

11 • The European Religious Worldview and Its Influence on Mapping

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The conventional narrative of the recovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* and its impact on early modern European mapmaking does not adequately explain the design and content of those maps produced during the Renaissance that originated from or operated primarily within religious contexts. Renaissance maps with religious content inherited many important features from their medieval prototypes, but in other ways they differed significantly from these prototypes; they cannot simply be dismissed as curious residues of a vanished tradition. Put somewhat differently, the history of maps with religious messages or content is not always indexed or illuminated by the conventions of modern historical periodization; the persistent assumption that *mappaemundi* are essentially medieval and Ptolemaic maps are essentially Renaissance results in a false and misleading dichotomy. This dichotomy is being corrected by the more complex picture of cartography now emerging about the transitional period from 1300 to 1460.¹

There are several noteworthy examples from this transitional period. The map of the Holy Land ("Tabula nova terrae sanctae") in Nicolaus Germanus's manuscript version of Ptolemy's *Geography* (Florence, 1474) is really a copy of the Marino Sanudo–Pietro Vesconte map of 1320, which accompanied a lengthy work by Sanudo calling for a crusade. Sanudo's work, titled "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super terrae sanctae recuperatione et conservatione," was presented to Pope John XXII in 1321. The origins of the use of the grid in the Sanudo-Vesconte map are not clear, but they do not appear to be Ptolemaic. Germanus did make some alterations following Ptolemy, such as slightly reorienting the map and adapting the scaling, but he did not essentially change its overall design. Thus the Sanudo-Vesconte map, laundered and divorced from its original context, became part of the Ptolemaic corpus in the fifteenth century; it appeared in several early printed atlases and remained in use until the eighteenth century.²

Hartmann Schedel's world map in the *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg chronicle, 1493) is also transitional; it ornaments a Ptolemaic map with depictions of biblical figures Shem, Ham, and Japheth and Pliny's monstrous races (fig. 11.1). Fra Mauro's famous *mappaemundi* of

1459–60, located in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, offers a complex conglomeration of traditional techniques and meanings, many of them more related to the Ebstorf and Hereford world maps than to Ptolemaic cartography. Such *mappaemundi* that were universal or encyclopedic in content displayed a plethora of information that signed the unfolding of the divine plan from the beginning to the end of time. In other words, their content (and that of their Renaissance successors) consisted mainly of historiated or descriptive narratives—that is, chorographies—not mathematically plotted locations of geographical features and human settlements. In these chorographies, events and figures from widely varying historical periods (and from the ahistorical world of myth) are juxtaposed on a map in such a way that time can no longer be distinguished from space but is contained within it.³

It is noteworthy that this distinction between chorography and geography and the techniques associated with them actually originate in Ptolemy's *Geography*.⁴ While knowledge of Ptolemy's conception of geography and his mapmaking techniques all but disappeared in Western

Abbreviations used in this chapter include: *Galleria* for Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, eds., *La Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in Vaticano / The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*, 3 vols. (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1994).

1. See David Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," in *HC* 1: 286–370, esp. 314–18.

2. On the Sanudo-Vesconte map and Germanus's version of it, see Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Land: Images of Terra Sancta through Two Millennia* (New York: Abbeville, 1986), 42–45 and 58–59. On the idea of scale and the use of a grid in the Sanudo-Vesconte map, see P. D. A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," in *HC* 1:464–501, esp. 496–97. On Sanudo's "Liber secretorum fidelium," see C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 3 vols. (New York: Peter Smith, 1949) 3:309–19.

3. On the conflation of time and space in medieval *mappaemundi*, see Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," 290, and Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997).

4. Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geography*, trans. and ed. Edward Luther Stevenson (1932; reprinted New York: Dover, 1991), 25–26. On the survival of Ptolemy's notion of chorography in some medieval maps, see John F. Moffitt, "Medieval *Mappaemundi* and Ptolemy's *Chorographia*," *Gesta* 32 (1993): 59–68.

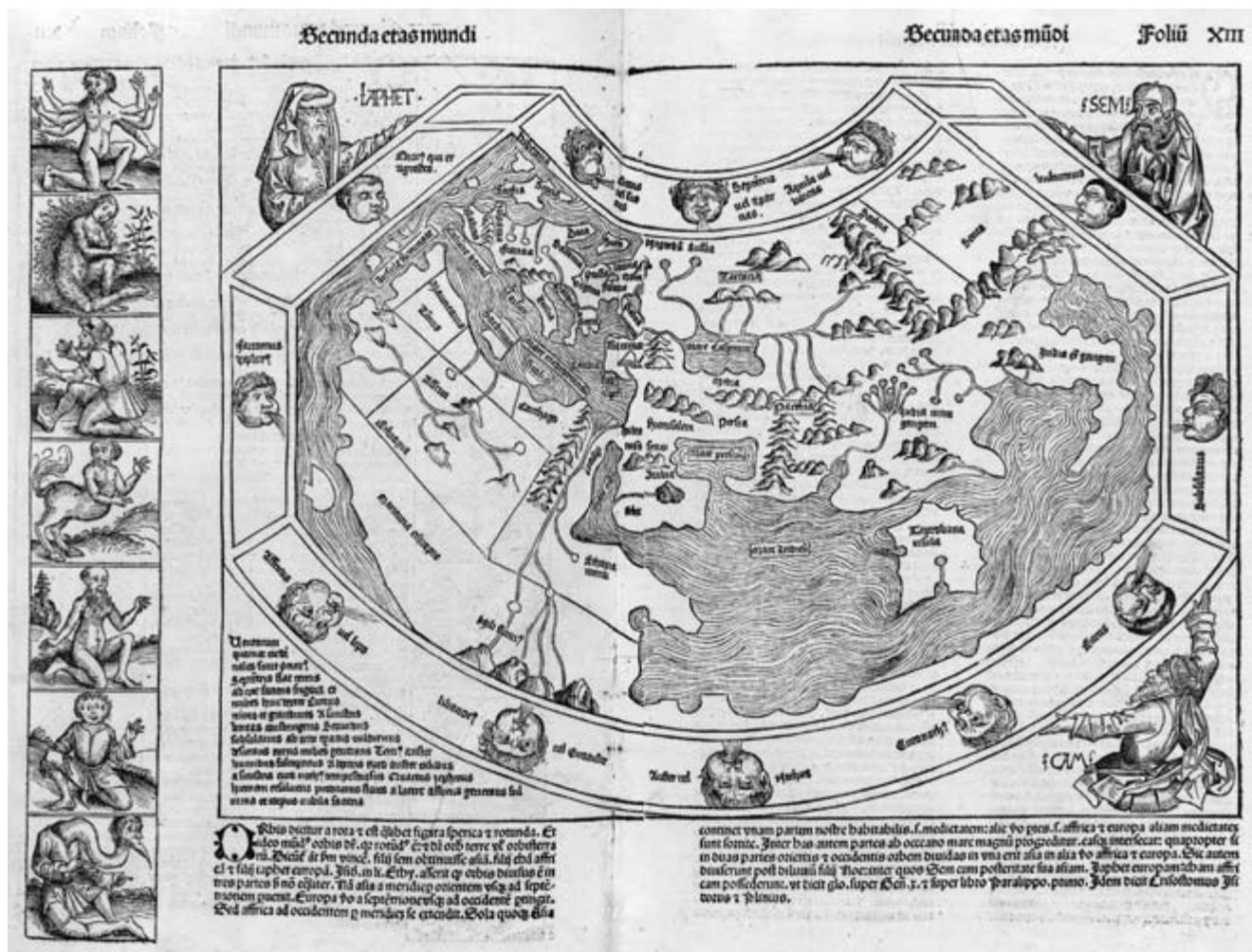


FIG. 11.1. HARTMANN SCHEDEL'S WORLD MAP FROM *LIBER CHRONICARUM* (THE NUREMBERG CHRONICLE). Published in Nuremberg by Anton Koberger, 1493.

Size of the original: ca. 44.5 × 53.3 cm. Photograph courtesy of Special Collections and Rare Books, Wilson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Europe during the medieval period, his conception of chorography lived on, albeit transformed almost beyond recognition by Christian conceptions of providential history elaborated in monastic and scholastic exegetical traditions. An influential example of such exegeses is Roger Bacon's "Opus maius," completed in 1267.

The "Opus maius" was not an esoteric or highly original work; it is significant precisely because it offers an extensive and authoritative compendium of earlier patristic and medieval authorities on the relation of philosophy, language, and mathematics to theology. In book four of the work on the use of mathematics in theology, Bacon asserts that the understanding of geography is fundamental to any reading of scripture:

The whole Bible is full of geographical passages, and nothing certain can be learned about the text unless we first study these passages. The whole course of

Scripture is governed by the regions, cities, deserts, mountains, seas, and other sorts of terrain. . . .

. . . But if [the reader] knows their latitudes and longitudes, their heights and depths; their varied peculiarities of hot and cold, dry and damp, and the effects of their mixtures of these four . . . if, I say, he knows all these, he will be able to grasp and delight in the pure and literal sense of the Scriptures, and be able to advance with pride and confidence to their spiritual meaning.⁵

5. Roger Bacon, "The Fourth Part of The Opus Maius: Mathematics in the Service of Theology," trans. Herbert M. Howe, <<http://www.geography.wisc.edu/faculty/woodward/bacon.html>>, 1996. On this section of the "Opus maius," see David Woodward with Herbert M. Howe, "Roger Bacon on Geography and Cartography," in *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays*, ed. Jeremiah Hackett (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 199–222.

Bacon goes on to say that this fundamental literal reading was itself the basis for other spiritual readings. In other words, geography was the key to biblical hermeneutics: “Nobody can doubt that material paths point to journeys of the spirit, or that earthly cities hint at the goals of spiritual roads to parallel spiritual cities. For ‘location’ has the property of limiting motion from place to place and of setting a boundary to the region around. An understanding of geography, then, gives not only understanding of the words we read, as I have pointed out, but also prepares the way to spiritual understanding. All this is amply proven by the words, the deeds, and the writings of the saints.”⁶ Bacon supports this passage with examples from Jerome (his adaptation and translation of Eusebius’s “Onomasticon” [On places], and his commentary on Eusebius’s “II Chronicles”) and Origen’s commentary on chapter 18 of Joshua, wherein he says: “Do not read all this with raised eyebrows, or regard it as a trifling bit of Scripture padded out with a lot of proper names. No; you may be certain that in these names mysteries are concealed too great for human speech to expound or human ears to hear.”⁷ These spiritual readings are the moral, allegorical, and anagogic. Together with the literal or historical reading, they were the basis of scriptural exegesis and some forms of *lectio divina* throughout the Middle Ages.⁸

These multiple readings grew out of accumulated confrontations with the richness and mystery of the two “books” revealed by God to man—scripture and nature. For Bacon, as for his predecessors and heirs, these two books were symbiotically bound; they necessitated, informed, and completed each other. Introducing his catalog of medieval tropes associated with these two books, the great student of medieval exegesis Henri de Lubac observed, “Scripture is like the world”; scripture was “a deep forest with innumerable branches,” “a deep sky,” and “an immense ocean where one voyages on full sails forever.” Writing of creation, Alain of Lille said that everything in it was like a “book or a picture in which we see ourselves.” Hugh of Saint Victor said that the whole sensible world was like “a book written by the finger of God”; his confrère, Richard of Saint Victor, observed that all the beings that make it up are like *figura*, invented not by human ingenuity, but instituted by the divine will in order to manifest and in some way sign its hidden attributes.⁹

Given this heritage, Bacon’s assertion that geography is at the root of biblical hermeneutics, startling though it may be to a modern reader, is far from idiosyncratic. And it is entirely consistent with this heritage that Bacon then introduces an example of how literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogic readings may be extracted from a map of the region of the Holy Land that includes the Jordan River, Jericho, and the plain of Mount Olivet:

By studying a few characteristics of the places I have just mentioned, we can expound their profound meanings in moral, allegorical, and anagogic terms. We note that the Jordan flows down from north to south to the east of Jerusalem, which lies to the west, a little way from the Great [Mediterranean] Sea. Between these two, on this side of Jordan, is Jericho, a city surrounded by its plain. Next comes Mount Olivet, then the Valley of Josaphat, and after it Jerusalem. Now the saints tell us that the world is represented in their method of interpretation by Jordan, both symbolically and because of the river’s characteristics. For one thing, it flows into the Dead Sea, a symbol of the Inferno; there are also many other reasons. Jericho, in the view of the saints, symbolizes the flesh. Mount Olivet signifies the loftiness of the spiritual life, because of its own loftiness, and the sweetness of devotion, as sweet as its oil. The Valley of Josaphat signifies lowliness through the meaning of valley, “a low place,” and true humility in the presence of majesty, since the translation of the name Josaphat is “in the sight of the Lord.” Jerusalem itself means “vision of peace”; in its moral interpretation it points to the holy soul which possesses peace of heart. Allegorically it signifies the Church Militant; analogically, the Church Triumphant.¹⁰

The saints or sacred authors who provided the sources for Bacon’s fourfold exegesis are Jerome, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Origen. His choices were not capricious. Each made important contributions to the development of the Christian notion that history was providentially designed and used maps as both exegetical and didactic tools to illustrate this design. What Bacon consistently points to throughout this section of “Opus maius” are works or sections of works by these authorities that contained detailed geographical information in the form of verbal descriptions.

Some of these works seem also to have contained maps. In 388 Jerome finished his translation of Eusebius’s *Onomasticon, de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum liber*, a work that Bacon knew. In his introduction to the translation, Jerome reported that Eusebius had also designed a map; he had translated the Greek *kartagraphen* as *chorographia*, a neologism invented by Ptolemy. Features of Eusebius’s map mentioned by Jerome included the locations of the Twelve Tribes, Jerusalem, and the

6. Bacon, “Opus maius.”

7. Bacon, “Opus maius.”

8. The basic studies are Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale: Les quatre sens de l’écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1954–64), and Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964).

9. De Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale*, 1:119–24.

10. Bacon, “Opus maius.” Woodward with Howe, in “Bacon on Geography,” 204, points to the allegorical nature of this passage without explicitly connecting it with modes of biblical exegesis.

temple there. It does appear that the *Onomasticon* was an important source for one map that does survive, the Madaba mosaic floor map (542–65); most of its many place-names may be found in Eusebius's work.¹¹

For Bacon it was manifest that cartography was ultimately a derivative of astronomy: "The places of the world can only be known through astronomy, so first of all we must learn their longitudes and latitudes. . . . For by observing these [coordinates], we realize by the information of our senses that the things of this world are in a state of flux, a statement true not only of material subjects, but of morals as well. We ought also to understand from the study of astronomy what planets rule human affairs, and in what regions, since all parts of the world are powerfully altered by them."¹² The creator of the heavens was the ultimate craftsman, God. Bacon says that this cannot be understood without a picture of the earth. He then gives an extended *descriptio* (what the Greeks would have called an *ekphrasis*) of a *mappamundi* that presents in words most of the information depicted on encyclopedic world maps. At least one *mappamundi*, roughly contemporaneous with the "Opus maius," represented this sort of *descriptio* by substituting a list of place-names for the usual icons. Here Bacon makes the same point about the *mappamundi* he made in regard to studying the map of the Holy Land: "The literal sense [of scripture] too demands an understanding of the world's geography; by deducing from it, through appropriate parallels and comparisons with material things, we may extract the spiritual meaning. This is the right sort of exegesis of scripture, as I have shown in my previous example."¹³

What Bacon is doing in this section of book four refers to techniques associated with a tradition that Esmeijer has called "visual exegesis," that is, "a kind of exposition of Holy Scripture in which the customary rôles of word and image have been reversed, so that the representation or programme provides the Scriptural exegesis in very compressed picture-form, and the text itself is either completely omitted or else limited to explanatory inscriptions, tituli, or a very short commentary."¹⁴ Such representations or programs could be designed in such a way that they operated on multiple levels; in other words, they offered pictorial exegeses that paralleled modes of exposition developed in written commentaries on scripture. In some representations, specific texts and images could be closely bound; others were complex tapestries of words and images that sometimes required the presence of objects such as altars to complete their meanings.¹⁵

Texts such as that of the "Opus maius" demonstrate that maps were employed in this tradition of visual exegesis, and they could be composed of words, images, or a combination of the two. The survival of this tradition is evident in a passage from Paolino Veneto's "De mapa mundi," composed around 1320 and later inserted into

his universal history "Compendium, seu Satyrica historia rerum gestarum mundi" (1321):

Without a world-map, I think it is not just difficult, but impossible to make an image of, or even for the mind to grasp, what is said of the children and grandchildren of Noah, and of the Four Kingdoms and other nations and regions in both divine and human writings. Hence what is needed is a two-fold map, of painting and writing [*mapa duplex, picture ac scripture*]. Nor will you deem one sufficient without the other, because, without writing, painting indicates regions or nations but unclearly, [and] writing, without the aid of painting, truly does not mark, in their various parts, the boundaries of the provinces of a region sufficiently for them to be made manifest almost at a glance.¹⁶

In the fifteenth century, precisely those sections of the "Opus maius" discussed earlier were read and used by Pierre d'Ailly and, through him, Christopher Columbus.

COLUMBUS

An examination of d'Ailly's appropriation of sections of Bacon's "Opus maius" and Columbus's annotations to them demonstrates some of the ways in which maps could function as tools with which to discern the providential plan, especially to provide literal and anagogic or prophetic readings derived from history and geography. In the opening lines of his *Imago mundi* (written between 1410 and 1414; Columbus used an incunabulum published sometime between 1480 and 1483), d'Ailly places what he is doing squarely within the tradition of visual

11. Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Land*, 18–19. Of Jerome's work, Bacon says: "Eusebius of Caesarea, as Jerome tells us in his book *On Places*, wrote in his own hand about the land of Judaea and the parts inherited by each tribe, and at the end added a map [*picturam*] of Jerusalem itself and the temple in that city, with a short commentary"; quoted in Woodward with Howe, "Bacon on Geography," 219. On the Madaba map, see O. A. W. Dilke and eds., "Cartography in the Byzantine Empire," in *HC* 1:258–75, esp. 264–65. *Onomasticon* indirectly influences a family of medieval maps known as the "Jerome maps," which date from the twelfth century. On these maps, see Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 26–30.

12. Bacon, "Opus maius."

13. Bacon, "Opus maius."

14. Anna C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum Assen, 1978), ix.

15. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*, 1–29. It is noteworthy that chorographies as understood after Ptolemy could consist of either pictures or words; see Moffitt, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*."

16. The English translation is from Moffitt, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," 60. The Latin is published in Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 425–74, esp. 452 n. 87.

exegesis sketched earlier: “The image of the world, or imaginary description of it representing it as in a physical mirror, is not without use for the elucidation of Holy Scriptures, which frequently make mention of its parts and especially about the places of the habitable earth. It is because of this that I was led to write this treatise and thought it worthwhile to have gathered, briefly and truthfully, things that have been written diffusely by scholars on this subject.”¹⁷ Grant quotes a passage from the editor of *Imago mundi*, Edmond Buron, underlining how utterly traditional this opening is: “The beginning of this treatise is well known to all who have frequented the ancients even slightly. We do not venture to name any writers before d’Ailly who describe the world in the same manner as he did; for it would be necessary to enumerate some hundreds of Greek, Arabic, and Latin authors.”¹⁸ The body of the *Imago mundi* is an extended *chorographia* in words accompanied by maps that d’Ailly intended be read in conjunction with several other *opuscula* he had authored on the interrelationships between history, astrology, and prophecy. These *opuscula*, many sections of which he lifted directly from the “Opus maius,” shaped Columbus’s “Enterprise of the Indies,” the foundation of his apocalyptic vision of history and the special role that he believed he was destined to play in the denouement of postlapsarian time and space.¹⁹

Columbus came to see himself, especially in his later years, as “Christ-bearer” (a sobriquet derived from his given name). He was convinced that the unfolding of the divine plan of providential history had brought about the remarkable events that joined his destiny with those of Ferdinand and Isabella. Following d’Ailly (who was himself following sections of Bacon’s “Opus maius” along with other sources), Columbus announced that but 155 years remained before the end of the world, and during this period a number of prophecies remained to be fulfilled. Of paramount importance to Columbus was the recovery of the Holy Land and the evangelization and conversion of all heathen peoples. He believed that his discovery of what he called a “new heaven and a new earth” had revealed the presence of the previously unknown peoples prophesied in John’s gospel: “But there are other sheep of mine, not belonging to this fold, whom I must bring in; and they too will listen to my voice. There will then be one flock, one shepherd.”²⁰ And he believed that in reaching the Indies by sailing west, he had provided Ferdinand and Isabella with a backdoor route by which they might launch an ultimate crusade and so fulfill the destiny of the Aragonese monarchy.

Columbus intended to compose a work he called “The Book of Prophecies,” which would present this vision of the interrelationship of history, geography, and prophecy to his regents. He never completed it, but the materials he and several collaborators gathered over a period of years



FIG. 11.2. DETAIL OF COLUMBUS AS SAINT CHRISTOPHER FROM THE JUAN DE LA COSA MAP, CA. 1500. Size of the entire original: 95.5 × 177 cm; detail: ca. 18.4 × 14.5 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Museo Naval, Madrid (inv. 257).

do survive. They indicate that it was to be an exegetical work, a compendium of various passages from scripture, well-known prophecies, and scholastic commentaries.²¹

Columbus’s vision of history and his image of himself as the Christ-bearer must have been known to Juan de la

17. Edward Grant, ed., *A Source Book in Medieval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 630.

18. Grant, *Source Book*, 630 n. 2.

19. See Pauline Moffitt Watts, “Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus’s ‘Enterprise of the Indies,’” *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 73–102; idem, “Apocalypse Then: Christopher Columbus’s Conception of History and Prophecy,” *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. (ser. 2) 19 (1992): 1–10; and Adriano Prosperi, “New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and Propaganda at the Time of the Discovery and Conquest of the Americas,” in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. Marjorie Reeves (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 279–303.

20. John 10:16, New English Bible.

21. The best modern edition of this work is Roberto Rusconi, ed., *The Book of Prophecies Edited by Christopher Columbus*, trans. Blair Sullivan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Cosa, who in 1500 made what is usually considered the first map of the New World (see fig. 30.9). The disk composed of Europe, Asia, and Africa and surrounded by the Ocean Sea dissolved into a more uncertain picture, a “new heaven and new earth” as it were. It seems to allude to Columbus’s reference to Saint John’s Revelation in a letter written in 1500. Of this passage (“Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had vanished, and there was no longer any sea”), Columbus said: “Of the new firmament and land, which the Lord made, as Saint John writes in the Apocalypse, (after what had been said by the mouth of Isaiah,) He made me His messenger, and pointed out the way to me.”²² To the east is a highly articulated rendering of the Atlantic coastlines of Europe and Africa and sections of Asia. To the west is the emerging shape of newly discovered lands, which the cartographer can trace with accuracy in only a few places. Juan de la Cosa’s map has received much attention from historians of cartography, who have been almost entirely occupied with its dating and geographical detail.

The map is in fact dominated by an oversized iconic figure of Columbus bearing the Christ child on his shoulders across the Ocean Sea, as the pagan giant who became Saint Christopher had once carried the Christ child across a turbulent river (fig. 11.2). It appears to illustrate and validate the interpretive project that consumed Columbus in his later years. In that its literal geographical and historical chorographies serve larger spiritual meanings, the map is clearly heir to the tradition of visual exegesis shared by d’Ailly, Bacon, and many others.

PROTESTANT BIBLES

The tradition may provide a means of organizing and unlocking the meanings of other sorts of maps that conventional histories of Renaissance cartography have tended to ignore until fairly recently. For example, there has been no comprehensive study of the relationship of cartography to the Protestant and Catholic reform movements of early modern Europe. However, there are indicators that such a study might well prove fruitful. Maps began to appear in Bibles in the 1520s, coinciding with Martin Luther’s break with the Roman Catholic Church. According to the important work of Delano-Smith and Ingram, these maps are found in Bibles printed in regions of Europe where Protestant reform movements flourished—Germany, England, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. None of the Bibles printed contemporaneously in Spain or Italy contained maps. These findings led Delano-Smith and Ingram to conclude that “the history of maps in Bibles is part of the history of the Reformation. Bibles that contain maps are overwhelmingly Protestant editions, or, in the case of the half-dozen Latin Bibles

and even fewer Paris-printed and polyglot Bibles, were published by printers known to have had reformist sympathies or to have been willing to print reformist literature. Catholic interest in Bible maps seems not to have developed until the last quarter of the century.”²³ The maps printed in Protestant Bibles can be associated with reformed modes of visual exegesis—especially, it seems, with the Protestant emphasis on the primacy of the literal or historical reading of the Bible.

On the title page of his 1549 edition of the New Testament, one of the earliest to be illustrated with maps, the English Protestant printer Reyner Wolfe followed in the footsteps of Bacon and d’Ailly, announcing: “And because that the knowledge of Cosmographie is very necessary, so that he that lacketh the same, can neither wel rede the Byble, nor yet prophane Historiographers, nor the New Testament. For the Evangelistes do describe the iourneies of Christ. S. Luke in the Actes describeth the preachyng & iourneis of the Apostles, and specially of St. Peter and Paull. Therefore if a man be not seen in Cosmographie, he shall be constrained to skippe ouer many notable thinges which otherwyse shoulde do him no lytle pleasures.”²⁴ Delano-Smith and Ingram point out that “to ‘wel rede the Byble’ in Wolfe’s sense means more than merely locating text references on a map. In the caption to the map of the Eastern Mediterranean, the printer explains the map’s dividers and scale of miles as a means of learning something about Saint Paul rather than about measurement: ‘by the distance of the myles, thou maiest easily perceauce what peynfull trauayle saynt Paule toke in preachyng the woorde of God through the Regions of Asia, Affrica, and Europa.’ The emphasis is on the Apostle’s evangelical effort, not on geographic facts.”²⁵

Wolfe’s point is not that the maps must be accurate, that is, literal, in a cartographic sense, but that they represent to the reader the true or historical meaning of scripture, in this case the Pauline missions. However, reformers such as Philipp Melanchthon and possibly Luther (and their printers) did apparently associate the precision of Ptolemaic grids with exegesis. In a letter dated 6 March 1522, Melanchthon sought to acquire a Ptolemaic map (or a “Roman” map, as he called it) of the Holy Land to illustrate Luther’s forthcoming translation of the New Testament.²⁶

22. Revelation 21:1, New English Bible, and Christopher Columbus, *Memorials of Columbus; or, a Collection of Authentic Documents of that Celebrated Navigator*, ed. Giovanni Battista Spotorno (London: Treuttel and Wurtz, 1823), 224.

23. Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500–1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991), XVI.

24. Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, XXV.

25. Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, XXV.

26. Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, XXII.

CALVIN AND LUTHER

Ingram has argued that the introduction of maps into editions of Bibles is associated especially with Calvin's Geneva. In part this seems due to an influx of French Protestant printers around the middle of the sixteenth century and to the resulting proliferation of both scholarly polyglot editions and vernacular translations. One of these printers, Nicolas Barbier, who published maps of Exodus, the lands of the Twelve Tribes, the Holy Land during Christ's lifetime, and the missions of Paul in his 1559 French translation of the Old and New Testaments, referred to them as *cartes chorographiques* and said that they were visual aids designed to elucidate the text.²⁷

This literal fundamentalism led Calvin himself to attempt to reconcile the biblical description of the location and features of Eden with mappings of Mesopotamia that were then appearing in editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*. As Delano-Smith and Ingram demonstrate, the principal hurdle for Calvin was the problem of naming and locating the four rivers that were said to flow from paradise and water the earth. These had traditionally been identified as the Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, and Ganges. Delano-

Smith and Ingram describe his solution as follows: "Two of these, the Tigris and Euphrates, posed no problem, but the others, Pishon and Gihon, were troublesome, having no obvious modern counterparts. Early Jewish and Christian tradition had identified them with the other two great rivers of the known world, the Nile and the Ganges. Calvin's solution allowed Eden to be located much more precisely by identifying Pishon and Gihon with the outfalls of the Tigris and Euphrates, and by locating the Land of Cush ('Chvs'), which Gihon is said to traverse, near the Mesopotamian valley rather than in Ethiopia, its traditional location."²⁸

It is noteworthy that Calvin's map of paradise was originally published to accompany an exegetical work—his commentary on Genesis (1554)—and was used to illustrate Bibles only some years later (fig. 11.3). The map and the exposition was a response to Luther's exegesis of Genesis 2.8 in his *Lectures on Genesis*.

Luther did believe that the Garden of Eden had once existed but that it had disappeared after the Flood; moreover, the disposition of lands and waters on the earth's surface had changed drastically since the Fall, and it was not possible to chart the location of the earthly paradise or the four rivers that flowed forth from it. It was therefore useless to discuss where it was located, and Luther targeted Origen, Jerome, and others who did:

It is an idle question about something no longer in existence. Moses is writing the history of the time before sin and the Deluge, but we are compelled to speak of conditions as they are after sin and after the Deluge. . . . When the world was obliterated by the Deluge, together with its people and cattle, this famous garden was also obliterated and became lost. Therefore it is vain for Origen and others to carry on senseless discussions. Moreover, the text also states that it was guarded by an angel lest anyone enter it. Therefore even if that garden had not perished as a result of



FIG. 11.3. CALVIN'S MAP OF MESOPOTAMIA. This version is from the first English edition of the Geneva Bible, 1560. Although early in the sixteenth century Eden was located at the center of the cosmos, Calvin placed the earthly paradise (Garden of Eden) geographically in Mesopotamia. The Tigris and Euphrates are linked by a river branch north of Seleucia, and then come together again south of Babylon, forming a large island. Size of the original: ca. 10 × 8.6 cm. From *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560). Photograph courtesy of the BL.

27. Elizabeth Morley Ingram, "Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles," *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993): 29–44. Ingram observes that "Barbier intended his maps to help readers understand the geographical dimension of particular parts of the text. In this way the 'cartes chorographiques' are spatial analogues of other 'cartes' he loaded into different parts of this Bible: the verbal charts of synchronous dates, empires, rulers and events designed to help readers grasp the temporal dimension of the text. Both kinds of 'chartes,' spatial and temporal, function as specialized modes of text illustration that complement and extend the pictorial mode also used in this Bible, a set of woodcut 'figures' depicting (mostly) furnishings and plans of the Tabernacle and Temple. With these multiple aids, Barbier set a new and quite rigorous standard of Bible production aimed at serious but unschooled vernacular readers" (p. 30).

28. Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, XXV–XXVI. Calvin's rearrangement "came to be used regularly in Genevan Bibles from 1560 onwards, with few amendments." See also Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 270–77.

the ensuing curse, the way to it is absolutely closed to human beings; that is, its location cannot be found.²⁹

Throughout his lectures on Genesis, Luther steadfastly held to the primacy of the literal or historical reading and attacked the so-called allegorists, especially Origen, but in other writings he himself did engage in allegorical or anagogic readings.

In 1529, the Turkish siege of Vienna commenced. This frightening incursion heightened fears that the end of time might be fast approaching. At the end of that year, Hans Lufft published a pamphlet by the reformers Justus Jonas and Philipp Melanchthon titled *Das siebend Capitel Danielis von des Türcken Gottes lesterung vnd schrecklicher mordeey*, which interpreted the advance of the Turks as a fulfillment of the prophecy made in chapter 7 of Daniel. This prophecy had traditionally been associated with the theme of the *translatio imperii*—that is, the relocation or transfer of religious, cultural, and political ascendancy from one *imperium* to the next in a gradual westward movement that coincided with the unfolding of divinely ordained providential history in time. Jonas and Melanchthon's exegesis of this text was illustrated by a map representing the advance of the Turks—the fourth beast of Daniel's dream—from Asia toward Europe (fig. 11.4). After 1529, Luther became increasingly absorbed with prophetic readings of scripture. Like Jonas and Melanchthon, he came to see Daniel's prophecy (as well as the prophecies of Ezekiel and Saint John) as keys to understanding how contemporary figures and events signified the fulfillment of the historical and spiritual destiny of the German people. The map was used to illustrate a sermon he delivered on the Turkish threat to Europe.³⁰

Luther's interpretation of Daniel's dream needs to be placed within the larger context of his understanding of providential history. For Luther, God was at once present in world history and hidden from it as though he were behind a mask or veil:

The point of juncture for the concealed action of God and for the response of man as His instrument lies in the idea of the *larva Dei*, signifying a mask or a veil and at the same time a spiritual presence. In the world that God has created, all creatures and ordinances are designed to be masks of God's presence, but because in this life man cannot encounter God face to face, the mask can never be removed. The Creator is hidden behind the creature as his *larva* or *persona*. Estrangement from God or perversion by the Devil turns the mask into a spiritual presence, so that the *larva* becomes a haunted mask.³¹

This hidden presence of God in time makes history a "divine game or masquerade": "World history, or that which God works by His general omnipotence, reveals itself as the divine game or masquerade. Here God is ever



FIG. 11.4. MAP ILLUSTRATING THE DREAM OF DANIEL, PRINTED BY HANS LUFFT, 1530. This map comes from Martin Luther's translation of Daniel. Size of the original: ca. 12.7 × 17.4 cm. From Martin Luther, trans., *Der Prophet Daniel Deudsch* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1530). Photograph courtesy of the BL.

active in the constant rise and fall of rulers, nations, and kingdoms. . . . Behind the apparent purposelessness of this external turmoil, God works in a concealed way through His masks to effect judgment on the rebellious and to manifest His power to the faithful."³² So, in other words, world history is also redemptive history; this Roger Bacon and Christopher Columbus would have understood well. However, Luther's notion of divine revelation (or diabolical perversions of that revelation, for the devil was always very busy) as being masked, and his belief that history was ludic if not carnivalesque in nature, is an example of what scholars have identified as a significant leitmotif of sixteenth-century art and letters, especially when these media turned critical or polemical.³³

29. Martin Luther, *Works*, 55 vols., ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–86), 1:88. See also 1:97–99 for his exegesis of Genesis 2:9–11; Ingram, "Maps as Readers' Aids," 35; John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 43; and Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 266–70.

30. Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, 71–72. They observe: "This map had a comparatively restricted distribution. It is found mostly in German-language Bibles, and for nearly forty years was used almost exclusively by the Wittenberg printer closely associated with Luther, Hans Lufft" (p. XXVII). On Luther's eschatology, see Headley, *Luther's View*, 240–57.

31. Headley, *Luther's View*, 6.

32. Headley, *Luther's View*, 11.

33. Influential studies include Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1968); Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Past and Present* 90 (1981): 40–70; and idem, "Women on Top," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*, by Natalie Zemon Davis (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124–51.

A curious map known as the *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* makes sense only when it is placed within the context of this leitmotif.

THE MAPPE-MONDE NOUVELLE PAPISTIQUE

The *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* was published in Geneva in 1566 by Pierre Eskrich. It is large, detailed, and densely populated, bordered or glossed by extensive commentary (fig. 11.5). Further explication of the content of the map was provided by a text titled *Histoire de la mappe-monde papistique*, published at the same time. Its author was one “Frangidelphe Escorche-Messes,” a pseudonym for Jean-Baptiste Trento, an Italian convert to Calvinism.³⁴

The *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* is nothing other than a huge diabolical mask. The hideously disarticulated jaws of the devil frame the map, which is not really a *mappamundi* in the usual sense, but Eskrich’s adaptation of Sebastiano di Re’s map of the city of Rome created in 1557.³⁵ The walls of the city, set within the jaws of the devil, enclose and buttress the kingdom ruled by the pope, which is divided into nineteen provinces that bear allegorical names. Perhaps the design was intended to echo Luther’s famous “An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nobility as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom,” written in 1520 on the eve of his excommunication. In that work, Luther, designating himself “a Court-fool” and his pamphlet an “act of folly,” called for the demolition of the “three walls” the papacy had erected around itself to prevent the reform of the church: “Perhaps I owe God and the world another act of folly. For what it is worth, this pamphlet is an attempt to pay that debt as well as I can, even if I become for once a Court-fool. No one needs to buy me a fool’s cap nor shave me my poll. The question is, Which of us is to put the bells on the other?”³⁶ But, as Lestringant has pointed out, there are other pertinent visual and literary sources for the design of the map. Hell is often depicted as enclosed within the jaws of the Devil in medieval manuscript illuminations and frescoes, and François Rabelais writes of a world contained within the mouth of Pantagruel.³⁷

The relation of the content of the map, which Lestringant has called a “Rabelaisian allegory,” and Trento’s *Histoire* is not always obvious, and there are indications that Trento was not entirely satisfied with Eskrich’s map.³⁸ Trento’s work was fiercely anti-papal and anti-Spanish; the comparison of papal and Spanish atrocities in the conquest and domination of their respective new worlds is spelled out in his *Histoire*. It is noteworthy that this polemic is built upon cartographic and cosmographic commonplaces that were central to the work of Bacon, d’Ailly, and many others and are traceable back

to Macrobius’s *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* and the cartographic tradition associated with it.

Trento presents in some detail the notion that the world is divided into climatic zones, each of which is subject to particular astral and planetary influences. These zones determine the general physical and temperamental characteristics of the people who inhabit them. Moreover, the diabolical *regnum* of the papacy is divided into the same number of allegorical provinces, nineteen, as are the Spanish dominions in New Spain and Peru. This mirroring of the two new worlds allows Trento to make a series of specific satirical thrusts. For example, he argues that since Brazil and what he calls the Province of the Mass occupy the same zone, it is no coincidence that those who practice the sacrament of the Eucharist are in fact cannibals, devouring flesh and blood (those of Christ) as do the indigenous peoples of the Antilles and Brazil.³⁹

34. On the map, see Krystyna Szykula, “Une mappemonde pseudo-médiévale de 1566,” and Frank Lestringant, “Une cartographie iconoclaste: ‘La mappe-monde nouvelle papistique’ de Pierre Eskrich et Jean-Baptiste Trento (1566–1567),” both in *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Monique Pelletier (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1989), 93–98 and 99–120.

35. Lestringant, “Une cartographie iconoclaste,” 109 and n. 41.

36. Martin Luther, *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 404.

37. Lestringant, “Une cartographie iconoclaste,” 114–20, and Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 262–84.

38. See Lestringant, “Une cartographie iconoclaste,” 114–15, and Natalis Rondot, “Pierre Eskrich: Peintre et tailleur d’histoires à Lyon au XVI^e siècle,” *Revue du Lyonnais*, 5th ser., 31 (1901): 241–61 and 321–50. Other noteworthy studies of the allegorical and polemical content of the map are Franz Reiting, “‘Kampf um Rom’: Von der Befreiung sinnorientierten Denkens im kartographischen Raum am Beispiel einer Weltkarte des Papismus aus der Zeit der französischen Religionskriege,” in *Utopie: Gesellschaftsformen, Künstlerträume*, ed. Götz Pochat and Brigitte Wagner (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1996), 100–140, and Dror Wahrman, “From Imaginary Drama to Dramatized Imagery: The *Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique*, 1566–67,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 186–205 and pls. 51–59 showing the map and the individual plates that make it up. A critical edition of the map is Frank Lestringant, *La Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique (1566)* (Geneva: Droz, forthcoming).

39. Jean-Baptiste Trento, *Histoire de la mappe-monde papistique: En laquelle est déclaré tout ce qui est contenu et pourtraict en la grande table, ou carte de la mappe-monde* ([Geneva]: Brifaud Chasse-diables, 1567), 150: “All of these previously mentioned butchers and also the people who accept such flesh, are like those from the province of Mass, like this cruel race of the Cannibals of Brazil, of whom mention has been made above, those who eat human flesh. These Cannibals have sent some bands of men into this country, and have left members of their race throughout the Papist world, so that there are more cannibals now, and they are more cruel and barbaric than those in Brazil.” See Lestringant, “Une cartographie iconoclaste,” 103–4, and idem, “Catholiques et cannibales: Le thème du cannibalisme dans le discours protestant au temps des Guerres de religion,” in *Pratiques et discours alimentaires à la Renaissance* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1982), 233–45.



FIG. 11.5. PIERRE ESKRICH'S MAPPE-MONDE NOUVELLE PAPISTIQUE. Size of the original: 135.5 × 241.2 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław.

Eskrich's *mappamundi* did not represent the zones described by Trento or the mirrored worlds of Spanish and papal imperialism, but it did depict the nineteen allegorical provinces into which Trento divided the papacy's domains. Eskrich apparently chose to focus on another of Trento's themes, which was, from the time of Luther's 1520 address to the German nobility, a fundamental one shared by Protestant reformers, the demolition of the edifice of papal claims to authority and infallibility. Thus, his map portrays a lineage of reformers stretching back to John Hus who had assailed the walls of the papal establishment. They are supported by various secular rulers, including Elizabeth I of England. The queen was actually sent a print of the *mappamundi* with a letter of dedication by "Frangidelphe Escorche-Messes" that compared her to a "second Constantine." But, unlike the overt polytheisms and the "manifest idolatry" of the age of Constantine, "that of the Pope was covered by the Gospel and entirely masked and hidden by the name and authority of Christianity, so that it was unrecognizable . . . but Your Majesty discovered and tore off this mask of the devil and made the purity of the Gospel visible to all the world."⁴⁰ The dedicatory letter concluded with a call for other secular rulers to follow Elizabeth's initiative and join together in an assault on the tyranny of the papacy.

There was an apocalyptic cast to this exhortation and to the *mappaemundi* as well. Trento saw the eventual destruction of the papacy as a fulfillment of a prophecy found in the Revelation of Saint John, where an angel plunging downward from heaven announces, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon the Great! She has become a dwelling for demons, a haunt for every unclean spirit, for every vile and loathsome bird."⁴¹ For Trento, that fallen Babylon represented the papacy, as Luther had announced in his famous treatise *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520).⁴² But, according to the prophecy of another mighty angel, the one who cast the stone into the sea (Revelation 21), that fallen, diabolical Babylon would be destroyed in turn. It is this ultimate apocalyptic assault that was the centerpiece of Eskrich's *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique*, and this explains his decision to make his *mappamundi* the map of a city.

The impact of the image is heightened by the fact that Rome had recently been sacked, in 1527, by the curious alliance of forces that made up the imperial army of Charles V. Sebastiano di Re's map depicted reconstructions made after the sack, so, as Lestringant has suggested, Eskrich's map is prophesying a second, final sack.⁴³ Other Protestant printers, such as Lucas Cranach, used maps to interpret these verses from the Book of Revelation as prophecies of the imminent demise of the papacy and the Roman church. Cranach lifted a map of Rome from Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, published

in Nuremberg in 1493, and used it as the basis for a woodcut titled "The Whore of Babylon Wearing the Triple Crown," which illustrated Luther's *September Testament*, published in Wittenberg in 1522.

ORTELIUS

Other maps without such specific allegorical or apocalyptic content were nonetheless meant to serve devotional purposes. These include those published by Abraham Ortelius in the *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Recent work has suggested that Ortelius was a member of the clandestine religious sect known as the Family of Love, which flourished in the Low Countries and parts of England in the middle and later sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Ortelius's circle, centered in Antwerp and Cologne, apparently included the printer Christoffel Plantijn, the theologian Benito Arias Montano, and the philosophers Justus Lipsius, Guillaume Postel, and John Dee. This secret sect was not overtly Protestant or Catholic in affiliation (though some of its doctrines have been associated with the Anabaptists), and it has proven difficult to define precisely its particular credo.

The roots of this sect appear to lie in the mystical traditions of Germany and the Low Countries (and possibly

40. The *mappamundi* sent to Elizabeth is today in the BL (852.1.7). The passage quoted is translated from the French given by Lestringant in "Une cartographie iconoclaste," 114 n. 51.

41. Revelation 18:1–2, New English Bible.

42. Trento, *Histoire de la mappe-monde papistique*, 14: "In addition to these first servants and preachers of the Gospel, he [God] created a people who arrived at another way of attacking, and of pulverizing and destroying this Papist world, along with the Pope who is its architect and empire builder. . . . And there is no doubt that this will be done although later in time because it has been so predicted by the Apostle in chapter eighteen of the *Apocalypse* [Revelation]." Lestringant, "Une cartographie iconoclaste," 112–13 n. 45.

43. Lestringant, "Une cartographie iconoclaste," 112–13. On the sack of Rome and its effect on visual culture in both Italy and transalpine Europe, see André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. Beth Archer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). The identification of Rome with the Babylonian harlot of the *Apocalypse* was not peculiar to Protestant polemics. The Augustinian Giles of Viterbo, reformer of his order and trusted associate of Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII, sometimes lamented that Rome of his day was "another Babylon, a fallen harlot," which had deteriorated from its providentially designed destiny to become "the holy Latin Jerusalem." See John W. O'Malley, "Historical Thought and the Reform Crisis of the Early Sixteenth Century," *Theological Studies* 28 (1967): 531–48, esp. 543, and idem, "Giles of Viterbo: A Reformer's Thought on Renaissance Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 20 (1967): 1–11. It is noteworthy that Luther stayed in the Augustinian community when he visited Rome in 1508 and may well have met Giles at that time.

44. Giorgio Mangani, in *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio: Misticismo, geografia e collezionismo nel Rinascimento dei Paesi Bassi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1998), 85–146, provides a summary of recent scholarship on the Family of Love and documents Ortelius's association with the sect.

in the sect known as the Brethren of the Free Spirit), in texts such as the *Theologia Germanica* and the *Imitation of Christ*. Its teachings apparently also incorporated hermetic, cabalistic, and Neoplatonic elements, as did those of other contemporary esoteric groups such as the Rosicrucians. Its founding figures, Hendrik Niclaes and Sebastian Franck, advocated a spirituality focused on the individual's interior illumination and union with God, a spirituality that operated outside of any of the confessions and detached itself from contemporary Protestant and Catholic doctrinal, political, and institutional struggles, adopting a more universal, irenic perspective.

The Family of Love viewed such struggles with a kind of Neostoic detachment; for them the world was a tragicomic theater, at once the locus of human folly and human redemption. Their attitude is manifest in a striking image of a world map as the face of a fool, surrounded by epithets that remind the viewer of the Delphic oracle's advice to "know thyself" in the face of worldly vanity and folly.⁴⁵ In other words, for the Familiasts the *theatrum mundi* was what Mangani has called a "moral emblem."⁴⁶

This detachment from human affairs and conflicts, a form of *contemptus mundi* cultivated by distanced, introverted contemplation of the *theatrum mundi* from a cosmic perspective, also underwrote the maps Ortelius made for the *Theatrum*.⁴⁷ What Melion has aptly described as Ortelius's "neo-stoic ideal of engagement with (and disengagement from) the *theatrum mundi*" is exemplified in the *Typus orbis terrarum* of 1587, in which a world map is surrounded by quotations from both Cicero and Seneca meditating on the transient insignificance of human affairs when considered from a cosmic perspective.⁴⁸ Over a period of years (1579–98), Ortelius constructed an appendix to the *Theatrum* that he titled *Parergon, sive veteris geographiae aliquot tabulae*. The *Parergon*, which was published separately in 1595, consisted of maps depicting the pilgrimages and peregrinations of various holy men from the Old and New Testaments and were meant to serve as objects for contemplation, as allegories to guide the spectator on the interior journey of the soul (fig. 11.6).

In 1564, Ortelius published a cordiform map titled *Nova totius terrarum orbis iuxta neotericorum traditiones descriptio*.⁴⁹ The heart was the central emblem of the Family of Love, and, as Mangani has shown, a rich panoply of meanings was attached to it; the heart, too, was a *theatrum mundi*, a microcosm in which passions, the senses, reason, and free will interacted to illuminate the divine in the individual.⁵⁰

CELTIS AND MÜNSTER

Maps incorporating Ptolemaic conceptions of geography and chorography were integral to the ongoing efforts of

German humanists and reformers to resurrect and celebrate their past, especially with respect to Italy. These efforts were inaugurated in an oration delivered by the German humanist Conrad Celtis on the occasion of assuming a chair in rhetoric. In his speech Celtis, inspired by Flavio Biondo's "Italia illustrata," called for a renaissance of German historiography, one that would establish the virtue and destiny of the German people: "Do away with that old disrepute of the Germans in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew writers who ascribe to us drunkenness, cruelty, savagery and every other vice bordering on bestiality and excess. Consider it . . . the height of shame to know nothing about the topography, the climate, the rivers, the mountains, the antiquities, and the peoples of our regions and our own country."⁵¹

Though Celtis never completed his grand plan to compose a "Germania illustrata," he did inaugurate a period in which humanists and cartographers collaborated in the effort to systematically map German territory and history. The study and application of Ptolemy's distinction between geography and chorography was central to this enterprise, with his rules for mathematical plotting guiding cartographers and the modes of narration and description traditionally associated with chorography guiding hu-

45. Figure 53.4 in this volume. Mangani, in *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio*, 265, says that this map "presents all the spiritual and neostoic themes that circulated within the milieu of Ortelius and Lipsius at the end of the eighth and ninth decades of the sixteenth century."

46. Mangani, *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio*, 70, and see 38–84 for a discussion of the origins and history of this idea and its prevalence in sixteenth-century art, science, and ritual. For examples, see Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472–1700*, 4th ed. (Riverside, Conn.: Early World, 2001), 157–58 (no. 134) and 189–90 (no. 170).

47. On the meanings and uses of Ortelius's maps in *Theatrum orbis terrarum* and *Parergon*, see Walter S. Melion, "Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon*," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 49–72.

48. Melion, "Ad ductum itineris," 53, and Shirley, *Mapping of the World*, 180–81 (no. 158).

49. Figure 44.24 in this volume; Melion, "Ad ductum itineris," 57; and Shirley, *Mapping of the World*, 129–31 and 133 (no. 114).

50. See Mangani, *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio*, 247–74, for a discussion of the significance of the emblem of the heart in sixteenth-century spirituality and for a survey of the cordiform maps produced during the period. See also Giorgio Mangani, "Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning of the Cordiform Projection," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 59–83.

51. Quoted in Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 20. On the collaborations inspired by Celtis, see pp. 45–59. Prior to the publication of his *Cosmography*, Münster had printed a new edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Strauss describes Münster's preface to the *Cosmography* as "based entirely on Ptolemy's Book I" (p. 169 n. 13). See also his "Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-Century German Scholarship," *Studies in the Renaissance* 5 (1958): 87–101.



FIG. 11.6. ORTELIUS'S *PEREGRINATIONIS DIVI PAVLI TYPVS CHOROGRAPHICVS*, 1579. Size of the original: ca. 34.6 × 49.5 cm. From Abraham Or-

telius, *Additamentum II* to the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp: C. Plantinum, 1579). Photograph courtesy of the BL (C.2.c.12, pl. 70a).

manistically trained historians. The spirit of this collaboration is epitomized in the second part of Sebastian Münster's preface to the 1544 edition of his *Cosmography*, titled "Exhortation and Plea of Sebastian Münster to all Practitioners of the Gentle Art of Geography":

I shall now begin this undertaking, hoping that many of you will come to my assistance. . . .

. . . I shall gather them [the local and regional maps] all together and have them printed; then we shall see what kind of a land our ancestors conquered for their home: not a crude, uncivilized country but a paradise and pleasure garden in which everything necessary to man's happiness is found.

. . . Let everyone lend a helping hand to complete a work in which shall be reflected, as in a mirror, the entire land of Germany with all its peoples, its cities, its customs.⁵²

Münster obviously hoped that the selection of maps and their accompanying histories—chorographies—that he

published in the *Cosmography* would inspire other cartographers to join him; however, this project was never completed.

The team of Protestant scholars who composed the *Ecclesiastica historia* (or *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*) under the direction of Matthias Flacius Illyricus also built upon Celtis's and Münster's legacies, undertaking nothing less than a rewriting of the history of Christianity to 1200 that assigned primacy to the role of Germany.⁵³ Flacius Illyricus, who studied theology with Melancthon at Wittenberg and later taught there and then at Magdeburg, believed that the pope was the Antichrist and that the reformation led by Luther would restore the original doctrines and practices of the church, which had been systematically obfuscated and eroded over the centuries by

52. Quoted in Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 26–27.

53. *Ecclesiastica historia* . . . , 13 pts. in 11 vols. (Basel: Ioannem Oporinum, 1559–74).

the diabolical institution of the papacy. The *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* provoked a flurry of Catholic responses; the most extensive and influential of these was Cesare Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*. Baronius was a devoted follower of Philip Neri, the founder of the oratory at San Girolamo della Carità in Rome; it was Neri who commanded Baronius to begin writing the *Annales* sometime in the early 1560s. Baronius's work was subsequently sponsored by Gregory XIII and his successor, Sixtus V. It appeared in twelve volumes, published in Rome between 1588 and 1607, the year of Baronius's death.⁵⁴

MAP MURAL CYCLES

It is not coincidental that at the same time that these lengthy polemical histories and atlases were being composed, during the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a proliferation of mural map cycles designed for both sacred and secular settings. (See chapter 32 in this volume for details.) Important examples include those in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, the Library of the Monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma, and the Terza Loggia and Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace. The cycle designed by the cartographers Egnazio Danti and Stefano Buonsignori for the private quarters of Duke Cosimo I of Florence in the Palazzo Vecchio was a kind of encyclopedia; according to Giorgio Vasari, the room in which the maps appeared was to represent "all things relating to heaven and earth in one place." The heavens would be mapped in twelve compartments on the ceiling and the earth on fifty-seven doors to cupboards lining the walls. The terrestrial maps would be surrounded by natural and historical accoutrements that were indigenous to them—flora, fauna, rulers. This ambitious project began in 1563 but was never completed.⁵⁵

At about the same time that work began on Cosimo's *studiolo*, Pius IV commissioned a program of frescoes to decorate the Terza Loggia of the Vatican Palace. The project, whose author remains unknown, was not completed until the pontificate of Gregory XIII. Because the Terza Loggia was open to the elements, its frescoes have suffered much damage and restoration, adding to the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of deciphering the content of the program. Nevertheless, Schulz's contention that "there was a syncretistic concept at the back of it" is convincing:

In the vaults we see the life forces that govern the globe, and the heavenly glory of which creation is only a weak reflection and for which it is a preparation. In the frieze we see, first, an endless prospect of lands and seas, presented as a reflection of an immanent and omnipotent God, then an exaltation of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, defender of the Trinity, which rules in

heaven and on earth. On the walls we see the geography of the earth. Clearly, within this context, the geographical maps are meant to show the vastness and universality of God's creation, as do the frieze landscapes, only they show it under its physical rather than its spiritual aspect.⁵⁶

Several of these map cycles, for example, the Sala del Mappamondo in the Villa Farnese and Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace, seem to mirror the historiographical debates that grew out of the religious conflicts and reform movements of the sixteenth century, debates that spawned the contesting ecclesiastical histories compiled by Flacius Illyricus and Baronius. However, the relation between these texts and map cycles has thus far not proven to be as explicit as in the case of Eskrich's *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* and Trento's *Histoire*.

In 1573, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese engaged Fulvio Orsini to help him design a program to decorate a grand room in his palace at Caprarola, and over a period of some months Orsini sought the advice of a number of other colleagues.⁵⁷ The result was a spectacle of formidable complexity: the ceiling vault was given over to a sky map; the walls displayed maps of Europe, Africa, Judea, Italy, Asia, and America and a world map. These maps were framed by elaborate series of allegories; portraits of Christopher Columbus, Martín Cortés, Amerigo Vespucci, and Ferdinand Magellan; personifications of the continents and Judea, Jerusalem, Italy, and Rome; and other devices. Partridge has described the sky map, based on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, as "without precedent in any previous decorative fresco cycle" in that it is a "projection of universal, not particular, time and space." Moreover, the sky map is presented from the perspective of a "God's-eye view," that is, looking down at the earth rather than up at the heavens. This God's-eye view is an image of providential history, the divine design signed by the stars that

54. On these historiographical polemics, see Pontien Polman, *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932); Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius: Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 50–66; and E. Machael Camilli, "Six Dialogues, 1566: Initial Response to the *Magdeburg Centuries*," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 86 (1995): 141–52.

55. On this cycle, see Juergen Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance," in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 97–122, esp. 98–99; Vasari quotation on 99.

56. Schulz, "Maps as Metaphors," 107.

57. On the Sala del Mappamondo (Room of Maps), see the authoritative study of Loren W. Partridge, "The Room of Maps at Caprarola, 1573–75," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 413–44, and Kristen Lippincott, "Two Astrological Ceilings Reconsidered: The *Sala di Galatea* in the Villa Farnesina and the *Sala del Mappamondo* at Caprarola," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 185–207.

determines the unfolding of events in the time- and space-bound terrestrial world represented on the walls beneath the vault.⁵⁸

Several interrelated themes dominate in this lower region. One is the historical process and westward geographical movement in which the sacred and secular power of *sacerdotium* and *imperium* had come to be united in the Roman papacy. The pairing of maps of Judea and Italy on the northwest wall surmounted by personifications of Judea, Jerusalem, Rome, and Italy suggests a *translatio religionis* (the *sacerdotium*) from the Holy Land to the Roman church, and a *translatio imperii* (*imperium*) from the Roman emperor to the pope.⁵⁹ The map of the world that faces the maps of Judea and Italy, and the maps of Asia and America, Europe and Africa that flank them, place this unfolding of providential history in a global millennial context. The discovery and spiritual conquest of new lands indicate that the ultimate conversion of all the peoples to Christianity prophesied in John 10:16 (the same verse that had inspired Columbus) is at hand.⁶⁰ The placement of Farnese insignia at the south pole of the sky map, in each of the four apses of the ceiling vault, and in the allegories derived from pagan mythology (via Hyginus's *Fabulae* and *Poetica astronomica*, which dated from the second century), suggest that members of the cardinal's family were anointed witnesses, if not active players, in the unfolding drama of this divinely designed time and space.

The Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola may well reflect the penultimate *renovatio* of the city of Rome and of the papacy called for by Catholic reformers such as the influential Giles of Viterbo. Surely its major themes were those central to Giles's vision of sacred history, what he called the *providentiae imago*, described by O'Malley as "the earthly fulfilment of a heavenly design." For Giles, the reformed Roman church, the union of *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, was the atemporal, if not eternal, agent of the fulfillment of this temporal design. Rome itself he called a "holy Latin Jerusalem"; he saw the city as the *translatio* of Jerusalem down to specific topographical details.⁶¹ The fullness of time when the divine plan neared completion would be marked by universal *pax et concordia*, the spiritual triumph of the Roman church headed by the pope. In this Golden Age the infidel Turks and Jews would be converted and the newly discovered peoples evangelized, a gathering together of all the peoples of the world in fulfillment of John 10:16.⁶²

In spite of its High Renaissance style, the underlying structure of the program remained traditional in nature. The Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola retained all the basic ingredients of the great medieval *mappaemundi*, but they were displaced into a three-dimensional architectural setting and organized and ornamented in dynamic ways that offer multiple, shifting interpretations. The

room's messages also directly descended from the venerable medieval prophetic traditions, though, as always, it incorporated contemporary people and events into those traditions.

The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace, perhaps the most grandiloquent of sixteenth-century Italian mural map cycles, was executed from 1578 to 1581, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572–85). According to early documents, the architect was Ottaviano Mascherino. The walls of the Galleria are decorated with thirty-two panels of maps of various regions in Italy designed by the Dominican cartographer Egnazio Danti, and its vault is frescoed with an intricate arrangement of panels of various sizes, shapes, and hues designed by Cesare Nebbia from Orvieto and executed by Girolamo Muziano and a team of painters. Originally there was an anamorphosis located at the north end of the Galleria opposite the entrance, a mirror displaying an image of the Eucharist reflected from a distortion hidden above.⁶³

58. Partridge, "Maps at Caprarola," 421: "The Caprarola map is a comprehensive and accurate diagram of the entire heavens, embracing all seasons of the year and based on the most authoritative ancient source. Its abstract and diagrammatic character is further emphasized by being projected from a God's-eye view like a celestial globe, as if looking from outer space toward the earth."

59. Partridge, "Maps at Caprarola," 438–40. Partridge remarks that there are similarities between these maps and those in the third Vatican Loggia that date from 1561–64 and those in the Library of the Monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma that were done in 1573–74 (p. 439 n. 90).

60. Partridge, "Maps at Caprarola," 441–42.

61. O'Malley, "Giles of Viterbo," 10. On the revival of the terms *urbes aeterna* and *Roma aeterna* in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century letters, see Kenneth J. Pratt, "Rome as Eternal," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26 (1965): 25–44, esp. 35–38.

62. Giles's vision linking universal evangelization with the reform of the Roman papacy was shared by other Catholic reformers. See Partridge, "Maps at Caprarola," 441 n. 101, which mentions Robert Bellarmine; John W. O'Malley, "The Discovery of America and Reform Thought at the Papal Court in the Early Cinquecento," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, 2 vols., ed. Fredi Chiapelli, Michael J. B. Allen, and Robert L. Benson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 1:185–200; and idem, "Giles of Viterbo." O'Malley notes that "if the early Church did not provide a model of universal evangelization, at least it extended the promise to the present generation. No verse from Scripture is quoted more frequently here than the Johannine assurance that someday there will be 'one flock and one shepherd' (John 10:16). No verse, indeed, summarizes the aspirations of the Roman reform ideal so perfectly" (p. 192). Marjorie Reeves, in "A Note on Prophecy and the Sack of Rome (1527)," in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. Marjorie Reeves (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 271–78, discusses a resurrection of texts and images asserting the primacy of the papacy and the Roman church after 1527. In this regard, she points out that Giles's last work, the *Secchina*, written in 1530, was prompted by Clement VII's request for an interpretation of the calamitous events leading up to the sack.

63. On the construction of the Galleria, see James S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,

Scholars have generally agreed that the program of the Galleria is “post-Tridentine” and explicitly anti-Protestant. However, the overall themes that connect the iconography of the walls and ceiling have not been entirely deciphered and remain very difficult to read, perhaps accounting for what von Pastor once called the “restless impression of the whole.”⁶⁴ The maps contain much detailed geographical and topographical information; some have diminutive vignettes of specific historical events.⁶⁵ Thus far, scholars have not been able to discover the criterion for the selection of these events, but they generally agree that in spite of the maps’ appearance of what might be called a scientific accuracy, they are actually ideological fictions intended to promulgate a particular version of providential history.⁶⁶

While most scholars think that one person was responsible for the design of the Galleria’s program, the identity of that individual remains elusive. Danti, Baronius, and the papal librarian, Guglielmo Sirleto, have all been nominated. Baronius completed the first volume of his *Annales*, covering the history of the primitive church and the age of Constantine, by 1579, though it was not published until some years later. The extensive documentation of the scenes depicted on the vault of the Galleria that is provided in the Gambi edition demonstrates that a fair number contain specific historical and archaeological details found in Baronius’s *Annales*. During the years that Baronius was composing the *Annales*, Sirleto lent him books and documents from the Apostolic Library, and he read various drafts of the work in progress. Baronius also profited from the writings of other historians, such as his colleague Carlo Sigonio’s *Historia de occidentali imperio* and *Historia de regno Italiae*. In 1580, Sirleto was assigned by Gregory to head a panel of scholars, including Baronius, who would revise the *Roman Martyrology*; later the assignment was turned over to Baronius. In other words, Baronius and Sirleto habitually collaborated in service of Gregory, and they made use of the writings of Sigonio and many other colleagues and older authorities. Given these patterns of collaboration, it is unlikely that either would have designed the program without a good deal of assistance from others or without input from Gregory himself.⁶⁷

A poem titled *Ambulatio gregoriana*, composed before Gregory’s death in 1585, provides the key to the overall design of the Galleria and its connections to other public and private rooms of the Vatican Palace. The anonymous author tells the reader that the Galleria was once a public space, built by the pope “for the embellishment of the city,” and a place where he retreated for private reflection and physical refreshment: “He built this work of art which inspires wonder, not for his private advantage, nor for interests of personal safety, but for the embellishment of the City and to the glory of his enduring fame. . . . If

1954), 102–9, and Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols. (London: J. Hodges, 1891–1953), 20:651. For a survey of Gregory’s many building projects, including the Galleria, see Antonio Pinelli, “Il ‘bellissimo spaseggio’ di papa Gregorio XIII Boncompagni / The ‘belissimo spaseggio’ of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni,” in *Galleria*, 1:9–71. For a more detailed analysis of the Galleria and the use of maps therein, see Pauline Moffitt Watts, “A Mirror for the Pope: Mapping the *Corpus Christi* in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche,” *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 10 (2005): 173–92.

64. Von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 20:617. Compounding the difficulty of deciphering the original project are the restorations and additions made to the wall maps and ceiling almost since the day the project was initially completed. See Roberto Almagià, *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana*, 4 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–55), vol. 2, and Claudio Franzoni, “I restauri della Galleria delle Carte geografiche / The Restorations of the Gallery of Maps,” in *Galleria*, 1:169–74.

65. On these historical vignettes, see Walter A. Goffart, “Christian Pessimism on the Walls of the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 788–827. Goffart calls the vignettes a lopsided and unrepresentative selection of Italian history (p. 807), observing that they include “the disasters par excellence of Roman history” (p. 809). He concludes that they represent a pessimistic or Orosian view of history: “What seems likely is that historical reasoning of the Orosian kind guided the designer of the Galleria’s map vignettes. The vault panels, with their homogeneous, clearly apparent theme of ‘celestial history,’ call for a ‘terrestrial’ complement, and the extraordinarily concentrated choice of scenes from Roman history points to a thoroughly negative vision of earthly passions and strivings” (p. 819).

66. See Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, “La Galleria delle Carte Geografiche / The Gallery of Maps,” in *Galleria*, 2:11–18, esp. 12: “Neither this division [of Italy] nor the way in which the country is represented corresponds to the two main Renaissance sources for Italian history and geography, Biondo Flavio’s *Italia illustrata* (1453, first printed edition 1574) and Leandro Alberti’s *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (first edition 1550, complete edition 1560). Danti’s division was dictated less by geographical than by political considerations, especially where the papal provinces and the many large and small states in the Po Valley area were concerned.” And see Iris Cheney, “The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche at the Vatican and the Roman Church’s View of the History of Christianity,” *Renaissance Papers*, 1989, 21–37, esp. 21: “This notional Italia does not reflect a political reality of the sixteenth century or any other time. Instead, it is an optimistic fiction representing what the Church considered to be its homeland. It is an ideal cast in terms of historical record.” See also Francesca Fiorani, “Post-Tridentine ‘Geographia Sacra’: The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace,” *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 124–48, esp. 139: “The Italy depicted in the Vatican Gallery corresponds neither to a geographical unit nor to a political one. It represents, instead, a utopian construction of a place under the spiritual and political authority of the Papacy.”

67. Marica Milanesi, in “Le ragioni del ciclo delle carte geografiche / The Historical Background to the Cycle in the Gallery of Maps,” in *Galleria*, 1:97–123, notes: “A reasonable working hypothesis, which remains to be substantiated, might therefore be that the original idea for the Gallery was the Pope’s and that Danti developed this and worked it into an iconographical scheme, probably together with Cesare Baronio. . . . That the work should have been supervised by Sirleto and that Orsini should also have taken part in a project that evidently required a large number of collaborators is not excluded by this hypothesis” (pp. 117–18). Cheney, in “Galleria delle Carte Geografiche,” 34, notes that “the program of the Gallery was doubtless produced by some of the same scholars engaged in Gregory’s other enterprises, and it provided a Catholic reply to the Lutheran version of the

from time to time Gregory can rest the load of his heavy responsibilities (he bears the weight of the world on his shoulders) and breathe under a clearer sky, a healthy breeze is almost enough to restore him, and if weary he secretly snatches the odd hour for a walk, it is a reward for his services.”⁶⁸

The Galleria itself linked public and private parts of the Vatican Palace: “Follow me,” says the author, “at the extreme ends of the room, directly facing each other are two doors. One is forbidden to the public for it leads to the inviolable apartments of His Holiness, the other is always ready to welcome visitors, in imitation of Gregory.” The poem goes on to say that the maps are designed for the pope to contemplate; gazing upon them assists him in the task of *consideratio*—determining how to administer and govern.⁶⁹

Consideratio has an important history, one that sheds much light on the design and function of the Galleria. This history is rooted in Bernard of Clairvaux’s treatise “De consideratione ad Eugenium papam tertiam libri quinque,” written between 1148 and 1153 for Pope Eugenius III. “De consideratione” was intended to be a practical guide—a manual—not an abstract contemplation (Bernard was clear about the difference between *consideratio* and *contemplatio*). Gregory XIII knew this text well; he had it read to him while he dined. Gregory’s devotion to reflection upon Bernard’s “De consideratione” was shared by many of his predecessors; during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, copies of the work frequently were made for popes, cardinals, and prelates. In 1520, Luther, dedicating his treatise *On Christian Liberty* to Pope Leo X, remarked that he was but “following the example of Saint Bernard in his book, *De consideratione ad Eugenium*, a book every pope should have by heart.”⁷⁰ Pius V, who also had it read to him as he ate, described it as the “*Decretum* of the popes.”⁷¹

The iconography of Gregory’s Galleria, organized and anchored by the wall maps, translates Bernard’s “De consideratione” and its medieval and earlier Renaissance legacy into a contemporary—that is, late sixteenth-century—Roman idiom focused on the two roles of the pope—pastor of the universal church and temporal ruler of the Patrimonium Sancti Petri. In effect, the Galleria is a hall of mirrors in which Gregory might reflect upon the different aspects of his role as Vicarius Christi.

In the Galleria maps, special attention has been given to recording the territories of the Patrimonium Sancti Petri. It is noteworthy that both Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin are mapped. They appear near the north end of the Galleria next to Sicily, accompanied by a celebratory cartouche located in the lower left corner that reads: “Though neither the ancient city of Avignon, the Comtat Venaissin, its capital Carpentras, nor any of its other towns and cities are properly speaking part of Italy, they

still belong to the Church of Rome, and are for this reason shown here. Modern buildings embellish the ruins of Avignon; the bridge over the Rhone is here intact and both its structure and length 600 passus geometrici make it worthy of admiration.” On the map of Flaminia (Romagna), a trompe-l’oeil scroll announces that the places marked by Gregory XIII’s *signa*—a golden dragon—represent territories he had recovered for the Holy See. In other words, the wall maps represent the territories ruled by the pope in his role as the temporal prince.⁷²

According to von Pastor, Danti was originally commissioned by Gregory to design maps of “the whole of the Papal States” for the Galleria, and the project was then expanded to include all of Italy.⁷³ The *regnum Italiae* depicted on the wall maps is imaginary; in spite of the realism of Danti’s map cycle, it does not represent an actual political entity at a specific point in time, but is rather a transhistorical pastiche. What the Galleria does map are the lands purportedly given by the Roman emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester according to the document known as the Donation of Constantine.⁷⁴

history of Christianity far more quickly than was possible by means of a published text. Like most of Gregory’s other achievements, it was done by committee. The maps were under the direction of the Dominican cartographer Ignazio Danti, also a member of the commission on calendrical reform. The Brescian painter Girolamo Muziano was in charge of the vault, and early sources name some fifteen painters as part of this team.” William McCuaig, in *Carlo Sigonio: The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 78, says that in 1578 Gregory XIII commissioned his fellow Bolognese, Sigonio, to write a *historia ecclesiastica* and that Sigonio sent drafts of three books of it to Sirleto in Rome in early 1579 for review. He stopped work on the project at that point. According to Eric W. Cochrane, in *Historians and Historiography of the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 459, Baronius made use of Sigonio’s notes.

68. The Latin text of *Ambulatio gregoriana* is published in Rolando Ferri, “Una ‘passeggiata in Italia’: L’anonima *Ambulatio gregoriana* / A ‘Walk through Italy’: The Anonymous *Ambulatio gregoriana*,” in *Galleria*, 1:73–81, esp. 78.

69. Ferri, “A ‘Walk through Italy,’” 79.

70. Martin Luther, *Works of Martin Luther*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman, 1915–32), 2:310–11.

71. André Deroo, *Saint Charles Borromée, cardinal réformateur, docteur de la pastorale (1538–1584)* (Paris: Éditions Saint-Paul, 1963), 289.

72. *Galleria*, 1:273 and 2:197–203.

73. Von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 20:618–19.

74. Christopher Bush Coleman, *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), 17: “Wherefore, in order that the supreme pontificate may not deteriorate, but may rather be adorned with glory and power even more than is the dignity of an earthly rule; behold, we give over and relinquish to the aforesaid our most blessed Pontiff, Sylvester, the universal Pope, as well as our palace, as has been said, as also the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places and cities of Italy and the western regions, and we decree by this our godlike and pragmatic sanction that they are to be controlled by him and by his successors, and we grant that they shall remain under the law of the holy Roman church.” On the history of this

These lands were also depicted in changes made by Gregory to the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican Palace. In the ceiling vault the pope had had painted what Freiburg has called “personifications” of Europe, Asia, Africa, the provinces of Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Corsica that “proclaim the territorial hegemony of the popes as a result of Constantine’s conversion to Christianity and his donation.” Von Pastor has published a contemporary document that explains the symbolism of the vault frescoes and states that the program represents the Donation of Constantine. In other words, the donation is present in Gregory’s Galleria and also in the Sala di Costantino in the form of maps and personifications of maps, not in the traditional representation of the historical moment of the transaction between Constantine and Sylvester featured in other earlier frescoes decorating the adjacent rooms of the Vatican Palace—for example, on one of the walls of the Sala di Costantino and in the Stanza d’Heliodoro.⁷⁵

The depictions of Christian victories over the Turks at Malta (1565) and in the sea battle of Lepanto (1571), found on the maps of Malta and Corfu at the south entrance, and the allegorical vignette of Columbus setting forth on his voyage of discovery in a sea-borne chariot commanded by Poseidon that ornaments the map of Liguria likely allude to events presaging the *plenitudo temporis*, the imminent advent of the “Golden Age” envisioned by Giles of Viterbo and other Catholic reformers.⁷⁶

These last episodes point to the central theme of the vault frescoes. The imaging of the pope as pastor of the universal church—the *Corpus Christi*—is constructed out of a triangulation of the spiritual aspects of his persona—he is heir to the tribe of Leviticus, he is the font of the virtues, and above all, he is the Good Shepherd. At the center of the vault is a panel depicting John 21:15–17, the passage that recounts the moment that Jesus appeared to Peter after his crucifixion and asked him three times, “Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?” Each time Peter answered, “Yes,” and each time Jesus replied, “Feed my sheep.” The panel is contiguous to a map of the jurisdiction of Bologna, to which is attached a detailed map of the city of Bologna, the birthplace of Gregory XIII, and is surrounded by four panels that refer to miracles that occurred in the jurisdiction and give views of particular places within it. Danti’s map of the city of Bologna is based on the one by Lorenzo Sabatini in the Sala della Bologna in the Terza Loggia of the Vatican Palace. It is part of a fresco program commissioned by Gregory to honor his native city and its environs and was completed in 1575.⁷⁷

In fact, the Galleria compresses into its imagery the gradual historical construction of the ideology of the papacy that evolved over a period of four centuries, and in

this sense, it is not simply reactive to the Protestant Reformation. For by the sixteenth century there were concentrated in the person of the pope images of extraordinary, enduring symbolic power. This symbolic power attached to the person of the pope is a kaleidoscopic mixture, not a static purity; it is historically driven and so always shifting. It must, therefore, also be placed within the context of the what Prodi has called the “metamorphosis of the Renaissance papacy” in relation to the political and religious implosions and expansions associated with early modern European *Christianitas*.⁷⁸

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, the maps discussed in this chapter are rooted in religious beliefs and practices, and in traditions of visual exegesis, that extend deep into the past. Their meanings are also inextricable from the political rhetoric and propaganda operative in the particular milieu in which they

text, a forgery dating from the ninth century, see Christopher Bush Coleman, *Constantine the Great and Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 175–83. Von Pastor, in *History of the Popes*, 20:618–19, notes: “How strong a hold the idea of the temporal possessions of the Church had is seen from the fact that even Avignon is included, and that to all the places recovered by Pius V. and Gregory XIII. the arms of those Popes are attached. The original commission for the reproduction of the Papal States was soon extended to that of the whole of Italy.” Danti’s mural map cycle appears, then, to be an example of the genre of administrative mapmaking that flourished in Italy, especially in Venice and Rome, in the later sixteenth century.

75. Jack Freiberg, “In the Sign of the Cross: The Image of Constantine in the Art of Counter-Reformation Rome,” in *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy*, ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995), 67–87, esp. 71. Personifications of maps may also be found in the work of Protestant cartographers. See, for example, Sebastian Münster’s engraving of Europe in his *Cosmography* of 1527; Von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 20:652. Freiberg, in “In the Sign of the Cross,” 84 n. 22, notes that the inscriptions “refer to the spread of Christianity throughout the empire.” The text of the inscriptions is published in Rolf Quednau, *Die Sala di Costantino im Vatikanischen Palast: Zur Dekoration der beiden Medici-Päpste Leo X. und Clemens VII* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), 915–17.

76. On the linkage of victories over the Turks and other infidels to the reform of Christendom and the papacy, see John W. O’Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979), 195–237, where O’Malley observes: “A successful war against Turks would result in securing the final goal the preachers sometimes proposed: the fraternal union of all men in the love of God and under the one universal pastor. Thus would be accomplished the Savior’s desire that the world be constituted as ‘one flock’ with its unity and order assured under the ‘one shepherd’” (p. 196).

77. Gambi and Pinelli, *Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*, 1:322–23; Danti’s map is reproduced in 2:284; and Sabatini’s fresco is in Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Il Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Florence: Nardini, 1992), 163.

78. Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls. The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

were created and displayed. They all, in one way or another, present or allude to the unfolding of the divine plan for human redemption in postlapsarian time and space, but their understandings of that plan are often deeply conflicted. In that sense, they accurately reflect the turbulent nature of Renaissance and Reformation culture.

Although the messages these maps present are inescapably historically bound, their ultimate source—God—transcends and eclipses history. His eternity and omnipresence is signed but not contained in the *figurae*, places, people, and events that ornament them. They of-

fer fantastic, sometimes absurd vignettes and pastiches that nonetheless integrate the ephemera of the moment into a vision of providential history that maintained its power to make meaning well into the early modern era. The mapping of this vision is derived ultimately from Ptolemy's notion of chorography that had survived, though profoundly transformed by religious content, in the medieval period. So although one part of his *Geography* was rediscovered in the Renaissance, another part had never really disappeared, though its origins had long been forgotten.