a herringbone pattern structure in Europe," Gurrieri said. Once it is restored, the mini dome will be permanently displayed at the new museum of the "Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," which is set to open in October 2015.

Rewritten from http://news.discovery.com/history/archaeology/scale-model-discovered-for-florence-cathedral-130110.htm

DISCOVERIES

16th-century Locket found by 3-year old on Display at the British Museum

On Sunday May 17th, 2009, three-year-old James Hyatt, his father and grandfather were exploring a field in Hockley, Essex. James went first, using his grandfather's metal detector. After five minutes of scanning, "It went beep, beep, beep. Then we dug into the mud. There was gold there," James, now four, said. "We didn't have a map. Only pirates use treasure maps," he stated. After digging down eight inches into the soil, they pulled out an engraved locket which turned out to be reliquary from the early 1500s. The British Museum acquired it for £70,000 ($110,000) and the sum was split between the Hyatt family and the owner of the land on which the locket was found.

Now on display in the British Museum's Medieval Europe gallery, the diamond-shaped pendant is engraved on the front with the image of a female saint, probably Saint Helena, mother of Constantine, holding the cross. On the reverse is a shower of blood droplets falling from four r four incisions and a cut heart, all symbolizing the five wounds of Christ. The back panel slides out along grooves cut into the sides. Inside was a small relic, a few, locally-grown flax fibers. Inscribed on three sides of the of the pendant are inscribed the names of the Three Wise Men — Iaspar (Caspar), Melcior (Melchiore), Baltasar (Balthazar) — in a lovely Lombardic script, with the fourth side adorned with a floral tendril. The small pendant (1 x 1.3 inches) was once colored with enamel.

Re-written from http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/23020

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DISCOVERIES

Curses, Musical Scores and Jonah: Archaeologists' Fascinating Quest to Decipher Medieval Graffiti Scrawled on Walls of Norwich Cathedral

The daily lives of medieval townsfolk have been brought to light by an extraordinary haul of graffiti found in Norwich Cathedral. Messages have been scratched into the walls of the historic buildings over hundreds of years, but few people have ever stopped to work out what they say. Archaeologists have now started a major project to decipher the messages, and have found a mixture of musical pieces, pious exhortations, and even supernatural curses. While most church-goers these days would never even contemplate defacing the walls of a Norman cathedral with graffiti, medieval residents of Norfolk had a far less protective attitude to their monuments. Volunteers from the Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey began cataloguing the scrawls found in the cathedral earlier this year, and have already recorded hundreds of inscriptions.
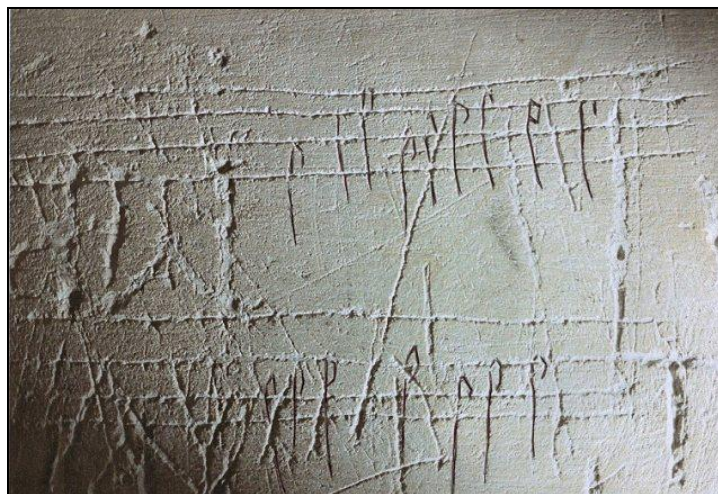

Music: These lines of notes (which have been digitally overlaid for the sake of clarity) were scratched into the walls of Norwich Cathedral in the medieval period

"The walls are covered in everything you can think of," project director Matthew Champion said. "Medieval ships, names, animals, windmills, figures and prayers. Just about everything that would have been important to the citizens of Norwich during the Middle Ages." "I think we have to understand that our modern view of the cathedral is very different from the way in which it was viewed by the local people during the Middle Ages, particularly the ways in which it was used. They saw nothing wrong with carving their prayers into the very stones of the building." His deputy Colin Howey added: "These are whispers in stone and you are standing in

the place where, hundreds of years ago, someone would have been scratching away. It could be a devout symbol of faith, or someone creating a slander, or a musician noting down a new composition. There are a whole range of motivations - and exactly what they could have been, who knows? But it is tantalizing."

Ship: This inscription shows a boat about to be swallowed by a giant whale, seen in the bottom right
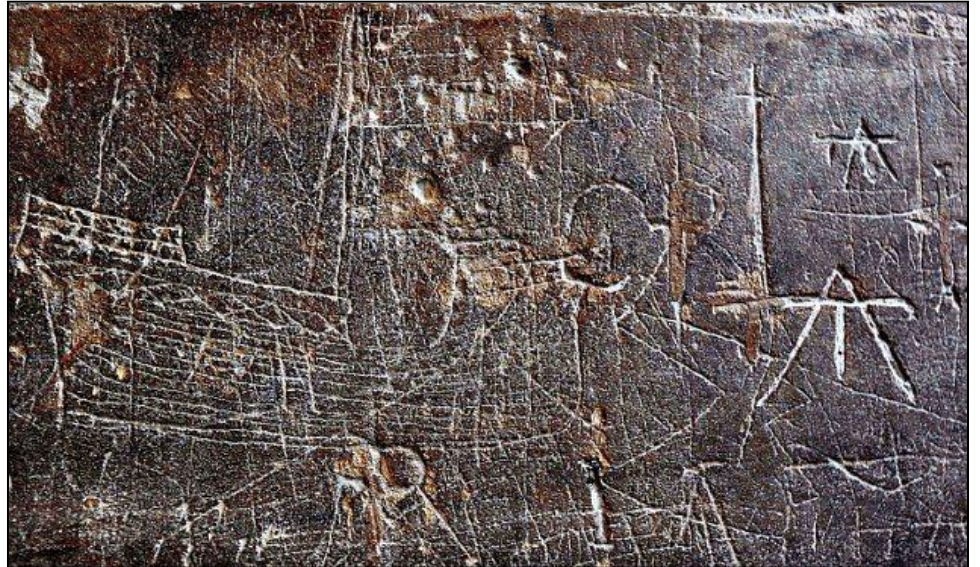
In the cathedral's nave, a clear outline of a ship had been recorded earlier - possibly a prayer left for a fisherman or mariner. But until last week, no one had spotted that the ship was being pursued by an enormous open-mouthed whale. "We think it could have been a prayer made by someone related to a sailor, and the whale is most likely Jonah's whale," Howey said.

On another pillar are two four-line musical staves, overlaid with a series of notes, thought to have been inscribed in the second half of the 16th century, before the introduction of the five-line staves used today. "We are talking to the cathedral organist and he is having a look to see if he could play it," Mr Howey said. "Here we have a piece of music from 400 years ago being lifted off the walls - indeed it could have been the organist at the time who scratched this composition onto a wall in order to play it later."

A more sinister group of inscriptions consist of beautifully carved text which was written upside down, suggesting they may have had a magical import such as being used as curses. "We know that from ancient times through to the medieval, inverting things was to wish bad upon them," Howey said. "The graffiti was presumably intended to smooth a worshipper's path to Heaven - and could even have been scratched into the wall by a Roman Catholic secretly expressing his forbidden beliefs. Petal-shaped designs seem to have been carved deep into the

stone by masons working on the construction of the building, and have been described as "devotional gestures" or symbols to "ward off bad spirits." The graffiti initiative, which has gained the approval of the cathedral's Dean and Chapter, will continue throughout the spring and early summer.

Rewritten from http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2274401/Archaeologists-fascinating-quest-decipher-medieval-graffiti-scrawled-cathedral-walls.html#ixzz2PQ6BifUl