

Gerda Brunnelechner

Die Welt erfassen. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie bis ins 16. Jahrhundert.

Einheit 3:
Reader

Fakultät für
**Kultur- und
Sozialwissen-
schaften**

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Inhaltsverzeichnis

Inhaltsverzeichnis	III
Literaturverzeichnis Reader	IV
5 Reader	7
5.1 Albu, Emily: Rethinking the Peutinger Map	8
5.2 Brodersen, Kai: The Presentation of Geographical Knowledge	13
5.3 Falchetta, Piero: The use of portolan charts	23
5.4 Gautier Dalché, Patrick: Der Kartograph Fra Mauro	29
5.5 Kline, Naomi Reed: Alexander interpreted on the Hereford Mappamundi	37
5.6 Ruberg, Uwe: Mappae mundi des Mittelalters	47
5.7 Scafi, Alessandro: Defining Mappaemundi	700
5.8 Schmieder, Felicitas: Anspruch auf christliche Weltherrschaft	777
5.9 Schmieder, Felicitas: Eine Zeit für Experimente	87
5.10 Schmieder, Felicitas: Heilsgeographie	95
5.11 Schneider, Ute: Kartographie und Geodäsie	103

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5 Reader

Die folgenden Texte wurden ausgewählt, weil sie mir besonders geeignet scheinen, jeweils spezifische Sachverhalte zu vermitteln. Es handelt sich ausnahmslos um in der Fachwelt anerkannte Veröffentlichungen, die teilweise sehr breite Resonanz gefunden haben. Dennoch sollen Sie sie keineswegs unhinterfragt, quasi als Grundlehrwissen, lesen oder gar ‚lernen‘. Vielmehr soll jeder dieser Artikel **unter einer bestimmten Fragestellung bzw. auf einen bestimmten Aspekt** hin gelesen werden. Die Verzahnung zwischen dem Lehrbrief und dem Reader ist also sinnstiftend, weder Lehrbrief noch Reader sind jeweils allein ausreichend, um Sie zu den Lernzielen dieses Kurses zu leiten. Zudem will Sie dieser Kurs dazu anhalten, Sekundärliteratur grundsätzlich immer kritisch zu analysieren, auch wenn sie von renommierten Fachleuten stammt. Die entsprechende Anleitung wird Ihnen an den Stellen des Lehrbriefs an die Hand gegeben, an denen die Lektüre des jeweiligen Textes ansteht. Das Readermaterial umfasst nicht nur die hier gedruckt vorliegenden Texte, sondern schließt auch im Internet frei oder über die Bibliothek der FernUniversität in Hagen zugängliche Texte mit ein.

Viel Vergnügen bei der Lektüre!

5.1 Albu, Emily: Rethinking the Peutinger Map

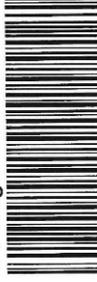
Cartography in Antiquity and
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RETHINKING THE PEUTINGER MAP

Emily Albu

The Peutinger map is a map of the inhabited world from Britain to Sri Lanka, drawn c. 1200 C.E. onto a parchment roll nearly seven meters long and 32 to 34 centimeters high (Plate I).¹ Because it was created from Roman itinerary lists and features some 70,000 Roman miles of Roman roads—with hundreds of Roman sites identified by their Roman names and with mileage between sites marked, mostly in Roman miles—historians of cartography have long assumed it to be a copy of a Roman map. Recently I have suggested, however, that our medieval map had a Carolingian prototype, clearly meant for display and not intended as a road map for ancient travelers.² Carolingian rulers had ample motivation for commissioning a map to display their Roman imperial ambitions, while ninth-century scribes had the expertise and resources necessary for creating an antiquarian work based on Roman itinerary lists. This paper extends that argument by highlighting the probable site for the production of both the Carolingian original and its extant “copy,” our Peutinger map. These not-very-Roman identifications further situate the map in its medieval context.

Let us begin with a few words about Roman and early medieval world maps. Specifically, why do we see an explosion of world maps in the early Middle Ages after what appears to be a long dry spell?

¹ Codex Vindobonensis 324, now separated into its eleven individual leaves, is in the Austrian National Library, Vienna. It is perhaps best known through Konrad Miller's color lithograph, in *Die Weltkarte des Casitorus genannt die Peutingerische Tafel* (Ravensburg: Maier, 1887/1888), reproduced in Francesco Prontera (ed.), *Tabula Peutingeriana: Le antiche vie del mondo* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003). Richard Talbert (University of North Carolina and the Ancient World Mapping Center) is producing an electronic edition. For more information on this project, see www.unc.edu/awmc/rtpcut.html. In collaboration with Professor Talbert, Benet Salway and I are preparing text and commentary on the map for a concise print edition.

² “Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map,” *Imago Mundi* 57 (2005), 136–48.

The answer will also help us understand the map's medieval identity.

No world maps survive from the Roman era. Daring critics, with Kai Brodersen in the lead, have even challenged long-held assumptions that Romans made frequent use of world maps.³ The Romans, in fact, did not even have a distinct word for "map," so we are left to debate whether their *itineraria picta* were painted lists or maps proper. Similar problems surround the Roman terms *descriptio mundi* and *tabula*. The famous example is "Agrippa's map," displayed in the Porticus Vipsania, in what is now the Via del Corso area of Rome.⁴ What form did this "map" take? Kai Brodersen has assembled the widely diverging judgments of scholars:

... depending on which opinion one follows, it was a globe or a 'large scale map,' executed as a mosaic, painted in colour, engraved in bronze, or hewn into marble; it was circular, oval, or rectangular, and it measured 6-10 m in height, 9 m in width and 18 m in height, or 24 m in width and 12 m in height (on a pediment of 5 m), or 75 m wide, but only 4.5 m high. At the top was east, south, or north, and it resembled the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a schematic medieval *mapamundi*, or an early modern portolan chart—*quot homines tot sententiae*.⁵

Was it even what we would call a map, or might it have taken some other form, like an itinerary list? On this, too, we really cannot be certain.

Whatever world maps the Roman Empire produced, like "Agrippa's map" these existed for display, not as an aid for travelers. Such world maps were, at best, a rarity in the Roman world and fraught with weighty baggage. They could be exhibited only in service to the Roman *imperium*. A private person who possessed a world map did so at his own peril, as he was clearly plotting rebellion. So when Mettius Pompsianus committed the "cartographic crime" of painting a depiction of the world on his bedroom wall, the emperor Domi-

³ Kai Brodersen, *Terra Cognita: Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1995; ed. 2, 2003).

⁴ Kai Brodersen, "Mapping the Ancient World," *Ad Familiares: Journal of the Friends of Classics* 17 (Autumn, 1999).

⁵ Kai Brodersen, "Mapping (in) the Ancient World," *Journal of Roman Studies* 94 (2004), 185. For his evidence, see his *Terra Cognita*, 263-70.

tian (81-96 C.E.) ordered his execution on the assumption that he was harboring imperial ambitions.⁶

Our best evidence for any lost Roman world maps comes from late antique rhetoricians. From these sources, Benet Salway has presented the two lost maps for which we have the most persuasive testimony.⁷ The first, erected in a portico at Augustodunum (Autun) in the waning days of the third century, is described in a contemporary oration before a provincial governor as a very publicly displayed teaching aid and advertisement of Roman dominion. The orator Eumenius concluded his brief remarks on that display map with this assessment: "For now, now at last it is a delight to see a picture of the world, since we see nothing in it that is not ours."⁸ The later map, or perhaps collection of local maps, was commissioned in 435 by the Emperor Theodosius II—"whom the whole world scarcely contains," as our fifth-century source announces.⁹ World maps like these were a kind of imperial propaganda, a demonstration of Roman

⁶ Pascal Arnaud, "L'affaire Mettius Pompsianus, ou le crime de cartographie," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité* 95 (1983), 677-99. The details derive from Cassius Dio and Zonaras. Suetonius (*Domitian* 10.3) has Pompsianus carrying the parchment map on his person.

⁷ Benet Salway, "The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map," *Imago Mundi* 57 (2005), 128-29.

⁸ "Nunc enim, nunc demum iuvat orbem spectare depictum, cum in illo nihil uidemus alienum"; Eumenius, *Oratio pro instaurantis scholis*, 9(4), in Roger A.B. Mynors (ed.), *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 20.2-21.3. C. Edward V. Nixon and Barbara S. Rodgers (trans.), *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 176-77.

⁹ "Hoc opus egregium, quo mundi summa tenetur, acquora quo, montes, fluvii, portus, freta et urbes signantur, cunctis ut sit cognoscere promptum quidquid ubique laet, clemens genus, inclita proles, ac per saecula pius, totus quem uix caput orbis, Theodosius princeps uenerando iussit ab ore confici, ter quinis aperit cum fascibus annuum."

("This outstanding work—in which the whole world is included, in which seas, mountains, rivers, harbours, straits and towns, are indicated, so that all might know where any feature lies—the kind natured, nobly born, and forever pious emperor Theodosius (whom the whole world scarcely contains) from his reverend mouth ordered to be made, when he opened the year with his fifteenth consulship.")

For this poem by Probus, see the *Diuisio orbis terrarum* in Alexander Kiese (ed.), *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn: Henninger Brüder, 1878), 19-20; and Dicuil, *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*, ed. J. J. Tierney and Ludwig Bieler (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1967), 5.4. Translation by Benet Salway, "The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map," 128.

power closely tied to claims of Roman *imperium*, and they could be created only for sanctioned use.

Christianity changed all that. The creation story in *Genesis*, universally disseminated through popular sermons and learned commentaries, taught that God gave the earth to mankind for the use of human beings.¹⁰ Jews and Christians understood that the inhabitable world belonged to humankind. Christianity presented a further, distinctively non-Roman concept—namely, if God entered the physical world through the incarnation, and dispatched his apostles throughout the world with the exhortation to spread the Gospel among all peoples, then surely every Christian had the right to see or even display the world that those holy men traversed and converted to Christianity. This right is precisely the point of the often copied Beatus maps, fifteen of which survive in tenth- to fifteenth-century manuscripts, showing evangelism to the far corners of the earth.¹¹ No longer could secular rulers demand the unique privilege of displaying the realm over which they exerted unique authority. The Church began to exhibit the earth as its inheritance, as for instance when Pope Zacharias (741-752) commissioned a world map for the dining room at the Lateran Palace.¹² That map, or others implying Christian claims, may have inspired Charlemagne to present his silver maps, one of them a map of the world, as a cartographic counterclaim.¹³ By the ninth century, when the term *mappa mundi* is first attested, we see a proliferation of world maps. Such maps still held their formidable power to demonstrate ownership and majesty. But legitimate claims extended far beyond the political realm. Dueling authorities of Church and secular court produced the intense activity of map production in the early Middle Ages.

If, as I have argued, the prototype of our Peutinger map was one result of that Carolingian activity, precisely where was it made? In a 1974 article, Hans Lieb identified a likely candidate for the Caro-

lingian prototype, a *mappamundi* listed in the early ninth-century catalogue of the library at Reichenau abbey.¹⁴ Elsewhere I have summarized his neat detective work in uncovering evidence for the map's presence in the Reichenau library in the mid-eleventh century, when Hermann Contractus found on the map the old Roman name for the nearby Black Forest (*silva Marciana*).¹⁵ The depiction of this forest and only one besides, the *silva Vosagus* just across the Rhine, is another of the clues pointing to the map's creation in this region, as also is the distinctive formation of regional names along this stretch of the Rhine.¹⁶ Here the river broadens to form Lake Constance (Plate II). Accumulating evidence suggests that the Peutinger prototype was created at Reichenau, on an island in that lake, and stayed there at least until our version of c. 1200 was drawn, also in the Reichenau scriptorium. The new map remained there or at least close to its home, to become the model for another version made nearby in 1265, until Konrad Celtes spirited it away at the end of the fifteenth century and bequeathed it in 1508 to Konrad Peutinger, for whom it is named.

Reichenau, a Benedictine monastery in southern Germany, was one of the great centers of the Carolingian renaissance. Founded by Pirmin in 724, it soon attracted the support of Charles Martel and, in turn, his successors, who made it essentially an imperial foundation. The monastery acquired considerable properties from Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Fat (who was buried in the monastery church). An early abbot and founder of its library, Waldo (abbot 786-806), was Charlemagne's confessor and one of his chief counselors. The celebrated scholar and poet Walafrid Strabo received his early education as a child-oblato at Reichenau, until he was sent to the abbey of Fulda for advanced training under Hrabanus Maurus. There he attracted the attention of the emperor Louis the Pious and the empress Judith, who appointed him tutor of their son Charles. As a reward for his nine years as mentor to the young prince

¹⁰ *Genesis* 1:26-30.
¹¹ John Williams (ed.), *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994-2003).

¹² On the Lateran map and papal claims to universal power, see Marcia Kupfer, "Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames," *Word and Image* 10 (1994), 262-88.

¹³ On Charlemagne's maps and his geographical curiosity, see Emily Albu, "Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map," 139-40.

¹⁴ Hans Lieb, "Zur Herkunft der Tabula Peutingeriana," in Helmut Maurer (ed.), *Die Abtei Reichenau: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1974), 31-33.

¹⁵ Emily Albu, "Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map," 140-41.

¹⁶ Benet Salway summarizes this evidence in "The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map," 123-24.

at Aachen, Louis appointed him abbot of Reichenau in 838. So close were the bonds between monk and prince that Walafrid had to flee into exile when war erupted among the royal heirs at the death of Louis in 840. After two years, Louis the German finally allowed Walafrid to return to Reichenau, where he again served as abbot until his death in 849, as he was returning from a meeting with his former student, then King Charles the Bald. Such strong ties with the Carolingian rulers made Reichenau a likely site for a royal commission to create an archaizing Roman map that would suit secular and imperial propaganda. Reichenau was also, not incidentally, on the Roman road network itself, on a highway to Italy and thus visited by many travelers from faraway places including Greece, Ireland, Iceland—pilgrims who brought relics and books as gifts. Not surprisingly, in his survey of pre-Carolingian Latin manuscripts produced in what is now Switzerland, E. A. Lowe discovered that “most seem to have come from a rather narrow section of that country, namely from that part which follows the well-trodden pilgrim routes along which lay Rheinau (Reichenau), St. Gall, Pfäfers, Chur, and Disentis.”¹⁷ It seems quite likely that among the manuscripts in the library at Reichenau were some containing the Roman itinerary lists essential for the creation of the Peutinger prototype.¹⁸

Reichenau's scriptorium certainly had the other resources required for such an ambitious undertaking. Nearby St. Gall is better known today, in large part because its magnificent library still survives,¹⁹ while the Reichenau collection was dispersed early in the nineteenth century. The two monasteries were closely linked, sometimes even sharing the same abbot. Their scriptoria, too, had intimate ties to one another. Together these scriptoria developed the distinctively broad Alemannic script. Indeed, the hands of St. Gall and Reichenau

¹⁷ E. A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), v.

¹⁸ I am now tracing the histories of these itinerary lists and identifying, wherever possible, the early medieval archives that held Roman itineraries. On the library of Reichenau, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 179–82.

¹⁹ For details on this library see Johannes Duft, *The Abbey Library of Saint Gall*, James C. King and Petrus W. Tax, trans. (St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof, 1985). On Reichenau and St. Gall, see Walter Berschin, *Eremitus und Insula: St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter—Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1987).

are so similar that it is sometimes impossible to determine which of the two monasteries produced a given manuscript.²⁰ Yet Reichenau had certain advantages over its brother monastery. Sheltered on an island in Lake Constance, Reichenau offered better protection in times of distress, as in the tenth century when Hungarian assaults threatened St. Gall and much of its library was temporarily moved to the island monastery for safekeeping. Reichenau thus sometimes found itself the dominant partner and the more prolific creator of manuscripts.

The Reichenau scriptorium nurtured the Benedictine passion for manuscript production as a meditative activity that cared for the soul even as it produced valuable and often beautiful texts. Not only did monks copy both Christian and secular works, but some composed their own poems, saints lives, and chronicles. There Walafrid Strabo wrote his hexameter *Vision of Wettin* as well as verses on the Irish saint, Blathmaic. Reichenau also came to be celebrated as the foremost school for Ottonian book illumination.²¹ As early as the 830s or even a decade earlier, however, the Reichenau scriptorium produced the Plan of Saint Gall (Plate III), a unique artifact described as “the only major architectural drawing to survive from the period between the fall of Rome and the thirteenth century.”²² Reichenau monks sewed together five pieces of parchment to make a rectangular sheet measuring about 78 cm by 112 cm. On this was drawn an entire monastic compound—churches and dormitories, kitchens and stables, a brewery, and an infirmary with a separate structure for bloodletting—with ground plans in red ink and inscriptions in brown. Here is tantalizing confirmation that Reichenau monks in the early ninth century were working in a medium similar to that of the more ambitious Peutinger prototype.

²⁰ E. A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ix.

²¹ C. R. Dodwell disputed that claim in “Reichenau Reconsidered: A Reassessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art,” *Warburg Institute Surveys*, II. The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1965; reprinted in id., *Aspects of Art in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London: Pindar Press, 1996), 228–59.

²² Edward A. Segal, “Monastery and Plan of St. Gall,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 10 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 617. On the dating and intended use of the Plan, see Richard E. Sullivan, “What Was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St. Gall and the History of Monasticism,” in Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays presented to Walter Goffart* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 251–87.