

ZUR EINFÜHRUNG

Klaus Herbers

Anthropologen gehen davon aus, dass Menschen grundsätzlich mobil seien. Die Beiträge dieses Bandes fragen danach, wie sich dies mit bestimmten Konzeptionen verknüpft. Ist die Geschichte des christlichen Pilgerns für den lateinischen Westen zwar relativ gut erforscht, so dürfte der vergleichende Blick auf andere gesellschaftliche und religiöse Konzeptionen jedoch durchaus neue Einblicke bieten. Nachdem das Internationale Kolleg für Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung „Schicksal, Freiheit und Prognose. Bewältigungsstrategien in Ostasien und Europa“ (IKGF) schon einen ersten Anlauf zu diesem Vergleich genommen und die Ergebnisse inzwischen vorgelegt hat¹, konnte mit einer weiteren Tagung das interdisziplinäre Gespräch weiter gefördert werden. Diese Konferenz fand im nordspanischen San Millán de la Cogolla statt, im historischen Ensemble um die 1997 von der UNESCO zum Weltkulturerbe erklärten Klöster San Millán de Yuso und San Millán de Suso. Die Zusammenarbeit von Historikern, Philologen, Sinologen, Indologen und Koreanisten führte aber vor allem in den Diskussionen nicht nur zu einfachen Vergleichen oder Ähnlichkeiten. Vielmehr waren die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer vielfach mit zahlreichen unvergleichbaren Phänomenen konfrontiert. Wenn noch im ersten Band Pilgern im Sinne des Kollegthemas als „Zukunftsvorsorge“ zum Beispiel für das Seelenheil verstanden wurde, dann ließ sich diese Prämisse nach den Diskussionen in San Millán de la Cogolla kaum halten. Geschärft wurde aber der Blick für die besonderen Eigenheiten in den unterschiedlichen Untersuchungsfeldern, der den hier überarbeitet vorliegenden Aufsätzen zugute kam. Leider kann der Band nicht mit den Beiträgen der Indologie und Koreanistik aufwarten, sodass insgesamt die asiatische Tradition in diesem Band weniger differenziert als europäische Entwicklungen verfolgt werden können. Allerdings ist das westliche Asien durchaus prominent vertreten. Dem *genius loci* der Tagung und der Kooperation ist es auch geschuldet, dass die iberische Perspektive einen prominenten Platz einnimmt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KONZEPTIONEN DES PILGERNS – ITINERARE, ORTE UND
PERSONEN

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

Felicitas Schmieder

In the year 1086, in Burgo di Osma one of the early surviving Latin European *mappae mundi* world maps, was painted in a Codex of the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana². This happened on the eve of an age in which *mappae mundi* grew more frequent in Latin Europe. These maps are round or oval and are usually oriented with the East at the “top” of the map (although many of these maps do not stick to one direction, but can be rotated)³. There you can see the terrestrial paradise, a huge square clearly marked with the four rivers known to have their origin in paradise. On the lower left side is Europe, on the lower right Africa, in the upper half Asia. The Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Nile River form a T, which together with the often circular form is responsible for the notion of T-O-maps. Other rivers and towns are more or less frequent on these maps, represented by castle or gate signatures. The Nile is shown close to the Red

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

Sea which is often clearly marked red; to the south, on the right side of the map, many of these maps carry a separate southern continent, often called *terra Australis*, which is – again often – home to the monstrous races on the rim of the world⁴.

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

I will interpret some of the specific features of this relatively early Spanish map in order to explain how to read *mappae mundi* and what we may find in general on *mappae mundi* when we are interested in pilgrimage. I will then take four examples of *mappae mundi* from the later Middle Ages, from a time when the world had become wider for the Latin Europeans⁵ and the mapmakers reacted to this wider knowledge. My perspective is clearly that of medieval Latin Europe, but I will mention world maps that represented the world at a time when Asia, and especially Mongol Asia, had become an important issue among Latin Europeans. I will present the features on these four late medieval maps that relate to pilgrimage, shrines, and worship, first comparing several maps, then interpreting them in the framework of the general message of each individual map. *Mappae mundi* are interesting special sources for the topic of pilgrimage.

In the case of the Osma Beatus, twelve heads with nimbus, each placed on a kind of podium (except for two glancing out of ornate buildings) surround the world (with the exception of the *terra Australis*). The names of the twelve apostles are written close to them, represented by reliquary busts at the places where they preached Christianity and died, and/ or were buried, according to the medieval tradition of the biblical *Actus Apostolorum*. Two of them, Saint Peter of Rome and – no surprise considering the origin of the map – Saint James of Compostela, are represented not by busts but by the shrines where they were buried, which had become or were on the eve of becoming, important places of pilgrimage. Consequently, the purpose of the map has been interpreted as representing a geography of peregrinations⁶.

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

Only a few of the *Beatus* maps show this specific feature; others have different purposes⁷, but it is evident that medieval *mappae mundi* use pilgrimage as an argument to an end or pilgrimage may even be the most important statement the map is making. And little wonder: Pilgrimage can be, when we look at its spatial aspects, memorization of a landscape created by saints. Pilgrims remember the lay of the land by walking through it, tombs, churches, shrines can be considered landmarks that measure and stake the land claimed, not the least through repeated visitation by the Christian community⁸. In the case of the *Osma Beatus*, this claimed land is the whole world, hence the *mappae mundi* was an ideal medium to make this message impressively clear and visible.

At the same time, although actual pilgrimage is referred to, especially in the cases of Peter (and Paul) in Rome and James in Santiago, most of the tombs represented on the map do not refer to actual (Latin Christian) pilgrimage but highlight a more virtual claim. At this point, it is important to look at the context of this map: It is included in a commentary on the Apocalypse of John – and in this context the tombs of the apostles mark not only the places of their martyrdoms but also the places where they were active as missionaries, striving to fulfill Christ's order to go out and preach to all nations⁹ – a task Christianity has to complete before the Second Coming of Christ at the end of all times. On some of the *Beatus* maps, therefore, the tombs of the apostles have a clearly eschatological meaning that fits the book they are included in. They may hint at a future where pilgrimage all over the world is possible, they may express the wish to visit all the apostles' tombs, but at the same time they emphasize the necessity of further world mission.

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

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

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

We can see clearly when looking at the *Osma Beatus* map that *mappae mundi* do not look like modern geographical maps – historians of geography often claim that they are not maps at all. They show clear geographical features, but these are not or little presented in the physical sense we are used to. They clearly and intentionally, however, show the meaning of the features they represent¹⁰ – and this meaning often hints at the past and also at the future. Take the terrestrial paradise: It was created in the very beginning of world history, it became inaccessible but is still there – and it will be re-opened towards the end of the world. *Mappae mundi* represent particularly features from the History of Salvation – they have been called painted world chronicles¹¹ – and therefore they can be properly called Geographies of Salvation. As such, they represent the God-given time of the world between Genesis and the Apocalypse spatially embedded in the physical Earth created by God. This suggests that they were “written” and have to be read like the bible and other texts close to God, following the four *sensus scripturae*, the four senses of the Scripture¹². These four *sensus scripturae* include

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Osma Beatus map shows that the apostles actually reached the whole world as Christ ordered. But the world grew wider for the Latin Europeans during the high and later Middle Ages when they first went on crusade, not least in order to re-claim another important pilgrimage site – Jerusalem – and then used the opportunities the Mongol invasion gave them to travel far into Asia. Around 1300, the first Franciscan archbishop of Beijing, John of Monte Corvino, stated that the country where he was living had never been reached by an apostle or a pupil of an apostle¹³. Others realized that many formerly Christian places had been lost to Latin Christianity over time – now other religions had taken over or other Christians had fulfilled the holy duty of worship and pilgrimage¹⁴. Another possible moral task for Latin Christians sprang from this, regaining not just Jerusalem but the whole world, reestablishing pilgrimage to apostolic sites, and carrying Christian mission even to places far beyond anything ever reached before. It should be no surprise after what has been said above about *mappae mundi* that the mapmakers now used their medium for their own specific interpretations of the wider world, Christianity in it, other religions in it, and so on. It is one proof of the “literal” geographical quality of the *mappae mundi* that their mapmakers struggled to keep up with the discoveries and the changes in the Latin European world view.

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

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

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

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

given as a present to the French king, is today in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris¹⁵. It has an unusual form – hence not called an atlas contemporarily – and consists of eight double sheets 69 x 49 cm. The round or oval shape was given up in favor of a form very stretched in the east-west direction in order to represent the experience of the last hundred years that the world, especially Asia, was much wider than had been considered before. Consequently, the main source mapmakers had for eastern Asia and the Indian Ocean was Marco Polo¹⁶. Similar to Marco, the atlas seems to be much concerned with economic opportunities, but also looks at religious features – and is not yet very interested in what could be found in southern parts of Africa. While Europe is filled with quite detailed information about cities and rivers, Africa and Asia show much wider, less detailed, and more colorful features in a double sense: The rulers and other people as well as the animals are big, bright, and exotic. Unlike the *Osma Beatus* map, and similarly to most of the other maps I discuss, the Mediterranean has a shape that seems realistic to our eyes¹⁷.

The Catalan World Map from the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, with a diameter of more than a meter, was painted in approximately 1450¹⁸. About three generations younger than the Atlas, it took over many features from the Atlas and includes a great deal of information from the Portuguese travels along the African coast in the first half of the 15th century (normally connected with the name of Henry the Navigator¹⁹). Furthermore, it also clearly represents the connections between the west coast and the Indian Ocean. In this context, it shows a southern continent comparable to that on the *Osma Beatus* map.

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

The so-called Genoese World Map²⁰, smaller and stemming from a different tradition of mapmaking than the two previous maps, today in Florence, is of approximately the same date as the Modena map. It shows – in its almond shape – a unique attempt to represent experiences from the length of Asia. The mapmaker is clearly familiar with an old tradition that had just been newly re-discovered: the geography of Claudius Ptolemy²¹. The Indian Ocean is open and seems much more reachable than on Ptolemy's map and the Modena Map. This map, like the next one, has its texts in Latin, while the first two were written in Catalan.

The Velletri or Borgia Map is not clearly dated and named for the places and collections where it is known to have been²². The origin is unknown, but certain features speak of closeness to the Catalan school. Unusually, the map is not painted on parchment but engraved on a metal disc about 65 cm in diameter. None of the four maps has an absolute orientation, since however you hold them some of the texts and images appear upright or lying on their sides, but this last example is clearly oriented to the south (which would normally be considered a typical Arabic feature). This map, probably due to the different technique, is the least similar to the others in portraying the shape of the Mediterranean and other coastlines.

- 20 Biblioteca Nazionale, Portolano 1 = manoscritti.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/?p=1966 (last access 31.8.15); Edward L. STEVENSON (ed.), *Genoese World Map 1457*. Facsimile and critical text incorporating in free translation the studies of Prof. Theobald Fischer revised with the addition of copious notes, New York 1912. Gerda BRUNNLECHNER is preparing a PhD thesis at Hagen on “Die genuesische Weltkarte von 1457”; cf. www.fernuni-hagen.de/geschichte/lgl/promotionsprojekte/weltkarten.shtml (last access 08.06.2016).
- 21 Patrick GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IVE–XVIe siècle) (Terrarum Orbis, 9)*, Turnhout 2009.
- 22 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgiano XVI; transcription of the texts Baron Nils Adolf Erik NORDENSKIÖLD, *Om ett aftryck från XV: de seklet af den i metall graverade världskarta, som förvarats i kardinal Stephan Borgias Museum i Velletri*, *Ymer* 11 (1891), 83–92. Reproduced also in *Das Konstanzer Konzil 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters. Ausstellungskatalog*, Darmstadt 2014, catalogue number 234, 347; fig. 3, 23. Cf. FELICITAS Schmieider, *Anspruch auf christliche Weltherrschaft. Die Velletri-/Borgia-Karte (15. Jh.) in ihrem politischen Kontext*, in: Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER/Martina STERCKEN (eds.), *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Zurich 2012, 253–271.