



Radboud University Nijmegen

Master's Program: Eternal Rome

The Representation of Caput Mundi in 13th Century Cartography

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Thesis Question

How is the concept of Caput Mundi represented in 13th century cartography?

Introduction

The Modern Viewer

The modern nature of maps is self-evident. As a contemporary audience we expect that a map will give us a clear idea or image of the world, that it is accurate and truthful and toponyms will be clearly displayed in a uniform manner with no clear bias. The majority of people from modern developed societies who use and view maps have been taught what to expect and how the world is viewed. However, maps and representations of cartography in the medieval world followed a different set of connotations. Maps, although in many ways are highly liberating to their audiences in terms of accessibility to information, can also be highly authoritarian, constraining its readers to view the world that the map's patron wishes to portray.¹ This thesis will explore the representation of *Caput Mundi* and the presence of Rome in 13th century cartographic examples. This Thesis will draw comparisons between the different representations of Rome in cartographic examples from 13th century Europe and how and where Rome is depicted within these examples. This will therefore also address cartography as a representation of cultural and social perspectives and show how cartographic artefacts can be manipulated to show these concepts.

By studying the maps in this 'transparent' sense we will be able to view them not only for the superficial information that they reveal but as aspects of culture that helps us to understand the fabric of this period in time. I will use cartographic depictions of Rome in the 13th century and examine how elements of cartography are used to highlight not only the importance and position of Rome but also the different perspectives used to portray it. I will be able to achieve this by applying a methodological approach to the information held within these examples.

¹ Anca Dan, Klaus Geus and Kurt Guckelsberger. *What is Common Sense Geography: Some Preliminary Thoughts From a Historical Perspective*. Münster: Lit Verlag & Co, 2013, p. 2.

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Roma, Caput Mundi

The idea of Rome as an *Eternal City*, while central to this thesis, is not a new concept and also not a distinctly Christian concept. Rome's appropriation shows the important incorporation of the old views of Rome and the new ideals of Christianity. The idea of Rome as the Eternal City suggests the importance and never ending ideals of the Roman Empire, where the soul of the Empire resided. It is believed that the use of the term *Roma Aeterna* was first introduced by the Roman poet and elegist Albius Tibullus (ca.55-19 B.C.) in one of his elegies. The historian Titus Livius (ca.65-59 B.C.-17 A.D.) and the poet Publius Ovidius Naso (ca.43 B.C.- 17-18 A.D.) also spoke directly of the eternity of the city of Rome. Ovid introduced the notion of Rome as the everlasting city by referring to a speech by Romulus; "*aeternae cum pater Urbis ait.*"²³ The concept entered Roman historiography when Livy employed it several times to refer to the early greatness and past leaders of Rome. It became a concept that encouraged the unity of Romans both socially and militarily.⁴

The concept of Rome's Eternity evolved in to an 'article of faith,' and fitted-in to the Roman religious structures. This was encouraged by Emperor Augustus (ca.63 B.C.-14 A.D.) who associated himself with the goddess *Roma*, the personification of the city who had been elevated and cemented as a deity during this period.⁵ While Livy and Ovid pronounce Rome as the *eternal city* the Greek poet Lucianus (ca.120-180 A.D.) took the concept further. Eduard Frankel believes that he was responsible for the phrase *Roma, caput mundi*, Rome, the head of the world. This small phrase, that would go on to hold and sway so much influence and inspiration.⁶

Roman cartographic tradition aimed to create a pictorial lexicon of the known world's topographic features and toponyms to represent the shape and important elements of the world that they lived in. This created an image of the Roman presence in the *oecumene* (the inhabited space of their world).⁷ The description of Rome as *Caput* or head of the Empire was a metaphorical exploitation of the idea of Rome and this idea fitted in to the world that they lived

² Publius Ovidius. *P. OVIDI NASONIS FASTORVM LIBER TERTIVS*. iii. 72.

³ "When the father of the eternal city said.....".

⁴ Kenneth J Pratt. "Rome as Eternal." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26.1, 1965, p. 27.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Eduard Frankel. "Lucan as the Transmitter of Ancient Pathos." *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Lucian*. Ed. Charles Tesoriero. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 33.

⁷ Elizabeth Baigent. "Antiquity Without Cartography? Some new Approaches to Roman Mapping Traditions." *Imago Mundi* 64.2 (2012): p. 241.

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in.⁸ It is these representations; these imperial aims, that may have led to the foundation of cartographic representations in a specifically Christian perspective of understanding of the world.⁹

Christian belief came from the concept that the notion of eternity for Christians could only be related to God. The rise of Christianity created an approach that contrasted between the old pagan Rome and the new 'Christian' city. This, William Hammer argues, changed the role of traditional expressions that described Rome. The expression *Roma aeterna* (Eternal Rome) was coined to be representative of the city of Romulus and Remus and had no connection with this religious direction of thinking. This expression was however reinstated centuries later with a clearer Christian interpretation.¹⁰ Many ruling individuals were motivated by pride in their connections with the Roman Empire and its histories and this helped to create a political vocabulary and practises as they knew them from the ancient Romans. While the idea of Rome had been metamorphosed to fit into new roles the use of Rome as a source of imagery had not. The term Eternal Rome or *Roma Eterna* evolved to not signify Rome so much as an eternal city. This supreme power could be moulded to be considered of both a spiritual and, at times, imperial power. Pratt describes an illustration from the 12th century *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum* that depicted Roma seated with the sun and the moon to either side of her and, on words above her head, *Roma Caput Mundi*, Rome, the head of the world.¹¹ The symbology in this image refers to the transference of power from the empire to the church. The position of the lions, which were a common symbol of Rome, on either side of Roma's chair while Roma holds a model of a church shows a shift in the role of Rome in the Christian world.¹² The role and perception of Rome continued to change though the Middle Ages and the role of Rome in cartographic examples evolved with these perceptions.

⁸ Richard J King. "AD CAPITA BUBULA: The Birth of Augustus and Rome 's Imperial Centre." *The Classical Quarterly* 60.2, 2010, p. 453.

⁹ Elizabeth Baigent. "Antiquity Without Cartography? Some new Approaches to Roman Mapping Traditions." *Imago Mundi* 64.2, 2012, p. 241.

¹⁰ William Hammer. "The Concept of the New or Second Rome in the Middle Ages." *Speculum*, 1944, p. 51.

¹¹ Kenneth J Pratt. "Rome as Eternal." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26.1, 1965, p. 34.

¹² Mary E Stroll. *Symbols As Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Contest*. Leiden: Brill, 1991, p. 13.

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The 13th Century

During the time of the 13th medieval world maps or *Mappae mundi* could be split into two easily distinguishable categories or forms of representation. The first, which has no pre-Christian proto types is the schematic T-O map. These examples were formulated in a disk shape and traversed by a horizontal bar with a short vertical bar making up the T. The T shape represented the water and separated the continents. The second type is typically much larger and more complicated, showing the coastlines and geographic and topographic elements in more detail.¹³ It should be noted however that most maps during the middle ages were constructed in the shadow of the Church and most examples from this period follow the context of religious treaties and commentaries. Histories and geographies were often copied out or written by members of the clergy and the ultimate production of cartographic examples lay almost exclusively with the church until the end of the middle ages.¹⁴ The three examples used in this thesis portray Rome in differing ways yet their messages are similar. The depiction of Rome as the head of the world is a reoccurring and multifaceted element of all three examples.

The Cartographic Examples

This thesis aims to examine three different cartographic examples that have strong connections with the 13th century. Two of these examples are connected by location and time and all three of these examples allow us to see how cartographic elements have been manipulated to help display the representation of Rome based on the needs of the author and/or the audience for whom it was intended.

The Tabula Peutingeriana is the oldest of the three examples. It is argued that the map itself is a copy of a 4th century production that depicts the almost unending the expanse of the Roman Empire.¹⁵ It stretches from the most westerly point of the Roman Empire across 550 depicted towns and 3500 other characterised points of interest or landmarks to finally reach the shores of India and Sri Lanka. While it contains an overwhelming wealth of information there are also several points that are absent. There is a distinct lack of military iconography and the

¹³ John F Moffitt. "Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy's Chorographia." *International Center of Medieval Art* 32.1, 1993, p. 59.

¹⁴ Micheal Wintle. *The Image of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 163.

¹⁵ Richard J. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*. 4th. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 88.

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map was clearly not to be used in practical terms but the Tabula Peutingerina does however make a clear statement concerning the position of Rome. Despite the obvious geographical problems, the benefactor(s) of the Tabula Peutingerina wanted Rome to be depicted in the absolute centre of the Map. The viewer's eye is continually drawn to Rome, Rome being the centre of the world. While this is an example of a 4th century Roman map, the original has never been recovered and as Richard Talbert argues the map we have today is a copy of the original from the last quarter of the 12th century to the first quarter of the 13th century.¹⁶ It is difficult, without the archetype, to prove the exact origin of the Tabula Peutingerina but we are able to conclude the date in which it was copied and the time where extra elements were added by a medieval author to encourage the idea of Rome. It depicts the evolution from its original purpose and harmonises it to a more medieval purpose for a medieval audience.¹⁷

The Hereford Mappamundi, the second map investigated by this thesis, is a Medieval Map with a style derived from the T-O diagram which allows the world to be seen in a spherical sense while still showing a connection between the three continents of the known world with the Mediterranean sea dividing them.¹⁸ It is believed to have been drawn between 1250 and 1300 A.D. and is the largest surviving medieval map.¹⁹ Created in Lincolnshire and attributed to Richard of Haldringham and Lafford, it depicts the history and destiny of humanity as it was understood in 13th and 14th century Christian Europe. The inhabited world, as it was considered then was equivalent to Europe, Asia and North Africa yet it is mapped within a Christian framework. Jerusalem is centred on the map and east, following the tradition of Christian Mappamundi is represented at the top of the Map, where the sun rises is Paradise. Although Rome does not play as visually a distinctive part in the story of the Hereford Mappamundi it is the text that accompanies the vignette of the city that shows the continuation of Rome's influence in the world. While the dimensions of the map centre around the holy city of Jerusalem the 'intellectual dimensions' point towards Rome. Rome's prominence on the Mappamundi is accompanied by a Latin proclamation of "*Roma, capud mundi, tenet orbis frena rotundi.*"²⁰ Rome was central to the spread of western Christianity and here in the Hereford Mappamundi the position and importance of Rome is clear. The importance of Rome and the

¹⁶ Talbert, *Rome's World*, p. 83.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Evelyn Edson. *The World Map, 1300-1492*. Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2007, p. 17.

¹⁹ P.D.A Harvey. "Medieval Maps of the World." *The Hereford World Map*. The British Library, 2006, p. 27.

²⁰ 'Rome, Capital of the World holds the bridle (reins) of the Planet.'

Jaques Keilo. "Hereford Map, Jerusalem again as centre and the Translatio Imperii." 04 June 2014. *Accessed*. 10 April 2016.

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Roman world is also represented on the Hereford Mappamundi by the representation in the bottom left corner of the Emperor Augustus who is depicted sending surveyors out to measure the world. This references not only accounts of how the world was surveyed but also the memory of imperial authority of Rome from the 1st century.²¹

Giraldus Cambrensis or Giraldus of Wales's (ca.1146- 1223 A.D.) map of Europe is the third map in this study. While this map is attributed to the year 1200 A.D. Peter Barber suggests that Giraldus may have been studying Mappa mundi while contributing to his own work. He spent time, especially his later years, in the cathedral at Lincolnshire, where the Hereford mappamundi was conceived and there have been similarities drawn between the depiction of the British Isles on both Geraldus's map and the Hereford Mappamundi.²² While Geraldus's map on first glance seems crude and simplified it also brings also a clarity to the vignettes and locations portrayed on the map. It is clear that the chief interests of its creator lay prominently in the connection between the British Isles and the city of Rome. Geographical points have been set aside so the city of Rome can be portrayed at the extreme top centre of the map. Rome is represented by a large tower sitting on the banks of the Tiberis river. The bold red text shows clearly that Rome is the destination. One of the indicators that show this was important to Giraldus is the religious and political axis between Britain and Rome, the proximity between the two, depicting both locations as almost connected. The size and key locations of Giraldus's map of Europe give the viewer the indication that this is in fact not simply a map of Europe but rather evidence showing the British Isles' relationship to Rome and the key locations between these two geographical points.²³

While this focuses on these three examples they are by no means the only cartographic examples produced during the 13th century. There are other examples that represent Rome these examples have been chosen for both their similarities and their differences and allows us to focus intently on these three examples and what they tell us of the representation of Rome.²⁴

²¹ Harvey. "Medieval Maps of the World." *The Hereford World Map*, p. xviii.

²² Peter Barber. "Medieval Maps of the World." *The Hereford World Map*, p. 14.

²³ Thomas O'Loughlin. An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin: A Window into the World of Giraldus. *Imago Mundi* 59, 1999, p. 28.

²⁴ The Ebstorf Mappamundi, also from the 13th century was an extremely large example that depicted, buildings, peoples, lakes and seas. Like many medieval mappamundi it also follows the Christian tradition of depicting east at the top of the Mappamundi. The original of this Mappamundi was destroyed in the Allied bombing of Hanover in 1943. It survives now from black and white photos taken in 1891. It is believed that Rome was represented as the shape of a Lion on this Mappamundi.

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Uncovering the Methodology of Cartography

The way in which we view and critique cartographic examples has long been considered inadequate and lacking in subjectivity when approaching the relationships between the *space as an object* and the *subject* who uses who perceives and connects with the map. The consequence of this is that we, as modern scholars view cartographic examples that are not consistent or comparable.²⁵ Current terms focus on the categorising of cartographic examples as ‘professional’ geography or ‘mathematical’ and seek to describe the more formal aspects of cartography and as a result lumping together the more abstract factors of cultural concepts.²⁶

This thesis will deconstruct these three cartographic examples from two different approaches. The first would be to consider the cartographic example as a transparent map. The information held within a ‘transparent’ map is merely an external reality for object knowledge. It is not viewed as an artefact in itself but only for the reality that it depicts. This in turn must include a belief that the map being viewed is neutral and is considered purely an ‘informative device.’²⁷ The contrast to this view is the concept of studying a map as ‘opaque’. Studying a map as an opaque map allows the viewer to *consider* the information that is displayed on the map itself. It allows the viewer to see the map as a visual artefact and to consider the map in terms of the graphic, aesthetic and structural. Viewing a map in this way takes considerably more critical approach of the map states and allows the viewer to consider the sociological aspects of its production and how the map would or could be used in society.²⁸

Both Christian Jacobs and Catherine Delano Smith identify similar limitations in applying these concepts to the study of cartography. Jacobs identifies that the way in which maps and the cartographic information that they hold and how they were used as one of the most challenging aspects to analyse. The viewer, Jacobs explains, leaves no visible mark on the maps themselves. What they see and their perspective is invisible to us. While all maps have similar roles; the display of geography, topographical data or orientations of distance and space, each of these roles would suggest different patrons and, at the same time, different users or

²⁵ Anca Dan, Klaus Geus and Kurt Guckelsberger. *What is Common Sense Geography*, p. 2.

²⁶ According to Jacob the very term ‘cartography’ as we know it today makes us question the modern perspective of cartography as it was formed originally from the French term *cartographie* which formed the archetype to the English cartography was not used before the 19th century and followed on from the terms of ‘geography’ and ‘cosmography’ which suggests the transformation in meaning to a modern term. Jacob Christian. "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography ." *Imago Mundi* 48, 1996, p. 193.

²⁷ Jacob. "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography, p. 192.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

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audiences. Smith suggests that the authorship of these maps can transform or distort the presence of certain elements and cartographic characteristics. Someone was responsible for the production of each map, the content and the text and while these can also give us valuable clues about representation in the historical period it affects the subjectivity of the artefact.²⁹

In applying these concepts to the world of cartography Anca Dan, Klaus Geus and Kurt Gruckelsberger argue that as modern scholars we have ‘good reasons’ not to be satisfied with the categories in which ancient and medieval geography is studied today. The approaches that we take to study the cartographic elements of maps that have been passed down to us are inadequate for explaining the relationships between ‘space as an object’ and the ‘subject who perceives, constructs and describes’ these elements.³⁰ Throughout history scholars have tried to distinguish themselves from their predecessor by improving on their previous skills in cartography. This is not just to do with adding more place names but by creating a more objective way of determining locations through symbols and artistic examples and by doing this highlighting of the characteristics of the people and regions and their level of importance and relationship not only to the patron but to the greater world around them and how this perception has evolved over time. There were always practical purposes for further geographical inquiries and these could be a representation of both political and canonical means.³¹

The study of Cartography is a complex and multifaceted undertaking. Representations of spaces, places and peoples need to be carefully considered and deconstructed based on the historical narrative that surrounds the relationship between the audience and the subject. This thesis will consider the changing and evolving aspects of both the representation of Rome and how cartographic elements were used and manipulated to portray Rome as *caput mundi*, as the head of the world. Investigating how the concept of Rome, the idea of Rome, became such a large and symbolic part in cartographic representations, how this was depicted in the 13th century and why it would have been important to do so.

²⁹ Catherine D Smith. "Why Theory in the History of Cartography." *Imago Mundi* 48, 1996, p. 199.

³⁰ Dan, Geus and Guckelsberger. *What is Common Sense Geography*, p. 21.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

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History and Nature of Cartography

Transparent or Opaque?

Traditionally historical geography as well as the history of geography has been categorised in the way that a map is not viewed as a visual or material object but in terms of the reality it illustrates. Although this it is an important step to view a cartographic example as a simple text that is trying to portray a clear message, the obvious layers must also be stripped away to reveal deeper and more complex meanings.³² The content of a map can be used as historical evidence to describe a perceived perception of a time in place and the perspective of both the benefactor of the map and the audience towards whom it is directed.³³ This information is valuable not only in the basic sense of the portrayal and description of the benefactor's world but it also provides valuable information in how the benefactors may have seen their own position in the world. While the maps referred to in this thesis have similar basic roles; the display of geography, topographical data or orientations of distance and space, each of these roles would suggest different patrons and, at the same time, different users. This is, as I have mentioned, the most basic way of interpreting a cartographic example; witnessing the surface information and how that information can reflect the time and place. This however, will only convey a fraction of the information that cartographic examples can transfer. By viewing these cartographic examples as visual or material artefacts we can begin to translate or *filter* the information that is displayed on the surface to gain a greater understanding about the intricate relationships that were played out in the 13th century world.

Maps are able to construct their own meaning through this filtering, classifying and translation of data. We can view these constructions through two different perspectives. The first is the consideration of a map as 'transparent.' A transparent perspective asks the viewer to approach the map based on assumption that the map is neutral and constructed purely as an informative device and displays an objective reality, therefore the artefact is viewed only for the reality it depicts.³⁴ Cartographic examples from the 13th century sought to pull together a world view of the middle ages and present it in a spatial format which incorporated historical,

³² Jacob. Toward a Cultural History of Cartography, p. 192.

³³ This Thesis will refer to the masculine prefix when refereeing to benefactors of the maps. While I do not totally disregard the fact that women may have influence the production of maps during this period the likelihood is that a male person would be responsible for both the patronage and the construction of these cartographic examples.

³⁴ Jacob. Toward a Cultural History of Cartography, p. 192.

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geographical, botanical, ethnological and theological ideas in to one aesthetic whole.³⁵ The medieval idea of world geography was created from a blend of the ‘speculative’ geography of the Greeks as the ‘practical’ perspective of the Roman tradition.³⁶

By using this concept of transparency we are able to use this information as a stepping stone to understand the deeper and more abstract characteristics of each example. As Jacob identified it is difficult to know to what effect maps were used and in turn what exact effect they had on their audience. When viewing a map, we leave no visible marks on the item that show the level of understanding or connection with its audience.³⁷ The mark that a viewer leaves is invisible. This however does not mean that the application of viewing a map in its transparent sense is of no use to the cartographic understanding of information. The Tabula Peutingerina asks its audience for varying levels of knowledge and understanding. Although the artefact that we have today is, according to Richard Talbert, the copy of a Roman 4th century archetype it’s manipulation when copied in the early 13th century sought in many ways to make it more understandable and relevant to its current, more Christian audience.³⁸ The Tabula Peutingerina can be viewed, using this methodology as an example of a transparent map. The Tabula Peutingerina shows the world in a clear and distinct manner: Rome is in the centre and the rest of the world spreads its self out on either side of her, it is a dominate symbol that shows an unequalled accessibility, as the centre of the Empire.³⁹ This clear iconography Talbert argues would allow even those of low education or social class to be able to gain a simple perspective of this display.⁴⁰

While it is likely that the vignettes of Constantinople and Antioch had been either added or manipulated during the copying process there is little evidence to show that the vignette of Rome had suffered the same fate.⁴¹ The Tabula Peutingerina we possess today is the result of a 13th century copy. We can see that it’s message of the importance and position of Rome has been added to and manipulated to suit the Medieval audience. The 3rd century vignette of Rome clearly fits in to the structure of its environment, with the 12 roads leading in and out of the city as well as it’s connection to the port city of Ostia Antica. However, to the left of Rome’s vignette, we see the addition of Christian iconography that helps the audience not only associate

³⁵ Edson. *The World Map, 1300-1492*, 2007, p. 12.

³⁶ Jacob. *Toward a Cultural History of Cartography*, p. 192.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ Talbert. *Rome's World*, p. 82.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pg. 144.

⁴⁰ John Matthews. *The Journey of Theophanes*. Chapel Hill: Yale University Press, 2006, p. 72.

⁴¹ Talbert. *Rome's World*, p. 82.

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Rome's role in Christian identity but also that the power and prominence of Rome was something that had evolved over time. The copyist did not want to change the representation of Rome on the Tabula Peutingerina but wanted to *add* to it (Figure 1). The audiences of the

Medieval Tabula Peutingerina were shown the interpretation of Church of St Peter together with the text *as scm* (sanctum) *Petrum* as becoming



Figure 1: The 3rd century vignette of Rome and the addition of the Church of St Peter

the most representative feature of Rome. The decision to use the Church of St Peter to portray Rome shows a distinct removal from the ancient monuments that represented Rome in the past. Talbert states that he would regard anything on the Tabula that is clearly identifiable as Christian as not having been present on the archetype but that it would have been added later.⁴² To help appropriate the image and importance of Rome the copyist added Christian iconography to the already prominent representation of power. While this only entertains the idea of looking at the Tabula as a 'transparent' map it does help to convey the initial perspective that the Tabula Peutingerina would have inspired.

In viewing the Map of Europe that is attributed to Giraldus of Wales in a transparent fashion we can also see the importance and position of Rome. As we have a clearer author in this case we are better able to see in which perspective the viewer would have been asked to perceive Rome. Giraldus himself was born in Pembrokeshire, Wales in 1146 and was both Welsh and Norman. As a young man he was educated in Paris but returned to Wales in 1175 in the hope of becoming the Bishop of St David's in Pembrokeshire.⁴³ In 1184 he entered the service of Henry II of England and it was during this service that Giraldus wrote two books dealing with the topography of Ireland and his travels.⁴⁴ He was in 1199 again elected by the chapter of St David's as their choice for Bishop but he was supported by neither the King or the Archbishop of Canterbury and thus Giraldus began years of legal disputes as he struggled to have his pleas and that of the chapter of St David acknowledged. This resulted in four years

⁴² Talbert. *Rome's World*, p. 124.

⁴³ O'Loughlin. *An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin*, p.24.

⁴⁴ *Topographia Hibernica* ("Topography of Ireland"), 1187 and *Expugnatio Hibernica* ("Conquest of Ireland"), 1189.

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of disputes and three journeys to Rome to personally argue his case. Giraldus was received numerous times by Pope Innocent III but to no avail.⁴⁵ After a final trip to Rome in 1207 as a pilgrim, during which he was again received by Pope Innocent, he retired to living in the diocese of Lincoln.⁴⁶

On the map of Giraldus Rome stands proudly and distinctly at the top of the Map. Although geographically Rome would have resided to the south east of Giraldus of Wales's position conventional geographical pointers have been disregarded to portray Rome at the very top of the map and The British Isles at the bottom (Figure 2).⁴⁷ This geographical change clearly and transparently shows the connection between the subject and the location. While 'transparently' viewing a cartographic example it could be argued that this helps to give us a closer understanding about how maps would have impacted or been perceived by their audience. However, to combined this with a more theoretical approach we need to be able to look deeper at the cartographic connotations to understand the roots behind these representations and how, and in many cases why, they have been manipulated to convey these particular messages.

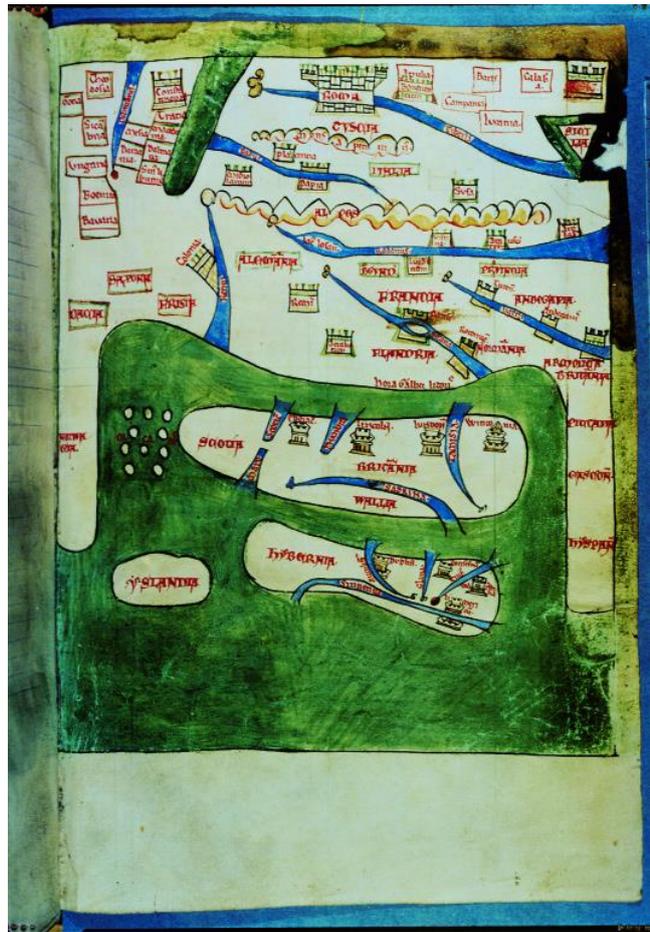


Figure 8: Giraldus of Wales's Map of Europe c.1200

'Transparent' maps allow us to see the surface translation of cartographic examples, but by following Jacobs concept of studying cartographic examples in an 'opaque' sense we are able to investigate deeper in to the information provided. By approaching a map in this way the viewer is able to see the map as more of an artefact, an artefact that has been constructed and designed for a specific reason.

⁴⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis. *The History and Topography of Ireland*. Trans. John O'Meara. Mountrath: The Dolmen Press Limited, 1982, p. 2.

⁴⁶ O'Loughlin. *An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin*, p.25.

⁴⁷ Cambrensis. *The History and Topography of Ireland*, p. 20.

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By applying this concept to a map, we are asking ourselves to look more critically at the artefact and consider the sociological aspects of its production and how this both affected the design and how it would have been used. An ‘opaque’ map opens a wider range of research opportunities and a different set of approaches to analysing the information presented to us.⁴⁸ In this approach we are able to consider the sociological and cultural aspects and consider how the map may have been used and by who and how this can be seen from the structural elements.⁴⁹ A map that is constructed around the use of toponyms and topographical data would suggest a different purpose and audience to that of the schematic diagram of traditional T-O mappae mundi.

The presence of a T-O mappamundi provides its own connotations. T-O maps have no known pre-Christian prototypes and therefore allow its modern audience to draw its own conclusions as to its audience and purpose.⁵⁰ A standardised T-O map consists of a disk shape constructing an O which is then split by a horizontal bar with a short vertical making up a T shape. The point of where the horizontal and vertical lines meet making the T marks the location of Jerusalem.⁵¹ The left arm of the T represents the Don river that feeds eventually in the Black sea, the right arm represents the Nile river and the vertical line depicts the Mediterranean Sea. T-O maps use the direction of east to represent ‘terrestrial paradise’ and this is located towards the top of the map.⁵²

The Hereford mappamundi similarly follows this format. Its lack of measured distances helps to suggest the meaning behind its construction, that geographical points were considered less than the representations of the world in a more abstract form. It was not supposed to guide its viewers over a geographically correct path but rather on a spiritual journey.⁵³ The distortion of the practical elements of the Hereford map show the importance of its spiritual message. The map attempts to merge the spiritual world with the geographical world, blending the transition between the ‘timeless’ realm of the Last Judgement and combining it with the worldly realm of peoples, places and natural history.⁵⁴ Steven McKenzie argues that the Hereford mappamundi shows a westward historical progression, the Hereford map acknowledges that Christianity began in the east but allows the viewer to journey through the sites of importance in the correct

⁴⁸ Jacob. "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography, p. 192.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Moffitt. *Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy's Chorographia*, p. 59.

⁵¹ Ibidem.

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ Naomi Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

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progression.⁵⁵ On the Hereford Mappamundi these important locations are placed down the centre axis of the map so that each one corresponds with the following. The progression travels from Paradise to Jerusalem, Rome and Gades.⁵⁶ We can view this information in an ‘transparent’ sense; that the author wanted the viewer to see the progression between these sites as an important aspect of the maps, imbedded in the visual hierarchy and aiding the viewer’s association and memory.⁵⁷ The ‘Opaque’ approach allows us to question this view and how it is presented to its audience. Just like Geraldus’s Map of Europe we see the geographical points being manipulated to further strengthen the ideas portrayed in the map and to manipulate the viewer in to following the visual path set forth for them by the benefactor of the artefact. An excellent example of this is present in the Map of Europe where the omission of the important Bishopric of Canterbury was most likely a reflection of Geraldus’s antagonism of the archbishop of Canterbury who had unceasingly impeded Geraldus’s attempts to become Bishop of St David’s.⁵⁸

The Medieval audience would, according to Naomi Kline, be largely composed of those who were unable to read but nevertheless understood the importance of the written word. According to Kline, while audiences would visually attempt to gain an understanding of the information depicted on the Hereford map the viewer would also have depended heavily on a verbal translation or explanations provided by others.⁵⁹ This meant that, for example the Hereford mappamundi, depicted things in a non-linear way and viewers relied heavily on the interpretation of others and this story and interpretation would have changed depending on the interpreter’s perspective and who the interpreter would have been. The map’s significance was directly related to the viewer’s interpretation and whether the viewer was able to deconstruct the information they were seeing.⁶⁰ In examining this we must consider that viewing a map such as the Hereford Mappamundi involves its viewers in a ‘paradoxical’ way. It wants the viewer to connect with the information on the map but at the same time also wants to lead them to where they should be looking. In considering the Hereford Mappamundi in an ‘opaque’ sense we see that based on the viewer’s own identity and understanding depends on how deeply they

⁵⁵ Stephen McKenzie. The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappamundi. *The Hereford World Map*. London: The British Library, 2006, p. 335.

⁵⁶ McKenzie. The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappamundi, p. 335.

⁵⁷ Jacob. *Toward a Cultural History of Cartography*, p. 192.

⁵⁸ Peter Barber. *Medieval Maps of the World. The Hereford World Map*. London: British Library, 2006, p. 15.

⁵⁹ Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

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were able to build their own meaning and understanding.⁶¹ Therefore we see that cartographic examples are viewed in differing ways depending on differing social and economic levels. We must also assume that the meaning and understanding of the map would change considerably between audiences. Maps depict the visible and link this with the invisible elements and their place in the world and how they interact with earthlier toponyms is why they were important to the viewer.

How Is Cartography Used?

History exists by the virtue of its authors. It has no independent existence.⁶² The recognition of authorship helps to identify the presence of certain descriptive elements on a map as well as the transformation and distortion of other elements. A map will always have an author and whether that is singular or in the plural the owner or author will always make decisions based on portrayal, inclusion, exclusion, layout and signs. These decisions will of course affect the outcome, the audience and the use of the map in question. A map is also arguably always to convey some form of message, whether this is in reference to a past event, to show the location and position of a place or people or, in a more practical sense, a source of propaganda that allows place or people to be shown from the perspective that the author most needs or prefers.⁶³

Clearly out of our three examples of 13th century cartography the Tabula Peutingerina is the oddity when it comes to this concept. We, as scholars, know very little about the original map and the purpose for which it was conceived. The toponyms and distances that cover the map, while useful in calculating distances and relations to other areas in the Roman Empire the cartographic nature and size of the map does not allow the Tabula to be used in any practical sense. Talbert identifies that the Tabula Peutingerina, measuring average between 32 and 34cm wide and stretching out approximately 6.75m, would not have been able to be used in a practical sense on journeys through the empire but would more likely have been laid out and viewed in its entirety.⁶⁴ As the Tabula also does not portray any lands outside the sphere of Roman influence as well as not depicting military installations it also would not have been a practical tool for use in military situations. Talbert also identifies that despite these practical problems

⁶¹ Jacob. *Toward a Cultural History of Cartography*, p. 192.

⁶² Smith. *Why Theory in the History of Cartography*, p. 199

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 195.

⁶⁴ Talbert. *Rome's World*, pg. 133.

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the very cost to produce such a map also brings in to question the availability and physical use of such an artefact.⁶⁵ Benet Salway suggests that Romans used graphic means to describe the world around them and the Tabula Peutingerina is an excellent cartographic example of this, the centre point of Rome is used to display the known world branching out from Rome.⁶⁶ The known world and the elements that were important not only to Roman culture but also politically are portrayed in their varying levels of importance begin of course with the image of Rome in the centre. These aspects all play into the importance of the changes made to the Tabula Peutingerina during its copying during the early 13th century. Both Talbert and Salway identify that the position of Rome is the focal point both geographically and ideologically. Therefore, the copyist who added the Christians connotations to the depiction of Rome also wanted to use the space and cartographic location of Rome to depict a message.

While Giraldus of Wales's Map of Europe, it can be argued, was designed for different purposes and most likely a different audience it does not however, lessen the perception of Rome. The Map of Europe was mostly likely drawn by a scribe who was working with Giraldus during his time in Lincoln later in life.⁶⁷ During this time, it is argued Giraldus studied the mappae mundi there and Peter Barber argues there are similar representations between



Figure 3: The British Isles on the Hereford Mappamundi



Figure 13: The British Isles on Giraldus's Map of Europe

the Map of Europe and the Hereford Mappamundi and their depiction of the British Isles and their production may have been influenced by each other (Figures 3&4).⁶⁸ The Map of Europe can be described as an artefact of English political and Roman ecclesiastical politics it can also be described depicting an outlook of someone who had 'a firm mental picture' of the position

⁶⁵ Talbert. *Rome's World*, p.143.

⁶⁶ Brent Salway, 2005. The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map. *Imago Mundi*, 57:2, p.119.

⁶⁷ O'Loughlin. An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin, p.25.

⁶⁸ Barber. *Medieval Maps of the World*, p. 14.

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of these elements.⁶⁹ The Map of Europe is geographically positioned to face the east like other mappae mundi of its time but its simplified layout differs it from common cartographic traditions during this time. This simplified layout allows the suggestion of the proximity between Rome and the British Isles to be more clearly displayed. Its message, Britain's relation to Rome, is therefore more accessible. Giraldus himself undertook the journey to Rome several times in his life time including for the final time in 1207.⁷⁰ The distances represented on Giraldus's Map of Europe depict that the distance between St David's in Wales and Rome would be roughly the same distance as three times the journey from St David's to Canterbury therefore making Rome seem like an accessible option. If Rome was depicted so close to the British Isles, it could be viewed as a justification to understanding why so many legal cases were presented in Rome and why clerics undertook this journey so frequently, Giraldus himself included.⁷¹ Giraldus's Map of Europe helps to convey the shared the concept of Rome's place in church affairs, even in the British Isles

The Hereford Mappamundi also uses direction to convey its message to its audience. Like Giraldus's Map of Europe east was used in the traditional northerly position to give priority to depictions of the unearthly locations of the Last Judgement and the Garden of Eden and the earthlier location; Jerusalem, illustrating the place of crucifixion (Figure 5). It attempts to show the progress of Christianity, moving on an east to west axis. Christians believed that Christ would come again when all the world had been converted and the Hereford Mappamundi uses cartographic depictions to help display this message.⁷²

Understanding the cartographic aspects of these three maps and how they relate to the theoretical aspects is important in understanding the larger vision of how cartography can be manipulated and therefore used. This applies not only to how its intended audiences viewed them and how the cartographic aspects would have



Figure 5: The portrayal of Jerusalem on the Hereford Mappamundi

⁶⁹ O'Loughlin, *An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin*, p.28.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p.25.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁷² Edson. *The World Map: 1300-1492*, 2007, p.23.

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influenced this but also how we as a modern audience are able to interpret and consider the deeper elements that make up these maps. These deeper elements, these ‘opaque’ elements if you will, equip us, better when considering the geographical manipulation and specific representations. This is a crucial first step, the understanding of these theoretical concepts before applying them to the idea and representation of Rome.

13th Century Traditions

Cartography in the 13th Century

The making of maps allowed a select few to express their own conceptions of the world, whether known or imagined. Almost all maps made during the Middle Ages had a distinct religious context. Although Wintle argues that there were in fact secular maps no examples have survived. However, we do have the geographical example of the Tabula Peutingerina to provide us with an idea on how the world could be perceived in a non-secular manner. Although the Tabula Peutingerina is a 13th century copy of a 4th century archetype it does provide us with a view of Europe from a more geographical perspective. Elton states that the Tabula Peutingerina could not be any further from a traditional Medieval mappae mundi it did however force the Medieval copier to consider the locations of religious places in a more geographical manner.⁷³ Religious toponyms that were added by the copyist show examples of places of worship and places of significance in a more realistic sense. The Tabula Peutingerina is the only one of the three maps in connection with this thesis that follows the north and south points of the compass allowing the map to follow in a more realistic geographical representation despite the elongated nature of the layout. The Tabula Peutingerina allows us to see these religious locations added to an arguably secular map and that the position of these locations was understood and definable. This is comparable to both the Hereford Mapaemundi and Giraldus of Wales’s Map of Europe which allowed geographical points to be changed and manipulated for the sake of the message or purpose of the patron. The need for the presence of both these elements of approach were identified by Ptolemy (ca. 90-168 A.D.) who was credited with the wide spread and well documented expansion of ‘geographical knowledge and cartographical

⁷³ Edson. *The World Map: 1300-1492*, p.14.

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records,' and placed importance on the scientific nature of geography.⁷⁴ He sought ways to reflect this in his cartographic practices, he argued that although portraying a map in a spherical sense was the most correct form it restricted the viewer from 'seeing' the map in 'one glance,' he stressed if a flattened spherical map was to be adopted then the angles and surfaces should still be represented 'as faithfully as possible.'⁷⁵

As the 12th century drew to a close, the Middle Ages had produced its own way of cartographic portrayal; the *mappae mundi*. These maps presented the entire history and much of that period's beliefs into an organised geographical framework. The Middle Ages also saw the geographical 'facts' of classical heritage being transformed to give them a clearer Christian meaning and providing them with a clearer Christian legacy.⁷⁶ While there might have been changing and development of content there was a decisive similarity in most Maps created in the Middle Ages and that is the presence of religion. The majority of Maps created during the Middle Ages were religious, they were made in the context of religious treaties and commentaries and were considered as a symbol of status to be in possession of one.⁷⁷ The production of cartography in the Middle Ages was also almost exclusively produced by the Church, this continued until the end of the Middle Ages.⁷⁸ *Mappae mundi*, or world maps, of the 13th century aimed to pull together a perspective or world view and present it in a spatial form. *Mappae mundi* were able to incorporate history, geography, botany, zoology and theology into one world view and incorporate them into a Christian dialogue.⁷⁹

But what did the 13th century world look like to these map makers and to their audiences? The world was a sphere and *Mappae mundi* reflected the round shape of the world, the medieval convention was to show the world as the *orbis terrarium*, the circle of lands with three continents separated by a narrow band of ocean and rivers.⁸⁰ The geographical visualisation of the world had little connection with geographical accuracy but more a representation of the symmetry of the 'earthly kingdom.'⁸¹ The four major winds could be portrayed in the frame of the *orbis terrarium*, except in the case of the Hereford *mappamundi*

⁷⁴ Ptolemy, Claudius. *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*. Trans. Edward L Stevenson. New York: Cosimo Classics, 2011, p. xiii.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

⁷⁶ Edson. *The World Map: 1300-1492*, p. 11.

⁷⁷ Wintle. *The Image of Europe*, p. 163.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁹ Edson. *The World Map, 1300-1492*, p. 15.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

⁸¹ Wintle. *The Image of Europe*, p. 164.

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which increased the number to twelve, giving each wind individual names and characteristics.⁸² Creators of *Mapaemundi* saw the canvas of the known world as a ‘stage’ for planning the locations and connections between divine historical events, in this way they were also creating a visual history representing both themselves and their spiritual concepts, this way of ‘seeing’ merged well with the history of the church. The sacred history of the church was supposed to be viewed as a comprehensive and continuous from the beginning to the end of time.⁸³ T-O *Mappae mundi* were especially able to portray this flow of events. Geographically the size of the east (positioning in the northerly position) was enlarged to include these spiritual representations. As in the case of the Hereford *Mappamundi*, east was enlarged to show Paradise and the Garden of Eden. Geography rested on the metaphysical principals and causality which allowed geographical elements to be changed or manipulated to serve the purpose of relationship between what needed to be included and how the map would be created.⁸⁴ This approach allowed cartography to become more abstract. The presence of the Holy Land in the Middle East allowed the geographical space of the Middle East to be expanded so that other significant events or holy places could be added to the flow of the map.⁸⁵ This was also convenient for the layout of the map. The large and expanded sweep of Asia in the T-O maps allowed for a more general ‘sweep’ of the geography of northern and eastern Asia where, geographically, very little was known.⁸⁶

13th Century Audience

The very presence of cartographic examples suggests the need for an audience. A map has a function, even as a modern user of maps we expect that the map will give use useful information. The 13th century audience expected this exchange of information as well. Of course the expectations differ between our needs as audiences but what remains is a map’s purpose to communicate to its audience.

⁸² Edson. *The World Map: 1300-1492*, p. 17.

⁸³ Jeanne Fox-Friedman. "Visions of the World." *The Hereford World Map*. London: The Birtish Library, 2006, p.141.

⁸⁴ Edson. *The World Map: 1300-1492*, p. 15.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

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J.B Harley suggests that social taxonomy offered only silence in the representation of European cartography to the social classes that held the majority of people.⁸⁷ For the benefactors of these maps and their creators the ‘underclass’ had no geography and did not exist in a representative cartographic sense.⁸⁸ Harley goes on to clarify that what we see represented on these maps are the peoples who were privileged by rank or crown whereas the urban poor, having no social hierarchy, had no right to representation on a map.⁸⁹ This suggestion of ‘silences’ within helps to consider the 13th century audiences how one might interact with a map. As Jacobs has already mentioned, the audience of a map leaves no visible mark on the map itself. This could reflect simply the understanding of the map itself but could also represent the ‘silent’ parties who are left out of this communication completely based on social hierarchy.⁹⁰ Delano Smith agrees with this statement in the sense that she questions to what extent does the author’s intentions, either conscious or unconscious, affect the behaviour of the cartographic example and how much of these intentions can we, as modern audience, ever recover is of course questionable.⁹¹ This identification of authorship does not necessarily have to point to a single, real individual since it can give rise to ‘several selves’ but the acknowledgement must be made that someone was responsible for the choices made within that cartographic example, the map’s content, signs or markings, layout and other characteristics were all decided.⁹² This suggests that the authorship of these maps can transform or distort the presence of certain elements and cartographic characteristics and these elements would all contribute to understanding the intended audience.

Jacob argues that the cultural context of a map is comparable to concentric circles branching out from the centre of the map to focus on economic, social, political, intellectual and artistic contexts which all contribute not only to the end product but also the perceived audience.⁹³ While all maps have similar roles; the display of geography, topographical data or orientations of distance and space, each of these roles would suggest different patrons and, at the same time, different users.⁹⁴ This theory is continued by Daniel Birkholz who suggests that, using the Hereford Mappamundi as an example, that maps are analysed based on their

⁸⁷ Harley, J. B. "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe." *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), p. 68.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁰ Jacob. *Toward a Cultural History of Cartography*, p. 192.

⁹¹ Smith. *Why Theory in the History of Cartography*, p. 199.

⁹² *Ibidem*.

⁹³ Jacob. *Toward a Cultural History of Cartography*, p. 193.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*.

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relationship with their host community. The Hereford Mappamundi, working like an encyclopaedia, encompasses the realms of human experience; biblical, natural history, politics and philosophy.⁹⁵

Based on this relationship with its host community cartographic historians generally agree on the basic meaning of this genre of map. The inclusion of the icon referring it to its location of creation 'Lincoln' or *Lincolnia* show the need for a reference point to show the Hereford Mappamundi's audience their place in the creation and better orientate them in their understanding of not only the map but also their place on it.⁹⁶ This can be perceived as a reference to the audience of the map that they would not know their own geographical location in this perception of the world or it could also suggest that it was to show visiting people the position of *Lincolnia* and the role, or position it has in this construction of the world. This is also seen in the depiction of Paris or *Parisius civitas* which is enthroned with a towering gothic spire of Sainte Chapelle, and is not only represented as urban destination but also as a way station for English Clerics who were on route to Rome.⁹⁷ This puts the context of *Parisius civitas* in to the context of the assumed audience, reflecting the knowledge and historical value of Paris but at the same time identifying its practical position as part of the route to Rome and the connection this would have with the English Clergy.⁹⁸ What is interesting about the relationship between the Hereford Mappamundi and its audience we do have 'evidence' left by some who viewed the map. The vignette of *Parisius civitas* has been defaced; cut deeply into the vellum many times. The country side around the vignette has been scratched away or damaged so the role of the countryside surrounding *Parisius civitas* can no longer be identified.⁹⁹

This suggests that audiences were linked to actual events of happenings during the course of their life. This could suggest a range of audiences from ideological vandalism to 'pedantic correction,' it could even relate to the Mappamundi's association with the elitist association.¹⁰⁰ Someone was responsible for the production of each map, the content and the text and while these can also give us valuable clues about representation in the historical period

⁹⁵ Daniel Birkholz. "Biography after Historicism." *The Post-Historical Middle Ages*. Ed. Elizabeth Scala and Sylvia Federico. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p.170.

⁹⁶ Ibidem.

⁹⁷ Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 86.

⁹⁸ Richard de Bello. *The Hereford Mappamundi*. n.d. 26 April 2016.

⁹⁹ Birkholz. *The Post-Historical Middle Ages*, p.170.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, p. 172.

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it also shows us that it affects the subjectivity of the artefact.¹⁰¹ Each of these elements implies differing views and perceptions of cartographic examples and implies a specific view of the map and a specific intellectual operation.¹⁰²

Kline suggest a clearer perspective on the medieval audience. She suggests that broadly speaking there would have been three types of readers; the first would have been ‘professional readers’ or religious members, the second would have been ‘cultivated readers.’ These would have been concerned with or involved in, what Kline refers to as ‘literacy of recreation.’ The third would be the more ‘pragmatic readers’ who would have been required to read or write for the sake of conducting business and transactions.¹⁰³ These three groups, would have been able to read in both Latin and French and could on differing levels be able to understand the information depicted on the Hereford Mappamundi. The short and simplified language displayed on the Hereford Mappamundi suggests that these audiences would be able to be understood by the entire range of educated persons.¹⁰⁴ Kline also suggests that by 1300 an educated layperson would also have some understanding of Latin and French, French was the language of the King’s court and Latin remained the language of the Clerics.¹⁰⁵

While more people would have been able to appreciate more textual information at the close of the 13th century there still would have remained a large amount of people who would be unable to decipher the texts documented on the Hereford Mappamundi. While textual information provides a clearer and more directed approach to understanding a map the images allowed any viewer to see a narrative based on their own interpretations and prior knowledge. This in many ways can create an artificial representation of reality and encourage an ‘imaginative rumination’ based on the viewers own personal perspective.¹⁰⁶ The Middle Ages was also a time in which the oral tradition of reading texts was considered an important process of understanding a visual object. This applied to both literate and non-literate audiences and was an important way of understanding the position and message of a text, however, as mentioned earlier this is also an extremely suggestive manner in which to convey information.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Smith. *Why Theory in the History of Cartography*, p. 199.

¹⁰² Jacob. *Toward a Cultural History of Cartography*, p. 195.

¹⁰³ Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*.

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Three Maps, Three Audiences

The Hereford Mappamundi is defined by religion, its principle message according to Wintle is the flow of chaos and diversity in our world. This chaos and diversity, the essence of our world, both spiritual and physical revolves around the framework of Creation, Judgement, and Redemption.¹⁰⁸ The position and importance of Europe shows the viewer both geographically and spiritually their relationship with these biblical frameworks. This order and understanding of location is reflected through all three cartographic examples however, each example chooses to do this using different connotations to address the viewer. While the Hereford



Figure 18: Scythian Essedones eating flesh

Mappamundi shows the religious journey being undertaken by Christians in Europe as well as the relationship that Christians had with other peoples and races. It clearly allows, either visually or textually, the audience to interpret these ideas and how they geographically relate to their own world. The depiction of other races and therefore, arguably, different religions helps to convey both the perspective of the audience of the map as well as the implication of the marginalisation of other people's religious as well as social beliefs (Figure 6).¹⁰⁹

While the Tabula Peutingerina and Giraldus's map of Europe are much subtler in this respect they are able, non the less, to show the audience the world that they want or need to see. The Tabula Peutingerina depicts no world outside of the Roman perspective, both geographically as well as culturally. This seems to have suited both the Medieval audiences as well as the copyist. Talbert argues that while the copyist seems to have added elements that were relevant for the current audience he did not change how the map visually depicted the world around the Roman Empire. The Tabula Peutingerina depicts the extent of the known world but does not commit time or space in depicting the peoples of cultures that exist beyond the Roman Empire. Talbert agrees that the Christian iconography must have been added to the Tabula during the copying process and therefore changing the tone of the Tabula and directing

¹⁰⁸ Wintle. *The Image of Europe*, p. 171.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 177.

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it to portray the position of a more Christian world.¹¹⁰ While Albu and Talbert disagree over the origin of the Tabula Peutingerina, they do follow similar arguments attesting to the affirmation of knowledge of the power that Tabula depicts.¹¹¹ Albu states that the incursions of Christian elements on the Tabula should be considered Christian affirmations of power and knowledge and therefore could be used to communicate a similar message to its audience.

While the Tabula Peutingerina is not as complicated and in-depth as the Hereford Mappamundi and its comprehensive mapping of Christian faith the Tabula invites the eye to travel through the map, exploring the extent of the Roman Empire and the Christian associations that the Medieval copyist decided to add to the dialogue. The depiction of Jerusalem greatly differs between these two maps, while on the Hereford Mappamundi Jerusalem holds a spiritually important position Jerusalem is represented on the Tabula Peutingerina by its historical name of *Hierosolyma* it is also referenced by the name Emperor Hadrian (ca.117-138 A.D.) gave to the city after its destruction and then reconstruction around the year 135AD. The presence of the name *Aelia Capitolina* connects Jerusalem to its position as a Roman city while at the same time referring to its historical past.¹¹² The

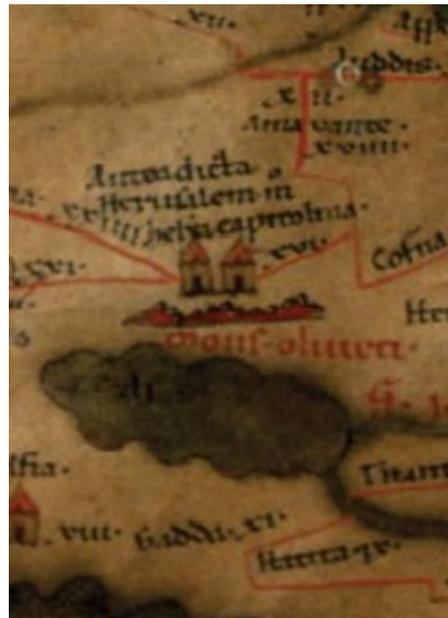


Figure 25: The Tabula Peutingerina's depiction of Jerusalem

subtle 'Christianizing' of Jerusalem is also present with references, in letters of red to the location of the Mount of Olives situated on the ridge east of the Old City where, tradition has it, Jesus ascended to Heaven (Figure 7). While much of this knowledge would mostly likely be lost on some of its Medieval audience the Tabula Peutingerina was adapted to suit this audience and allow its observers to still interact with the map in a way that was appropriate for the time.

As modern scholars we have a similar problem with the identification of the relationship between Giraldus's map of Europe and its audience. While at first glance the map could be considered quite crude and uninspiring it was also created to serve a purpose. While it does not have the grand dimensions of both the Tabula Peutingerina or the Hereford Mappamundi it did, as a map, have an audience. The map of Europe is a product of skilled observations and a clear

¹¹⁰ Talbert. *Rome's World*, pg. 124.

¹¹¹ Emily Albu. *The Medieval Peutinger Map*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 72.

¹¹² E. Weber. "The Tabula Peutingeriana and the Maldaba Map." 16 December 1999. *The Maldaba Mosaic Map*. Accessed on 22 April 2016.

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perspective and, according to O' Laughlin, gain provenance from an immediate circle of scholars.¹¹³ This narrower audience however does not limit the value of the source but only changes the voice. By having a narrower audience Giraldus's map of Europe is able to clearly present its ideas to its audience without needing to cater for the wider and at times limited audiences that the Tabula Peutingerina and the Hereford Mappamundi may have had too.

While it can be argued that each of these texts would have had an eclectic and differing audiences the foundations of the needs and wants of the audience, it can be argued, remain the same. Each map was manipulated or produced to help to cater to that audience and portray a specific message but it is how that message is portrayed that is able to change and manipulate that perspective.

Caput Mundi

The Changing Role of Rome

The focus of cartography during the 13th century puts the Tabula Peutingerina, the Hereford Mappamundi and Giraldus's map of Europe secularly within a world that was undergoing a cultural awakening that, as Albu describes, is often referred to as the 'renaissance of the twelfth century'.¹¹⁴ This world to which Albu refers is a world that was enlarged both physically and culturally to reflect a new level of intellect. These new ideas, as well as the intermingling and 'intercultural transfusions' helped to stimulate a renewed interest of Roman antiquity which combined with these 'intercultural transfusions,' allowed people to interpret and transform the concept of Rome.¹¹⁵ Wintle confirms this changing and building of ideas by concluding that the sense of European citizenship, especially towards the end of the 13th century was becoming meaningful. This included geographical ideals as well as religious definition and identity.¹¹⁶ While these concepts enjoyed periods of ebb and flow these ideals were, according to Wintle, the lead up to the end of the 13th century was busy with ideas of Empire and busy with ideas of Christianity and how it should be understood. The Crusades' journeys into the Holy Land were vital for giving new perspective into boundaries both geographical and culturally.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ O'Loughlin. *An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin*, p. 26.

¹¹⁴ Albu. *The Medieval Peutinger Map*, p. 116.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹¹⁶ Wintle. *The Image of Europe*, p. 163.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem.

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The idea of Rome as an *Eternal City* is a concept that is neither new nor a distinctly Christian concept although its appropriation shows the important incorporation of the old views of Rome and the new ideals of Christianity. The concept entered Roman historiography when Livy (ca. 59-17 B.C.) employed it several times to refer to the early greatness and past leaders of Rome. It became a concept that encouraged the unity of Romans both socially and militarily. This was encouraged by Emperor Augustus (ca. 63BC-14 A.D.) who associated himself with the goddess *Roma*, the personification of the city who had been elevated and promoted as a deity during this period.¹¹⁸ By the 5th century however, the role of Rome was beginning to shift.¹¹⁹ There was a conscious rejection of the pagan imagery of an eternal Rome. The concept of anything being eternal apart from God succeeded in burying the connection between Rome and the titles of ‘*urbs aeterna*’ and ‘*Rome aeterna*’ for many centuries. The concept of Rome’s Eternity evolved in to an ‘article of faith,’ and fitted-in to the Roman religious structure.¹²⁰

The concept of Rome’s eternity was not easily buried and despite the commendation of those like theologian Father Jerome (ca. 347-420 A.D.) who condemned the use of the title “*Roma aeterna*’ as blasphemous did not stop the development of the concept of Rome as an eternal city to the Medieval audience. How Rome was viewed however was not a clear decision for many men and women of the early middle ages. The city of Rome had made martyrs out of its first Christian inhabitants yet become the capital of Christendom and while Constantinople’s role as imperial capital became more prominent, rendering the role of Rome as capital of an ancient empire as obsolete its significance manage to live on.¹²¹ The attitude towards Rome progressed during the Middle Ages, for many it was a holy city but for others it was seen as Babylon where mountains of insults had been heaped on across the centuries but for many cultures Rome and the connection and association with the Holy Roman Empire was a source of pride not only in connections with the Holy City but also in being able to associate with its history.¹²²

The creation and build-up of historical and genealogical connection with Rome allowed countries though separated by distance a mythological connection with the eternal city and therefore connect themselves with key social and moral attributes.¹²³ According to Rome’s own

¹¹⁸ Wintle. *The Image of Europe*, p. 163.

¹¹⁹ Pratt. *Rome as Eternal*, p. 31.

¹²⁰ Ibidem, p.32.

¹²¹ Julia M Smith. *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 262.

¹²² Ibidem, p. 33.

¹²³ Smith. *Europe after Rome*, p. 262.

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myth of origin as it was retold in the 1st century by the poet Virgil (ca. 70-19 B.C.) which depicted the Trojan hero Aeneas coming to the land of the Latins and his ancestors founding the city of Rome.¹²⁴ By including Troy into this myth of foundation Virgil, invited other cultures to also claim ownership and connection to Rome through the stories of these myths. Frankish readers were able to claim connections with Roman culture and traditions through shared Trojan origins.¹²⁵ Giraldus of Wales, the author of the Map of Europe pronounces in his book; *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, that three people manage to escape Asia Minor.¹²⁶ These three people, who were left destitute by the pitiless Achilles, moved to different parts of Europe. The Romans were founded under their leader Aeneas, the Franks under Antenor and the Britons under Brutus.¹²⁷ Giraldus boasts of the great courage of these peoples, their quick wit, ancient blood and their magnanimous nature.¹²⁸

This connection to Rome and the legends of her origin that emerged in the Middle Ages helps to emphasise the role that Roman history played in the history of Christian Latin texts where places on the outer edges of the frontier or outside the blanket of imperial rule were about to connect with Rome and create a dialogue. The political map of Europe of course changes dramatically during the first centuries of the Middle Ages but Rome was not able to shake off its association as the head of an Empire, its history of Martyrs and the significance of its long past stayed with the people of the Middle Ages and although Constantinople rendered Rome's role as capital of the ancient Empire obsolete its importance adapted. Identities and attachments with the city still echoed out across Europe and the building of ceremonies and stories that followed different empirical connotations allowed Rome's audience to construct it in new ways and allowed Rome its self to construct its self-afresh,¹²⁹

By the 13th century the city of Rome functioned as a jurisdictional headquarters of an international ecclesiastical institution that was in charge of regulating theological doctrines, rituals of worship, social and political procedures throughout the Latin west.¹³⁰ While the idea of Rome has been metamorphosed to fit into new roles the use of Rome as a source of imagery had not. Dan, Geus and Guckelsburg remind us that during the Medieval times Caesar and

¹²⁴ Smith. *Europe after Rome*, p. 262.

¹²⁵ Ibidem.

¹²⁶ Giraldus here refers to the Roman province of Asia Minor as a descriptor.

¹²⁷ Giraldus Cambrensis. *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*. Trans. Lewis Thorpe. Suffolk: Penguin, 1964, p. 246.

¹²⁸ Ibidem.

¹²⁹ Smith. *Europe after Rome*, p. 292.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, p. 293.

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Augustus remained as symbols and representatives of the maximal extension of Roman power and knowledge on the *orbs terrarum*.¹³¹ The term Eternal Rome or *Roma aeterna* evolved not to signify Rome so much as the Eternal City. This supreme power could be moulded to be considered both of a spiritual and, at times, imperial power. Manipulation of traditions were also used which enabled forms of iconography to be portrayed, and therefore used, in different ways. In the 6th century Pope Leo I (ca. 440-461 A.D.) denounced the use of religious association with the pagan representation of the Sun and the Moon of late antiquity.¹³² Pratt explains that being a widely used symbol it survived and was moulded in to Medieval Christian art and remained related to the female representation of Roma.¹³³

The Appropriation of Caput Mundi

While the terms *Roma aeterna* is argued to have been introduced by the Roman poet and elegist Albius Tibullus (ca. 55-19 B.C.) in one of his elegies the phrase has also been attributed to the historian Livy and the poet Publius Ovidius Naso also spoke directly of the eternity of the city of Rome. Ovid introduced the notion of Rome as the everlasting city by referring to a speech by Romulus; “*aeternae cum pater Urbis ait.*”¹³⁴ The phrase was attributed to Livy several times when referring to the greatest accomplishments of the past leaders of Rome and used it as a concept that encouraged the unity of his audience both socially and militarily.¹³⁵ Although Ovid and Livy have been connected with the connotation of Rome as an eternal city the Greek poet Lucianus who was renowned for inspiring impassionate reactions from his audiences is credited with taking the concept of Rome’s eternal nature to the next step. Frankel believes that Lucian was responsible for the phrase *Roma, caput mundi*, and allowing the term to build its own meanings and position.¹³⁶ This term of course can be attributed to differing events and used for different meanings through history. The use of the word *Caput* or head to describe the capital of the Empire was a metaphorical exploitation of the imperial idea of Rome as the head or capital of a world empire.¹³⁷ There is also evidence that this concept of Rome’s position either

¹³¹ Dan, Geus and Guckelsberger. *What is Common Sense Geography*, p. 22.

¹³² Pratt. *Rome as Eternal*, p. 34.

¹³³ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁴ Publius Ovidius Naso, *P. OVIDI NASONIS FASTORVM LIBER TERTIVS*. iii. 72.

¹³⁵ Pratt. *Rome as Eternal*, p. 27.

¹³⁶ Eduard Frankel. *Lucan as the Transmitter of Ancient Pathos. Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Lucian*. Ed. Charles Tesoriero. Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2010, p. 33.

¹³⁷ Richard J King. *AD CAPITA BUBULA: The Birth of Augustus and Rome 's Imperial Centre*. *The Classical Quarterly* 60.2. 2010, p. 453.

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geographically or culturally was conveniently appropriated in to a specifically Christian perspective of understanding of the world.¹³⁸

Christian chorography traditionally aimed to evince significant events in Christian history. Christian chorography sought to use the ‘broadly connotative’ rather than the ‘narrowly fictional’ with the use of geographical knowledge to work towards spiritual ends.¹³⁹ The message of the Hereford Mappamundi fits within this concept. Its uses geographical knowledge to broadly depict the movement of Christianity to the west while at the same time connecting the audience with the timeless realm of the last judgement. In keeping with the traditions of the 3th century Christ is depicted in his majesty displaying the wounds of his crucifixion (Figure 8),¹⁴⁰ Christ and the Last Judgement serve as a strong reminder of the future of eternity.¹⁴¹ Early

Medieval historical models ended with either a Jerusalem or Rome leaving northern and western Europe outside of the main historical and geographical framework.¹⁴² In the three examples of this thesis however we see different progressions where not only Rome is portrayed based on 13th century needs



Figure 8: 'Christ in Majesty' showing the wounds of the crucifixion at the top of the Hereford Mappaemundi

but so is the rest of Europe. This is important as it depicts a continuation of the idea of the Roman Empire and how it related to the rest of the space that is Europe. The continuation of Rome after the Roman Empire was added to existing ideas in order to translate the idea of Empire, this appropriation of concepts helped to provide justification to powers such as the Carolingian Empire, (ca. 800-924 A.D.) the then Holy Roman Empire, a continuation of the Christian general dominance of Rome.¹⁴³ The Hereford Map shows a progression from east to

¹³⁸ Elizabeth Baigent. *Antiquity Without Cartography? Some new Approaches to Roman Mapping Traditions*. *Imago Mundi* 64.2. 2012, p. 241.

¹³⁹ Moffitt. *Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy's Chorographia*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁰ Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 67.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 73.

¹⁴² Stephen McKenzie. *The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi*. *The Hereford World Map*, p. 336.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*.

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west, starting in Paradise and moving in equal lengths through the Tower of Babel, Jerusalem, Rome, Gades, the Gates of Hercules and ending finally in the west at the Final Judgement.¹⁴⁴ McKenzie suggests that these places had a special significance and trace the five crucial phases of mankind while at the same time showing the progression of Christianity westwards. He continues by stating that while these cities are clearly important and clearly sit upon this east-west axis, Jerusalem and Gades but no city is as clearly defined both visually and functionally as Rome.¹⁴⁵ Edson analyses the elaborate vignette of Rome on the Hereford Mappamundi as identifying Rome not only as a symbol of the power and influence of the Church also in recognition of past glories of the Capital.¹⁴⁶

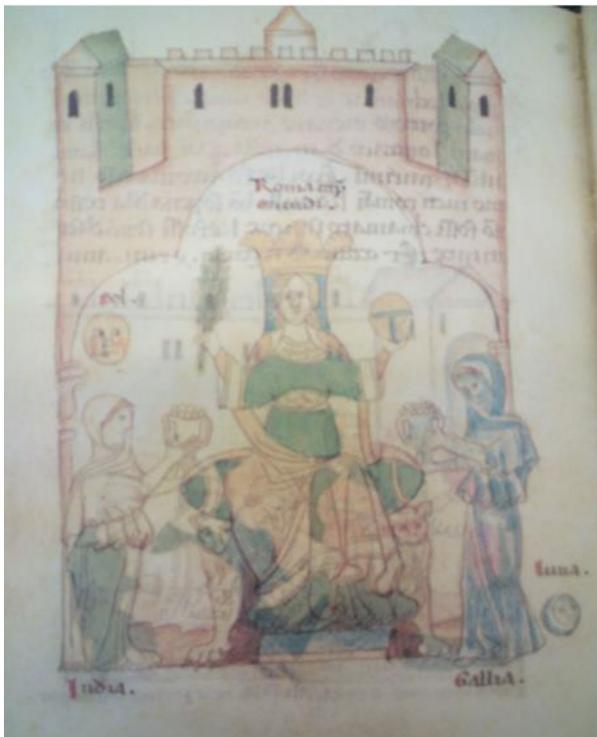


Figure 30: *Roma, Caput Mundi* from the *Codex 151 Historiarum Romanorum*.

This supreme power could be moulded to be considered as both a spiritual and, at times, imperial power. As Pratt explains an illustration from the 12th century *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum* depicted Roma seated with the sun and the moon to either side of her and, on words above her head, *Roma Caput Mundi*, Rome, the head of the world (Figure 9).¹⁴⁷ The symbology in this image refers to the transference of power from the empire to the church. The position of the lions, which were a common symbol of Rome, on either side of Roma's chair while Roma holds a model of a church shows the shift in the role of Rome in the Christian world.¹⁴⁸ The role and perception of Rome continued to change

though the Middle Ages and the role of Rome in cartographic examples evolved with these perceptions.

The Tabula Peutingerina allows us to see the transformation of Rome from the Capital of the Empire to having a new dialogue and a new role. The addition of the church of St Peter

¹⁴⁴ McKenzie. *The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappamundi*, p. 335.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 139.

¹⁴⁶ Evelyn Edson. *The World Map, 1300-1492*. Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2007, p. 23.

¹⁴⁷ Pratt. *Rome as Eternal*, p. 34.

¹⁴⁸ Stroll. *Symbols As Power*, p. 13.

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next to the original depiction of Rome shows an active transition in the importance of Rome. Just like we have witnessed in the *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum*¹⁴⁹ the depiction of Rome was actively transformed, and this transformation documented and acknowledged, an active and symbolic movement from Rome from the status of the representation of the Lions, commonly associated with Rome to the Christian Church. This, however, is only depicted after a great leap in time. From Lucian and Livy's introduction to the concept of *Caput Mundi* to the Tabula Peutingerina and its connotations of Imperial Rome and jumping to the *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum* there is a large gap between these times and their ideas.

The Portrayal of Rome

We have seen that the idea of Rome as *the* eternal city was not a new concept in the 13th century. It also did not originate as a distinctly Christian concept but as an appropriation of old views and connections with imperial Rome, the head of the empire, and Rome as the Holy seat and, in many ways, the head of the Christian faith. The description of Rome as *Caput* or head of the Empire was a metaphorical exploitation of the idea of Rome, this idea fitted in to the world that the early Romans lived in.¹⁵⁰ It is these representations; these imperial aims, that may have led to the foundation of cartographic representations in a specifically Christian perspective of understanding the world.¹⁵¹ In our cartographic examples we see Rome portrayed in each example in different yet surprisingly similar ways. Each map brings a different message and understanding of the concept of Rome and how Rome should be portrayed. And yet while the differences are significant so are the similarities in the use and portrayal of Rome. The idea of Rome in these three examples represents the connection between the roles of spiritual Rome, geographic Rome and imperial Rome. As we have seen in the *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum* the representation and symbology of Rome seated with the sun and the moon to either side of

¹⁴⁹ The image used from the *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum* was taken from the source available to me at the Radboud Bibliotheek. This copy, being true to the original, still shows the text from the opposite page through the image. For a clearer depiction of the image please refer to the Appendix.

¹⁵⁰ King. *AD CAPITA BUBULA*, p. 453.

¹⁵¹ Baigen. *Antiquity Without Cartography?*, p. 241.

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Figure 10: Rome offering the Church while standing on the Imperial symbol of the Lion

her and the words above her head; *Roma Caput Mundi*, Rome, the head of the world.¹⁵² A second image from the *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum* helps to further illustrate the transfer of power from Imperial Rome to the Church. While in the first image Roma holds the imperial symbols of a frond and an orb the second image depicts Roma holding a model of the church and a world divided into three parts.¹⁵³ Stroll argues that as Roma stands on the Imperial symbol of the Lion while offering the church it is a clear symbol of transference of power from the Empire or the Imperial to the church (Figure 10). Stoll goes further in suggesting that this image identifies the pope as the successor of Rome.¹⁵⁴ It is this shifting role that is represented so vividly in our three cartographic examples.

In discussing the portrayal of Rome it is wisest to begin with our oldest map; the Tabula Peutingerina. This Tabula has the advantage of displaying this changing world that Rome was a centre of. The Tabula is a representative of the Imperial Roman Empire and the Christian Empire. As discussed earlier the 4th century original depicts Rome in an extremely imperial sense. The vignette of the City of Rome is depicted correctly in a geographic sense with the majority of the city depicted on the left bank of the Tiber, however the extent and complexity of its vignette means that Rome straddles the entire breath of the Italian Peninsula (Figure 1).¹⁵⁵ The whole Peninsula is grossly elongated from west



Figure 1: The vignette of Rome in comparison to

¹⁵² Pratt. *Rome as Eternal*, p. 34.

¹⁵³ Ernesto Monaci. *Liber ystoriarum Romanorum*. Rome, 1889, p. 45.

¹⁵⁴ Stroll. *Symbols As Power*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ O A W Dilke. "Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires." *The History of Cartography, Volume 1*. Ed. J B Harley and David Woodward. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 239.

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to east while Rome remains centred.¹⁵⁶ This centralisation of Rome affects the scale of the rest of the Map. This centralisation affects the scale and design of the rest of the map with the Roman empire extending geographically much further to east than the west. This of course severely compromises the composition of the eastern portion of the Tabula which is comparable to the significant 13th century cartographic examples placed on their easterly focus. The ‘spider’s web’ of 12 major roads that extend out of Rome and connect to the rest of the intricate network of Roman roads across the Italian peninsula and the rest of the Empire leave it impossible to resist the obvious message: all roads led to Rome and the imperial figure.¹⁵⁷

At the time of the map of the original Tabula this would have represented Rome’s secular dominion over the known Roman world.¹⁵⁸ The representations of cities and omission

of others helps to suggest that the choice of what to display and a conscious decision. For example, the representation of Carthage or *Chartagine Colon* is distinctively small compared to the huge vignette of Rome that sits just about Carthage as a result of the unique geographical proportions



Figure 11.a and 11.b: The representations of Carthage and Milan

(Figure 11.a).¹⁵⁹ The reasons for not giving prominence to historical rivals are obvious when depicting the greatness of your own empire but the Tabula Peutingerina also shows preference in other ways. The city of Milan or *Mediolanum* which would become Diocletian’s capital in 286 A.D (Figure 11.b) is represented only by the most common symbol of the Twin Towers.¹⁶⁰ As long as the author of the Tabula Peutingerina remains unknown to scholars then we can only speculate deeper into the conscious decisions made during its production. Even so we are able to acknowledge that the Tabula Peutingerina had a motive and an agenda as to what should be depicted for its audience. The Tabula Peutingerina goes to obvious lengths to not show the world outside the Roman empire, these worlds either did not exist within the sphere of influence of Rome or there was not enough known about them to include them cartographically. This not

¹⁵⁶ Ancient World Mapping Centre. *Peutinger Map*. Ed. Richard Talbert. Cambridge University Press, 2010. Accessed 25 April 2016.

¹⁵⁷ Albu. *The Medieval Peutinger Map*, p. 97.

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 101.

¹⁵⁹ Ancient World Mapping Centre. *Peutinger Map*.

¹⁶⁰ Ibidem.

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only reflects the decision making and production process but also how the Roman Empire viewed itself geographically, this can be seen to reflect either the quality of the source's material or where focus should be maintained.¹⁶¹

While this thesis focuses on the 13th century's portrayal of Rome it is extremely important to consider the Late Antique period of Roman identity of the Tabula Peutingerina and the position of Rome. The copy of the Tabula Peutingerina we have today is a mix of the Roman ideas from the Late Antique period and the perceptions of the 13th century. The Tabula Peutinger is able to show us, through its reproduction, the ideas of Rome that still remained or were still thought of as important to the Medieval copyist. Rome is recopied as the centre of the world and the idea of Rome as centre of the world is not changed and, arguably, not manipulate.¹⁶²

The continuity of the vignette and its surroundings suggest that it was copied without much deviation from the original source. This suggests that the copier or the financer still thought that this view of the world was relevant or important while at the same time incorporating elements that fit the 13th century dialogue. The added vignettes of Constantinople and Antioch attribute to this incorporation of 13th century needs as both cities played hugely different roles between the 4th and 13th centuries.¹⁶³ However the clear addition of the Church of St Peter's in Rome shows the need to appropriate the idea of Rome through showing how this very Christian symbol fitting into the context of the Roman world. Albu supports this theory by stating that the lack of symbology surrounding Jerusalem could be related to political and military strain occurring in the area around the time of the re-production of the Tabula Peutingerina (Figure 7).¹⁶⁴ If

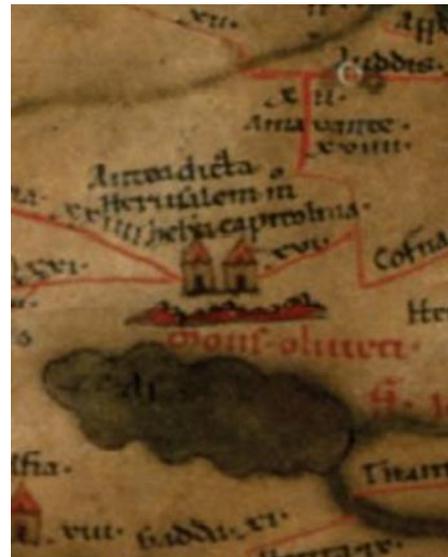


Figure 7: The representation of Jerusalem with the reference to the Mountain of Olives

we consider the timeframe that Talbert gives us for the production of the copy (1175-1225 A.D) this would put the production date squarely in the time of Arab conquests and repelling of

¹⁶¹ Richard Talbert, Kai Brodersen. *Space in the Roman Worlds: Perception and Presentation*. New York: Lit Verlag, 2004, p.123.

¹⁶² Talbert. *Rome's World*, pg. 126.

¹⁶³ Albu. *The Medieval Peutinger Map*, p. 107.

¹⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 115.

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Crusader forces.¹⁶⁵ While this is highly speculative this timeframe does include the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 A.D. to An-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub (ca. 1137-1193 A.D.) founder of the Ayyubid dynasty and the failure of the Third Crusade.¹⁶⁶ This leads Albu to argue that this theory should also be considered in the representation of Rome, that a significant event was commemorated on the Tabula Peutingerina with the adding of St Peter's Church.¹⁶⁷ She suggests that such an event might have been the year 1220 A.D. when Pope Honorius III (ca. 1150-1227 A.D.) crowned Frederick II (ca. 1194-1250 A.D.) in St Peter's Church on the 22nd of November making him Emperor of the Romans. After his coronation he appeared before the people of Rome holding the sceptre, orb and sword and wearing the diadem, the traditional symbols of power.¹⁶⁸ This was considered a period of 'surface harmony' with the papacy and at the same time representing an appropriate time to celebrate imperial power represented in Frederick's coronation.¹⁶⁹

The importance of the portrayal of Rome on the Tabula Peutingerina is in the transition and transformation of the importance and depiction of Rome. Rome was able to undergo a change that allowed its symbolic depiction to be adapted to the needs of its audience while at the same time reminding its audience of the Rome's past role. Rome is viewed at *Caput Mundi*, the head of the world in both an Imperial and a Religious role. The Hereford Mappamundi however depicts Rome as a participant within a different sphere of influence. The Hereford Mappamundi, while showing the westward journey from Paradise through the major cities of the physical world. Rome's vignette (Figure 12), while not as impressive in size as that on the Tabula



Figure 12: Rome depicted on the Hereford Mappamundi with the text '*caput mundi tenet orbis frena*'

¹⁶⁵ Talbert. *Rome's World*, pg. 83.

¹⁶⁶ Mark Grossman. *World Military Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary*. New York: Library of Congress Publications, 2007, p.303.

¹⁶⁷ Albu. *The Medieval Peutinger Map*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem.

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Peutingerina it does clearly state how the position of Rome should be portrayed. The text to the left of the vignette of Rome reads ‘*caput mundi tenet orbis frena*,’¹⁷⁰ and according to Edson this reference to power could refer to its past status as capital of the Empire as well at the same time referring to Rome’s current status as the head of the Catholic Church and therefore, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁷¹ The Hereford Mappamundi, by including its place of production and therefore arguably its audience, and depicting Rome in its greatness both as head of an Empire, be that spiritual or geographical provides an excellent over view of the world and one’s relation to these events, both spiritually and geographically.¹⁷²

While Rome is depicted in the middle of the Hereford Mappamundi it is not the only reference and connection to the importance of Rome and the representation of the Roman Empire. The lower left hand of the mappamundi refers to the geographical survey commissioned originally by Julius Caesar but carried out by Caesar Augustus. This survey is believed to have been incorporated into the World Map of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa.¹⁷³ Agrippa’s map is mainly known to modern scholars from ancient Roman authors such as Strabo and Pliny the Elder.¹⁷⁴ What the Agrippa’s map looked like exactly is the map would have portrayed the world is still fiercely debated. We do know that Agrippa’s world map included a detailed description of regions familiar to the Roman Empire and was also, mostly likely, copiously labelled, Agrippa’s map is believed to have been a model for the Hereford Mappamundi.¹⁷⁵ The World Map of Agrippa which is consider to have to have been politically inspired would have however, been a map ‘of this world.’¹⁷⁶ Christian chorography traditionally aimed to evince significant events in Christian history. Christian chorography sought to use the ‘broadly connotative’ rather than the ‘narrowly fictional’ with the use of geographical knowledge to work towards spiritual ends.¹⁷⁷ There Hereford Mappamundi attempts to draw connections between Rome’s position holding the reins of the world by incorporating Caesar Augustus into the Christian connotations. While Kline argues that the figure is mistakenly confused on the Mappamundi as Julius Caesar instead of Caesar Augustus it shows the figure begin elevated to papal status which is evident from the tiara he wears.¹⁷⁸ A Latin inscription

¹⁷⁰ “Rome holds the reins of the world.”

¹⁷¹Stroll. *Symbols As Power*, p. 13.

¹⁷² Edson. *The World Map, 1300-1492*, p. 31.

¹⁷³ Moffitt. *Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy's Chorographia*, p. 63.

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁵ Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 58.

¹⁷⁶ Moffitt. *Medieval Mappaemundi and Ptolemy's Chorographia*, p. 65.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidum.

¹⁷⁸ Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 59.

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above the figure further links the Roman Emperor with the Christian dialogue of the Mappamundi; ‘*Lucas in euuangelio. Exiit edictum ab augusto casare ut describeretur huniuersus orbis*’¹⁷⁹ which helps to further support the role of Rome and Roman emperors uniting the world but doing so within a Christian culture.¹⁸⁰ This reference to Rome, as suggested by Edson, could refer to both the past glories of Rome as capital of the Empire but at the same time also has the visual ability to insinuate towards its present status as the head of the Catholic Church as well as the head of the Holy Roman Empire. This helps to join them into one context, by suggesting the Christian motivations behind past Emperor’s actions.¹⁸¹ As if creating a link between two the regions of the world depicted on the Hereford Mappamundi they are written with the traditional names of the late Rome empire.¹⁸² Early medieval models of history showed a continuation of history after the Roman empire which was added to existing models by later Christian writers who were able to formulate the idea of the translation of the Empire or *translation imperii* which justified the Holy Roman Empire as a continuation of the preeminence of Rome. This connection can be seen in the portrayal of Rome on the Hereford Mappamundi. Rome, on the Hereford Mappamundi still holds the reins of the world and by using the connection between Caesar Augustus and the Gospel of Luke that continuation is encouraged.

While our last map; Giraldus’s Map of Europe at first glance seems very simplified compared to our two previous examples it does present a clearer geographical relationship than the other two examples. The Tabula Peutingerina, although it is also based on itineraries and movement through the Empire, the map of Giraldus’s map of Europe shows a distinct

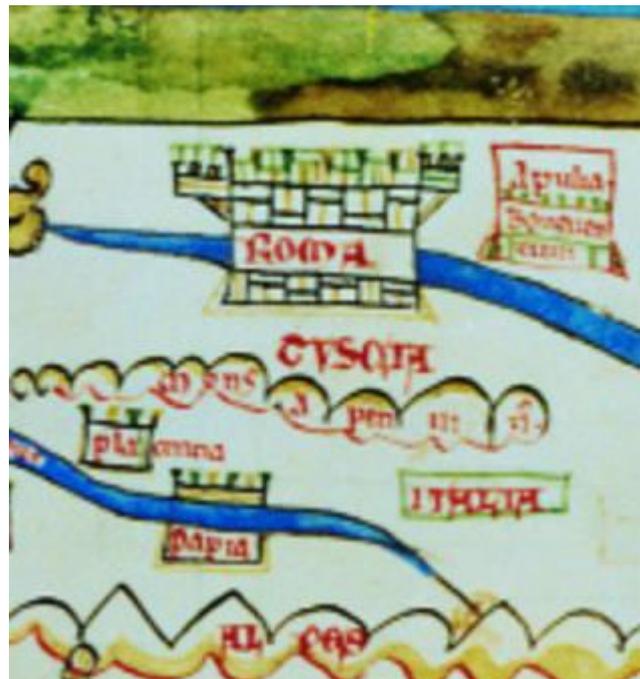


Figure 13: Depiction of Rome on Giraldus of Wales's Map of Europe

¹⁷⁹ 'In the Gospel of Luke. A decree came forth from Caesar Augustus that the entire world was to be enrolled'

¹⁸⁰ Kline. *Maps of Medieval Thought*, p. 60.

¹⁸¹ Edson. *The World Map, 1300-1492*, p. 23.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 229.

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connection between the British Isles and the path to Rome. Once again we see the geographical pointers turned towards the medieval tradition of the east. The route which forms the basis of this itinerary begins at Winchester and then follows the eastern orientation of the map to the top.¹⁸³ From the British Isles perspective this places Rome at the very top of the map in the centre (Figure 13). O'Loughlin argues that the first clues that this is a map of Britain in relation to Rome instead of simply a geographical depiction of Europe is representation of key locations.¹⁸⁴ This point is accentuated by the way in which the town and cities within the British Isles and the vignette representing Rome are drawn. They are much more carefully drawn than the other cities in Europe, similar to the Tabula Peutingerina the geography is used to show the many ways one can travel to Rome. In fitting with the time period the rivers are accentuated to show the means of travelling from the British Isles to Rome.¹⁸⁵

As it originates from a very British perspective the British Isles is represented larger proportionately than other lands, taking up one fifth of all land shown, Rome is equally as distinct with no other city depicted using the same crenelated box and it is nearly twice the size of any other city on the map.¹⁸⁶ This immediately shows its importance as the destination and the subject of this map. Although it shows the British Isles distinctively it is clear that Rome is focal destination. Barber suggests that this allowed the audience to understand that Rome was an obtainable location.¹⁸⁷ After Giraldus's complications with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the omission of Canterbury of Giraldus's map it suggests that Giraldus was implying that English and Irish Bishops were able to consider going to Rome with their spiritual concerns and they did not need an intermediary such as the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁸⁸

Giraldus visited Rome on three occasions in 1199, 1201 and 1203 and this map is clearly a reflection of those journeys.¹⁸⁹ Some of the cities that he depicts on the map are ones that he himself travelled through during his arduous journey for justice in Rome.¹⁹⁰ While it shows the proximity of Rome to the British Isles from a travellers perspective it also depicts the religious and political 'axis' between Rome and the British Isles and the geographical relationship these two shared, therefore the maker of this map would have had to have had

¹⁸³ Daniel Birkholz. *The King's Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in Thirteenth Century England*. New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 192.

¹⁸⁴ O'Loughlin. *An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin*, p. 28.

¹⁸⁵ Barber. *Medieval Maps of the World*, p. 14.

¹⁸⁶ O'Loughlin. *An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin*, p. 28.

¹⁸⁷ Barber. *Medieval Maps of the World*, p. 15.

¹⁸⁸ Barber. *Medieval Maps of the World*, p. 15.

¹⁸⁹ O'Loughlin. *An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin*, p. 30.

¹⁹⁰ Cambrensis, Giraldus. *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, p. 20

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significant knowledge of the political relationship that Rome had with his religious world. The map is dominated by the depiction of the Catholic Church and clearly the route between these two locations and this clearly was a topic of importance for the author.¹⁹¹

While it may have had personal importance for Giraldus to show the connections between Rome, it also demonstrates the power and authority that Rome still held regardless of where you lived in the Roman Catholic Empire. The viewers' attention is grabbed straight away but the presences and location of Rome shows the author's need to encourage the idea of the very presence of Rome within the British Isles. It shows that people were travelling to Rome, people visited Rome and it was in Rome where one would be able to receive news of the world.¹⁹² It is this importance of Rome that all three cartographic examples strive to depict. Each in their own individual ways they are able to show their audiences their perspective on the position of Rome, weather this is a political, social or religious connection.

Conclusion

The Possibilities of Cartography

This thesis sought to explore the historical situation of the 13th century and in what ways Rome fitted within these ideals and dialogues. The political map of Europe changed dramatically during the first centuries of the Middle Ages but throughout this movement and change Rome was not able to shake of its association as head of an Empire. Its history of martyrs and the significance of its long past stayed with the people of the Middle Ages and although Constantinople rendered Rome's role as capital of the ancient Empire as obsolete its cultural significance lived on. The city was able to manifest itself in to a ritual of place names and architecture where people were able to find salvation. The concept and manipulation of the term *Caput Mundi* does not only refer to the power and sway that Rome once held as the head of its empire but also refers to Rome as one of the spiritual and ideological centers of the world. Even after its *physical* fall from power the image and idea of Rome was able to maintain both a metaphorical and literal influence over the known world. While the subject of this thesis has been the representation of Rome in 13th century cartographic examples I believe that I have also suggested a methodology that would also be able to be applied to different

¹⁹¹ O'Loughlin. An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin, p. 33

¹⁹²Ibidem.

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cartographic examples from different cultures and different periods in time in order to better understand the historical influences surround their creation and their culture.

These ideas of Rome displayed in a variety of cartographic examples that remain with us today display not only the needs and desires of the patron or benefactor of these examples but also, and in many ways more importantly, the needs and desires of its audiences. In acknowledging this however, we also acknowledged the idea that cartographic examples can also be manipulated for this purpose. It can be manipulated to show a desired historical, political, religious or social perspective. This can be viewed as a limitation in the analysis of cartographic examples from any time period but through this Thesis I have demonstrated that this is also a valuable source for modern historians to understand these social and cultural aspects at a very raw level. We are able to witness the perspectives of this time period in an honest, yet persuasive way. The image of the world and the elements displayed in cartographic examples are a calculated but as we investigated the foundations of these images we were able to experience how the world was viewed or needed to be viewed during this period of history. In cartographic examples such as the Tabula Peutingerina we are even shown a conscious change or development in the role of locations and how this changes the portrayal of that location. The Tabula Peutingerina's depiction of Rome was changed and developed so that it fit more appropriately with the needs and dialogues of the period in which it was re-produced. This manipulation helped to encourage the viewer to see the world from the perspective that was considered important by the map's patron or benefactor at that period of time.

It is cartography that provides us, as modern viewers trying to better understand historical cultures, with a view of the desires and needs not only of the patron or benefactor of the mappae mundi but also of the world in which it is created. While this Thesis focused on only these three maps from this finite period in time it has also probed a method of analysis that could be applied to any culture or society that is active in the production of cartographic artefacts. The analysis of cartographic examples and their portrayal of the world is an exceedingly important tool in the cultural and social understanding of a society and their peoples. By *reading* cartographic examples we are able to gain, according to Birkholz an indispensable perspective, creating an effective balance between comparative cartographic examples and traditional modes of history.¹⁹³ Smith warns us that the dialogue of history exists by the virtue of its authors, it has no independent existence, however I have demonstrated that

¹⁹³ Birkholz. *The King's Two Maps*, p. 47.

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it is the dialogue of the author that makes these examples so valuable.¹⁹⁴ The analysis of cartography examples allows us to admire what was culturally important and treasured to those who had the means to preserve or promote it in such a visual way. The inclusion or exclusion of places, peoples or monuments speak with equally loud voices. Giraldus of Wales chose not to include Canterbury on his map and instead show his relationship and connection with Rome. This speaks to us not only of Giraldus's personal experiences with the Bishop of Canterbury but also shows the value he places on Rome and the personal importance that he placed on the connection between Rome and the British Isles.

In approaching the study of cartographic examples the idea that an artefact could be considered both transparent or opaque gives the reader a multifaceted approach to the study of cartography. This allows us to filter the data in a more effective manner based on the information we want to receive. The Hereford Mappamundi was an excellent example of the complexity of information a Mappamundi is able to contain. The opaque study of cartography causes us to consider, more objectively, the viewer. While the study of cartography is also the study of the audience this thesis acknowledges the difficulties in doing this. I have presented examples that helped to show the connection of the audience with the map. The Tabula Peutingerina displayed Rome clearly and incredibly pictorially while at the same time showing the Roman Empire to such an extent the audience would be geographically and personally aware of at least an area of the map and be able to consider their relationship with Rome and be able to connect with the Tabula on some level, this is also seen in the inclusion of *Lincolnia* on the Hereford Mappamundi, it was important to show their audiences their place in the world.

There are of course other examples of Medieval cartography that represent Rome the three maps used in this Thesis were chosen both for their differences but also for the similarities and connections. The Tabula Peutinger is an excellent example in showing how cartography can be appropriated or manipulated to emphasise the changing yet preserved relevance of Rome. The two originally Medieval Mappae mundi enabled us to see the relationship both Medieval authors and viewers had with cartographic examples, the invisible evidence they left, and in the case of the Hereford Mappamundi the more tangible evidence left behind. Their complexity and also their simplicity enabled us, even as a modern audience, to be captivated by the position and power held by Rome. While it may have transformed from a military power to a spiritual power Rome still inspired the imagination, passion and commitment of these

¹⁹⁴ Smith, Catherine D. "Why Theory in the History of Cartography." *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996), p. 199

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Mappae mundis' authors. Although the differences in representation are obvious the power and importance of Rome both as an ancient capital and as the spiritual head of Europe still resulted in similar outcomes. Rome being represented as on the top or in the middle but always in a position of power. All three Mappae mundi showed Rome in relation to the world around them and how it was relevant to their audiences' own lives. While this was done through the geographical and cartographical manipulation of space we as an audience are able to see through this forced perspective, the weight and importance of the message within these examples.

I believe that the concepts and considerations that have been presented in this thesis could be applied to a wide variety of different perspectives or cultures. By objectively understanding the historical influences of the time, the connections between locations and why this information or representation was needed we can apply this to any cartographic artefact to gain a deeper social, cultural or religious understanding. The method of this analysis aims to investigate how important elements are portrayed in cartography and how these findings can be used to gain valuable perspective in the social, cultural and historical aspects of different peoples and their societies. While these perspectives in cartography are mainly given through manipulation or emphasis of a location or peoples they are extremely valuable in considering place of these elements and perspectives in society.

As a final consideration McKenzie suggests that a more valid question is to ask when a city is not depicted on a map, and proposes that we should stay away from reading too much in to why certain cities are depicted.¹⁹⁵ While this statement has some truth to it is more efficient approach if there is no available comparable information or examples. I believe that this thesis has proven the opposite. The role of Rome with the Tabula Peutingerina, the Hereford Mappamundi and Giraldus's Map of Europe allows us to see the value in studying how and why cities are depicted in cartography. They provide us with an opaque view, a deeper analysis of exactly what was important, not only to Medieval cultures but ancient cultures as well. Rome, the perfect example of representation that allows us to question deeper the changing and evolving role the city played in history and that she still held the reins of the world.

¹⁹⁵ McKenzie, Stephen. "The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappamundi." *The Hereford World Map*, p. 338

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Appendix

The Three 13th Century Examples



The Tabula Peutingerina

Considering the extreme measurements the Tabula Peutingerina is extremely difficult to display in a Appendix. The above image depicts Rome and part of the Italian Peninsula. For a seamless and interactive view of the Tabula Peutingerina please use the reference bellow.

World Institute for the Study of the Ancient. *Peutinger map*. 2010. 9 October 2014.
<<http://peutinger.atlantides.org/map-a/>>.

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The Hereford Mappamundi

This is a complete view of the Hereford Mappamundi taken from the website of the Hereford Cathedral. This is also an interactive map that allows layers to be stripped of the map. The location of Paris can be found and by looking at the 3D scan of the plan the damage done to the sounding areas of Paris can be seen. The line of the main religious points can also be seen; Jerusalem, Rome and the Gates of Heracles.

Hereford Cathedral. *Hereford Mappa Mundi Exploration*. 2014. (Accessed on 7 June 2016.) <<http://www.themappamundi.co.uk/mappa-mundi/>>.

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Giraldus of Wales's Map of Europe

Giraldus of Wales's Map of Europe appears in his 'Topography of Ireland.' This particular copy from the catalogue at the National Library of Ireland includes a number of marginal illustrations including that of the Norman leader, Hugh de Lacy who had substantial land holdings in Hereford.

Giraldus, Cambrensis. *Topographia Hibernica: Expugnatio Hibernia*. (Accessed on 7 June 2016) <<http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000505800#page/28/mode/1up>>

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Figure 3:
From the Hereford Mappaemundi depicting the British Isles. The Geographical out lay as well as the locations depicted have striking similarities to that of Giraldus of Wales's Map of Europe.

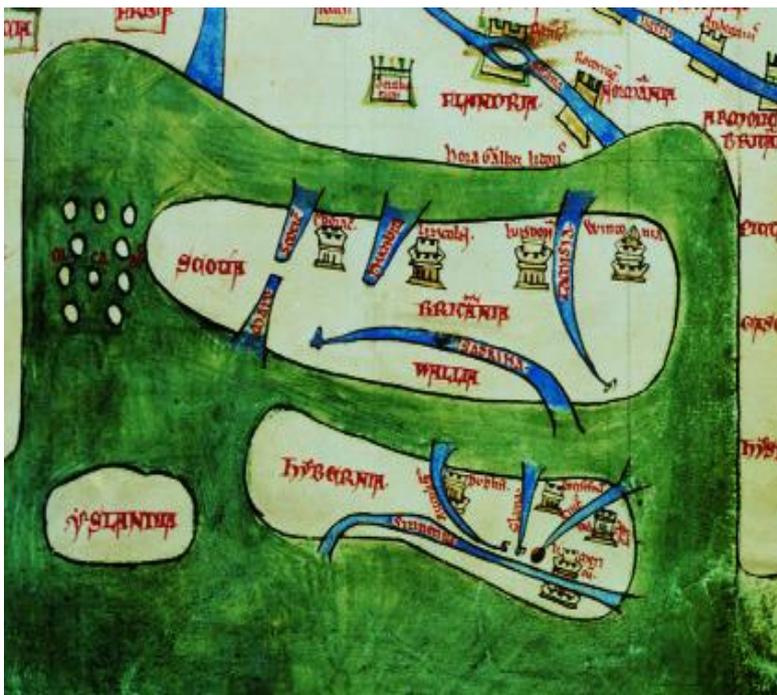


Figure 4:
From Giraldus of Wales's Map of Europe depicting the British Isles. The Geographical out lay as well as the locations depicted have striking similarities to that of The Hereford Mappaemundi.

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**Figure 5:**

Jerusalem, represented by a circular battlemented wall enclosing eight towers or gates, is the place of the crucifixion and the center of the map. The notion of having Jerusalem in the center of the world goes along with Biblical imagery of Jerusalem being the center of the world. Jerusalem at the center of every nation, the focal point of both geography and history. It is around this axis which all the world moves.

**Figure 6:**

Essendones who lived in Scythia followed the custom of devouring the actual corpses of their parents counting it more glorious to be consumed than to suffer the ignominy of decay but were generally viewed in this vision of violence.

Text on the Hereford Mappamundi:

“The Essedones of Scythia live here, whose custom it to accompany their parents’ funeral with songs and having assembled a group of friends, to tear into their parents’ bodies with their teeth and to make a solemn feast of animal meat mixed with human flesh, believing it more honorable to be consumed by each other than by the worms.”¹⁹⁶



¹⁹⁶ Kim M Phillips. *Before Orientalism*, Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2014.

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**Figure 7:**

Jerusalem is represented by its historical name of *Hierosolyma* and also referenced by the name Hadrian gave to the city after its destruction and then reconstruction around the year 135AD, *Aelia Capitolina*. The presence of this name connects Jerusalem to its position as a Roman city while at the same time documenting its historical past. The 'Christianizing' of Jerusalem are also present with references to the location of the Mount of Olives where key events in the life of Jesus occurred.

**Figure 8:**

'Christ in Majesty' showing the wounds of the crucifixion at the top of the Hereford Mappamundi. This image of Christ crowns the Hereford Mappamundi and therefore sits or looks over the world. Standing on the right of Christ an angel holds a cross in one hand and three nails in the other. At Christ's feet is a group of four figures including the Virgin Mary.

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Figure 9:

Illustrations from the 13th century manuscript of *Storie de Troja et de Roma* but copied from the Latin text *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum* written in the first part of the 12th century.

Lions were the common symbol of the city of Rome. Here Roma, *caput mundi* is flanked by two lions and she holds the imperial symbols of the orb and the frond.



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**Figure 10:**

Illustrations from the 13th century manuscript of *Storie de Troja et de Roma* but copied from the Latin text *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum* written in the first part of the 12th century.

Mary Stroll argues that this illustration portrays the triumph of Ecclesia Romana. Lady Roma, dressed in the Byzantine style holds a triparted orb in one hand representing the world and in her other hand she holds a model of the Church. She stands on a crouching Lion on top of a cringing dragon which she is crushing under her feet. According to Stroll the Lion signifies the imperial Romanum.¹⁹⁷

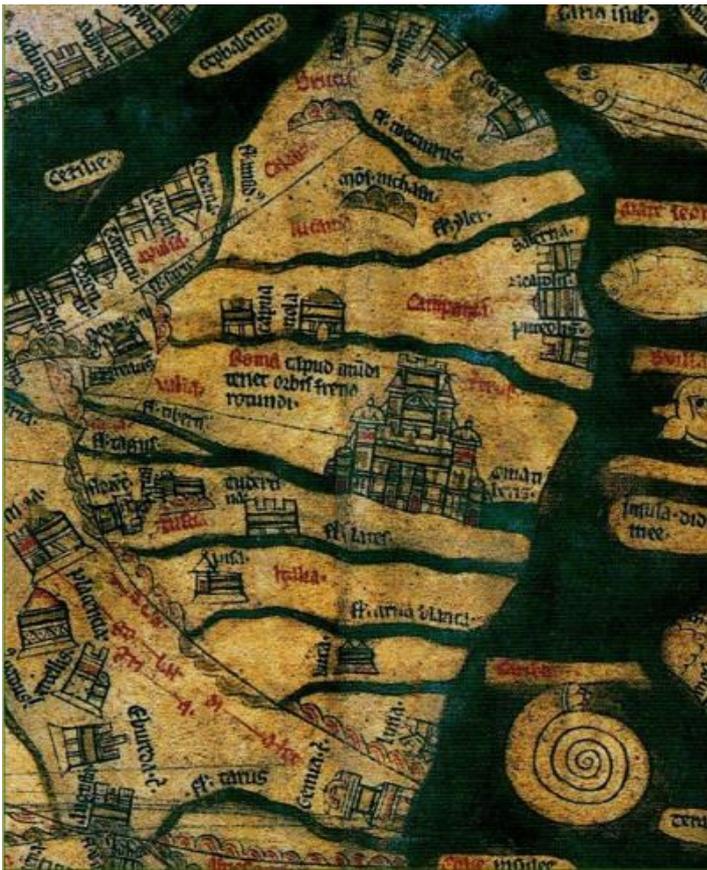
**Figures 11.a and 11.b:**

The representations of Carthage and Milan on the Tabula Peutingerina. These images show the selectiveness of representation by the Patron or creator of the Tabula Peutingerina.

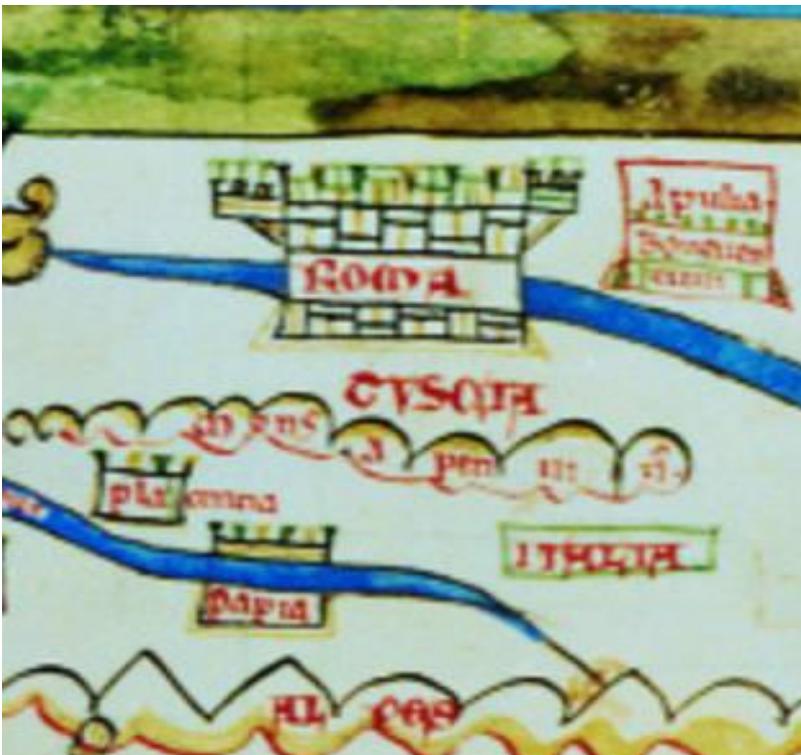
Figure 12.a shows the comparison between the representation of Carthage and the relative size of Ostia the port city of Rome.

¹⁹⁷ Stroll. *Symbols As Power*, p. 13.

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**Figure 12:**

Rome depicted on the Hereford Mappamundi with the text; '*Caput mundi tenet orbis frena.*' Its size and text can clearly be seen here. Rome sits in magnificence astride the Tiber her vignette is big, but not particularly immense on the map: from the attentive attention to the text which would allow the reader to know her position and role.

**Figure 13:**

The depiction of Rome on Giralduus of Wales's Map of Europe. Rome is less obviously exaggerated than the overtly large depiction of the British Isles but the vignette of Rome, with its crenellated box shape is unique on the map. It is nearly twice the size of the next largest city symbols, namely Constantinople and Paris. O'Loughlin argues that these relative sizes are a function of the Roman focus of Latin Christendom and the 'culture of distinctiveness' associated with the Schism of 1053 in which the ecclesiastical and theological disputes between the Orthodox East and Latin West began.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ O'Loughlin. An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin, p. 25.

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