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The Holy Land Geography as Emotional Experience

Burchard of Mount Sion's Text and the Movable Map

Abstract: In this paper, we evaluate various medieval cartographic and diagrammatic representations of the Holy Land. The analysis focuses particularly on the religious dimensions of these representations and their potential for making pilgrimage accessible, creating religious symbolism and exciting spiritual emotions. The leading hypothesis is that medieval mapmakers introduced special technical features into maps and similar cartographic representations to deepen religious emotions and to stimulate intense sensory responses in the readership of narrative travel accounts. The main focus of the paper is one of the most important late medieval travel accounts on Palestine, namely Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae'. It begins with an outline of the tradition of maps and other diagrammatic representations connected with Burchard's 'Descriptio'. We then concentrate on one particular graphical projection, the double-paged Holy Land map in Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.56, fols. 97v–98r). Finally, our paper contextualizes the Florence map in the late medieval reception of travel reports, exploring how cartographic visualizations could stimulate an emotional response intended to intensify the experience of pilgrimage.

Keywords: Burchard of Mount Sion, Medieval Holy Land, Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 76.56, geography and religion, cartography and emotion

Due to their eastward orientation, their images of transcendent subjects like Paradise and Christ, and their biblical content, western medieval world maps are explicitly understood as an expression of Christian belief. Religious motives, however, can also be found in more realistic or practical cartographic representations such as nautical and regional maps. Even portolan charts, the embodiment of modern, empirical cartography during the Late Middle Ages, did not refrain from such symbolism. As far as the mapping of the world is concerned, the graphic projection of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) serves as a case in point. While its objective was clearly secular, since the treaty divided the globe between Spain and Portugal, its cartographic visualization developed a more complex dual meaning.

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Around 1500, Juan de la Cosa, a pilot and companion of Columbus, created his vision of this imaginary boundary between the Spanish and the Portuguese in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Today, only one copy is preserved in the form of a sea chart (fig. 1).¹ Its gifted mapmaker drew the line of demarcation in green ink definitely in the Spanish interest and left only two very small areas in the north and south of the newly discovered territories to the Portuguese. He was bold enough to represent the entire western continent as a possession of the Castilian-Aragonese Monarchy and under the patronage of Saint Christopher, who stands at the intersection of the northern and southern landmasses.² The depiction of the patron saint of seafarers conveyed a double meaning. His location at the center of the Americas, where the route to the Asian paradise and the riches of the East was assumed to be, underscored the significance of religion for the new undertakings. At the same time, the image also referred to Christopher Columbus, the principal explorer of these worlds, who symbolically bears the Christ Child on his shoulders, and furthermore to the political power behind Columbus, the Catholic king and queen. It is obvious that religious connotations are important constituents of this chart and its political meaning. This example is not unique. If we look at other maps of that time, we find that references to Christian knowledge are almost always present in any kind of premodern western map up until the portolan charts of the early modern period.³

1 Madrid, Museo naval, Inv. 257; cf. Ute SCHNEIDER, *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute*, 3rd. ed. Darmstadt 2012, pp. 94–95 with illustration; Catherine HOFMANN/ H el ene RICHARD/ Emmanuelle VAGNON (ed.), *L' ge d'or des cartes marines. Quand l'Europe d couvrait le monde*, Paris 2012, pp. 114–115 with illustration. On the historic background cf. Ingrid BAUMG RTNER, *Neue Karten f r die Neue Welt? Kartographische Praktiken der Exploration*, in: Raimund SCHULZ (ed.), *Maritime Entdeckung und Expansion. Kontinuit ten, Parallelen und Br che von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit* (Historische Zeitschrift. Beihefte N.F. 77), Berlin, M nchen, Boston 2019, pp. 243–268, here pp. 254–257. On its history see Felipe FERN NDEZ-ARMESTO, *Maps and Exploration in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, in: David WOODWARD (ed.), *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (The History of Cartography 3/1), Chicago, London 2007, pp. 738–759 and Appendix 30.1, here pp. 748–749: „Questions have been raised concerning the authenticity even of this work. Its documented history goes back no further than the Paris bookshop where Baron Charles-Athanase Walckenaer was said to have bought it prior to 1832, when Alexander von Humboldt verified it—indeed, by his own account, correctly identified it for the first time—in the baron's library.“

2 Cf. Pauline Moffitt WATTS, *The European Religious Worldview and Its Influence on Mapping*, in: WOODWARD (note 1), pp. 382–400, here pp. 386–387; Jeffrey JAYNES, *Christianity Beyond Christendom. The Global Christian Experience on Medieval *Mappaemundi* and Early Modern World Maps* (Wolfenb tteler Forschungen 149), Wiesbaden 2018, pp. 269–272, here p. 269.

3 Cf. the contributions of Emmanuelle VAGNON and Felicitas SCHMIEDER in this volume.



Fig. 1: Juan de la Cosa, Sea chart; Madrid, Museo naval, inv. 257.

In recent years, scholars have usually addressed the medieval notion of religion with the aim of exploring the history of the concept, and its related terms, in various European texts and sources, but rarely in maps or geographic representations. It has been pointed out, firstly, that no ‘system of beliefs and practices’ was present in premodern European thinking,⁴ and secondly, that there was a discrepancy between the medieval sense of *religio* and the modern concept of religion. Consequently, there was discussion whether scholars should use terms that did not exist and were not used in premodern texts, or if this would create misunderstandings. Therefore, the question was raised, if it would not be more appropriate to use the vocabulary of medieval sources and to study the perceptions and emotions behind it.

Following this line of thinking, this paper discusses some examples of medieval Christian cartography in relation to religion and pilgrimage narratives. The aim is to examine not only maps and cartographic projections, but especially the combination of texts and images for their potential to create religious symbolism and spiritual emotions. In the following, we will attempt to contribute to the discussion with a short analysis of some medieval visual representations of the Holy Land that are closely linked to travelogues. The focus will be on whether these maps were inserted into travel reports in order to deepen religious emotions and to stimulate intense sensory responses. Our discussion focuses on one of the most important late medieval travel accounts on Palestine, Burchard of Mount Sion’s ‘*Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*’, and the cartographic and diagrammatic visualizations accompanying later copies of this text.

Therefore, this paper will first briefly survey the textual and cartographic representation of Palestine in Burchard’s ‘*Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*’ with regard to its religious significance and its reception in later copies. Then, it will analyze the codicological framework of one of these graphical projections, the double-paged Holy Land map in Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.56, fols. 97v–98r) and its function during the copying of Burchard’s text. Lastly, our paper will further contextualize the Florence map by exploring the role of the emotional experience of pilgrimage through cartographic visualizations in the late medieval reception of travel reports and especially in the case of Burchard’s text.

⁴ Jean-Claude SCHMITT, *Une histoire religieuse du Moyen Âge est-elle possible? (Jalons pour une anthropologie historique du christianisme médiéval)*, in: Fernando LEPORI (ed.), *Il mestiere di storico del Medioevo. Atti del convegno di studio dell’Associazione ‘Biblioteca Salita dei Frati’*, Lugano, 17–19 maggio 1990 (Quaderni di cultura mediolatina 7), Spoleto 1994, pp. 73–83; Brent NONGBRI, *Before Religion. A History of a Modern Concept*, New Haven, London 2013; Peter BILLER, *Words and the Medieval Notion of ‘Religion’*, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), pp. 351–369.

I Burchard's 'Descriptio': textual and cartographic representation

The Holy Land was a multi-functional contact zone between Europe and Asia, a place of interaction between the three Abrahamic religions and one of the most important sites for Christian pilgrims. Most of the preserved European travel accounts from the Middle Ages describe this part of the world⁵ and some of the first regional maps were created to communicate the topography of exactly this region to a European readership. At least 22 maps, along with many diagrams and other representations depicting the biblical landscape are extant from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries.⁶ They all helped to convey an image of the biblical places that were so important for the Christians in the West. After the final fall of Jerusalem in 1244, and especially after the loss of Acre to the Mamluk sultan in 1291, these places and the surrounding territories acquired a new ideological relevance. Monks and priests, as well as patricians and aristocrats aspired to go on pilgrimage at least once in their lives and to share their experiences.⁷ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in particular, new maps and

5 Werner PARAVICINI (ed.), *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters. Eine analytische Bibliographie*. 1. Teil: Deutsche Reiseberichte, edited by Christian Halm; 2. Teil: Französische Reiseberichte, bearb. von Jörg WETTLAUFER; 3. Teil: Niederländische Reiseberichte, edited by Jan HIRSCH-BIEGEL (Kieler Werkstücke D/5, 12, 14), 2. revised and supplemented edition 2001, 1999, 2000; cf. Enno BÜNZ, *Reiseberichte, Reisegruppen, Reisewege. Bemerkungen zur neuen analytischen Bibliographie „Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters“*, in: *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 65 (2003), pp. 353–361. Cf. Dietrich HUSCHENBETT/ Bettina WAGNER (eds.), *Deutsche Palästina-Pilgerberichte von den Anfängen bis 1500. Ein Repertorium*. Würzburger DFG-Projekt 1990–1994, 2 vols., Würzburg (Typoskript) 1996; Stefan SCHRÖDER, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam. Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri (Orbis medievalis. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 11)*, Berlin 2009, pp. 49–98.

6 Paul D. A. HARVEY, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, London 2012; Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER, *Das Heilige Land kartieren und beherrschen*, in: EAD./ Martina STERCKEN (eds.), *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit (Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 19)*, Zürich 2012, pp. 27–75; Pnina ARAD, *Cultural Landscape in Christian and Jewish Maps of the Holy Land*, in: Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER/ Nirit Ben-Aryeh DEBBY/ Katrin KOGMAN-APPEL (eds.), *Maps and Travel in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Knowledge, Imagination, and Visual Culture (Das Mittelalter. Beihefte 9)*, Berlin, Boston 2019, pp. 74–88; Pnina ARAD, *Christian Maps of the Holy Land. Images and Meanings*, Turnhout 2020, pp. 9–62.

7 The patricians Sebald Rieter and Hans Tucher the Elder of Nuremberg, for example, gave separate accounts of their joint pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1479; Tucher later published his report in several editions between 1482 (Augsburg, Johann Schönsperger) and 1486; cf. Randall HERZ, *Die 'Reise ins gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480). Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts (Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter 38)*, Wiesbaden 2002; Randall HERZ, *Studien zur Drucküberlieferung der 'Reise ins gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren. Bestandsaufnahme und historische Auswertung der Inkunabeln unter Berücksichtigung der späteren Drucküberlieferung (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur der Stadt Nürnberg 34)*, Nürnberg 2005. On the question of the intended and the actual audience cf. Kathryn BEEBE, *Pilgrim*

different forms of graphic representation emerged in close connection with these descriptions of Palestine.

Part of this widely shared information came of course from the works of their precursors. One of them was Burchard of Mount Zion. His 'Descriptio Terre Sancte', written in the 1280s, provided a systematic account of the whole territory from before 1291, when it could still be explored.⁸ Like many authors of pilgrims' accounts, the Dominican friar, who spent several years in the Near East between 1271 and 1285, wrote his report for Christians that were unable to make the journey themselves. His detailed and systematic description of a great number of sites, based on scripture and local sources, was also extremely useful for those pilgrims who were planning their journey, for many others who wanted to retrace their visit in their mind's eye and for anyone who tried to concretize the geographic outlines on a map. In this way, all the different readers of Burchard could imagine the religious spaces of the sacred ground and share his travel experiences.

Burchard's text was extremely popular, as evidenced by the considerable number of extant manuscripts in Latin and the vernacular. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was reproduced in two different versions, a short and a long redaction. The two versions are separate works and not variants of a single text: the long version, edited by LAURENT in 1864, was probably written in the Holy Land and sent to Magdeburg,⁹ while the incomplete short version, printed by CANISIUS in 1604,¹⁰ was

and preacher. The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502) (Oxford Historical Monographs), Oxford 2014, pp. 93–177.

8 Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER, Reiseberichte, Karten und Diagramme. Burchard von Monte Sion und das Heilige Land, in: Steffen PATZOLD/ Anja RATHMANN-LUTZ/ Volker SCIOR (eds.), Geschichtsvorstellungen. Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter. Festschrift für Hans-Werner Goetz zum 65. Geburtstag, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar 2012, pp. 460–507; Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER, Burchard of Mount Zion and the Holy Land, in: Peregrinations. Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture 4/1 (2013), pp. 5–42; EAD., Winds and Continents: Concepts for Structuring the World and Its Parts, in: EAD./ DEBBY/ KOGMAN-APPEL (note 6), pp. 91–135; Jonathan RUBIN, Burchard of Mount Zion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. A Newly Discovered Extended Version, in: Crusades 13 (2014), pp. 173–190; Id., A Missing Link in European Travel Literature: Burchard of Mount Zion's Description of Egypt, in: Mediterranean. International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge 3 (2018), pp. 55–90; Susanna E. FISCHER, Erzählte Bewegung. Narrationsstrategien und Funktionsweisen lateinischer Pilgertexte (4.–15. Jahrhundert), (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 52), Leiden, Boston 2019, pp. 236–264.

9 Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, ed. Johann C. M. LAURENT, in: Johann C. M. LAURENT, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, Leipzig 1873, pp. 19–94; English translation: Aubrey STEWART, *Burchard of Mt. Sion, Description of the Holy Land* (Literary of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), London 1896, repr. New York 1971; Denys PRINGLE (ed.), *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Crusade Texts in Translation 23), Farnham 2012, pp. 241–320; reprint and Italian translation: Sabino DE SANDOLI, *Burchardus de Monte Sion, Descriptio terrae sanctae*, in: Sabino DE SANDOLI, *Itinera Hierosolymitana cruce signatorum* (saec. XII–XIII), vol. 4 (Publicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 24/4), Jerusalem 1984, pp. 119–219.

10 Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, ed. Heinrich CANISIUS, in: Heinrich CANISIUS, *Antiquae lectiones* 6 (1604) pp. 295–322; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, ed. Jacques BASNAGE, in: Jacques BASNAGE, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicum*,

compiled later. Several printed editions followed within a short period of time, the first appeared in the ‘*Rudimentum noviciorum*’ of 1475. Over the next 150 years, fifteen editions were published, not taking into account the many abbreviated witnesses and excerpts, or the numerous compilations that used Burchard’s ‘*Descriptio*’ together with other writings to create a new work. In the later manuscript tradition, some scribes combined his text with a graphic representation to provide their readers with a concrete visualization and convey the atmosphere of the Holy places even more convincingly. The ‘*Descriptio*’ became a bestseller that influenced most of the later regional maps and travel accounts. It became a key document for the textual and visual perception of Palestine. Even today, it is crucial for scholars working on the connection of geographical and religious knowledge, although a critical edition is still missing.¹¹ For the so-called long version, Jonathan RUBIN proposed a division of the 64 manuscripts into five families (a to e) and identified the relations between them.¹² His recent analysis brings us much closer to Burchard’s original text and, at the same time, facilitates future study into specific problems related to the ‘*Descriptio*’s’ tradition and reception.

For Burchard, religion was a very important issue that reflects a particular emotional attitude. He described, for instance, how he spent a whole night in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem and joyfully kissed the stone where Christ was born and the manger in which Christ lay. In other passages about the biblical landscape, however,

sive Henrici Canisii lectiones antiquae, vol. 4, Antwerpen 1725, pp. 1–28. This transcription of the short version is based on a manuscript which was compiled in the monastery of St. Mang in Regensburg, today in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 569, fols. 184r–210v.

11 The new edition by John R. BARTLETT (ed.), *Burchard of Mount Sion, OP. Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, Oxford 2019, is not without problems: BARTLETT used only six of the 64 manuscripts of the long version for his edition, without understanding the relationships between his textual witnesses. His list of manuscripts is incomplete as it follows Thomas M. KAEPPELI, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 1, Rom 1970, pp. 257–260 without regard for the recent list by Ekkehart ROTTER, *Windrose statt Landkarte. Die geographische Systematisierung des Heiligen Landes und ihre Visualisierung durch Burchardus de Monte Sion um 1285*, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 69 (2013) pp. 45–106, here pp. 103–106. In addition, BARTLETT chose the text in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fols. 1r–45r for his edition, which, as Jonathan RUBIN (note 12) pointed out, is quite far away from the archetype. Finally, BARTLETT’S apparatus is not as reliable as his introduction suggests, e.g. regarding the significant variants of the manuscript in London, British Library, Add. 18929; the colophon of the manuscript is treated as if it were part of Burchard’s work; the readings are sometimes misleading (e.g. p. 6 *Aconiensem* instead of *Acconensem*; p. 10 *Districtam* for *Districtum*) and the phrases raise grammatical difficulties without an explanatory note (f. e. p. 30 *Qui terra Assisinorum dicuntur* instead of *Que terra Assisinorum dicitur*). In the following, we will therefore continue to use the transcription by LAURENT and the English translation by PRINGLE (both note 9).

12 For the stemma of the ‘*Descriptio*’s’ long version and the division into textual families of its manuscript sources see Jonathan RUBIN, *The Manuscript Tradition of Burchard of Mount Sion’s Descriptio Terre Sancte*, in: *The Journal of Mediaeval Latin* 30 (2020), pp. 257–286. We thank Jonathan RUBIN for sharing his knowledge and research on Burchard of Mount Sion and the ‘*Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*’ with us, for his great support and illuminating conversations. His and Eva Ferro’s research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant no. 1443/17).

Burchard expressed skepticism when he could not see the biblical features with his own eyes. But whenever he was convinced, he conveyed his own actions and experiences to his readers as directly as possible, making them part of his journey in the *imitatio Christi* from one religious site to the next until they reached Golgotha: „Let us therefore proceed and cross the Kidron brook between the place of His prayer in agony and the place of His arrest in Gethsemane, and let us follow – if by whatever means we are permitted to come to Golgotha – where His feet stood fixed to the Cross while flowing with blood.“ Thus, the events of the Passion became an emotional element of the mental pilgrimage whose participants alternated between the earthly suffering of corporeal pain and the tremendous joy of eternal life. „Let us die there with Christ, that with Him we may likewise rise again!“¹³

Still today, Burchard’s persuasiveness is overwhelming. He suggests that every reader should follow and perceive Jesus bodily so that he or she may

see and hear Jesus preaching in the Temple, teaching the disciples on the Mount of Olives, dining on Mount Sion, washing the disciples’ feet, giving up His body and blood, praying in Gethsemane, perspiring with bloody sweat, kissing the traitor, being led away a prisoner, scoffed at, spat upon, judged, carrying the cross, stumbling under the weight of the cross in the city gate, that may be seen today, being relieved by Simon of Cyrene and celebrating the mysteries of the Passion for us on Calvary.¹⁴

Burchard strove to give his readers the impression that the past remained alive in their own time and that their individual actions were part of a collective recollection of events.¹⁵ He emphasized the continuous actuality of these religious experiences that readers should reproduce in their corporeality and individuality.

13 PRINGLE (note 9), p. 287; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), p. 63: *Procedamus ergo, et inter locum orationis eius in agonia et locum captiuitatis eius in Gethsemani transeamus torrentem Cedron et sequamur, si quomodocumque concedatur nobis uenire in Golgatha, ubi steterunt fixi in cruce fluentes sanguine pedes eius; moriamur ibi cum Christo, ut cum Eo pariter resurgamus!* Cf. BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 110–111. For the connection between the actualization of the biblical past and emotional experience in the pilgrim narratives see Camille ROUXPETEL, *L’Occident au miroir de l’Orient chrétien*, Rome 2015, esp. pp. 19–42. For the emotional experiences of sound, smell and touch in Felix Fabri’s text see FISCHER (note 8), pp. 230–232.

14 PRINGLE (note 9), p. 241; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), pp. 19–20: *ut uideat et audiat in templo Ihesum predicantem, in monte oliueti discipulos instruentem, in monte Sion cenantem, discipulorum pedes lauantem, corpus Suum et sanguinem tradentem, in Gethsemani orantem, sudore sanguineo defluentem, traditorem osculantem, captum trahi, illudi, conspui, iudicatum, crucem baiulantem, sub pondere crucis in porta ciuitatis, sicut hodie cernitur, deficientem, Cyreneum Simonem succedentem, in Caluaria pro nobis mysteria passionis celebrantem*; BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 4–5. Christian KIENING, *Mediating the Passion in time and space*, in: Id./ Martina STERCKEN (eds.), *Temporality and Mediality in Late Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Cursor Mundi 32), Turnhout 2018, pp. 115–146, here pp. 121–122.

15 PRINGLE (note 9), pp. 241–242: „The memory of each and every one of these places is still as complete and clear as it was on that day when things were done in their presence“; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), pp. 20: *Horum omnium locorum et sin-*

Such pious practices were usually experienced in groups. Burchard was not the only author to include his readers when he recounted his movements through the Holy Land in his itinerary: „O God [...] But let us put all this aside and come to Jerusalem as quickly as possible.“¹⁶ Similar passages can be found in many other pilgrim narratives, as early as in Egeria’s ‘Itinerarium’ (fourth century), along with later accounts like those of the Dominican Felix Fabri of Ulm or the Nuremberg citizen Gabriel Muffel.¹⁷ Reading these texts, the recipient became part of a group to gain access to salvation and to stimulate his or her emotions. The journey became sensually perceivable through a personal relationship between reader and author that simulated an active participation.

Pilgrims like Burchard not only moved between different places in their writing – near and far, blessed and profane, religious and secular –, but also between different temporal stages.¹⁸ They distinguished between the narration of their own actions and historical events in the past tense and the description of sites in the present tense. On the one hand, Burchard emphasized his own religious behavior with words like „I stayed one night in these two places [Christ’s birthplace and manger], kissing now one, now the other“¹⁹ and, on the other hand, he tried to describe lasting facts like the position of Bethlehem („Bethlehem stands on a mountain“²⁰) as present events. Thus, his individual historical experience in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem became present and repeatable for everybody in his audience. What occurred was a multi-level cognitive process in time and space that connected the individual with the community, the past with the present, the visit to the Holy Land with the privileged readers at

golorum adhuc ita plena et manifesta exstat memoria, sicut in illo die exstitit, quando presencialiter erant facta; BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 4–5. Cf. Christian KIENING, Fülle und Mangel. Medialität im Mittelalter, Zürich 2016, p. 298; KIENING (note 14), pp. 121–122; FISCHER (note 8), pp. 257–264.

16 PRINGLE (note 9), p. 287; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), p. 62: *Eya Deus [...] Sed omissis omnibus ad Ierusalem quantocius ueniamus*. Cf. BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 108–109.

17 For Felix Fabri cf. inter alia SCHRÖDER (note 5), passim; Andrea KLUSSMANN, In Gottes Namen fahren wir. Die spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichte von Felix Fabri, Bernhard von Breydenbach und Konrad Grünemberg im Vergleich, Saarbrücken 2012; Kathryne BEEBE, Fabri und die Klosterreformen des 15. Jahrhunderts, in: Folker REICHERT/ Alexander ROSENSTOCK (eds.), *Die Welt des Frater Felix Fabri, Weißhorn* 2018, pp. 75–87. Muffel’s report survived only in London, British Library, Egerton 1900, fol. 2r–155v, written around 1467 apparently in Passau, not in Nuremberg, and at least partially in a German translation of the Italian travelogue ‘Libro d’oltramare’ by the Franciscan friar Niccolò da Poggibonsi; cf. Clive D. M. COSSAR (ed.), *The German Translation of Niccolò da Poggibonsi’s ‘Libro d’oltramare’* (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 452), Göppingen 1985, p. 120: *Aber das wir noch gewiser sind ob cristus gottes Sun sey gewesen*.

18 Cf. KIENING (note 15), p. 298.

19 PRINGLE (note 9), p. 303; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), p. 79: *Ego steti nocte una in hijs duobus locis, nunc istum, nunc illum osculando*. Cf. BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 156–157.

20 PRINGLE (note 9), p. 302; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), p. 78: *Bethlehem uero sita est in monte*. Cf. BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 154–155.

home. Just like the acquisition of pilgrimage badges, material relics and souvenirs, the construction of the narrative was a sign of the pilgrim's devotion to the holy places.

However, the juxtaposition of the idea of timelessness and the actuality of the journey was especially pronounced in topographical sketches and their complex spatial vision. Burchard himself described the Holy Land only in terms that would allow his audience to translate his operational instructions into cartographic images. His diagrammatic approach in the introductory prologue of the short version of the 'Descriptio' demonstrates his efforts to make his account comprehensible and the land imaginable for the reader. He thought „of defining a central point among them and of setting out all the land around it in due measure.“²¹ For this center he chose the city of Acre, even though it was not located in the geographical middle of the Holy Land, but rather on the western border of the territory, along the shore of the Mediterranean sea. He also explains that the reason for his decision was that Acre „was better known than others“ in his time, that is a few decades after the end of Frankish sovereignty over Jerusalem. „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.“²² In these sectors he „placed the cities and places mentioned especially in scripture, so that the location and disposition of individual places might more easily be found.“²³ This mental mapping in accordance with traditional systems such as the parts of the world and the wind directions structured a territory that represented the religious center of the world.

Visualizations followed in the form of so-called wind diagrams that were created by scribes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This visual translation is ideally realized in a Munich manuscript with the short redaction of the text (fig. 2).²⁴ Acre, a triangle with fortified towers, dominates the graphic construction oriented to the North. From there, the pilgrimage routes through Palestine expand in a fan-like pattern of double lines, which defines twelve sectors of land and water. All lines emanate

21 PRINGLE (note 9), pp. 242–243. Cf. Susanne LEHMANN-BRAUNS, *Jerusalem sehen. Reiseberichte des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts als empirische Anleitung zur geistigen Pilgerfahrt*, Freiburg/Breisgau 2010, pp. 191–244; FISCHER (note 8), pp. 238–244.

22 PRINGLE (note 9), p. 243; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), p. 21: *Aduertens autem, quomodo possem hec utiliter describere, ita ut possent a legentibus imaginatione facili comprehendere, cogitavi centrum aliquod in ea ponere et circa illud totam terram modo debito ordinare. Et ad hoc elegi civitatem achonensem, tanquam plus aliis notam. Que tamen non est in medio, sed in occidentali eius fine supra mare sita. Et ab ipsa protraxi quatuor lineas, quatuor mundi partibus respondentes, et quamlibet quartam divisi in tria, ut responderent duodecim divisiones iste duodecim uentis celi, et in singulis divisionibus posui ciuitates et loca in scripturis magis nota, ut singulorum locorum situs et dispositio posset de facili reperiri, ad quam partem mundi esset collocata.* Cf. BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 6–7; BAUMGÄRTNER, *Winds* (note 8), p. 91 (with a revised English translation) and p. 96.

23 PRINGLE (note 9), p. 243; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), p. 21; BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 6–7.

24 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 569, fol. 186v. See BAUMGÄRTNER, *Reiseberichte* (note 8), p. 475; BAUMGÄRTNER, *Winds* (note 8), pp. 97–101.

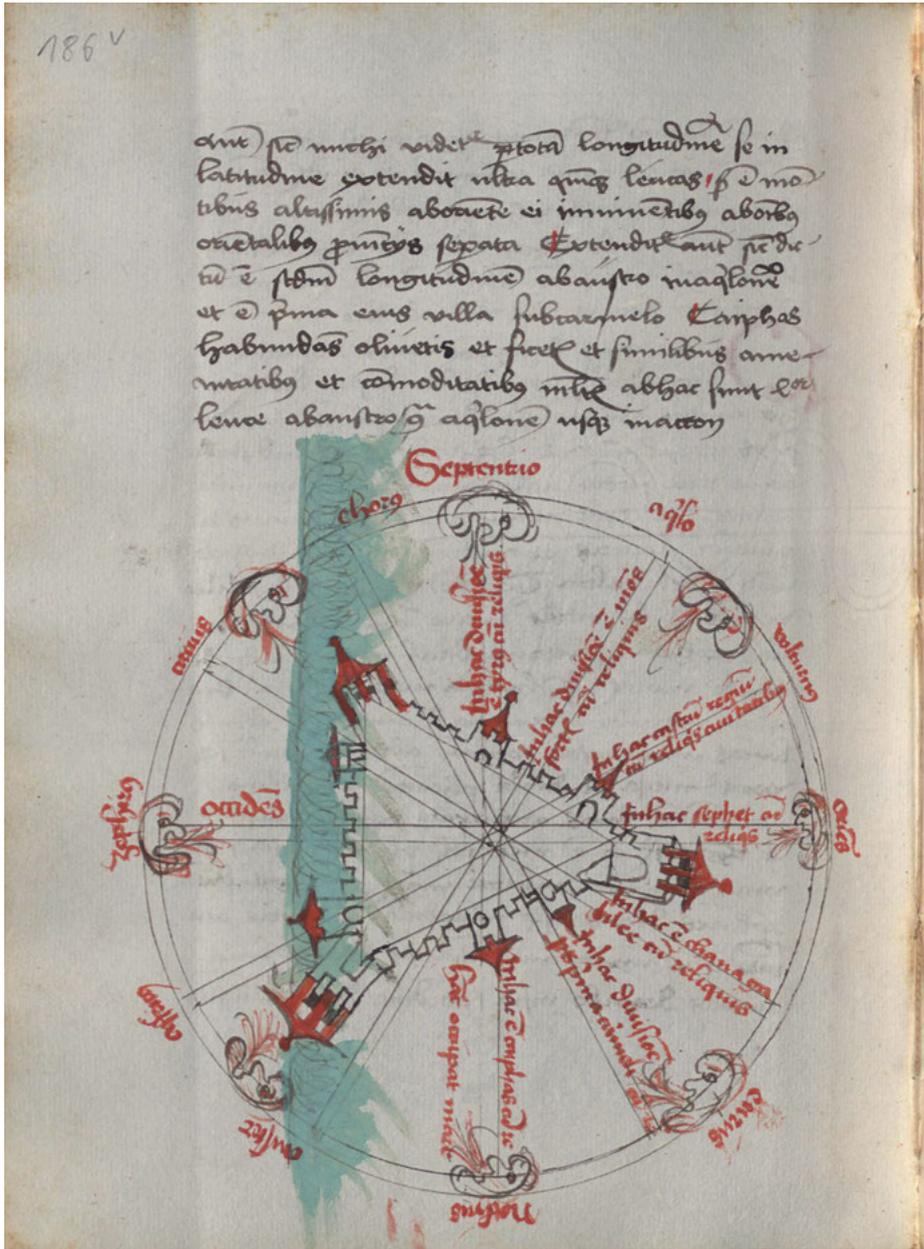


Fig. 2: Wind diagram; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 569, fol. 186v; 15th century. By permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

from the town’s center and lead to individual wind names outside the circle. Each of the seven land sectors is accompanied by a reference to local biblical events or crusading places. Evidently, this wind diagram corresponds with the structure of the text

by showing the seven sectors of the country with their matching winds. At first glance, the diagram appears quite secular, but the dichotomic superimposition of Christian content leads to a topological reinterpretation and to an increase in its perceived importance through the diagrammatic form.

The Holy Land seemed to have a special significance in this transfer from the travel account to maps and diagrams, because the commemoration of Christ's Life and Passion took place in these topographic spaces. The visualization allowed an imagined comprehension of the pilgrimage and salvation history. Thus, for the question of religion in cartography it is important to examine the maps and wind schemes that accompany the later versions of the travel account and to analyze the pious ideas behind them.

II The Florence map and its codicological framework

The most creative of these visualizations is located in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (BML) in Florence.²⁵ This map, which was probably designed by a Tuscan copyist around 1300, contains 406 entries with toponyms of very different origins, including terms from the Bible, classical antiquity, contemporary vocabulary and various languages (fig. 3). Today, the map is part of a manuscript with the long version of the 'Descriptio' (family d).²⁶ Although the map has been studied before, its codicological context has never been thoroughly analyzed. Therefore, the codex will be described in more detail in the following paragraphs.²⁷

The codex BML Plutei 76.56 is a manuscript of 109 parchment folia.²⁸ Each page measures today – after at least one new binding for which some of the pages were trimmed down²⁹ – around 33 × 22.5 cm. The provenance of this codex is unknown.³⁰

25 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (further: BML), Plut. 76.56, fols. 97v–98r. On the map cf. Reinhold RÖHRICHT, Marino Sanudo sen. als Kartograph Palästinas, in: Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins 21 (1898), pp. 84–126 and plates, here pp. 104–105 and pl. 23; HARVEY (note 6), pp. 141–154; BAUMGÄRTNER (note 6), pp. 56–64.

26 RUBIN (note 12), pp. 267–269 and 271.

27 The codicological analysis of the Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, was made by Eva Ferro.

28 The manuscript has been described briefly by Angelo Maria BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. 3, Florence 1776, col. 124–126; Robert BLACK/ Gabriella POMARO, *La Consolazione della Filosofia nel medioevo e nel rinascimento italiano. Libri di scuola e glosse nei manoscritti fiorentini. Schoolbooks and their glosses in Florentine manuscripts = Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Education*, Florence 2000, pp. 105–106; HARVEY (note 6), pp. 141–154.

29 The codex presents a so called „legatura medicea“, which means that it was bound or re-bound in 1571 when the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana was founded. The pages were probably trimmed on that occasion. Cf. BLACK/ POMARO (note 28), p. 105.

30 Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fols. 1–87 are of Florentine origin, see BLACK/ POMARO (note 28), p. 105.

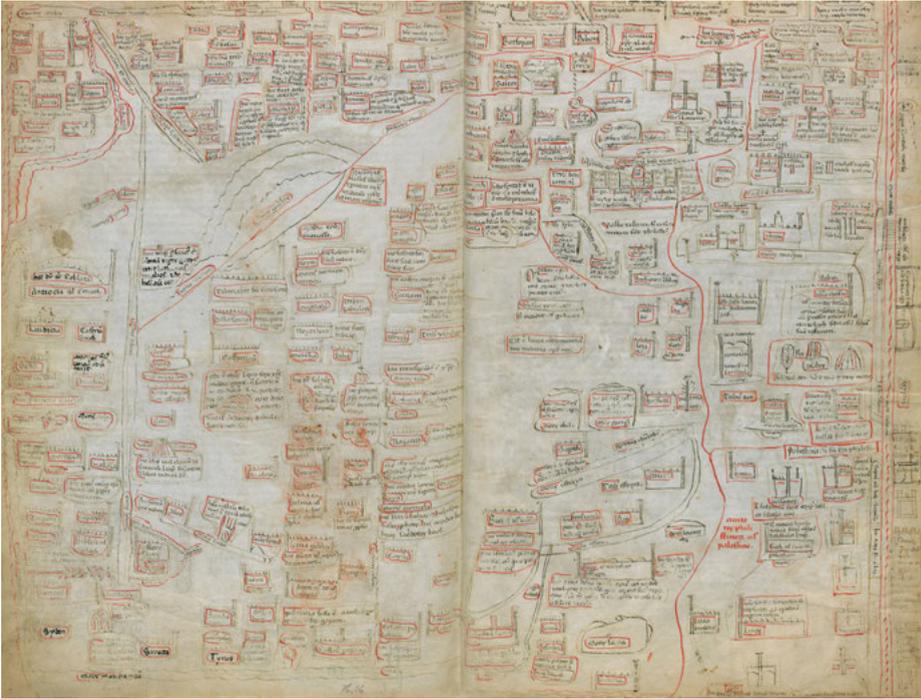


Fig. 3: Map of the Holy Land; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.56, fols. 97v–98r.

The eighteenth century manuscript catalog suggests a dating in the fourteenth century. As for its content, the manuscript preserves several Latin texts:

- (1) fols. 1r–2r: ‘Accessus ad Boethium’ by Nicholas of Trivet;
- (2) fols. 2v–87r: Boethius, ‘De consolatione philosophiae’ accompanied by a commentary from the Italian Dominican Guglielmo de Cortemilia (d. 1342);³¹
- (3) fols. 88r–90v: excerpts from Eusebius’ ‘Historia ecclesiastica’;
- (4) fols. 91r–92r: an anonymous treatise without title about the world, its geographical parts and ages (based on excerpts of various authors, Incipit: *Mundus sicut dicit ysidorus universitas omnis que constat ex celo et terra*);
- (5) fols. 92v–93r: an excerpt from Rufinus’ translation of Eusebius’ ‘Historia ecclesiastica’ (ch. 22 to 30);
- (6) fols. 93r–93v: excerpts from Jerome, ‘Contra Iovinianum’ (Book 2, ch. 7);
- (7) fols. 94r–101v: Burchard’s of Mount Sion ‘Descriptio Terrae Sanctae’ (long version, family d)³² and a map of the Holy Land;
- (8) fols. 102r–109r: Cicero’s ‘Partitiones oratoriae’;

³¹ This commentary was overlooked by BANDINI, who identified only the excerpts from Trivet’s commentary; cf. BLACK/ POMARO (note 28), p. 106. On Guglielmo de Cortemilia see Thomas KAEPEL, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2, Rome 1975, pp. 96–97.

³² For the stemma of the ‘Descriptio’s’ long version see RUBIN (note 12), p. 271.

Although this manuscript has been mostly studied as a coherent codex, a deeper analysis reveals that we are dealing with a composite artifact. In fact, pre-existing *libelli*, or booklets, which originally circulated independently, were bound together to create the manuscript. This becomes clear not only by observing the change in scribal hands throughout the codex, but also by taking its codicological composition into account.³³ Three scribal hands wrote major continuous parts of this manuscript: hand one (dated second quarter of the fourteenth century)³⁴ is responsible for fols. 1–87 (Boethius and commentary);³⁵ hand two (dated to the first decade of the fourteenth century)³⁶ wrote fols. 88–101; and a third hand (dated to the first decade of the fourteenth century)³⁷ wrote Cicero's treatise on fols. 102–109.

The analysis of the quire structure of the manuscript and the traces of use on the parchment also indicate that we are dealing with three different units that were at first independent and were bound together only at a later point.³⁸ In light of the composite nature of this manuscript, the following will focus on just the second unit that contains a series of excerpts, Burchard's 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae' and the map of Palestine. We will refer to this unit as the 'Florence *libellus*' and provide a codicological description of this part of the manuscript.

The 'Florence *libellus*' is in itself composed of two sub-units, each comprising one *ternio* (i. e. three *bifolia* folded in the middle). The first sub-unit comprises fols. 88 to 93 and contains various excerpts of historical, geographical and ethnological works, like Eusebius' 'Historia ecclesiastica' and Jerome's 'Contra Iovinianum'. The second sub-unit, namely fols. 94 to 101, also comprises one *ternio* to which a single *bifolium* was added in the middle of the quire. This *bifolium* carries the map of the Holy Land. The structure of this second sub-unit can be thus summarized as follows:

fol. 94r Burchard's 'Descriptio' fol. 97r + fol. 97v map fol. 98r + fol. 98v Burchard's 'Descriptio' fol. 101v

In particular, the analysis of the *bifolium* with the map of the Holy Land allows two observations: firstly, the map has been inscribed on the flesh-side of the parchment,

33 The criteria for identifying booklets inside a manuscript are laid down by Pamela ROBINSON, The 'Booklet'. A self-contained unit in composite manuscripts, in: Jane ROBERTSON/ Pamela ROBINSON (eds.), *The History of the Book in the West: 400AD–1455*, vol. 1, Farnham 2010, pp. 159–182.

34 Cf. BLACK/ POMARO (note 28), p. 105.

35 Here also another hand added some marginalia in Greek and Latin alphabet, f. i. on fol. 9r and fol. 43v.

36 Cf. BLACK/ POMARO (note 28), p. 106.

37 Cf. *IBID.*, p. 106.

38 Boethius and the commentary were written on eleven quires (a *quinio*, 9 *quaterniones* and a *ternio*, from which the last page was cut out), the various excerpts of fols. 88r–93v and 94r–101v were each written on a *ternio* and the *Partitiones oratoriae* on a *quaternionio*. A big stain on the bottom margin of fol. 87v, which is completely absent from the following pages indicates that these quires were kept somewhere separate. Several stains and discolorations on the first page of the last quire (Cicero) also point to the fact that this quire circulated independently, which allowed the first page of the quire to be worn out.

i. e. the finer, more precious side, and secondly, fols. 97^r and 98^v (the hair-side of the map's *bifolium*) look greasy, worn out and rather dirty, especially on the outer edges at the top and bottom. These findings suggest that the map was originally carried separately as an independent parchment of c. 33 × 45 cm and that it was folded in half, probably to protect the text written inside. After quite some time, when this folded *bifolium* was already showing signs of wear, somebody decided to add a text to the map and chose Burchard's treatise. The text was copied on a *ternio* and the *bifolium* with the map was put in its center. To fit Burchard's long version of the 'Descriptio' on the limited space of the *ternio*, the text was heavily redacted, abbreviated and written in a cramped script with copious abbreviations. Furthermore, when the map was bound at the center of the *libellus*, the scribe copied Burchard's text so that the description of Jerusalem went around the map and thus the very heart of the *libellus*. To that end, the scribe copied the last paragraphs of the *tertia divisio* of the 'Descriptio' on the third page of the *ternio* (fol. 96^v) and then inscribed the description of Jerusalem on what were once the outer edges of the map (fols. 97^r and 98^v), despite the fact that they were already in bad shape.

Both the codicological composition of the 'Florence *libellus*' and the characteristics of Burchard's 'Descriptio' that was copied in it make it clear that the *libellus* was literally built around the map and that the map as well as the paragraph on Jerusalem were meant to constitute its heart and *apex*. These codicological observations raise questions of why the *libellus* was constructed this way. As Erik KWAKKEL suggested some time ago, a medieval manuscript can be understood as the result of a long series of decisions made by its creator.³⁹ The way he or she intended the book to be used is reflected in every stage of its production and can thus be questioned by modern scholars to discover his or her motivations and aims. Bearing this idea in mind, we will analyze the Burchard Holy Land map in the 'Florence *libellus*' (BML, Plut. 76.56) reflecting on the motivations that led its maker to produce the *libellus* as it is.

The codicological findings regarding the map and the *libellus* have already shown that the map was drawn first and only later bound into the *libellus*. But what was the goal of the maker of this *libellus* when he produced the *ternio* with the excerpts and Burchard's 'Descriptio'? Was he trying to illustrate Burchard's text with the available pre-existing map or enlarging the map by selecting texts that would augment the graphic medium?

A first indication is the fact that the map was not left in its loose state but was bound in the middle of a quire. If the map was meant to illustrate Burchard's text, why was it bound in the first place? Why was it not kept unattached to facilitate the simultaneous consultation of map and text? Map and text, both rather small codico-

³⁹ Erik KWAKKEL, *Decoding the Material Book. Cultural Residue in Medieval Manuscripts*, in: Michael Robert JOHNSTON/ Michael VAN DUSSEN (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book. Cultural Approaches*, Cambridge et al. 2015, pp. 60–76, here p. 60.

logical units, could have been stowed in the same leather cover and taken out separately.⁴⁰

A second indication is the format of the *libellus*. According to the criteria developed by BOZZOLO and ORNATO, at 33 × 22.5 cm,⁴¹ our ‘Florence *libellus*’ falls into the category „medium-large“. ⁴² A study of hagiographical *libelli* pointed out that examples of this size were not very common. Rather, this size was often chosen for *libelli* that were given as gifts or served as representational objects.⁴³ But if the ‘Florence *libellus*’ was intended as a precious gift, why was the text written on parchment that was as worn out as the outer margins of the Holy Land map?

In the case of the ‘Florence *libellus*’ it seems more probable that the reason for its choice of format lay in the size of the map: since the *libellus* was constructed with the map as a starting point, it was the size of the map that determined format and dimension of the *libellus*. Both aspects suggest that the *libellus* was not intended as an illustration of Burchard’s work, but rather that the document represents an augmentation of a map of the Holy Land for which additional information was sought and found in excerpts as well as in Burchard’s ‘Descriptio’. Furthermore, the scribe’s choice not to bind the map into a pre-existing or new codex, but to create a *libellus* instead, is also relevant to this point. If the goal was to illustrate Burchard’s long version of the ‘Descriptio’, why did he not produce a traditional codex? Such a codex would have been the best option for the transmission of Burchard’s long text: the copyist could have reproduced the ‘Descriptio’ unredacted, without any concerns about the space at his disposal, with fewer abbreviations and in a clear, unconstrained script. He could have bound the map into such a codex as well, just as it was subsequently. Despite these advantages, the scribe and maker of the ‘Florence *libellus*’ decided against a classic codex. He decided for a small quire, a shortened and redacted text and a crowded script replete with abbreviations.

⁴⁰ Medieval library catalogues speak for instance of *libelli* „bound in limp parchment or in pergameno“ in contrast to codices that are bound „in asseribus“. *Libelli* could also be kept together in ‘parchment wraps’ („couvert de parchemin“), cf. ROBINSON (note 33), p. 165 (the quotation can also be found there).

⁴¹ The *libellus* may have been even bigger if we take into account that it was cut when it was bound. While the result of the binding process can still be seen on the map where some lines of texts have been cut away at the top and bottom, the trimming is not apparent on the text pages of the *libellus* because of their large blank upper and lower margins. Thus, it is probable that the *libellus* was also longer, like the map. On this topic cf. Joseph-Claude POULIN, *Les libelli dans l’édition hagiographique avant le XII^e siècle*, in: Martin HEINZELMANN (ed.), *Livrets, collections et textes. Études sur la tradition hagiographique latine* (Beihefte der Francia 63), Ostfildern 2006, pp. 15–193, here p. 25: „En règle générale, les livrets encore existants se présentent sous un format inférieur à celui de leur origine, au gré des opérations de reliure qu’ils ont dû subir à plusieurs reprises pour la plupart.“

⁴² Carla BOZZOLO/ Ezio ORNATO, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Age. Trois essais de codicologie quantitative*, Paris 1980, réimpr. 1983 (avec un supplément important), p. 218.

⁴³ POULIN (note 41), p. 23.

In addition, the texts, which the copyist filled the first sub-*libellus* with, indicate his intention to provide as much information as possible within the smallest codicological unit. He selected works that could be useful in the context of the map. From these *opera*, only those parts that were actually relevant for this objective were extracted: a severely shortened compendium of secular and religious history from the ‘*Historia ecclesiastica*’ (no. 3), an overview of the world and its geographical regions extrapolated from various authors (no. 4), notes on the pagan cults in the East from Rufinus (no. 5) and excerpts on the dietary habits of Arabs and Saracens from Jerome (no. 6).

While a codex would have made sense from the point of view of the text’s transmission, it presented some obstacles with regard to the map and its usability. First of all, in a codex, the map could not have been opened completely and its middle part would have remained hidden within the codex’s spine. Moreover, a map on a single, unbound *bifolium* is very mobile – it can be held up, passed around, moved and turned – which is more difficult in the case of a codex. A book is *per se* bulkier, heavier and less flexible than a single page, especially when it comes in the size of our map (unfolded c. 33 × 45 cm), as compared with a slim *libellus*. In short, placement within a codex would have hindered the map’s usability. The transmission inside a *libellus*, on the contrary, allowed the maker to maintain the functionality of the map: the graphic representation remained completely visible, since the *libellus* could be opened flat. The whole document also stayed light and easy to move, turn and lift.

To summarize, this codicological analysis of the ‘Florence *libellus*’ has revealed the motives and aims of its maker: the medium was chosen because it maintained the performative agility offered by the map’s unbound *bifolium* and at the same time allowed for the expansion of its content. Thus, in the case of the ‘Florence *libellus*’ we are not dealing with a ‘little book’, namely a book that was downsized in format and content, – as the term *libellus* would suggest – but rather with a kind of ‘hyper-map’, a graphic representation that was augmented in terms of its material form and content, while its strengths remained intact.

In the end, the analysis of the ‘Florence *libellus*’ allows for three conclusions. Firstly, although it is unclear if it can be called a Burchard map, it is still an important example of how Burchard’s ‘*Descriptio*’ – thanks to its comprehensive geographical information – could be used to expand on a map. Secondly, the ‘Florence *libellus*’ represents an interesting case for the study of medieval maps, their phenomenology and forms of transmission. In the present case, the map, after being used as a loose *bifolium*, became the center of a *libellus*, without losing its original functionality as a representation of the Holy Land’s geography. Thirdly, this particular *libellus* offers further insights for the study of medieval *libelli* in general. While the peculiarities of the usage of *libelli* in the transmission of hagiographical and liturgical material have

already been studied,⁴⁴ the 'Florence *libellus*' testifies to their use in the context of geographical literature and its visual accompaniments.

III Holy Land maps as an emotional experience

The codicological analysis reveals that the sheet with the map, touched and worn out on its outer edges by many hands, had clearly existed before Burchard's 'Descriptio' was written around it. Today we still see the traces of that use, but we do not know where the map came from and which routes it took. Perhaps it was made in Florence or it traveled to Tuscany with a pilgrim or a mendicant preacher. In any case, the map became the center of an eight-leaf *libellus* that was created around the innovative geographic visualization.

On the first page of the *bifolium*, i. e. the reverse of the map, probably the writer of the text or a person associated to him, but not the mapmaker, drew a small sketch of the most important buildings in Jerusalem (fig. 4).⁴⁵ The eight gates, the citadel or David's Tower and, near St Stephen's Gate or Gate of Ephraim, the Cloudy Tower (*turris nebulosa*)⁴⁶ appear as parts of the pewter-crowned city walls, which enclose the Lord's Sepulchre (*sepulcrum domini*) and the rest of the old Gate of Judgement: both envisioned in the space between the old and the new wall. Inside, there are small illustrations of the house of Pilate (*palatium pilati*), the place of the condemnation of Jesus (*licostrates*), the Sheep-Pool (*probatica piscina*) and the Temple Mount with the Dome of the Rock (*templum domini*). On the other side of the Kidron brook, the House of Caiaphas (*domus Cayfe*), the House of the Virgin Mary (*domus s. marie*), the great room in which Jesus shared his last meal with his disciples (*Cenaculum*) and the kings' tombs are unified in a semicircle. With the exception of the house of Pilate, all of these places are mentioned in Burchard's text, whose course the plan follows perfectly. It is in the same red and dark brown ink as the long version of the 'Descriptio' in this manuscript, which contains small marginal drawings illustrating the most important places of Christ's life and deeds in the same shades and similar forms.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ POULIN (note 41), p. 16 and p. 18, indicated that the *libellus* offered some advantages for the transmission of hagiographical literature because of its flexible form. It could not only adapt to different purposes and editorial concepts, but could also be integrated with additional material once it reached its destination. Cf. Pierre-Marie Gy, The Different Forms of Liturgical Libelli, in: Gerard AUSTIN (ed.), Fountain of Life, Washington 1991, pp. 23–34, who has studied the peculiarities of liturgical *libelli*. He was able to show that *libelli* in particular were used for specific rituals such as sacraments for the sick and the dead, the consecration of churches as well as the recording of new offices.

⁴⁵ Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97r with a map of Jerusalem; cf. RÖHRICHT (note 25), p. 104 and pl. 24; HARVEY (note 6), pp. 144–145.

⁴⁶ Cf. PRINGLE (note 9), p. 289; Adrian J. BOAS, Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades. Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule, London, New York 2001, p. 69 and p. 272.

⁴⁷ Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fols. 94r, 94v, 95r; HARVEY (note 6), p. 145.

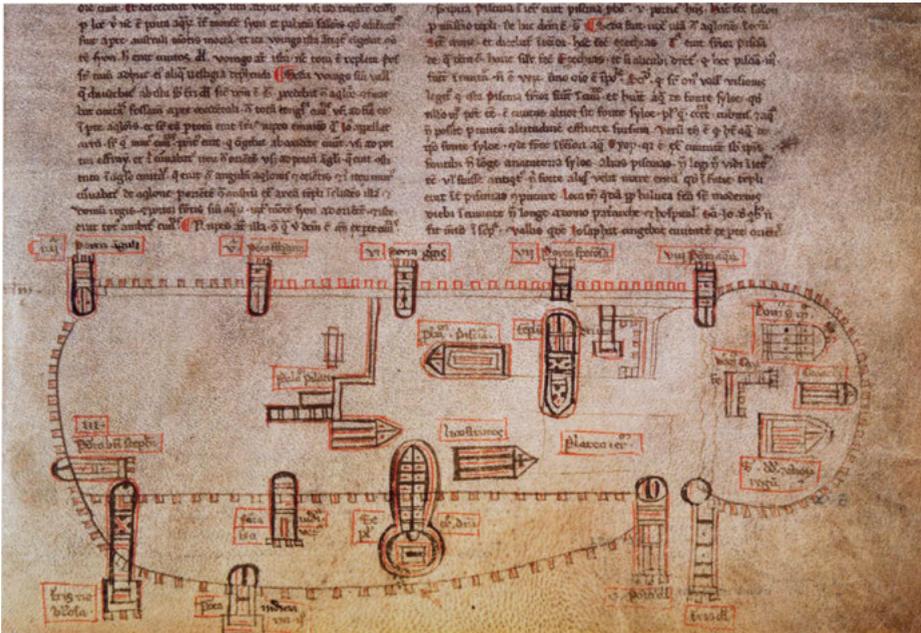


Fig. 4: Plan of Jerusalem; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76.56, fol. 97r.

It is obvious, that the *libellus* with Burchard's text and the plan of Jerusalem were carefully constructed and composed around the map and its geographical information. The loose *bifolium* or sheet was easy to hold in one's hand, to move and to turn around in all four directions. Users were able to touch and feel its materiality, the two sides of the parchment. Even as the center of eight *folia* in the 'Florence *libellus*', it kept its original flexibility and practicality. The map's multi-functionality was only lost, at least in part, when the *libellus* later became a segment of a heavy and less mobile codex. This increased its chance of preservation, but from then on it remained locked away and hidden in a library.

On the separate *bifolium* a contemporary observer would have recognized the short texts framed in red as pictorial elements within a spatial and temporal projection of the Holy Land's geography. Its topographic sketch is based on the possibility of rotating the parchment around and looking at it from different perspectives.

The Mediterranean coast, for example, is not orientated to one single direction. It runs from the south on the right hand to the north on the left along the bottom of the map, but it turns upwards at either end of the parchment, even though the coast actually continues northward on the left-hand side and only turns southeast along the Red Sea to the right.⁴⁸ The reason for this was probably not that the scribe realized that

48 HARVEY (note 6), p. 146.

he had not left enough space to complete the shoreline in the south. It seems more likely that this turn was made on purpose and was part of a broader tradition.

Following Reinhold RÖHRICHT, Paul HARVEY pointed out that two printed late fifteenth century maps and one manuscript map of the early sixteenth century followed the same outlines. These maps are in the ‘Rudimentum noviciorum’, produced by Lucas Brandis at Lübeck in 1475, in the ‘Prologus Arminensis in mappam Terresancte’, from the same press in about 1478, and in a copy of Burchard’s ‘Descriptio’ (family c according to Jonathan RUBIN) in Hamburg.⁴⁹ All of them, including the Florentine *bifolium*, have the same dynamic shape of the coastline; they are written on a double-page opening and end with the Red Sea in the south. Three of them accompany Burchard’s work in the long version, while only the ‘Prologus’, a work in four sections, provides in his third part a narrative of Palestine, which is associated with Burchard’s text, but modifies it fundamentally.

In their details, these geographic representations are designed differently. The one in the ‘Rudimentum’ consists of rounded hills with the names of towns, mountains and other locations; the one in the ‘Prologus’ contains systematically arranged place names with figures referring to the chapters of the narrative; and the Hamburg map delivers words and sentences taken from Burchard’s account. Striking is the rectangular pattern of the Florentine map, which makes it appear likewise ordered and uniform.

In all these representations, the regularity is intentional. Like the hills of the ‘Rudimentum’, the 406 entries of the Florentine *bifolium* written in black ink within red frames are evenly distributed across the surface.⁵⁰ Each box is meant to be identifiable by a name and have a specific connotation. The (so to speak) ‘imprisoned’ characters are transformed into pictorial elements that must submit to the primacy of their regular distribution. As a result, the temporal dimensions are also leveled. Time is subjected to higher ranking principles of order. Rachel’s well and the crusader fortresses are positioned side by side, as are Cain’s tomb and the Mountain of the Leopards, where Muslims visited what they believed was the tomb of the Prophet Joshua.⁵¹ This representation of the Holy Land provides a systematic order that consists predominantly of rectangular outlines. Even Jerusalem and Acre have to obey this regularity and cannot obtrude. The order is only rarely disturbed by streets and boundaries such as the borderlines between the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch.

⁴⁹ Cf. RÖHRICHT (note 25), pp. 104–105 with pl. 7; HARVEY (note 6), pp. 146–154 with a reproduction of the three maps. For the manuscript see Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. geogr. 59, pp. 70–71; cf. RUBIN (note 12), pp. 265–267 and 271.

⁵⁰ BAUMGÄRTNER, *Reiseberichte* (note 8), pp. 476–483 for the following.

⁵¹ RÖHRICHT (note 25), pl. 23: *Mons leopardorum*. Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. LAURENT (note 9), p. 28; cf. PRINGLE (note 9), pp. 250–251; BARTLETT (note 11), pp. 26–27; FISCHER (note 8), p. 249. Jacob of Verona adopted this passage including its doubt about the tomb circa 1335; cf. *Liber peregrinationis fratris Jacobi de Verona*, ed. Ugo MONNERET DE VILLARD, Rome 1950, c. 14.

On these maps, we cannot discern the acts of rulers, pilgrims, and crusaders. The space follows other principles of construction. It is not to be measured. It is not even measurable. The textual and pictorial structure eradicates all linearity of space and time. If we want to read and comprehend the entries, we have to turn the page frequently and connect them to the textual description. It is clear that the meaning of these toponyms is easier to understand after reading the accompanying account, which defines the location of places with exact distances and specifies the operational framework.

Such practices are seen in quite a few contemporary cartographic visualizations. Another example is Tucher's famous pilgrim map, whose copy by his brother Endres is preserved today in Paris (see fig. 1 on p. 278 in this volume).⁵² At first glance, it shows the Way of the Cross from the palace of Pilate to Golgotha within the structure of the cardinal directions from sunrise to sunset, from east to west. What appears to be linear is, upon closer inspection, multilayered like the map in Florence. To read the different inscriptions, the page must be rotated continuously: starting at the house of Pilate, the word *auffgang* (sunrise) is upside down and the paragraphs on the right, which provide only rudimentary information, are readable. If we want to know more, we have to turn the page and thus receive additional information that is completely different. Finally, it becomes clear that details about locations, distances and events concerning the different sites are listed separately. They can only be connected to each other if the page is constantly turned in all four directions. The text reflects this necessary procedure that dynamizes the perception of its subject.⁵³

This approach diverges from the typical sequence of paths from site to site provided by the small guides that any pilgrim could buy. The map presents more than the linear character of the Way of the Cross. A pilgrim could start at any of the many stations and follow the local topography, instead of the chronology of Christ's Passion. The correlation of places and events became tangible through the map. The resulting performative strategy allowed viewers to envision the holy sites in their own social and intellectual environment.⁵⁴

This flexibility and the possibility to move and rotate the map were especially important for the faithful at home to increase the intensity of their *imitatio Christi*. Thus, they experienced the movement from one holy place to the other, concentrated on every single site on the route and strengthened their religious emotions. They conquered the Holy Land on the arduous itinerary from one station to the next along a

⁵² [Hans Tucher], Karte des Weges der Kreuztragung Christi: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés O² f. 13 ad 1, fol. 6r; texts edited by Randall Eugene HERZ, Briefe Hans Tuchers d. Ä. aus dem Heiligen Land und andere Aufzeichnungen, in: Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 84 (1997), pp. 61–92, here pp. 75–79. Cf. HERZ (note 7), pp. 648–654; KIENING (note 15), pp. 304–310; KIENING, Mediating (note 14), pp. 131–134.

⁵³ HERZ (note 52), p. 77, 17–18: *So man das buch legt in die vier ort, so sicht man eigenlichen, wie das des Pilatuß hauß jegen dem auffgang der sunnen gelegen ist.*

⁵⁴ KIENING (note 15), p. 310.

path of different sites without a special sequence. On this path they could choose where they wanted to go next, instead of following a fixed sequence as defined by a site list or the description of a literary travel account with its static setting of space.

Raoul Du Bois has shown how the foldable representation of the Holy Land in the printed edition of Bernhard Breydenbach's travelogue reproduces the experience of the journey.⁵⁵ The three-folded leaflet – a woodcut designed by his traveling companion, the Dutch painter Erhard Reuwich – represents all the different parts of the landscape around Jerusalem.⁵⁶ It is fascinating to explore the process of opening the folds and to see how the picture of the city expands. It remains a perfect circle with a fold in the middle until the last opening reveals an elongated oval shape. The view of the city initially conveys the perfection of a circle that is seen yearningly from afar and then transforms into a more detailed vision of the stations where the Passion of Christ took place. The map changes from a general view of the fortified city walls to a sensual experience of seeing and touching individual houses and streets. The process of opening or turning the pages not only reflects the reader's active participation in approaching the desired places, but also his or her ability to experience the religious sites in a sensory way.

Here, as in many other pilgrimage and travel accounts, chronicles and encyclopedias, the turning of the page gains special importance. As the Ghent autograph of the 'Liber Floridus'⁵⁷ or the sequence of maps by Matthew Paris⁵⁸ demonstrate, the physical act of turning the pages towards Jerusalem is part of a strategy to recreate and comprehend the spatial dimensions of the pilgrimage. This kind of performance becomes even more complex when we analyze different accounts with regard to their text and its instructions. For example, the Nuremberg council member Gabriel Muffel, who wrote about his journey around 1465–1467, instructed his readers with the words *Ker vmb so vindestu die stat Ierusalem*.⁵⁹ The turnaround or 'Umkehr' is to be perceived as a double process of inner and outer experience as we turn the page and behold the

55 See the contribution of Raoul DU BOIS in this volume.

56 Frederike TIMM, *Der Palästina-Reisebericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs. Die Peregrinatio in terram sanctam (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift*, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 242–261.

57 Ghent, University Library, Ms 92. See Hanna VORHOLT, *Shaping Knowledge. The Transmission of the Liber Floridus* (Warburg Institute Studies and Texts 6), London 2017. See also the contribution of Nathalie Bouloux in this volume.

58 London, British Library, Royal Ms 14 C VII and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, Ms 26. See Daniel K. CONNOLLY, *Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris*, in: *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1999), pp. 598–622; Daniel K. CONNOLLY, *The Maps of Matthew Paris. Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy*, Woodbridge, Rochester/NY 2009; Salvatore SANSONE, *Tra cartografia politica e immaginario figurativo. Matthew Paris e l'iter de Londinio in Terram sanctam*, Rome 2009.

59 London, British Library, Egerton 1900, fol. 9r. I found the citation thanks to Raoul DU BOIS, see also his contribution in this volume.

picture of Jerusalem on the following page (see fig. 2 on p. 290 in this volume).⁶⁰ This underlines the importance of performativity in religious devotion.

It seems that Reuwich staged this turning of pages most clearly in his depiction of the panoramic view of Jerusalem.⁶¹ In the act of unfolding his large image of the Holy Land a specific dramaturgy is played out, a multilayered procedure of a gradual advancement to the center of holiness. The three folds of the map illustrate – as Raoul DU BOIS has excellently explained – movements in geographical space: while in the closed first variant, a moored ship and a circular Jerusalem symbolize a motionless state of longing, the gradual unfolding of the landscapes introduces movement. Entering the city and visiting the Temple Mount become steps on the way to the desired goal of spiritual and physical ascension. The opening of the map's three folds thus represents an action that symbolically implements the narrative qualities of the Holy Land's descriptions.

The Florentine manuscript does not go so far, but the sketch map with its red-framed toponyms makes it possible to experience the holy landscape and the associated religious stories. Incorporated into the codex, it becomes a memorial token, a handwritten trace of authenticity that oscillates between the act of reading and the actual stay in the Holy Land, between the observation and the emotional feeling of being there.

Moreover, the Florentine copyist adapted the text to contemporary events – such as the loss of Acre – that created fear and anxiety. Burchard had written about the contraction of the Christian Holy Land due to Muslim military pressure, and the copyist updated the information further. His supplements to the text suggest that he wrote under the impression of Acre's fall in 1291: of his own accord, he added that the city had been conquered by Muslims and razed to the ground. On that day, he wrote, when several thousand Christians had been massacred, a huge cross appeared in the sky before vespers to indicate that many people had been martyred.⁶² Such passages take their reader by the hand and lead him into a transcendent world of divine appearances, like the sign of the cross and the martyred saints, which can be traced back to the last Christian bastion in Palestine.

In many other ways, Burchard's account, which was created around the pre-existing map, was adapted to strengthen the emotional experience of the audience. An additional element is provided by pictograms of buildings in the margins of the manuscript's folios, which visualize the text's toponyms and connect them to the places on the map. The scribe tried to make text and image interdependent, although he worked with established entities and could not change much. His notes on the margins help to topographically locate the biblical stories of the account, adding another element to the complex mediality of the map.

⁶⁰ London, British Library, Egerton 1900, fol. 9v.

⁶¹ Cf. TIMM (note 56), pp. 242–261.

⁶² Florence, BML, Plut. 76.56, fol. 94rb, lines 29–33.

Later scribes provided the ‘Descriptio’ with further images. Four manuscripts – three of which contain the long version without the prologue and date from long after Burchard’s writing – include a wind diagram that divides the land into sectors as defined by the author.⁶³ The diagram in London (c. 1380 – 1420),⁶⁴ part of the manuscript family b, is rich in text and oriented to the south (fig. 5). It mainly focuses on the area east of the shoreline. The lines of seven winds or cardinal points, marked in red, divide the territory into six sections, over which the towns, castles, mountains and holy sites of Palestine (not all of which were listed by Burchard) are distributed. This diagram is also designed to be dynamic and flexible, and to be viewed from different angles as well. If one wants to read the words and individual paragraphs, one has to move the page around or turn the manuscript back and forth. Thus, the words become part of the dynamic motion of the winds.

This diagram is obviously not a direct visualization but was the result of different directions for writing and reading.⁶⁵ Its multi-layered and circular structure required the rotation of the page to reveal its inscriptions. Multiple linkages gave readers the chance to open themselves up to a deeper religious experience of the Promised Land, which had been lost for the Christians after the fall of Acre. The biblical and religious dimensions of the unique landscape probably stimulated the scribes’ intentions as well as the users’ perceptions. Just as pilgrims were interested in getting mobile and portable objects, the scribes were seeking to develop dynamic visualizations for them.

5 Conclusion

This paper analyzed different graphic representations of Palestine with regard to their religious significance and their capability to transfer their readers emotionally to the

63 London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18929, fols. 1r–50v (c. 1380 – 1420, Erfurt, St. Peter; long version, family b), fol. 51r with a wind diagram; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. lat. oct. 293 (olim Hildesheim Gymnasialbibliothek MS 17, 14th/15th century, long version, family c), fol. 1*v with a wind diagram; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 569, fols. 184r–210v (14th c., short version), fol. 186v with a wind diagram; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. geogr. 59, pp. 10–64 (16th c., long version, family c), here p. 13 with a wind diagram. Cf. BAUMGÄRTNER, *Reiseberichte* (note 8), pp. 470–476; BAUMGÄRTNER, *Winds* (note 8), pp. 99–104; for the stemma with the families cf. RUBIN (note 12), pp. 264–267.

64 London, British Library, Add. MS. 18929, fol. 51r; cf. BAUMGÄRTNER, *Reiseberichte* (note 8), p. 475; BAUMGÄRTNER, *Winds* (note 8), p. 101.

65 Sybille KRÄMER, *Figuration, Anschauung, Erkenntnis. Grundlinien einer Diagrammatologie* (stw 2176), Berlin 2016. On late medieval cosmologic diagrams in general cf. Katrin MÜLLER, *Visuelle Weltaneignung. Astronomische und kosmologische Diagramme in Handschriften des Mittelalters* (Historische Semantik 11), Göttingen 2008; Eckart Conrad LUTZ/ Vera JERJEN/ Christine PUTZ (eds.), *Diagramm und Text. Diagrammatische Strukturen und die Dynamisierung von Wissen und Erfahrung* (Überstorfer Colloquium 2012), Wiesbaden 2014; Henrike HAUG/ Christina LECHTERMANN/ Anja RATHMANN-LUTZ (eds.), *Diagramme im Gebrauch* (Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 22/2), Berlin, Boston 2017.

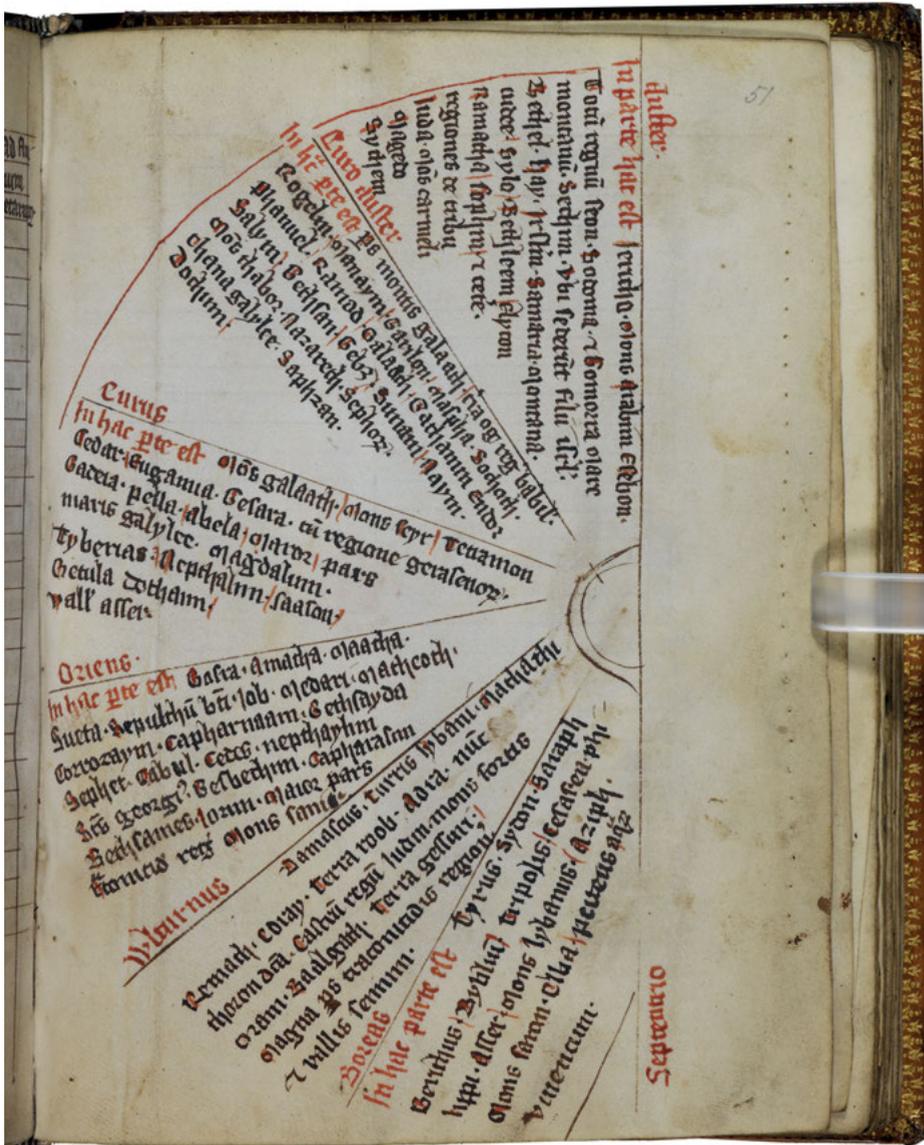


Fig. 5: Wind diagram; London, British Library, Add. Ms. 18929, fol. 51r; c. 1380–1420. © British Library Board.

holy sites, thus allowing them to experience a pilgrimage from home and to perceive the Holy Land tangibly even from afar. Such cartographical projections of the Holy Land in text and image were very versatile. The different forms of visualization and organization – the wind diagrams, maps and marginalia – were developed alongside each other within a short period of time. The study focused in particular on the maps

and wind diagrams of Palestine transmitted in the context of Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae'. One of their earliest examples is preserved in the manuscript Florence, BML Plutei 76.56. Its paleographical and codicological analysis has revealed that the map was once carried separately as an independent *bifolium*. Only later it was extended to a *libellus* containing texts about Palestine and the East. This was just one of many possible strategies employed by copyists to create graphic representations of Palestine resulting from a productive combination of text and image. Some scribes added further organizing principles and visualization methods to spark emotions or provide orientation in accordance with religious requirements. The analysis of this interplay between text and image presents an instructive model of how representations of geography and religion could interact and create innovative ideas.