

Klaus Herbers /  
Hans Christian Lehner (Hg.)

## **Unterwegs im Namen der Religion II / On the Road in the Name of Religion II**

Wege und Ziele in vergleichender  
Perspektive – das mittelalterliche  
Europa und Asien / Ways and  
Destinations in Comparative  
Perspective – Medieval Europe and Asia

Geschichte

Beiträge zur Hagiographie 17

**Franz Steiner Verlag**

Klaus Herbers / Hans Christian Lehner (Hg.)  
Unterwegs im Namen der Religion II  
On the Road in the Name of Religion II

# BEITRÄGE ZUR HAGIOGRAPHIE

herausgegeben von Dieter R. Bauer,

Klaus Herbers, Volker Honemann und Hedwig Röckelein

Band 17

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GEFÖRDERT VOM



Bundesministerium  
für Bildung  
und Forschung

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

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Druck: Offsetdruck Bokor, Bad Tölz

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem, alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Printed in Germany.

ISBN 978-3-515-11464-6 (Print)

ISBN 978-3-515-11467-7 (E-Book)

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## ZUR EINFÜHRUNG

*Klaus Herbers*

Anthropologen gehen davon aus, dass Menschen grundsätzlich mobil seien. Die Beiträge dieses Bandes fragen danach, wie sich dies mit bestimmten Konzeptionen verknüpft. Ist die Geschichte des christlichen Pilgerns für den lateinischen Westen zwar relativ gut erforscht, so dürfte der vergleichende Blick auf andere gesellschaftliche und religiöse Konzeptionen jedoch durchaus neue Einblicke bieten. Nachdem das Internationale Kolleg für Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung „Schicksal, Freiheit und Prognose. Bewältigungsstrategien in Ostasien und Europa“ (IKGF) schon einen ersten Anlauf zu diesem Vergleich genommen und die Ergebnisse inzwischen vorgelegt hat<sup>1</sup>, konnte mit einer weiteren Tagung das interdisziplinäre Gespräch weiter gefördert werden. Diese Konferenz fand im nordspanischen San Millán de la Cogolla statt, im historischen Ensemble um die 1997 von der UNESCO zum Weltkulturerbe erklärten Klöster San Millán de Yuso und San Millán de Suso. Die Zusammenarbeit von Historikern, Philologen, Sinologen, Indologen und Koreanisten führte aber vor allem in den Diskussionen nicht nur zu einfachen Vergleichen oder Ähnlichkeiten. Vielmehr waren die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer vielfach mit zahlreichen unvergleichbaren Phänomenen konfrontiert. Wenn noch im ersten Band Pilgern im Sinne des Kollegthemas als „Zukunftsvorsorge“ zum Beispiel für das Seelenheil verstanden wurde, dann ließ sich diese Prämisse nach den Diskussionen in San Millán de la Cogolla kaum halten. Geschärft wurde aber der Blick für die besonderen Eigenheiten in den unterschiedlichen Untersuchungsfeldern, der den hier überarbeitet vorliegenden Aufsätzen zugute kam. Leider kann der Band nicht mit den Beiträgen der Indologie und Koreanistik aufwarten, sodass insgesamt die asiatische Tradition in diesem Band weniger differenziert als europäische Entwicklungen verfolgt werden können. Allerdings ist das westliche Asien durchaus prominent vertreten. Dem *genius loci* der Tagung und der Kooperation ist es auch geschuldet, dass die iberische Perspektive einen prominenten Platz einnimmt.

Für den vorliegenden Sammelband wurden die Aufsätze drei großen Feldern zugeordnet.

1 Herbers, Klaus/Lehner, Hans-Christian (Hgg.): *Unterwegs im Namen der Religion / On the Road in the Name of Religion: Pilgern als Form von Kontingenzbewältigung und Zukunftssicherung in den Weltreligionen / Pilgrimage as a Means of Coping with Contingency and Fixing the Future in the World* (Beiträge zur Hagiographie, 15), Stuttgart 2014.



Da Pilgerbewegung von Orten und Wegen abhing und abhängt, galt ein erster Blick den Konzeptionalisierungen auf Weltkarten. Obwohl mittelalterliche Formen durchaus traditionellen Schemata verhaftet waren, lassen sorgfältige und methodisch abgesicherte Interpretationen den Wandel sowie die Unterschiedlichkeit von Vorstellungen erkennen. Felicitas Schmieder führt dies in ihrem Einleitungsbeitrag deutlich vor Augen.

Pilgerbewegungen zu verschiedenen Orten sind aber auch an Personen gebunden. Vor allem seit dem 11./12. Jahrhundert wird Karl der Große († 814) mit den drei großen Zentren der Christenheit Jersulam, Rom und Santiago de Compostela in Verbindung gebracht, wie Marco Piccat zeigt. Für die Verbreitung und Popularisierung dieser Pilgerorte dürfte die Personalisierung sicher wichtiger als beispielsweise rechtliche Satzungen gewesen sein, die Rom, Jerusalem und Santiago de Compostela seit dem 12./13. Jahrhundert zu den großen Pilgerschaften (*peregrinationes maiores*) zählten.

Michelina di Cesare stellt in ihrem Beitrag die Bedeutung des Felsendoms für die christlichen Pilgerfahrten nach Jerusalem, dem „Urpilgerort“, heraus. Wie sehr Wege ins „Heilige Land“ sich veränderten, von Handelsströmen und Transportmöglichkeiten abhingen, erläutert der Beitrag von David Jacoby, der die Zeit des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in den Blick nimmt.

In einem zweiten Abschnitt des Bandes zu Rom, Compostela und Tours stehen nicht nur, aber vielfach vorrangig politische Implikationen des Pilgerns im Vordergrund. Jochen Johrendt scheidet die Vielfalt römischer Interessen und Konkurrenzen in Rom. Besonders mit den 1300 einsetzenden Heiligen Jahren entwickelte sich eine spezielle Konkurrenz zwischen Lateran und St. Peter bzw. den entsprechenden Kanonikergemeinschaften. Die Aufsätze von Adeline Rucquoi und Andreas Holndonner widmen sich Santiago de Compostela. War dieses Zentrum auch in politischen Zeiten der Neuformierung Spaniens seit dem 9. Jahrhundert als Verehrungsstätte eines Apostelgrabes entstanden, so entwickelten sich dort gerade im 12. Jahrhundert kirchenpolitische Ansprüche, die sich auch gegen Konkurrenten wie das seit 1095 neu erstarkte Toledo richteten.

Um Wege geht es in den folgenden Beiträgen. Dabei ist das Konzept der Pilgerwege seit dem Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts in der Forschung hochgradig aufgeladen, wie vielfach hervorgehoben wurde. Dem „Camino francés“ in Nordspanien entsprach die wichtigste Straße nach Rom als „Via francigena“, wie Renato Stopani darlegt. Pilgerwege und Wegkonzepte wurden aber bis in die heutige Wissenschaft durch literarische Konstruktionen gefördert. Santiago López Martínez-Morás erläutert dies an der altfranzösischen „Entrée d’Espagne“, während Santiago Gutiérrez die ritterliche Komponente des Weges an der Tradition des Lanzbrechens (*Paso Honroso*) bei Hospital de Órbigo (León) erläutert. Den besonders alten Devotionsort Tours mit dem Grab des Heiligen Martin rückt Bruno Judic in den Fokus und fragt auch hier nach den „Pilgerwegen“.

Der dritte und letzte Teil des Sammelbandes nimmt schließlich Asien in den Blick. Matthias Heiduk wählt den Bericht Willhelms von Rubruk aus dem 13. Jahrhundert über Erfahrungen im Reich der Mongolen als Ausgangspunkt für die Frage nach dem Selbstverständnis dieses Pilgers als Missionar und Mönch im

Angesicht fremder Formen von Glaube und Mönchtum. Isaac Donoso stellt andalusische Reisende in China, Indien und Südostasien vor. Andreas Berndt rückt schließlich die Rituale des Wasserholens in Shanxi ins Zentrum und ermöglicht damit vergleichende Perspektiven.

Pilgern war – so durfte am Ende der Lektüre der Beiträge deutlich sein – mehr als eine religiöse Übung. Politische Implikationen, anthropologische Dispositionen, literarische Fiktionen und vieles andere mehr spielten eine Rolle. Somit erschließen auch Quellen, die auf den ersten Blick nicht thematisch einschlägig erschienen, neue Perspektiven. Als Aufgabe bleibt jedoch, die asiatische Tradition noch genauer kennenzulernen.

Die Tagung wurde vom IKGf zusammen mit der Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla durchgeführt und finanziert. Inhaltlich und organisatorisch lag die Vorbereitung neben den Herausgebern bei Carlos Alvar und Ángel Gómez Moreno. Die Drucklegung unterstützten Lisa Felendler, Maximilian Nix und Almut Stoiber. Ihnen sei herzlich gedankt.



KONZEPTIONEN DES PILGERNS – ITINERARE, ORTE UND  
PERSONEN



“HERE MANY SARACEN PILGRIMS WANDER TO MECCA” –  
ON THE ROLE OF PILGRIMAGE, SHRINES AND  
WORSHIPPING ON LATIN-EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL WORLD  
MAPS (*MAPPÆ MUNDI*)<sup>1</sup>

*Felicitas Schmieder*

In the year 1086, in Burgo di Osma one of the early surviving Latin European *mappae mundi* world maps, was painted in a Codex of the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana<sup>2</sup>. This happened on the eve of an age in which *mappae mundi* grew more frequent in Latin Europe. These maps are round or oval and are usually oriented with the East at the “top” of the map (although many of these maps do not stick to one direction, but can be rotated)<sup>3</sup>. There you can see the terrestrial paradise, a huge square clearly marked with the four rivers known to have their origin in paradise. On the lower left side is Europe, on the lower right Africa, in the upper half Asia. The Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Nile River form a T, which together with the often circular form is responsible for the notion of T-O-maps. Other rivers and towns are more or less frequent on these maps, represented by castle or gate signatures. The Nile is shown close to the Red

- 1 This article has been published in German as “Hier wandern viele sarazenische Pilger nach Mekka”. Zur Rolle von Pilgerschaft, Heiligtümern und Anbetung auf lateineuropäischen mittelalterlichen Weltkarten (*Mappae Mundi*), in: C. ALRAUM/A. HOLNDONNER/H. C. LEHNER/C. SCHERER/T. SCHLAUWITZ/V. UNGER (eds.), *Zwischen Rom und Santiago. Festschrift für Klaus Herbers zum 65. Geburtstag*, Bochum 2016, 101–114.
- 2 Sandra SAENZ-LOPEZ PERES, *The Beatus Maps. The Revelation of the World in the Middle Ages*, Burgos 2014, figures 4, 30/31 (Beatus of El Burgo de Osma, Cathedral Library Cod. 1, fol. 34v–35r) and 46, 94/95 (Beatus of Milan, B. Ambrosiana F.105. SUP. fol. 71v–72r); on the Osma map e.g. also ead., *Peregrinatio in stabilitate. La transformación de un mapa de los Beato en herramienta de peregrinación espiritual*, in: Javier MARTÍNEZ DE AGUIRRE/MARTEN POZA (eds.), *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, in: *Anales de Historia del Arte* (2011), volumen extraordinario 2, 317–334 = [http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/rev\\_ANHA.2011.37489](http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/rev_ANHA.2011.37489) (last access 31.8.15), and reproduction. – On the Beatus manuscripts in general, see John WILLIAMS, *The illustrated Beatus. A Corpus of the illustrations of the commentary on the Apokalypse*, 5 vols., London 1994–2003.
- 3 Evelyn EDSON, *The world map, 1300–1492: The persistence of tradition and transformation*, Baltimore 2007; Peter BARBER, *Medieval maps of the world*, in: Paul Dean Adshead HARVEY (ed.), *The Hereford Map. Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, London 2006, 1–44; David WOODWARD, *Medieval Mappaemundi*, in: John B. HARLEY/David WOODWARD (eds.), *HOC: The history of cartography*, vol. I, Chicago/London 1987, 286–370 = [www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/index.html](http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/index.html) (last access 08.06.2016).

Sea which is often clearly marked red; to the south, on the right side of the map, many of these maps carry a separate southern continent, often called *terra Australis*, which is – again often – home to the monstrous races on the rim of the world<sup>4</sup>.

Within this general outline, shown more or less clearly on most high medieval and late medieval maps, the Osma Beatus map also shows some more specific features – any of these maps, especially the more elaborate ones, carry their own statement, and each mapmaker wanted to deliver his own individual message.

I will interpret some of the specific features of this relatively early Spanish map in order to explain how to read *mappae mundi* and what we may find in general on *mappae mundi* when we are interested in pilgrimage. I will then take four examples of *mappae mundi* from the later Middle Ages, from a time when the world had become wider for the Latin Europeans<sup>5</sup> and the mapmakers reacted to this wider knowledge. My perspective is clearly that of medieval Latin Europe, but I will mention world maps that represented the world at a time when Asia, and especially Mongol Asia, had become an important issue among Latin Europeans. I will present the features on these four late medieval maps that relate to pilgrimage, shrines, and worship, first comparing several maps, then interpreting them in the framework of the general message of each individual map. *Mappae mundi* are interesting special sources for the topic of pilgrimage.

In the case of the Osma Beatus, twelve heads with nimbuses, each placed on a kind of podium (except for two glancing out of ornate buildings) surround the world (with the exception of the *terra Australis*). The names of the twelve apostles are written close to them, represented by reliquary busts at the places where they preached Christianity and died, and/ or were buried, according to the medieval tradition of the biblical *Actus Apostolorum*. Two of them, Saint Peter of Rome and – no surprise considering the origin of the map – Saint James of Compostela, are represented not by busts but by the shrines where they were buried, which had become or were on the eve of becoming, important places of pilgrimage. Consequently, the purpose of the map has been interpreted as representing a geography of peregrinations<sup>6</sup>.

- 4 Especially well-known are the English maps from around 1300, esp. the Hereford Map and the Ebstorf World Map: Scott D. WESTREM, *The Hereford Map*, Turnhout 2001 (*Terrarum Orbis*. 1), cf. [www.herefordcathedral.org/visit-us/mappa-mundi-1](http://www.herefordcathedral.org/visit-us/mappa-mundi-1) (last access 08.06.2016); Hartmut KUGLER (ed.), *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte. Kommentierte Neuausgabe in zwei Bänden*, Berlin 2007, cf. [www.leuphana.de/institute/icam/forschung-projekte/ebskart.html](http://www.leuphana.de/institute/icam/forschung-projekte/ebskart.html) (last access 08.06.2016).
- 5 Folker REICHERT, *Asien und Europa im Mittelalter. Studien zur Geschichte des Reisens*, Göttingen 2014; *Ibid.*, *Begegnungen mit China. Europa und die Kenntnis Ostasiens im Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen 1992; Felicitas SCHMIEDER, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*, Sigmaringen 1994.
- 6 Serafin MORALJEO ÁLVAREZ, *Elmundo y el tiempo en el mapa de Beato de Osma*, in: *El Beato de Osma: estudios*, Valencia 1992, 151–179. Also in an apocalyptic context, a newly discovered map collection from Northern Germany from the late 15th c. includes a map with the apostolic missionary places: Chet VAN DUZER/Ilya DINES, *Apocalyptic Cartography: Thema-*

Only a few of the *Beatus* maps show this specific feature; others have different purposes<sup>7</sup>, but it is evident that medieval *mappae mundi* use pilgrimage as an argument to an end or pilgrimage may even be the most important statement the map is making. And little wonder: Pilgrimage can be, when we look at its spatial aspects, memorization of a landscape created by saints. Pilgrims remember the lay of the land by walking through it, tombs, churches, shrines can be considered landmarks that measure and stake the land claimed, not the least through repeated visitation by the Christian community<sup>8</sup>. In the case of the *Osma Beatus*, this claimed land is the whole world, hence the *mappae mundi* was an ideal medium to make this message impressively clear and visible.

At the same time, although actual pilgrimage is referred to, especially in the cases of Peter (and Paul) in Rome and James in Santiago, most of the tombs represented on the map do not refer to actual (Latin Christian) pilgrimage but highlight a more virtual claim. At this point, it is important to look at the context of this map: It is included in a commentary on the Apocalypse of John – and in this context the tombs of the apostles mark not only the places of their martyrdoms but also the places where they were active as missionaries, striving to fulfill Christ's order to go out and preach to all nations<sup>9</sup> – a task Christianity has to complete before the Second Coming of Christ at the end of all times. On some of the *Beatus* maps, therefore, the tombs of the apostles have a clearly eschatological meaning that fits the book they are included in. They may hint at a future where pilgrimage all over the world is possible, they may express the wish to visit all the apostles' tombs, but at the same time they emphasize the necessity of further world mission.

At this point, it is important to emphasize that this is not a question of either-or; we do not have to decide whether the message of the map is pilgrimage or mission, past, present or future. It can be all of this and more, even if the possible messages seem, from our point of view, to exclude each other. When reading a medieval *mappae mundi* we will often find several meanings on different levels on the same map, which has to do with a quality of the *mappae mundi* that we, as modern people, usually do not expect from or accept for maps.

tic Maps and the End of the World in a Fifteenth-Century, forthcoming Leiden 2015/2016, map fol. 15r.

- 7 Sandra SAENZ-LOPEZ PERES, La Reconquista cartográfica: el Islam peninsular en la cartografía medieval hispana, in: *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 61–62 (2006) 279–301 = <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/treballsscgeografia/article/viewFile/256621/343611> (last access 08.06.2016).
- 8 Dieter R. BAUER/Klaus HERBERS/Hedwig RÖCKELEIN/Felicitas SCHMIEDER (eds.), *Heilige – Liturgie – Raum. Tagung des Arbeitskreises für hagiographische Fragen (Beiträge zur Hagiographie, 8)*, Stuttgart 2010; cf. also contribution such as Carsten Selch JENSEN, How to convert a landscape: Henry of Livonia and the *Chronicon Livoniae*, in: Alan V. MURRAY, *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, Farnham 2009, 151–168.
- 9 Matt. 28, 19/20 *Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes* (cf. Marc 16,5, Luk. 24,47).



We can see clearly when looking at the *Osma Beatus* map that *mappae mundi* do not look like modern geographical maps – historians of geography often claim that they are not maps at all. They show clear geographical features, but these are not or little presented in the physical sense we are used to. They clearly and intentionally, however, show the meaning of the features they represent<sup>10</sup> – and this meaning often hints at the past and also at the future. Take the terrestrial paradise: It was created in the very beginning of world history, it became inaccessible but is still there – and it will be re-opened towards the end of the world. *Mappae mundi* represent particularly features from the History of Salvation – they have been called painted world chronicles<sup>11</sup> – and therefore they can be properly called Geographies of Salvation. As such, they represent the God-given time of the world between Genesis and the Apocalypse spatially embedded in the physical Earth created by God. This suggests that they were “written” and have to be read like the bible and other texts close to God, following the four *sensus scripturae*, the four senses of the Scripture<sup>12</sup>. These four *sensus scripturae* include

1. The historical or literal sense, represented by the physical earth in the case of *Mappae Mundi*. Whatever we think about their “realism”, they clearly have geographical features.

2. The anagogical or eschatological sense is emphasized in the contexts of all the *Beatus* maps; they are part of a commentary on the apocalypse. In the case of the *Osma Beatus*, the reference to the tombs of the apostles to the endtime mission is a clear anagogical trait.

3. The allegorical or typological sense, which emphasizes that the history of Christianity still has meaning for today and for the future, as the Old Testament was read as a prefiguration of the New Testament or the latter as prefiguration of the history of the church. This sense is addressed by the representation of the history of salvation on *mappae mundi*; among other things, the memory of old Christian places such as the tombs of the apostles refers to the situation of Christianity now.

10 This is, of course, the same for modern maps but we tend to attribute to and expect from them a basic objectivity; cf. on the problem in principle John B. HARKEY, *Silences and Secrecy. The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe*, *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), 57–76; Kai BRODERSEN, *The Presentation of Geographical Knowledge for Travel and Transport in the Roman World*, in: Colin ADAMS/Ray LAURENCE (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, London/New York 2001, 7–20.

11 Anna Dorothee VON DEN BRINCKEN, “... ut describeretur universus orbis”. Zur Universal-kartographie des Mittelalters, in: Albert ZIMMERMANN (ed.), *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1970, 249–78; Evelyn EDSON, *Mapping time and space: how medieval mapmakers viewed their world*, London 1999.

12 Friedrich OHLY, *Schriften zur mittelalterlichen Bedeutungsforschung*, Darmstadt 1977. – This hermeneutic instrument is more present in literature: Klaus REICHERT, *Vierfacher Schriftsinn. Zu Finnegans Wake*, Frankfurt am Main 1989. The wide range of its medieval usage is addressed in this literature, *Festschrift: Freimut LÖSER/Ralf G. PÄSLER (eds.), Vom vierfachen Schriftsinn im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Dietrich Schmidtke*, Hamburg 2005.

4. The moral or tropological sense is often derived from this allegorical sense; Christian duties in the present and for the future demand actions from Christians today. The tombs on the maps remind Christians of the deeds of the apostles and of the actions that derive from them. Christians should uphold the memory of the deeds and, if necessary, re-establish faded or forgotten memory – and Christians should uphold the legacy of the apostle and be constantly reminded to finally fulfill what the apostles started, not forgetting about the Christian conversion of all the world.

The Osma Beatus map shows that the apostles actually reached the whole world as Christ ordered. But the world grew wider for the Latin Europeans during the high and later Middle Ages when they first went on crusade, not least in order to re-claim another important pilgrimage site – Jerusalem – and then used the opportunities the Mongol invasion gave them to travel far into Asia. Around 1300, the first Franciscan archbishop of Beijing, John of Monte Corvino, stated that the country where he was living had never been reached by an apostle or a pupil of an apostle<sup>13</sup>. Others realized that many formerly Christian places had been lost to Latin Christianity over time – now other religions had taken over or other Christians had fulfilled the holy duty of worship and pilgrimage<sup>14</sup>. Another possible moral task for Latin Christians sprang from this, regaining not just Jerusalem but the whole world, reestablishing pilgrimage to apostolic sites, and carrying Christian mission even to places far beyond anything ever reached before. It should be no surprise after what has been said above about *mappae mundi* that the mapmakers now used their medium for their own specific interpretations of the wider world, Christianity in it, other religions in it, and so on. It is one proof of the “literal” geographical quality of the *mappae mundi* that their mapmakers struggled to keep up with the discoveries and the changes in the Latin European world view.

As noted above, I will use four examples of *mappae mundi* from the later 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century. I will present them in two steps: Firstly, I will pull together specific features that are connected to pilgrimage, shrines and worship and present them comparatively as they are represented on these maps. Secondly, I will try to explain the features on each map in the framework of the message the individual map carries.

Four examples, none of them, unlike the Osma Beatus Map, are included in codices, but are separate works and therefore often much larger. The Atlas Catalan, made in 1375 on the island of Mallorca, probably by Jewish mapmakers, and

13 John of Monte Corvino, *Epistolae* II, 1, in: *Sinica Franciscana I (Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorumsaeculi XIII et XIV)*, ed. P. Anastasius VAN DEN WYNGAERT OFM, Quaracchi 1929, 347. Cf. Jean RICHARD, *La papauté et les missions d’orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe – XVe siècles)*, Rome 1977.

14 For an overview over this kind of assessment, its consequences, and especially the ideas of John of Monte Corvino cf. Felicitas SCHMIEDER, *Travelling in the Orbis Christianus and beyond (Thirteenth – Fifteenth Century): What makes the difference?*, in: Flocel SABATÉ CURULL (ed.), *Identities on the Move*, Bern 2014, 41–51.

given as a present to the French king, is today in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris<sup>15</sup>. It has an unusual form – hence not called an atlas contemporarily – and consists of eight double sheets 69 x 49 cm. The round or oval shape was given up in favor of a form very stretched in the east-west direction in order to represent the experience of the last hundred years that the world, especially Asia, was much wider than had been considered before. Consequently, the main source mapmakers had for eastern Asia and the Indian Ocean was Marco Polo<sup>16</sup>. Similar to Marco, the atlas seems to be much concerned with economic opportunities, but also looks at religious features – and is not yet very interested in what could be found in southern parts of Africa. While Europe is filled with quite detailed information about cities and rivers, Africa and Asia show much wider, less detailed, and more colorful features in a double sense: The rulers and other people as well as the animals are big, bright, and exotic. Unlike the *Osma Beatus* map, and similarly to most of the other maps I discuss, the Mediterranean has a shape that seems realistic to our eyes<sup>17</sup>.

The Catalan World Map from the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, with a diameter of more than a meter, was painted in approximately 1450<sup>18</sup>. About three generations younger than the Atlas, it took over many features from the Atlas and includes a great deal of information from the Portuguese travels along the African coast in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (normally connected with the name of Henry the Navigator<sup>19</sup>). Furthermore, it also clearly represents the connections between the west coast and the Indian Ocean. In this context, it shows a southern continent comparable to that on the *Osma Beatus* map.

- 15 Ms. Espagnol 30 = [archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000034905](http://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000034905) (last access 08.06.2016). Faksimile: Atlas Catalan (Katalanischer Weltatlas) von 1375, ed. and transl. Hans-Christian FREIESLEBEN, Stuttgart 1977. The transcription of the texts in Jean Alexandre C. BUCHON/Joseph TASTU, Notice d'un atlas en langue catalane manuscrit de l'an 1375, conservé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale, sous le n° 6816, Fonds Ancien, in Folio Maximo, in: Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale 14,2 (1841) 1–152. Rebekka THISSEN at Kassel is working on a PhD thesis on “Der Katalanische Weltatlas von 1375. Visualisierung von Raumkonzepten und Weltbildern in der mittelalterlichen Kartographie”.
- 16 Henri CORDIER, L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan de Charles V, Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive 10 (1895/96), 19–64.
- 17 Tony CAMPBELL, Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500, in: HOC I, 371–463 = [www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/index.html](http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/index.html) (last access 08.06.2016); Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, Carte marine et portulan – Le liber de existencia riverarum et forma Maris nostri Mediterranei (Pise c. 1200), Rome 1995.
- 18 Biblioteca Estense universitaria, Modena, C.G.A.1. Faksimile II Mappamondo Catalano Estense (Die Katalanische Estense Weltkarte), ed. Ernesto MILANO/Annalisa BATTINI, Zurich 1995 = [bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/esp/i-mo-beu-2011-carte-miniatae.pdf](http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/esp/i-mo-beu-2011-carte-miniatae.pdf) (last access 08.06.2016); cf. [www.moleiro.com/it/atlanti-e-mappe/mappamondo-estense.html](http://www.moleiro.com/it/atlanti-e-mappe/mappamondo-estense.html) (last access 08.06.2016).
- 19 Peter RUSSELL, Prince Henry “the Navigator”. A Life, New Haven 2000.

The so-called Genoese World Map<sup>20</sup>, smaller and stemming from a different tradition of mapmaking than the two previous maps, today in Florence, is of approximately the same date as the Modena map. It shows – in its almond shape – a unique attempt to represent experiences from the length of Asia. The mapmaker is clearly familiar with an old tradition that had just been newly re-discovered: the geography of Claudius Ptolemy<sup>21</sup>. The Indian Ocean is open and seems much more reachable than on Ptolemy's map and the Modena Map. This map, like the next one, has its texts in Latin, while the first two were written in Catalan.

The Velletri or Borgia Map is not clearly dated and named for the places and collections where it is known to have been<sup>22</sup>. The origin is unknown, but certain features speak of closeness to the Catalan school. Unusually, the map is not painted on parchment but engraved on a metal disc about 65 cm in diameter. None of the four maps has an absolute orientation, since however you hold them some of the texts and images appear upright or lying on their sides, but this last example is clearly oriented to the south (which would normally be considered a typical Arabic feature). This map, probably due to the different technique, is the least similar to the others in portraying the shape of the Mediterranean and other coastlines.

20 Biblioteca Nazionale, Portolano 1 = [manoscritti.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/?p=1966](http://manoscritti.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/?p=1966) (last access 31.8.15); Edward L. STEVENSON (ed.), *Genoese World Map 1457*. Facsimile and critical text incorporating in free translation the studies of Prof. Theobald Fischer revised with the addition of copious notes, New York 1912. Gerda BRUNNLECHNER is preparing a PhD thesis at Hagen on “Die genuesische Weltkarte von 1457”; cf. [www.fernuni-hagen.de/geschichte/lgl/promotionsprojekte/weltkarten.shtml](http://www.fernuni-hagen.de/geschichte/lgl/promotionsprojekte/weltkarten.shtml) (last access 08.06.2016).

21 Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVE–XVIe siècle)* (Terarum Orbis, 9), Turnhout 2009.

22 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgiano XVI; transcription of the texts Baron Nils Adolf Erik NORDENSKIÖLD, *Om ett aftryck från XV: de seklet af den i metall graverade världskarta, som förvarats i kardinal Stephan Borgias Museum i Velletri*, *Ymer* 11 (1891), 83–92. Reproduced also in *Das Konstanzer Konzil 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters*. Ausstellungskatalog, Darmstadt 2014, catalogue number 234, 347; fig. 3, 23. Cf. FELICITAS Schmie-der, *Anspruch auf christliche Weltherrschaft. Die Velletri-/Borgia-Karte (15. Jh.) in ihrem politischen Kontext*, in: Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER/Martina STERCKEN (eds.), *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Zurich 2012, 253–271.

A number of features of these maps are relevant for this article. The tombs of the apostles are the most important on the Osma Beatus map. While the Atlas Catalan and the Modena Map know about Santiago and Rome, they are depicted like any other town in Europe. The Genoese map ignores Santiago but emphasizes Rome with a nice church, while the Velletri map leaves out Rome completely and emphasizes Santiago<sup>23</sup>. While we should not over-interpret the absence of some features, emphasis on them can be important<sup>24</sup>, especially for non-European tombs of the apostles. Two tombs in particular interested these mapmakers – besides traditional features in Latin Europe both had more recent information.



Fig. 1: Velletri Map. Detail: Tomb of Matthew.

The Atlas Catalan and the Modena Map both show the tomb of Saint Matthew in Central Asia. According to the Atlas, the tomb is on the shore of Lake Yssicol, guarded by a monastery of Armenian monks<sup>25</sup>; the Modena map has the Armenian monks, but no lake<sup>26</sup>. The placement is different from earlier maps; the name of the lake high in the mountains of modern Kyrgistan – still called Yssyk Kol today – does not stem from a Latin European tradition but from local knowledge gathered either by Western travelers on their way along one of the many branches of the Silk Road or transferred by Armenian Christians, who are probably the root

23 A special church is named Sancti iacobi, accompanied by the reminiscence *In fidelis yspania christianitate submissa per Karolum magnum post multa bella commissa*, cf. NORDENSKIÖLD, *Om ett aftryck från XV* (cf. note 22), 89.

24 Cf. SANEZ-LOPEZ PERES, *La Reconquista cartográfica* (cf. note 7).

25 *Lo loch quis assella Yssicol. En aquest loch es l monestir de frares ermenjans on segons ques diu, es lo cors de sent Mathi apostol e evangelista*: BUCHON/TASTU, *Notice d'un atlas* (cf. note 15), 152f. For the origin of the name and contamination of travel information in the context of the Atlas Catalan Emmanuelle VAGNON, *Cartographie et représentations de l'Orient méditerranéen en Occident (du milieu du XIIIe à la fin du XVe siècle)* (*Terrarum orbis*, 11), Turnhout 2013, 262, N. 250.

26 *A quest monastires de frares los qualstena(n) an guardia los de sent macia e son ermjnjs*: MILANO/BATTINI, *Mappamondo* (cf. note 18), N.187.

of the information about the monastery<sup>27</sup>. The inclusion of this information on Latin European maps shows that there was an interest in updating knowledge on geographical information, supporting the literal sense of the map. Showing such Christian memorial places in newly accessed regions also reveals an interest in memory – references to world mission were allegorical as well as moral – and also an interest that continuing care for this memory is ensured anywhere in the world.



Fig. 2: Veletri Map. Detail: Tomb of Thomas.

The Genoese Map does not represent Matthew, but appropriate to its interest in the Indian Ocean, it represents the tomb of Saint Thomas, the well-known apostle of India, one of the great hopes of Christian missionaries in the region in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and of mission planners in the 15<sup>th</sup>. The map was painted at the time when popes and cardinals, in the context of the Council of Florence, were doing their best to establish or re-establish contacts with the *Oriens Christianus*<sup>28</sup> (Marco Polo and other travelers had told of the venerated tomb and Dominican monks were sent there as bishops in the 14<sup>th</sup> century).

The tomb is on this map, a grand church (even bigger than the one in Rome) with the clear sign of Christianity prominently rising into the Asian Sky; the inscription says: *Hic iacet corpus Sancti Thome apostoli*<sup>29</sup>.

The Velletri Map – with a special interest in Santiago – shows both tombs, and therefore has the most clearly marked apostolic burial places of all the maps presented here. In the case of Thomas, worshippers are especially represented in a form typical for this map. In the case of Matthew, the Armenian monks are left

27 The Armenians were among the most important brokers of information between Asia and Latin Europe, cf., e.g., Aleksandr OSIPIAN, Armenian Involvement in the Latin-Mongol Crusade: Uses of the Magi and Prester John in Constable Smbat's Letter and Hayton of Corycus's "Flos historiarum terre orientis", 1248–1307, *Medieval Encounters* 20 (2014), 66–100.

28 Felicitas SCHMIEDER, *Jenseits der Peripherien. Die Päpste und die Ungläubigen außerhalb der Christianitas*, in: Gisela DROSSBACH/Hans-Joachim SCHMITT (eds.), *Zentrum und Netzwerk. Kirchliche Kommunikationen und Raumstrukturen im Mittelalter*, Freiburg/CH 2008, 329–357. Jana VALTROVÁ, *Indian Christians in medieval European travel accounts*, in: Marián GÁLIK/Martin SLOBODNÍK (eds.), *Eastern Christianity, Judaism and Islam between the Death of Muhammad and Tamerlane (632–1405)*, Bratislava 2011, 195–213.

29 STEVENSON, *Genoese World Map* (cf. note 20), 49.

out, but the name of the lake is there again<sup>30</sup>. All three maps of Catalan origin or at least familiar with the Catalan school, go back to the same pool of knowledge, but their handling of this information shows even in this small example that they were not just copying, but choosing what they wanted and needed to relay.

While in most representations of apostolic tombs no explicit pilgrimage was mentioned, one has to assume that the Christian “reader” of the map knew that pilgrimage was highly likely and apt for these places, but more information had to be given when it came to different religious communities. All three “Catalan” maps, west of the lower Nile River and the sultan ruling, display a description which is the basis of the title chosen for this article. The Velletri map notes:

This is a branch of the Taurus mountains. Across these mountains go several Saracen pilgrims from the West who want to go to Mecca and venerate the tomb of Massumet, which is their law, or here many Saracen pilgrims have wandered to Mecca because of *Mechametus* their prophet<sup>31</sup>.



Fig. 3: Velletri Map. Detail: Pilgrims to Mecca.

Further east, the goal of these pilgrimages is also clearly marked. The Atlas Catalan shows a relatively large figure of a Bedouin worshipper and notes *ciutat de mecha*, explaining that: “there is the casket (*archa*) of Mohammed and the Sarracens travel on pilgrimage here;”<sup>32</sup> – the Modena map has

- 30 India superior in qua est corpus beatithome. Multa regna sunt christiani bzw. Ysicol lacus super quem corpus beati mathei quievit: both NORDENSKIÖLD, *Om ett aftryck från XV* (cf. note 22), 91.
- 31 Aci es la migane branca de montis Taurus. Sobre aquesta muntanye passen alguns Sarrayns palagrins, de la partide de Ponent que volen anar à la Mecha e veer larcha de Mussumet, loqual es lur lig (BUCHON/TASTU, *Notice* (cf. note 15), 116); p(er) aquestas faldes dequestas montanyes pasan pelagrins sarais quj van aveura mafumet lolur proffeta (Modena Map, MILANO/BATTINI, *Mappamondo* (cf. note 18), G. 177); Hic venerant plures sarraceni peregrini de partibus occidentis ad mecham propter Mechametus eorum prophetam (Velletri Map, NORDENSKIÖLD, *Om ett aftryck från XV* (cf. note 22), 92).
- 32 Atlas Catalan: ciutat de mecha. – Mecha en esta ciutat es larcha de mafumet proffeta dels sarrayns, los quals venan aci de totes lus regions en pelerinatge; e dien pus an vista ten preçiosa cossa que nos on dignes de plus veser. E aqui els sanbaçinan la vista en reverencia de Mafumet (BUCHON/TASTU, *Notice* (cf. note 15), 118). – On the medieval Latin conviction that Muslims visit the tomb of Mohammed in Mecca, cf. Folker REICHERT, *Der eiserne Sarg des Propheten. Doppelte Grenzen im Islambild des lateinischen Mittelalters*, in: Ulrich KNEFELKAMP/Kristian BOSSELMANN-CYRAN (eds.), *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitung im Mittelalter*, Berlin 2007, 453–69.

*civitas meca*, and the Genoese map *mecha arabie*<sup>33</sup>. The Velletri map has just *mecha*, but shows a luxurious tent and worshippers that look similar to those at the church of Saint Thomas.

The Modena map and also the Atlas Catalan add, on the lower part of the Arabian Peninsula, the queen of Sheba, typologically an Old Testament figure referring to mission among heathens since she was believed to have been converted by Solomon and was thus a witness of world mission even before Christ<sup>34</sup>. The inscription makes it clear: “Where earlier the Queen of Sheba ruled now the Muslims have their main pilgrimage place, Mecca.”<sup>35</sup> This is clearly a memory of world mission combined with an explicit memory of loss.

Add to this that some of the maps memorialize, on the way between Egypt and the Arabian peninsula, the monastery of Saint Catherine and thus a place of

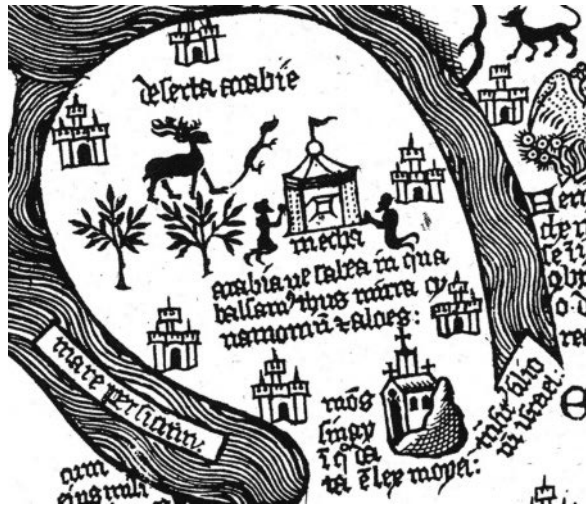


Fig. 4: Velletri Map. Detail: Mecca (*mons sinay filii Israel*).

- 33 In the Indian Ocean the mapmaker refers to Mecca as trading point between India and the West, STEVENSON, *Genoese World Map* (cf. note 20), 27 (hint by G. Brunnelechner).
- 34 The passage in the Old Testament (1 Reg. 10: 1–13) in which the queen praised the God of the Israelites over the moon could be interpreted as a conversion experience – and the queen could be seen as typology of the Church of a people that had turned away from paganism, not the least because she was closely connected to Solomon as *typus Christi* (Luk. 11: 31); cf., e.g., Hanns Peter NEUHEUSER, *Zugänge zur Sakralkunst. Narratio und institutio des mittelalterlichen Christgeburtbildes*, Cologne [et al.] 2001, esp. 724. As a visitor of Solomon she can also be seen as a precursor of the three Magi (who also appear on some *mappae mundi* and who could be read in the pilgrim context as well), and she is also embedded in the legend of the wood of the Holy Cross whose history was traced back to Adam, cf. *Legenda aurea* on the festivity of Finding of the Cross (3 May). A good collection of passages see in Franz KAMPERS, *Mittelalterliche Sagen vom Paradiese und vom Holze des Kreuzes Christi in ihren vornehmsten Quellen und ihren hervorstechendsten Typen*, Cologne 1897.
- 35 Atlas Catalan: *Arabia Sebbia provincia la qual es aquella que tania la ragina Sebbia. Ara es de Sarrayns Alharabs* (BUCHON/TASTU, *Notice* (cf. note 15), 119). – Modena Map: *provincia laquall tania lareyna sabba ara es de sarains alarps aquesta es lareyna quj vench a veura lorey salamo laquall li adux de grans dons aquest fonch la pioura (?) laqual se volch lansar alriu apassar e reba salamo dient queno hera digna de pasar p(er)lopont p(er)tant com lotanidor orambador del pont aquell deuja server p(er)lagreu de jhu xst* (MILANO/BATTINI, *Mappamondo* (cf. note 18), E. 184).



pilgrimage many of the pilgrims to the Holy Land tried to reach as well. While the Genoese map says only *mons Synai* beside a clearly Christian church (similar to the one in Rome), the Catalan Atlas notes: *Hic iacet corpus Catarina virginis*, interestingly, in Latin. The atlas has more; it adds that “this is the mountain of Sinay where God gave the law to Moses.”<sup>36</sup>

The Velletri Map also memorializes Sinai as the place where Moses received the now-Christian law from God. It also explains that this is the place the *filiis Israel* passed when leaving Egypt<sup>37</sup>. A similar memory marker can be found on the Modena Map, and also, a bit further west, on the Atlas Catalan<sup>38</sup>.

One can suppose that these from the point of view of Latin European Christians not Jewish but Christian memories of one of the most important pilgrimages in biblical history, the Exodus from Egypt, here counterweigh the pilgrimage of Muslim pilgrims from the West to Mecca (or perhaps the Muslims adopted a Christian memory). No medium shows this kind of symbolic struggle for predominance more clearly than maps and, more generally, the topographic, physical closeness, even the similarities – and thus also the problematic relationship – among the main important places of worship and pilgrimage of Christians and Muslims. On the level of reading the *sensus scripturae*, this is a first class example of an allegorical/typological message.

Using features relevant for pilgrimage, shrines, and worship on maps, I have explained certain possible meanings a mapmaker might have considered when representing things in a certain way. Memories were put in specific places and specific wordings; different possible oppositions of Christianity and Islam were used where geographical places were the starting points of associations. In any of these cases we have to assume that memory served a purpose; it emphasized the moral obligation of Christians to visit these places on pilgrimage or to regain the places that had formerly been Christian and were now in the hands of non-Christians. Some of these maps are quite similar to each other in terms of images, features selected, and events memorialized. Whatever the traditions and the possible mutual influences among mapmakers, they did not enter all possible features at any one time. The mapmakers were selective; they made images more visible and texts more explicit or the other way round. Examining the single maps can show how the selections fit into an overall statement, or even program, as texts on the map.

36 Mont de Sinay en lo qual Deu dona la ley a Moyses: BUCHON/TASTU, Notice (cf. note 15), 115. – Cf. Modena Map Mont de madon s(an)tacatalina: MILANO/BATTINI, Mappamondo (cf. note 18), No. 39, 182.

37 Mons sinay in quo data est lex moysi bzw. Transitus filiorum israel: NORDENSKIÖLD, Om ett aftryck från XV (cf. note 22), 91.

38 Atlas Catalan: Per aquest freu pasaren los fills dIsrael con ixiren deGipte (BUCHON/TASTU, Notice (cf. note 15), 115); Modena Map: P(er) aquest pas passaran los fils de irael com isquera(n) degipta: MILANO/BATTINI, Mappamondo (cf. note 18), C. 183.

This is most difficult for the Atlas Catalan. It clearly picks up an already existing Catalan tradition of maps of the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions and extends it into Asia<sup>39</sup>. Its sources are mainly traveler's reports, but also Marco Polo and oral knowledge brought by Catalan and other merchants who had been traveling through Central, South, and East Asia for nearly a century – add to this possible Jewish networking. The makers of the atlas were interested in economic information, but not the least in Christian traces in the world or the geographical features of Endtime that were expected in the East of the world that had become nearly reachable. It seems like an overall survey and comparative representation of all new material.

The Genoese map is, as noted above, especially interested in the Indian Ocean in the context of the Ptolemaic discussion of whether this ocean can be reached by ship. At the same time, this mapmaker seems to have had considerable interest in the geography of the Endtime, even more than usual. As can also be seen on the Atlas Catalan, a huge part of Asia, in fact the northeastern quarter, is left mostly empty and filled only with hints about the Antichrist and the peoples of Endtime<sup>40</sup>. Although the mapmaker normally emphasizes the Christian shrines and great churches, in Central Asia he seems to omit many details in order to enlarge the area of Endtime<sup>41</sup>.

In both cases, Endtime – that is: the eschatological sense – is one of the contexts in which we have to understand the placement of pilgrimage, shrines, and worshipping. It is a memory of the apostolic mission that was the start of the conversion of the whole world. The maps were a kind of survey of the places all over the world that were still in Christian hands and a reminder that there was still a great deal to do in terms of mission and especially in terms of regaining places that had been Christian but were now Muslim.

The Modena map seems to follow the traces of its predecessors closely, but it also re-formulates some of the texts; it does more than remind and admonish Chris-

39 Rebekka THISSEN, *Der Katalanische Weltatlas von 1375. Raumrepräsentation und Repräsentationsräume in der mittelalterlichen Kartographie*, in: Stefanie VON WELSER/Michael ROTHMANN, *Kartographie im Zeitalter der Welser und Fugger*, forthcoming.

40 Chet VAN DUZER, *Mapping the End of the Earth: Apocalyptic Mappaemundi in a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript*, talk Febr. 2014 = [https://www.academia.edu/5999900/Mapping\\_the\\_End\\_of\\_the\\_Earth\\_Apocalyptic\\_Mappaemundi\\_in\\_a\\_Fifteenth-Century\\_Manuscript](https://www.academia.edu/5999900/Mapping_the_End_of_the_Earth_Apocalyptic_Mappaemundi_in_a_Fifteenth-Century_Manuscript) (last access 08.06.2016); Felicitas SCHMIEDER, *Gogs und Magogs 'natürliche Milde'?* Die Mongolen als Endzeitvölker im Wandel von Wissen und Wünschen, in: Rebekka VOSS/Wolfram BRANDES/Felicitas SCHMIEDER (eds.), *Peoples of the Apocalypse. Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios*, forthcoming Berlin 2015.

41 Zur Vorstellungswelt der Genuesischen Weltkarte ein erster Beitrag Gerda BRUNNLECHNER, *The so-called Genoese World Map of 1457: A Stepping Stone Towards Modern Cartography?*, *Peregrinations IV 1* (2013), 56–80 = [peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol4\\_1/BrunnlechnerPeregrinations41.pdf](http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol4_1/BrunnlechnerPeregrinations41.pdf) (last access 08.06.2016).

tians. It has a contemporary political agenda<sup>42</sup>; it was created in the times of the Portuguese-Catalan alliance which supported the Portuguese plans to advance a final crusade<sup>43</sup>. These plans included the idea that a Christian ruler named Presbyter Johannes or Prester John could be found at the headwaters of the Nile River<sup>44</sup>. If the Latin Christians, in this case the Portuguese, managed to reach him they could convince him to divert the Nile in order to make Egypt fall dry and then the Latin Christians could easily conquer Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Henry the Navigator seems to have been optimistic about this and the map supports this idea in an interesting way. The Nile was known to be one of the rivers of Paradise, but Paradise was normally known to be in the far east of the world<sup>45</sup>. By moving Paradise to East Africa and placing Presbyter Johannes close to it, the mapmaker of the Modena Map emphasized the possibilities. In this context, the frequent reminder of Saracen rule, the prominent position of Saracen pilgrimage in the sense of pilgrimage as a continuous claim of possession, and, not least, the memory of the Queen of Sheba, were developed into a direct political message.

The Velletri Map clearly benefitted from Catalan traditions – but it puts the Muslims, the tombs of Apostles and other shrines, and the multiplicity of heathen religions in the world into yet another context. The map is very much a world chronicle in the sense that it describes world history as a sequence of world empires fighting each other. It is also quite close to Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos* and the idea of a constant struggle between Christians and pagans. Wherever Muslims are mentioned in Africa – be it as pilgrims or rulers – the mapmaker put a Christian counterpart on his map. In a similar way, heathens worshipping in Asia are balanced by Christians worshipping at the tombs of two apostles. This sequence is placed in the framework of the four empires of the biblical Daniel prophecy which are named on the map and thus, again, into an eschatological framework. Pilgrimage, worshipping, and shrines are thus signatures of a world that has yet to become fully Christian, where Christianity is memorialized in many places, where it struggles for survival or dominance in many places.

- 42 Felicitas SCHMIEDER, Heilsgeographie versus "realistische Darstellung der Welt" in der Kartographie des Mittelalters, in: Nathalie BOULOUX (ed.), *Hommage à Patrick Gautier Dalché*, forthcoming.
- 43 Heribert MÜLLER, *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzogs Philipp des Guten von Burgund*, Göttingen 1993.
- 44 Peter RUSSELL, A quest too far. Henry the Navigator and Prester John, in: Ian MACPHERSON/Ralph PENNY (eds.), *The medieval mind. Hispanic Studies in honor of Alan Dyermond*, Woodbridge 1997, 401–416. – Cf. Charles F. BECKINHAM/Bernard HAMILTON (EDS.), *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, Aldershot 1996; Ulrich KNEFELKAMP, *Die Suche nach dem Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes. Dargestellt anhand von Reiseberichten und anderen ethnographischen Quellen des 12. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Gelsenkirchen 1986.
- 45 Alessandro SCAFI, *Mapping paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*, London 2006; Felicitas SCHMIEDER, *Paradise Islands in the East and West – Tradition and Meaning in Some Cartographical Places on the Medieval Rim of the World*, in: Gerhard JARITZ/Torstein JØRGENSEN (eds.), *Isolated Islands in Medieval Mind, Culture and Nature*, Budapest 2011, 3–22.

In this article I have tried to present the *mappae mundi* as a specific medium for presenting an interpretation of the geography of salvation, which has to be read in the *sensus scripturae*. Four examples of different maps were examined which interpreted, within a world chronicle and often eschatological context, pilgrimage, apostolic tombs, shrines, worshipping all over the world in different ways and connected with specific messages<sup>46</sup>. The memory of apostolic mission, memorialized not least by pilgrimage, clearly played an important role when the whole earth, and even more the newly discovered regions, had to be described in a sensible, meaningful Christian manner. At the same time, pilgrimage seemingly could also be a way to seize possession of places and regions, especially since the opposing Muslims were understood to have done the same, replacing Christian conversion, as in the case of the Queen of Sheba, by their own pilgrimages. The maps also show that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century there was mostly a certain fascination with the new places, but in the 15<sup>th</sup> century the approaches became more systematic. Then the widespread presence of apostles in every part of the world COULD stand for a survey of the state of world mission in order to give an overview, offer a solution, issue a warning, and issue a challenge.

46 It would have been possible to add images of pagan adorations at the rims of the world for comparison, but this has been left out due to space in this article.



## ROMA, JERUSALÉN Y COMPOSTELA: LA LEYENDA DE CARLOMAGNO, EMPERADOR PEREGRINO

Marco Piccat

Los biógrafos del célebre emperador romano-germano no han encontrado referencias a peregrinaciones a santuario alguno<sup>1</sup>. Sin embargo, Carlomagno viajó en varias ocasiones a Roma (ciudad en que fue coronado por el papa el 25 de diciembre del año 800, y que ha conservado restos de su más antigua leyenda), pero no visitó nunca Constantinopla, Jerusalén o Compostela, pese a interesarse en diversos momentos por la tutela de los peregrinos a los lugares santos<sup>2</sup>. Por el contrario, el mundo medieval se encargó de la difusión de sus hazañas épicas en estos lugares, manipulando y amalgamando datos de diversas fuentes, y confirmando a su figura nuevos significados<sup>3</sup>. Su imagen como peregrino “ad perpetuum”<sup>4</sup> había sido ya evocada en los versos finales de la *Chanson de Roland*:

“Seint Gabrielde part Deu li vint dire:  
Carles, sumun les oz de tun emp(ir)e!  
Li chrestïente recleiment e crient.”  
Li emperere n’i volsist aler mie:  
Deus! – dist li reis – si penuse est ma vie!”  
Pluret des oilz, sa barbe blanche tiret ...<sup>5</sup>”.

Así, el *Dit* en francés antiguo<sup>6</sup>, que debía transmitir la imagen a la posteridad, aludía oportunamente a las dos direcciones más conocidas de su peregrinaje:

- 1 Eginardo, *Vita Karoli*, ed. Paolo CHIESA, Firenze 2014.
- 2 Robert FOLZ, *Le souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne dans l’Empire germanique medieval*, Paris 1950; Rita LEJEUNE/Jacques STIENNON, *La légende de Roland dans l’art du moyen âge*, Bruxelles 1965; Jacques BOUSSARD, *Charlemagne et son temps*, Paris 1968.
- 3 Francesco LANZONI, *Genesi, svolgimento e tramonto delle leggende storiche*, Roma 1925, 262–266.
- 4 Federica MONTELEONE, *Il pellegrinaggio ‘ad perpetuum’, ovvero l’equilibrio tra ordinamento sociale e ricerca escatologica*, en: EADEM., *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno in Terra Santa, Un’esperienza di pellegrinaggio nella tradizione europea occidentale*, presentazione di Franco Cardini, Fasano 2003, 133–143.
- 5 *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Cesare SEGRE, nouvelle édition revue, traduite de l’italien par Madeleine TYSENS, 2 vol., Genève 1989, vv. 3993–4001.
- 6 Jacqueline CERQUIGLINI, *Le Dit*, en: *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, VIII/1, La Littérature française aux XIV et XV siècles*, Heidelberg 1988, 88–94; Marco PICCAT, *Les Dits di Tommaso III, marchese di Saluzzo, e gli affreschi de La Manta*, en: Michele