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# **Maps and Travel in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period**



Knowledge, Imagination, and Visual Culture

Edited by

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and Katrin Kogman-Appel

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## Maps and Travel: An Introduction

Today, more than ever, maps and travel are substantial parts of our daily experiences. In the age of Google Maps and Global Positioning Systems we tend to believe that maps are faithful images of pre-existing realities and are made for locating places and routes. In contrast, medieval maps visualize the world in a completely different way that often seems strange to our modern eyes. Even at first sight, the modern viewer realizes that medieval maps communicate spatial and temporal perceptions of the world that differ considerably from our present understanding. While most premodern maps do not serve as appropriate aids for locating sites or planning an itinerary to clearly defined destinations, they do provide complex cultural, religious, and social interpretations of data and knowledge.<sup>1</sup> In fact, premodern maps generally convey their owner's or maker's *Weltbild*, parts of which were drawn from imagination, whereas modern maps seem to be designed to impart empirical knowledge and, thus, in a sense, to fulfill a practical function. In many ways the geographic concept of medieval portolan charts, early modern maps, and early city maps overlaps with these contrasting approaches creating a liminal zone where scientific treatments of landmasses meet with visualizations inspired by theological concerns, and the cartographic medium becomes multilayered and multifunctional.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. David WOODWARD (ed.), *Art and Cartography. Six Historical Essays*, Chicago, London 1987; John Brian HARLEY/ David WOODWARD (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, Chicago 1987, vol. 2,1: *Cartography in the traditional Islamic and South Asian societies*, Chicago 2003, vol. 2,2: *Cartography in the traditional East and Southeast Asian societies*, Chicago 1994, vol. 2,3: *Cartography in the traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific societies*, Chicago 1998; Denis COSGROVE (ed.), *Mappings*, London 1999; Paul LAXTON (ed), John Brian HARLEY, *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography*, Baltimore 2001; Ute SCHNEIDER, *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute*, Darmstadt 2004, repr. 2012; Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER/ Stefan SCHRÖDER, *Weltbild, Kartographie und geographische Kenntnisse*, in: Johannes FRIED/ Ernst-Dieter HEHL (eds.), *Weltdeutungen und Weltreligionen 600 bis 1500 (WBG-Weltgeschichte. Eine globale Geschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 21. Jahrhundert 3)*, Darmstadt 2010, pp. 57–83; Vadim OSWALT, *Weltkarten – Weltbilder. Zehn Schlüsseldokumente der Globalgeschichte*, Stuttgart 2015; Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER, *Die Welt in Karten. Umbrüche und Kontinuitäten im Mittelalter*, in: Uta GOERLITZ/ Meike HENSEL-GROBE (eds.), *Mediävistik und Schule im Dialog (Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 22, 1)*, Berlin 2017, pp. 55–74.

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On the one hand, the makers of portolan charts and early modern maps employed scientific methods, new developments in optics, and cartographic tools, yet at the same time the maps were, as their medieval predecessors, elaborate works of art intended for public display, often transporting ideological messages and serving propagandistic aims. Early modern maps were artistic objects showing such innovative evolutions as the growth of perspective and scientific observations. The scholarship in recent decades has witnessed a marked increase in cultural studies in which late medieval and early modern maps are treated not as mere mirrors of reality, but rather as both exquisite works of art and uniquely rewarding sources for the historian. A central contention is that those maps fulfilled not only an aesthetic and artistic function, but also served utilitarian and political ends. In the premodern period, creating a map was an occasion for a display of artistry, and the work was a form of decorative art to be exhibited either as a wall hanging or as a collector's item. For example, seventeenth-century maps were often framed with decorated columns and sensuous Baroque images associated with issues of power and politics.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, premodern maps were constantly entangled with religious *Weltbilder*, political constructs, and the determination to acquire and impart knowledge. Premodern travel touched upon similar schemes. Medieval and early modern travelers set out on various kinds of journeys. Some who traveled as merchants did not share their knowledge with others, but one of the most famous travelogues was dictated by Marco Polo, a merchant, to a professional author. Missionaries and pilgrims were driven by religious motives, the latter often designing their accounts as spiritual vehicles to enable others to undertake a mental pilgrimage. Finally, some authors embarked on fictitious journeys sharing their tales with readers who would not know the difference between real-life experiences and the products of an author's imagination.

Premodern maps and travelogues not only have much in common, but are entangled in various ways. They convey knowledge, either visually or verbally, about remote places in homely terms, easily understood by their readers and viewers. Maps function with signs and images from the familiar world of their makers to visualize places that neither their maker nor their viewer ever saw. By way of comparison, travel accounts often address a set of familiar norms and terms in order to present the reader with an unknown, sometimes uncanny world. As both genres created powerful images of the 'Other', they helped medieval readers to come to terms with their own cultural and religious identities.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. John Brian HARLEY/ David WOODWARD (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3,1-2: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Chicago 2007; David WOODWARD, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance. Makers, Distributors and Consumers*, London 1996; Lucia NUTI, *Ritratti di città. Visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento*, Venice 1996; David BUISSERET (ed.), *Envisioning the City. Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, Chicago, London 1998; SCHNEIDER (note 1); Francesca FIORANI, *The Marvel of Maps. Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven 2005; Sean ROBERTS, *Printing a Mediterranean World*, Cambridge/ MA 2013; Mark ROSEN, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge 2015.

Maps, both premodern and modern, visualize knowledge of the world and create spatial configurations. Several scholars have pointed out that (early) modern maps can be read as compressed (re)constructions of social orders, political intentions, and other imaginings. Thus, they do not simply represent spatial configurations, but generate new, relational determined spaces and create spatially defined realities. In parallel, travelogues as verbally communicated information often follow itineraries emerging within well-defined spaces. In a way, they appear as counterparts of cartographic renderings.

However, the relationship between visual cartographic knowledge and verbal information in travelogues is more complex. It has been shown that visualized imagination and textual narrative cannot be separated into two differing categories along a clearly demarcated dividing line. Rather, both are mirrors of their authors' religious, cultural, and personal world and convey diverse degrees and elements of knowledge. Approached via the concept of multimodality as a methodological tool, both maps and travel accounts appear as distinct modes, that is, socially and culturally determined ways of creating meaning and establishing communication on similar matters.<sup>3</sup>

In fact, a relationship between maps and travel has been documented since late antiquity. On the one hand, the medieval cartographic renderings and diagrams included in manuscripts of Orosius's 'Historiae adversum Paganos' and even earlier in copies of Strabo's 'Chrestomathies' demonstrate that sketches of the outline of the tripartite world were considered suitable additions to historiographical and geographical texts.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the Ebstorf world map, created around 1300 and destroyed during the Second World War, associates visualized knowledge of the ecumene with journeying. A legend in one of its corners explains that the practice of mapping is important not only for the observer but also for the traveler:

Map means *forma* (form, design, plan, model, outline, drawing, figure). Hence a *mappa mundi* is a form of the world, which Julius Caesar, having sent legates throughout the breadth of the whole world, first instituted. Regions, provinces, islands, cities, sandy coasts, marshes, flat expanses [of seas or plains], mountains, and rivers he brought together, as it were, for viewing on a single page. It offers to readers no small utility, to wayfarers, direction and delight in the most pleasing sight of things along the way.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Gunther KRESS, What is mode?, in: Carey JEWITT (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*, London, New York 2009, pp. 54–67.

<sup>4</sup> Didier MARCOTTE, *Orbis triquadrus*, monde triparti. Une figure cartographique des *Histoires* d'Orose. Suivi de 'Un diagramme inédit dans les *Chrestomathies* de Strabon', in: Nathalie BOULOUX/ Anca DAN/ Georges TOLIAS (eds.), *Orbis disciplinae. Hommages en l'honneur de Patrick Gautier Dalché*, Turnhout 2017, pp. 255–279.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hartmut KUGLER, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, Berlin 2007, 2 vols., here no. 7/1, vol. 1, pp. 21, 42 and vol. 2, p. 86: *Mappa dicitur forma. Inde mappa mundi id est forma mundi. Quam Julius Cesar missis legatis per totius orbis amplitudinem primus instituit; regiones, provincias, insulas, civitates, syrtes, paludes, equora, montes, flumina quasi sub unius pagine visione coadunavit; que scilicet non parvam*

A map's usefulness for the individual observer does not need to be justified, but there are also further advantages for the traveler: a map is designed to indicate directions to the itinerant and to activate his or her interest in the objects and events along the routes in the most pleasant way.

In medieval *mappae mundi* the association with voyaging had nothing to do with real-life geographic routes and existing landscapes, but rather with imaginary worlds and mental pathways. It was the pilgrim's eyes and his or her mind traveling the different parts of the *orbis terrarum*, in the double sense of *speculatio*, a religious contemplation of the world (*Weltbetrachtung*), on one hand, and *dilectio*, its delightful interpretation (*Weltdeutung*), on the other. The measurements taken by Caesar's special envoys wandering all over the world offered the antique background for a spiritual pilgrimage for those in the Middle Ages who could not physically manage the actual itinerary.

Similarly, Jewish maps “conceptualize the landscape of biblical topography” (in Pnina Arad's words) and are framed here within the cultural ambience of the people who made them and those who used them. The maps convey both real-life experiences and symbolic meanings attached to pilgrimage sites. Likewise, the descriptions of travels reveal the authors' and, in a way, the travelers' approach to different parts of the known world from specific Jewish perspectives.<sup>6</sup>

## Objective

This volume is an attempt to illuminate the way geographic space was described and visualized in premodern times and how significantly these depictions differed from region to region, from period to period, and from context to context. Various methods of mapmaking and different ways of putting travel experiences into words yielded different results. The history of travel and mapmaking does not reveal a continuous evolutionary progression, but, rather, results in the delineation of individual distinctions

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*prestat legentibus utilitatem, viantibus directionem rerumque viarum gratissime speculationis dilectionem.* English translation by Marcia KUPFER in her following article. Cf. Claude NICOLET/ Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, Les ‘Quatre Sages’ de Jules César et la ‘Mesure du monde’ selon Julius Honorius: réalité antique et tradition médiévale, in: *Journal des Savants* 4 (1986), pp. 157–218, here p. 205; Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, Agrimensure et inventaire du monde: la fortune de ‘Mappa (Mundi)’ au Moyen Âge, in: *Les vocabulaires techniques des arpenteurs romains. Actes du colloque international (Besançon, 19–21 septembre 2002)*, Besançon 2006, pp. 163–171, here p. 169; Marcia KUPFER, Art and Optics in the Hereford Map. An English Mappa Mundi, c. 1300, London 2016, pp. 26–27, 32–38.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Islamic maps conceptualize the parts of the world into stylized shapes, transmit issues of political power and religion, see, e.g. Yossef RAPOPORT, Reflections of Fatimid power in the maps of Island Cities in the ‘Book of Curiosities’, in: Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER/ Martina STERCKEN (eds.), *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit (Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 19)*, Zürich 2012, pp. 183–210.

and differences within the wide range of cartographic and travel practices, parallel developments, and different perspectives.

The chapters that follow discuss visualizations and depictions of the world, or parts of it, as it was known during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. They focus on mapping as a conceptual and artistic practice, on visual representations of space both ‘civil’ and ‘savage’, and on descriptions of experiences recorded by travelers or imagined by narrators of fictive travel. How can a map as an intellectual construct deal with cultural diversity and different modes of knowledge and at the same time highlight their differences? Even though maps were often taken as straightforward, unbiased configurations, the individual case studies presented in this volume reveal deeply subjective frameworks bearing social, political, and economic significance. Likewise, travel narratives, whether illustrated or not, can address similar settings and contexts. Whereas traveled space is often adventurous and wild, a place of hardship, strange encounters, and danger, city portraits tell a tale of civilized life and civic pride. This volume addresses the multiple ways in which medieval and early modern maps and (illustrated) travel literature reflected and conceived of the world, communicated a *Weltbild*, depicted space, and defined knowledge. The included case studies span the period from late antiquity to the seventeenth century and focus on examples taken from the Mediterranean region, Europe, and the Middle East that reflect the continuation and innovation in depicting geographical space among different periods and diverse zones.

Whereas the volume’s contributors recognize the importance of maps as informational tools, they challenge the academic boundaries in the study of medieval and early modern maps and travelogues by exploring the links among mapmaking, travel narratives, and artistic practices like painting, printmaking, and drawing. Apart from issues concerning the identity and the professional and intellectual profiles of mapmakers as artists and scientists, as well as authors of travel narratives, our considerations focus on the exchange of maps among different cultures and their reception by various audiences.

## Approaches

In the late 1970s scholars such as John B. HARLEY<sup>7</sup> began to emphasize that maps can only be understood in their context and within their literary and visual frameworks. Consequently, there was a focus on the mutual influences and interactions between cartographic images and textual descriptions, between the visualization of and narratives about the ‘world’, and on the various ways these different systems of recording functioned and performed concurrently. Modes of enquiry and research objectives

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<sup>7</sup> Vgl. David WOODWARD, Obituary J. B. Harley (1932–1991), in: *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992), pp. 120–125; John B. HARLEY, Deconstructing the Map, in: *Cartographica* 26 (1989), pp. 1–20; repr. in: Paul LAXTON (ed.), *The New Nature of Maps. Essays in the History of Cartography*, Baltimore 2001, pp. 149–168.

changed over the years leading to different emphases, and the various disciplinary fields connected with cartography and travel literature developed into broader issues.

Following HARLEY'S work, recent decades have seen an increasing number of studies that suggest that cartographic information is organized within a complex network of content and form. For some time scholars concentrated on the exchange between geography, space, and power in cartographic images and literature.<sup>8</sup> Later on, the research perspective on maps began to shift from the map as a final result to the process of mapping, from the presentation of the world and its spaces to the representation of a spatial order, from the illustration of mythical life to the potential power over spaces, and from the display of information to the ability to generate knowledge in interaction with the observer. In all these developments, the connection between cartographic images and texts became increasingly important. This was true for the study of manuscripts as the material settings for maps and the texts they accompany, as well as for the mutual exchange of information delivered visually and in such texts as travelogues and chronicles.

Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ was among the first to show how works such as the late twelfth-century 'Expositio mappe mundi', which he attributed to the Yorkshire chronicler Roger of Howden (d. 1201), describe in words exactly what we can perceive in an image such as a *mappa mundi*.<sup>9</sup> He also analyzed Hugh of Saint-Victor's 'Descriptio mappe mundi', in which the prologue notes that the cartographic representation of the world can replace the *realia*. Approaches such as Hugh's opened the way to new intellectual spaces.<sup>10</sup> Around 1218 and under the influence of the Fifth Crusade, Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, wrote that he considered world maps important instruments for visualizing geographic information about landscapes and sites. With regard to the Holy Land, this potential was recognized by both pilgrims and scholars, when Roger Bacon, for example, sketched a *mental map* of the Jordan Valley in his 'Opus maius', around 1266/1267.<sup>11</sup>

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**8** Cf. inter alia Martina STERCKEN, Kartographien von Herrschaft im Mittelalter, in: Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter 70 (2006), pp. 134–154; Jess EDWARDS, Wie liest man eine frühneuzeitliche Karte? Zwischen dem Besonderen und dem Allgemeinen, dem Materiellen und dem Abstrakten, Wörtern und Mathematik, in: Jürg GLAUSER/ Christian KIENING (eds.), Text – Bild – Karte. Kartographien der Vormoderne (Rombach Wissenschaften. Reihe Litterae 105), Freiburg im Breisgau, Berlin, Wien 2007, pp. 95–130; Martina STERCKEN, Repräsentieren mit Karten als mediales Modell, in: Christian KIENING/ Martina STERCKEN (eds.), Modelle des Medialen im Mittelalter (Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 15,2), Berlin 2010, pp. 96–113.

**9** Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, Du Yorkshire à l'Inde: une 'géographie' urbaine et maritime de la fin du XIIe siècle (Roger de Howden?), Geneva 2005, pp. 49–82.

**10** Id., *La Descriptio mappe mundi* de Hugues de Saint-Victor: texte inédit avec introduction et commentaire, Paris 1988, pp. 81–85; Id., 'Réalité' et 'symbole' dans la géographie de Hugues de Saint-Victor, in: Ugo di San Vittore. Atti del XLVII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10–12 ottobre 2010 (Atti dei convegni del Centro italiano di studi sul basso Medioevo, Accademia Tudertina. Nuova serie 24), Spoleto 2011, pp. 359–381; Dominique POIREL, *Alter mundus*: cosmos réel ou cosmos symbolique chez Hugues de Saint-Victor, in: BOULOUX/ DAN/ TOLIAS (note 4), pp. 63–81.

**11** Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*, ed. John Henry BRIDGES, London 1900, 2 vols., repr. Frankfurt am Main 1964, here vol. 1, pp. 185–186; English translation of the geographic chapters by Herbert M. HOWE under

Numerous publications in recent years have emphasized the meditative function of maps, their potential as an impetus for imaginary travel and their compensatory import for pilgrims who could not travel physically because of their religious status, such as nuns in enclosure behind convent walls.<sup>12</sup> In all of these cases, a *mappa mundi* displayed in the convent or regional maps in travel reports or chronicles (such as the maps of Matthew Paris) helped devotees to re-enact and comprehend the religious practices of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>13</sup>

Based on the map in the London Psalter, Bettina SCHÖLLER shows how textual and pictorial systems of recording information interacted to systematize and contextualize knowledge. She explains the functions – to store, to order, and to transfer information – that had to be executed. At the same time, she sheds light on how knowledge was transferred from verbal description to visualization in the shape of a T-O diagram and encyclopedic world maps. As examples she takes the London Psalter Map (after 1262) on whose verso page a text appears, which SCHÖLLER identifies as the aforementioned ‘Descriptio mappae mundi’ by Hugh,<sup>14</sup> and the nearly contemporaneous Lambeth Map from southern England, which is based on the divergent version of Honorius Augustodunensis’s ‘Imago mundi’ in the same manuscript.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, fourteenth-century maps associated with the work of Ranulf Higden can and should be read in relation to copies of the latter’s chronicle, as that demonstrates how map and text engendered mental traveling around the world.<sup>16</sup>

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<http://www.geography.wisc.edu/histcart/bacon.html>. Cf. David WOODWARD/ Herbert M. HOWE, Roger Bacon on Geography and Cartography, in: Jeremiah HACKETT (ed.), Roger Bacon and the Sciences. Commemorative Essays, Leiden, New York, Köln 1997, pp. 199–222, here pp. 219, 204.

**12** Daniel K. CONNOLLY, The Maps of Matthew Paris. Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy, Woodbridge 2009; Kathryn M. RUDY, Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages (Disciplina Monastica 8), Turnhout 2011.

**13** Pnina ARAD, Pilgrimage, Cartography and Devotion: William Wey’s Map of the Holy Land, in: Victor 43 (2012), pp. 1–22; Bianca KÜHNEL/ Galit NOGA-BANAI/ Hanna VORHOLT (eds.), Visual Constructs of Jerusalem (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 18), Turnhout 2014 with case studies on Adamnán’s drawing in his report (O’LOUGHLIN), the origin of the Holy Land maps from the *Liber locorum* and the so-called Hieronymus-maps (M. LEVY-RUBIN), the Quaresmius map of the Holy City, made in 1639 (R. RUBIN), the Jerusalem maps of American missionaries (E. EDSON) as well as the Holy Land maps in Matthaëus Parisiensis historiographical work (L. J. WHATLEY), in the *Rudimentum Novitiorum* of 1475 (A. WORM) or by William of Wey and Gabriele Capodilista (P. ARAD).

**14** Bettina SCHÖLLER, Wissen speichern, Wissen ordnen, Wissen übertragen. Schriftliche und bildliche Aufzeichnungen der Welt im Umfeld der Londoner Psalterkarte (Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 32), Zürich 2015, pp. 98–112, 191–200 for the map in London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9r-v. Cf. Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, Comment et pourquoi décrire une mappe-monde au Moyen Âge?, in: Pierre CHASTANG/ Patrick HENRIET/ Claire SOUSSEN (eds.), Figures de l’autorité médiévale. Mélanges offerts à Michel Zimmermann, Paris 2016, pp. 69–88.

**15** SCHÖLLER (note 14), pp. 200–223 for the map in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 371, fol. 9v.

**16** Cornelia DREER/ Keith D. LILLEY, Universal Histories and their Geographies: Navigating the Maps and Texts of Higden’s *Polychronicon*, in: Michele CAMPOPIANO/ Henry BAINTON (eds.), Universal Chronicles in the High Middle Ages (Writing History in the Middle Ages 4), Woodbridge 2017 pp. 275–301.

Apart from historiographic and geographic literature, travelogues and their complex narratives increasingly influenced the visualization of the world or parts of it. In turn maps oftentimes directed authors how to put their travel experience into words.<sup>17</sup> From the tiny London Psalter Map to the monumental *mappae mundi* in the Ebstorf convent and in Hereford Cathedral, as well as the one designed by Fra Mauro, these maps could be adapted to specific ideas and requirements. Their adaptability is clear when we look at how various textual sources starting with Ptolemy's 'Geographia' influenced later cartographers to reconstruct the Asian coastline until Mercator's Map in 1569.<sup>18</sup> For centuries, the Indian Ocean was considered to be landlocked, and it took a long process of continuous adaptations and alterations generated by the testimonies of travelers until knowledge of the Indian Ocean as an open sea was generally accepted.

Information arising from the pervasive narratives of Alexander's military campaigns was integrated into maps just like geographic data gathered from pilgrims or merchants. The Holy Land dominated in medieval and early modern descriptions of space, both Christian and Jewish.<sup>19</sup> Such texts were enriched with maps and, in the Christian context, with lists of indulgences to be obtained at holy places, such as the ones revised and circulated by the Franciscans of Mount Zion.<sup>20</sup> From the fourteenth century on, the mixture of literary and visual reception became increasingly important, so that fifty-four maps and didactic illustrations were inserted in the manuscripts and early prints of Nicholas of Lyra's well-known and widespread commentary on the Bible, the 'Postilla Litteralis' (1323–1332).<sup>21</sup>

A major cartographic innovation of the early modern period was the genre of the city view, which appears to have been at the interface between art and cartography, dealing with both artistic and scientific concerns. This genre was interdisciplinary, and employed a unique visual language worthy of the attention of art historians. In early modern culture, important branches of art and cartography had their roots in a common tradition. Maps were used as floor mosaics, frescoes, and wall hangings, and were often turned into collectors' items and hung on walls as another type of landscape painting. Starting at the beginning of the fifteenth century, aesthetically

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**17** Folker REICHERT, *Asien und Europa im Mittelalter. Studien zur Geschichte des Reisens*, Göttingen 2014, *passim*; Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER, *Europa in der Kartographie des Mittelalters. Repräsentationen – Grenzen – Paradigmen*, in: Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER/ Hartmut KUGLER (eds.), *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters. Kartographische Konzepte (Orbis mediaevalis 10)*, Berlin 2008, pp. 9–28.

**18** Marica MILANESI, *The Real Ganges. Gerard Mercator and the Question of the Borders of India*, in: BOULOUX/ DAN/ TOLIAS (note 4), pp. 395–418.

**19** Jean-Pierre ROTHCHILD, *Aperçus sur le monde et la Terre sainte dans la littérature hébraïque médiévale et modern*, in: BOULOUX/ DAN/ TOLIAS (note 4), pp. 103–123.

**20** Michele CAMPOPIANO, *Écrire/décrire la Terre sainte: les Franciscains et la représentation des lieux sacrés (début du XIVe-début du XVIe siècle)*, in: BOULOUX/ DAN/ TOLIAS (note 4), pp. 167–182.

**21** Catherine DELANO-SMITH, *Some Contemporary Manuscripts of Nicholas of Lyra's Postilla Litteralis (1323–1332): Maps, Plans and Other Illustrations*, in: BOULOUX/ DAN/ TOLIAS (note 4), pp. 199–232.

pleasing maps manifested a fusion of art and science. The rediscovery of Ptolemy had a major impact on Renaissance cartography, and developments in optics and mathematics had a crucial influence on the changing designs and roles of maps.<sup>22</sup>

Many early modern cartographers were pictorial artists who painted and decorated their maps. Celebrated painters such as Leonardo da Vinci, Albrecht Dürer, and Jacopo de' Barbari turned their hands to mapmaking and the genre was especially popular in the Dutch tradition. In 1501–1502, Leonardo combined the theory and practice of mapmaking when he prepared a list of maps of central Italy for Cesare Borgia. He also attempted to convert observations from the ground into an imagined view from the air when he produced a map of Milan with an oblique viewpoint and an abstraction based on the principles of mathematical perspective in an effort to preserve accuracy.<sup>23</sup> This was followed in sixteenth-century Italian painting by a series of fantastic panoramas created from imaginary viewpoints. Renaissance technology further contributed to artistry in cartography as woodcutters, engravers, and printers who had been pictorial artists turned their energies to cartographic engraving, with Venice and Antwerp serving as prominent centers of publishing and mapmaking.

The city view, which was figured with an emphasis on a realistic representation and rendered from various landscapes, was drawn from a bird's-eye perspective. Prints and woodcuts of cities were invariably described as being true and lifelike (*ad vivum*), and the perspective plan emerged as the dominant form of topographic representation.<sup>24</sup> Examples of this genre are the city view of Venice by Jacopo de' Barbari, that of Rome by Alessandro Strozzi, and that of Florence by Francesco Rosselli, all of which were done at the end of the fifteenth century. Gradually, a style developed that drew the city view as seen from an elevated vantage point across the city, which was known as the profile city view.<sup>25</sup> This format was also sometimes called the city panorama.<sup>26</sup>

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**22** See John Brian HARLEY, *The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography*, in: HARLEY/WOODWARD, vol. 1 (note 1), pp. 1–42; Naomi MILLER, *Mapping the City. The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance*, London 2003; Jürgen SCHULZ, *Maps as Metaphors. Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance*, in: WOODWARD (note 1), pp. 97–122.

**23** On the artistic aspects of city views see Ronald REES, *Historical Links between Cartography and Art*, in: *Geographical Review* 70 (1980), pp. 60–78.

**24** Ian MANNERS, *Constructing the Image of a City. The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, in: *Annals of the Association of American Geography* 87, 1 (1997), pp. 72–102.

**25** Lucia NUTI, *The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century. The Invention of a New Representational Language*, in: *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), pp. 105–128; Jessica MAIER, *A 'True Likeness': The Renaissance City Portrait*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, 3 (2012), pp. 711–752. On city views of Florence see Thomas FRANGENBERG, *Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century*, in: *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994), pp. 41–64; David FRIEDMAN, *'Fiorenza': Geography and Representation in a 15th-Century City View*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64 (2001), pp. 56–77.

**26** The term city panorama is often applied to the nineteenth-century vast panoramic city views, but the city panorama has a longer history that goes back to the early modern period. On the development of the genre of the panorama see Bernard COMMENT, *The Panorama*, London 1999.

This volume considers the manifold relationships among maps, geographic texts, and travelogues, both Christian and Jewish, creating bridges between text and image from the specific perspective of the depiction of geographic space. Transgressing the traditional boundaries between the Middle Ages and the early modern period, it follows the paths of recent scholars and goes beyond the traditional positivist approach of scientific geographic knowledge and its cartographic manifestations. The maps and texts we deal with challenge the boundaries between media; the contributions break through methodological boundaries – between literary study, text criticism, and history – and contextualization takes these methods (which are commonly not used for visual material) and applies them to maps and stories.

## Sections

The present volume is primarily an attempt to call attention to the visual aspects of mapmaking and travel writing. In accord with current research approaches, the thematically grouped chapters deal with a selection of works from late antiquity to the early modern period and offer several case studies. Structured in four parts organized along different spaces (historical and sacred space), these works define their uses and functions and describe the way text and image combine to mediate their messages. Most of the chapters are based on presentations delivered during a workshop held in June 2015 at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel, supported by a grant from the Israel Science Foundation.

The **first section** considers historical space in relation to cultural and religious values. The chapters explore such major issues as the motivation for cartography and travel, such specific iconographic features as the images of animals on maps, and Christian and Jewish depictions of the Holy Land. It opens with Marcia KUPFER's essay in which she argues that the cartographic stimulus for imaginary travel, with its roots in ancient rhetoric, had become a topos well before the fourteenth century. She surveys readers' approaches to medieval *mappae mundi* as gleaned from extant works in which the use of maps left visual traces and from the textual records about these uses. Debra HIGGS STRICKLAND focuses on animal imagery on the Hereford Map in its relation to the English medieval bestiary tradition. As the depictions of animals migrated from the Christian moralizations of the bestiaries to the cartographic context with its concerns about space and geography, they adapted to new meanings, occasionally with a political dimension. Pnina ARAD examines Christian and Jewish maps of the Holy Land. From the early sixteenth century on, maps showing the Exodus to the Promised Land were occasionally inserted into printed Passover haggadot. She argues that these maps were associated with the haggadah because of their inherent capability to construct and maintain the formative memory of Jewish society and examines the connection between the map and the haggadah, considering both as media that constructed Jewish cultural values and national expectations.

The **second section** deals with the production, use, and reception of maps from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Major themes include the geometrical representation of space in medieval maps, the relationships between fictive travelogues and images, the importance of marine charts, and the complex relationships between maps and pictorial traditions. Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER's essay focuses on abstract representations of the world and its regions. Taking Burchard of Mount Zion's description of the Holy Land (written before June 1285) as a starting point, she discusses the correlation among the three parts of the world, that is, Asia, Africa, and Europe, the earth's four quarters, and their further division according to the twelve scientific or sixteen nautical wind directions. Her argument focuses on different models and their reception in a range of texts, especially historiography and travel accounts, and in different kinds of maps including T-O maps, world maps, regional depictions of the Holy Land, and nautical wind roses of late medieval sea charts. Katrin KOGMAN-APPEL looks at the 'Libro de conocimiento de todos los reinos', in Castilian, a (fictive) travelogue that describes a journey from Castile to China and includes descriptions of all of the kingdoms. Her essay suggests that whereas descriptions of Europe follow a chart, there was no such visual aid available for the descriptions of Asia.

Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ demonstrates that soon after the first appearance of marine charts as technical vehicles for the use of navigators and merchants in the thirteenth century, they began to draw the attention of *litterati*, historians, scientists, and authors of Crusader plans or poetical itineraries, who used them to study the geography of the *orbis terrarum*. Scholars commonly transcribed place names from marine charts and sought to identify them with toponyms known from ancient sources. Moreover, the circulation of the 'Geographia' in Latin raised questions about the geographic accuracy of the Ptolemaic concept of visualization in comparison with that of marine charts. He describes the way these scholars tackled the epistemological tensions between the attachment to ancient culture and recent scientific developments, touching upon general questions concerning humanism. Camille SERCHUK's essay focuses on the complex network of relationships between cartography produced in the sixteenth century in Normandy and contemporary pictorial traditions. The artistic ornamentation of these cartographic objects added both value and luster, and thus helped to distance these works from printed maps and proclaimed their originality, exclusivity, and their rarity.

In the **third section** we turn to 'Travel into Sacred Space' and analyze intellectual traditions associated with religious travel in various societies. It focuses on Jewish travels, as well as pilgrimage in Catholic and Greek Orthodox culture. Eyal BEN-ELIYAHU deals with the journeys of the rabbis and reconstructs the mental maps of their movements outside the Land of Israel in order to demonstrate their lack of interest in the West after the uprisings against Trajan and Hadrian. The rabbinic literature reveals that the geographical and ethnographical perceptions were more restricted than those of the Hellenistic-Jewish literary maps found in *Jubilees* and Flavius Josephus's treatment in the 'table of nations,' and of Jewish travel schemes

known from the Second Temple period. It also differs considerably from Roman visions of the world.

In her contribution on the real or fictive travels addressed in a Jewish scroll from the fourteenth century, Rachel SARFATI describes a hitherto unknown Jewish fourteenth-century illustrated scroll depicting the Holy Land. She discusses the images of the holy sites, noting that some of those depictions suggest an imaginary journey from Egypt to the Land of Israel, whereas others relate to the scribe's real journey. In 'Between Nazareth and Loreto' Daniel M. UNGER discusses the appearance of bricks in Caravaggio's painting *Madonna di Loreto*. In combination with earlier accounts of travelers and pilgrims to both Loreto and Nazareth the brick motif suggests an interesting point of view regarding the miraculous translation of the Madonna's house from one place to another. Veronica DELLA DORA writes about the life of Vasilij Grigorovich Barskij as a pilgrimage, pointing out sacred topographies and the "optics of truth". She focuses on his two visits to Mount Athos (1725–1744), the largest monastic center in Greece. The sketches accompanying Barskij's accounts provide a fascinating insight into his spatial perceptions.

The fourth and **last section** deals with the relationship between words and images, among them such new media as urban panoramas and visual prints, focusing on innovations of the early modern era like the utilization of prints in cartography, the development of the city views, and the discovery of the New World as factors in cartography. Larry SILVER's 'Antwerp Civic Self-Portraits' analyzes early modern printed city views in a European context. These images appear as waterside profiles or bird's-eye views in the form of murals or friezes, as parts of book projects or official publications commissioned by the cities themselves. In any case, they highlight the importance of an accurate representation of such views on a large scale. These views of Antwerp chart the expansion of the city, including newly added walls and citadels as well as skyline features, such as church towers and civic structures.

Nirit Ben-Aryeh DEBBY's essay focuses on a painted panorama of Constantinople and a nautical atlas created by Fra Niccolò Guidalotto when he served in the Venetian Embassy in Constantinople during the seventeenth century (around 1646). They both combine text and images and are fascinating examples of Venetian visual propaganda against the Ottomans during the War of Candia. Investigating the New World in maps from the sixteenth century, Sandra SÁENZ-LÓPEZ PÉREZ explores the development of a visual tradition of representations of non-European rulers, both American and Asian, on sixteenth-century maps. She demonstrates that, when it came to depicting the New World, early modern cartographers and artists were not free of the classical heritage. However, in the portraits of New World rulers, classicism was interpreted afresh and combined with a new ethnography born of empirical experience.

Thus the essays that follow deal with individual mapmakers and authors of travelogues, mapmaking as an artistic practice, the relationship between travel literature and mapmaking, travel literature as a literary genre with and without

illustrations, imagination in depictions of newly explored worlds, patronage and audiences for maps and travel narratives, and the place of maps and travelogues in intellectual circles and religious groups. All of the discussions reflect a dual purpose: to represent a description of the world (which might be visual or textual) and to convey creativity (which might be artistic or scientific) in its imaginative depiction. They are simultaneously objective and genuine attempts to arrive at a truthful representation of geographical space while expressing the cultural values, ideologies, and creative talents of their makers. They also manifest an interesting combination of motivations for cartographic projects: some religious, such as those about pilgrimages or the images of the Holy Land, and some civic and commercial associated with the development of trade and the growth of cities. These intriguing case studies attest to the attraction of maps whether as paths to salvation or objects in the service of more mundane aspirations such as celebrating a city and its glory.