

/Abstract/ Interest in the well-known so-called oldest medieval map of Rome, a drawing in the *Chronologia Magna* di Paolino Minorita executed in the first half of the fourteenth century, has until now focused mainly on its representation of the historical city itself. This article seeks instead to draw attention to the codicological and theoretical context of the map, i.e. the historical interest of its commissioner in the chronological and topographical order of history. The author, Paolino Minorita, explains in his prologues the values of the *grata pictura* (a compilation of data in chronological order that allows an overview) and the *mapa duplex*, which comprises visual and verbal signs. Seen from this perspective, the map becomes an epistemological instrument of the historiographer and helps us to understand why the first (at least the first known) medieval map of Rome was drawn in this context.

/Keywords/ Medieval maps, Cartography, Historiography, Rome, Paolino Minorita, Epistemology

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Grata pictura and mapa duplex

Paolino Minorita's Late Medieval Map of Rome as an Epistemological Instrument of a Historiographer

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The oldest known post-antique cartography depiction of Rome, produced in the 1320s, was commissioned by Paolino Minorita /Fig. 3b/. This map has achieved marked renown by virtue of its secure dating and its rendering of a cityscape that was uncommonly precise for its time¹. It figures prominently in the compendia on the topography of Rome² and in the art-historical literature on illuminated manuscripts³, and appears virtually without exception in recent books dealing with the cartography of the "Eternal City"⁴. Moreover, it is

the version in the Vat. lat. 1960, fol. 270v. Earlier but reworked by Paolino himself, the version in the *Marciana* is generally regarded as an author's copy. The Paris version contains only a contour drawing of the city walls along with a few other buildings; see below. Assunto Mori, "Le carte geografiche della Cronaca di Fra Paolino Minorita. Carte corografiche d'Italia coeve di Dante e del Petrarca", in *Atti dello VIII Congresso geografico*, vol. II, Florence 1922, which deals mainly with the Roman manuscript and the maps of Italy contained in it, are traced back to a knowledge of Roman antiquity; Walther Holtzmann, "Der älteste mittelalterliche Stadtplan von Rom. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung", *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, xli (1926), pp. 56–65; Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols, Rome 1962, vol. I, cat. no. LXXII, pp. 115–119; we have Holtzmann and Frutaz in particular to thank for the transcription of the difficult-to-read textual insertions. See also *Monumenta cartographica vaticana iussu Pii XII P.M. consilio et opera procuratorum Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, Roberto Almagià ed., Vatican City 1944–1955, vol. I, 4; Silvia Maddalo, *In Figura Romae. Immagini di Roma nel libro medioevale*, Rome 1990, pp. 46–52; Philip Jacks, *The antiquarian and the myth of antiquity. The origins of Rome in Renaissance thought*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 44–51, remarks on a few peculiarities, but does not grapple with interpreting the map as a whole.

1 On Paolino Veneto, see Alberto Ghinato, *Fra Paolino da Venezia, O.F.M. Vescovo di Pozzuoli (1344)*, Roma 1951; Francesca Cecchini, "Paolino Veneto", *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, 1998 [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolino-veneto_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27-Arte-Medievale%29/] [accessed on December 28, 13]. The maps are contained in the copies in the *Biblioteca Marciana* (Venice), Zan. lat. 399, fol. 98r; in the *Biblioteca Vaticana* (Rome), lat. 1960, fol. 270v; as well as in an incomplete form in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris), lat. 4939, fol. 27r. In earlier publications, it is generally the Roman version that appears; meanwhile, the Venetian version is regarded as the author's version and model. The copy in the *Marciana* also contains maps of: Venice, fol. 73; Antioch, fol. 74v; Ferrara and the Po Delta, fol. 98v. The Paris manuscript also contains maps of: the world, fol. 9; the Holy Land and the Nile Delta, fol. 10; a regional map of the Holy Land, fol. 10v–11; Antioch, fol. 98v, Jerusalem, fol. 99; and Acre, fol. 113v. The copy in the Vatican contains maps of: the Po Delta, the world, fol. 264v; Italy (complete, fol. 266v; in two parts 267v–268r).

2 See Heinrich Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, Berlin 1871, vol. II, p. 34 ff.; Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *Piante iconografiche e prospettive di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI*, Rome 1879; with a redrawing of the Roman copy in the maps section and notes in the text volume pp. 81–86 and 139–141; See also Constantin Höfler, *Die deutschen Päpste nach handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen*, Regensburg 1839, pp. 319, 324 ff., with a proposed dating for the manuscript in the *Bibliotheca Marciana*. Known earlier and hence illustrated more frequently is

3 All three versions of the richly illustrated manuscript are dealt with in a monumental essay by Bernd Degenhart and Annegret Schmitt. As experts in illuminated manuscripts, the authors are interested in particular in stylistic and in logistical interrelationships between illumination workshops in Venice, Naples, and Avignon; in the context of high esteem for the fine artist and for the author, they refer to the significance of the maps for geography. To these authors, we owe in particular precise dating and a detailed examination of the interdependencies between the manuscripts, see Bernhard Degenhart, Annegret Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto. Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, xiv (1973), pp. 1–137.

4 See recent works on the topography of Rome, Cesare de Seta, *Roma. Cinque secoli di vedute*, Naples 2006; Steffen Bogen, Felix Thürlemann, *Rom. Eine Stadt in Karten von der Antike bis heute*, Darmstadt 2009, cat. no. 4, pp. 27–32; Lucia Nuti, "Mappe mentali e mappe reali dal Medioevo al Rinascimento", in *Piante di Roma dal Rinascimento ai catasti*, Mario Bevilacqua, Marcello Fagiolo eds, Rome 2012, pp. 97–107, sp. p. 101 ff.; *Idem, Ritratti di città. Visione e memoria tra Medioevo e Settecento*, Venice 1996, chap. IV ("La città in due dimensioni"), pp. 105–110.

widely known that the map is a component of an elaborately fashioned universal history that extends from the creation of the world all the way to the author's own present, one that also, among other things, utilizes a tabular synopsis⁵. And last but not least, research on medieval cartography has been concerned with the treatise *De mapa mundi* (sic), also contained in a number of manuscripts, and with the world maps and maps of Italy contained in it, and in this connection has also investigated Paolino's methodological reflections of the use of maps⁶. In view of this multiplicity of research approaches, it seems astonishing that to date, we find minimal consideration of how these essentially experimental forms of a strongly differentiated tabular and hence graphically processed universal history relate to the inserted maps, nor of the degree to which the map of Rome – one of the oldest surviving medieval city maps – in particular was conceived in this context as a heuristic instrument of history⁷.

My thesis is that such work with charts and maps emerges from a comparable impetus toward the graphic and synoptic depiction of historical data, one that is not just characteristic of the work of Paolino Minorita, but which also shapes a new reading of the map. As a savant who sought to elaborate the history of humankind didactically for preachers in the framework of salvation history⁸, Paolino was explicitly preoccupied with the kinds of knowledge theologians and historians could acquire from maps as a result of the fact that as a two-dimensional registration of places and territories, a map relates items of information to one another that belong to external systems of reference. One main thrust of current discussions within geography is valid as well for Paolino's maps⁹: a map does not simply display the territory to which it apparently refers with such immediacy; instead, it constructs the territory by attributing to it specific features, by mapping certain places while neglecting others. The selection of places and their interrelationship generates a statement that points beyond conventional inventories of knowledge and topographical givens. Accordingly, Paolino's map does not merely depict an existing state of affairs, i.e., Rome in the early fourteenth century¹⁰, but instead – and entirely in keeping with its function as part of a universal history – a city that has evolved over centuries, and for which selected

locales and data convey a distinctive picture of history. The aim of this discussion, then, is to reconstruct the concrete historical function of the map as a heuristic instrument of late medieval historiography.

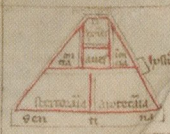
Rome the Chronotope

Rome itself and the map of Rome can be defined as Chronotopes, borrowing the term from literary theory to describe an intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships. Specifically the medieval map renders visible not only "topoi" in space but also in time. To elaborate on this observation the principal reference will be the Venetian version of the map of Rome /Fig. 3b/, regarded as the oldest version, albeit one reworked a number of times by the author¹¹: structuring the urban space, populated by conspicuously oversized monuments, are the city walls, the Tiber, the hills, and the arches of the *Aqua Claudia*, which enter the image obliquely. The most striking feature is its compressed form, for the contours of the city – defined as nearly circular by the Aurelian Walls – are rendered here as an ellipse. Following the medieval convention of orienting at least world maps toward the east, the *Porta Maggiore* to the east is set above. The terrain is defined strikingly by the hills, which are indicated in a powerful red. This specific way of a visual description of mountains – not as pure signs but as a well circumscribed area – is unique in early cartography, for in contrast to hydrographic data, orographic information found its way into maps only quite belatedly – understandably so given the difficulties of the measurement of three-dimensional irregular natural objects¹². All of the gates of the encircling wall are folded outward, and nearly all of the important ones are labeled with inscriptions, with the directions of the external routes toward which they open indicated with abbreviations. Recognizable in the information provided, as well as in some of the lists of monuments found at the margins of the map, is its dependency on lists of *mirabilia*¹³, i.e., on the widely disseminated descriptions

5 Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Beobachtungen zum geographischen Berichtshorizont der lateinischen Weltchronistik", in *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronik*, Martin Wallraff ed., Berlin 2006, pp. 161–178; *Idem*, *Studien zur Universalkartographie des Mittelalters*, Thomas Szabó ed., Göttingen 2008; Bert Roest, *Reading the book of history. Intellectual contexts and educational functions of Franciscan historiography 1226–ca. 1350*, Groningen 1996, chap. 7; *Idem*, "Medieval

- Historiography. About generic constraints and scholarly constructions", in *Aspects of genre and type in pre-modern literary cultures*, Bert Roest, H. L. J. Vansiphout eds, Groningen 1999, 1, pp. 47–57. Worth emphasizing is Gert Melville's essential essay on the graphic visualization of history in late medieval manuscripts, see Gert Melville, "Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt. Beobachtungen zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungsweise", in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbeusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, Hans Patze ed., Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 57–154, or Paolino, p. 57. He is to be thanked for his reference to the "high productivity of late medieval historiographers" (p. 110), which he perceives in the coherency of graphic symbolism, although he is concerned principally with the circles and lines of genealogies, as well as with referential techniques used along margins. On the later development of synoptic fictions of history, see Benjamin Steiner's lucid essay "Historia und Figura. Historische Tabellen und der figurale Sinn in der Geschichte", in *Dynamische Figuren. Gestalten der Zeit im Barock*, Joel B. Lande, Rudolf Schlögl, Robert Suter eds, Freiburg im Breisgau 2013, pp. 241–271.
- 6 The point of departure is provided by the treatise *De mapa mundi*, as well as by uncommonly detailed world maps that reflect Arab knowledge even prior to the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geographia* in the West. Foregrounded in this research alongside Paolino's theoretical remarks on the use of maps is Paolino's collaboration with Marino Sanudo and his knowledge of the maps of Paolo Vesconte. See Degenhart/Schmitt, "Marino und Paolino" (n. 3), 64 ff.; P. D. A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe", in *The history of cartography. Cartography in prehistoric, ancient, and medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, John Brian Harley ed., Chicago 1988, pp. 464–501, sp. p. 481 ff.; Michelina Di Cesare, "Problemi di autografia nei testimoni del *compendium* e della *satirica ystoria* di Paolino Veneto", *Res publica litterarum*, xxx (2007), pp. 39–49; *Idem*, "Il sapere geografico di Boccaccio tra tradizione e innovazione. L'Imago mundi di Paolino Veneto e Pietro Vesconte", in *Boccaccio geografo. Un viaggio nel Mediterraneo tra le città, i giardini e ... il "mondo" di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Roberta Morosini, Andrea Cantile eds, Florence 2010, pp. 67–87; Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Europa um 1320 auf zwei Werken südtalienischer Provenienz. Die Karte zur *Chronologia magna*' des Paulinus Minorita (BnF Lat. 4939)", in *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters. Kartographische Konzepte*, Ingrid Baumgärtner, Hartmut Kugler eds, Berlin 2008, pp. 157–170; Patrick Gautier Dalché, "De la glose à la contemplation. Place et fonction de la carte dans les manuscrits du haut Moyen Âge", in *Testo e immagine nell'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1994, II, pp. 693–771; *Idem*, *Géographie et culture : représentation de l'espace du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Aldershot 1997; Nathalie Bouloux, *Culture et savoirs géographiques en Italie au XIV^e siècle*, Turnhout 2002, pp. 47–63; Margriet Hoogvliet, *Pictura et scriptura. Textes, images et herméneutique des "mappae mundi" (XIII^e – XVI^e siècle)*, Turnhout 2007, pp. 102 ff., 161.
 - 7 Brincken, "Geographischer Berichtshorizont" (n. 5), p. 171, emphasizes the excessively synchronistic systems that register numerous rulers alongside one another, but is however not interested in the map of Rome. Degenhart/Schmitt, "Marino und Paolino" (n. 3), p. 35, refer to the exemplary quality of the "pioneering chronography" for illustrated chronicles, and mention the placement of the maps in text sections (p. 60), but draw no further conclusions from this, instead asserting: "Instead, the two – texts and maps – make statements that are independent of one another, and in such a way that we must assume the parallel development of separate traditions, between which, of course, mutual interdependencies did result" (p. 76 ff.).
 - 8 See the writings of Bert Roest cited in n. 5, as well as Bert Roest, *Franciscan literature of religious instruction before the Council of Trent*, Leiden/Boston 2004.
 - 9 Within the disciplines of history and the cultural sciences, the literature on historical maps has grown exponentially in the context of the spatial turn; referenced here are a few recent anthologies that bring together the most important positions, see *KartenWissen. Territoriale Räume zwischen Bild und Diagramm*, Stephan Günzel, Lars Nowak eds, Wiesbaden 2012, see especially Gyula Pápay, "Kartenwissen – Bildwissen – Diagrammwissen – Raumwissen. Theoretische und historische Reflexionen über die Beziehungen der Karte zu Bild und Diagramm", pp. 45–61; *Herrschaft verorten. Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Ingrid Baumgärtner, Martina Stercken eds, Zürich 2012. See also the essential reflections in Tanja Michalsky, "Karten unter sich. Überlegungen zur Intentionalität geographischer Karten", in *Kurfürstliche Koordinaten. Landvermessung und Herrschaftsvisualisierung um 1600*, Ingrid Baumgärtner ed., Leipzig 2014, pp. 323–343, and *Eadem*, *Projektion und Imagination. Die niederländische Landschaft der Frühen Neuzeit im Diskurs von Geographie und Malerei*, Munich 2011, chap. III.
 - 10 In keeping with a purely topographical interest in the historical development of the city itself, the maps are rarely treated as independent statements, and are instead positioned in relationship to earlier texts or to historical reality. This is subjected to a fundamental critique in Sigrid Weigel, "Text und Topographie der Stadt. Symbole, religiöse Rituale und Kulturtechniken in der europäischen Stadtgeschichte", in *Idem*, *Literatur als Voraussetzung der Kulturgeschichte. Schauplätze von Shakespeare bis Benjamin*, Munich 2004, pp. 248–284, where the author critiques both symbolic readings of historical city maps as well as their reduction to pure representation (she herself however reproduces Paolino's map of Rome from the Vatican Museums (ill. 32, p. 270, without more precise data) as an example of isometry without subjecting it to more precise examination). In his *Rome, Profile of a City*, even Richard Krautheimer – whose studies of Rome represent a milestone in the research – attributes a marked proximity to reality of the map by virtue of its registration of and juxtaposition of a jumble of antique and contemporary buildings, without however specifically problematizing this category (reality) itself. See also Maddalo, *Figura* (n. 2), p. 48: "Sono queste del frate veneziano le prime vere rappresentazioni in pianta della Roma tardo-medioevale, rappresentazioni realistiche ...", or p. 51: "Non contrastano con il realismo della raffigurazione alcune inesattezze che sembrano dovute a difficoltà di organizzazione del discorso grafico, (...)".
 - 11 The sheet measures 46.8 x 33.6 cm; see additional technical data in Frutaz, *Piante* (n. 2), p. 116.
 - 12 For the relatively late survey of mountains in a scientific manner, see Daniel Speich, "Berge von Papier. Die kartographische Vermessung der Schweiz in der Zeit der Bundesstaatsgründung", in *Politische Räume. Stadt und Land in der Frühneuzeit*, Cornelia Jöchner ed., Berlin 2003, pp. 167–183; David Gugerli, Daniel Speich, *Topografien der Nation. Politik, kartografische Ordnung und Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, Zürich 2002.
 - 13 Mentioned below on the left in a legend are the Roman Hills, together with the most important events associated with them, "*De montibus Romae / Tarpeius in quo est Capitolium Virgo / Romolo regnante Tarpeia clipeis Sabinorum est obruta // Caelius hunc Tullius Hostilius urbi adiecit / Aventinus et Janiculus quos Anchus Maius urbi adiecit ... / Janiculum opidum quod Janus ... / Palatinus qui et Quirinalis // Esquilinus qui et Salustius // Bimimalis / Quo Servius rex 6^{us} urbi adiecit*". A nearly identical list is found on the lower left on the map in the Vatican.

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Jonath̄
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Joseph. f. d̄m̄. f. r̄
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Salē edificauit a
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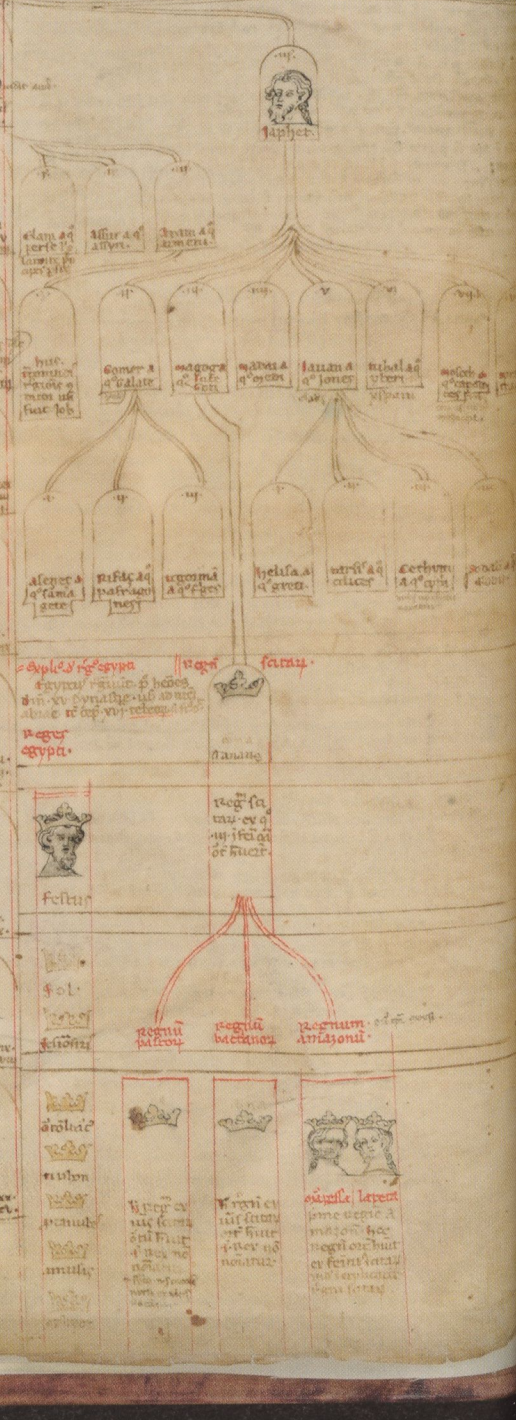


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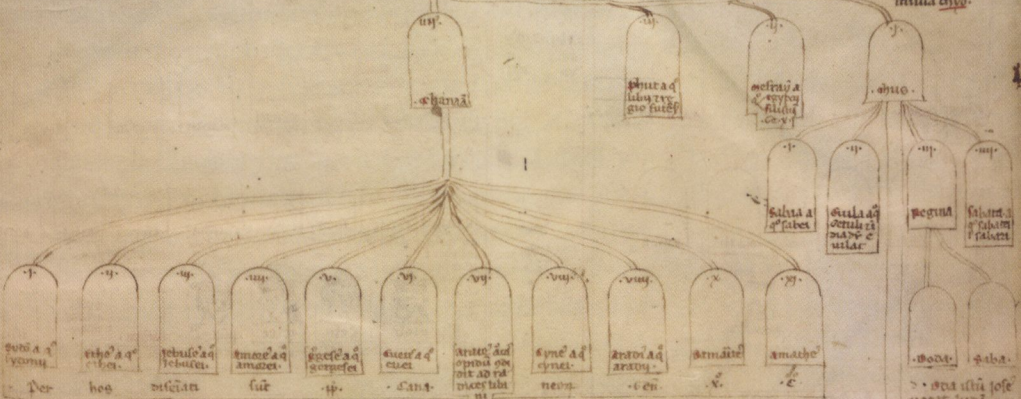


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qua circa die... septim d' adal... ade p' qe gen...

Anusq' pignu' meoana... dicit' fustullu' d' d'...



Explicatio d' regno... aur uice p'ma... illa fuit sine...

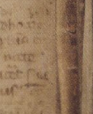
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o' d' p'cedit... r' d' d' d' d' d'...



Exp' d' Auro... p' d' d' d' d' d'...



1/Paulino Minorita, Chronologia magna, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Lat. Z 399 [1600], fol. 2v-3

of the most important ancient and Christian monuments in Rome, which were accessible at the latest beginning in the mid-twelfth century, but were almost certainly compiled earlier¹⁴.

Before the map is reoriented toward the north for the sake of improved legibility by modern users, it should be mentioned that the abbreviated renderings of a number of celebrated architectural monuments seem to take the manuscript's intended direction of reading into consideration; this is true of the *Castel Sant'Angelo*, situated on the lower left directly adjacent to the city wall; of the Pantheon, recognizable through the four façade arches, filled in with black; of the Colosseum, located above it and diagonally to the right, which is shown surmounted by a dome in accordance with the *mirabilia* tradition; parts of the Lateran Palace on the right, at the terminus of the series of arches of the *Aqua Claudia*, which begins strikingly from the fictional apex of the Colosseum; as well as *San Lorenzo*, situated along the uppermost right edge outside of the city walls. Additional textual insertions and abbreviated renderings of façades clearly indicate the presumption of a user who rotates the map in order to gather information on various buildings according to their positions (for example in the directions of streets into which the city gates lead), and who is meant to view façades as well, at least to some extent, as they are actually oriented within the urban space. This is particularly clear with those buildings that are situated around the centrally positioned Forum, about which more shortly.

If we rotate the map clockwise 90 degrees and view it in the orientation this is customary today, the city becomes more easily recognizable with reference to major axes and monuments: based on the inscribed monuments and the spatial relationships between them, we can infer that depicted alongside the Janiculum and Aventine Hills, both difficult to localize, are the Capitoline and the Caelian Hills along the lower edge, along with the others, moving from the top down, namely the Pincian, and alongside one another, the Viminal and Quirinal, along with the Esquiline Hills¹⁵. Astonishingly, the district to the right of this hill, and all the way to the *Porta Lavicana que maior dicitur*, is heavily settled, even though hardly anyone lived there in the fourteenth century. The two city gates to the north, the *Porta*

Pinciana qui est Felicis in Pincis and the *Porta Metronia*, have – like the *Porta Taurina vel Tiburtina vel Sancti Laurentij* – been positioned incorrectly on the basis of erroneous readings¹⁶. Clearly, streets and their buildings have been reduced to a minimum, with schematized monuments, bridges, hills, and gates linked to one another and set ideal-typical fashion at right angles. Exceptional in this regard are the two streets that bifurcate below the *Ponte Sant'Angelo* and lead to the Tiber/directly to the Aventine Hill, as well as the monumental aqueduct along which pilgrims oriented themselves en route from the Colosseum to the Lateran Palace.

On the left, the Tiber snakes along below and past the *Porta Capena vel Sancti Pauli iuxta sepulcrum Remi*, which stands on its head. Here, route designations bundle together the apostle's tomb in *S. Paolo fuori le mura* and the Pyramid of Cestius, then believed to be the tomb of Remus. The river then passes the Aventine Hill on the right, encircles the Tiber Island, and passes the Janiculum Hill on the left before arriving at the Vatican. The church is specially labeled, while the Vatican Obelisk directly above the hill also receives a graphic designation. Then the river turns abruptly at the *Castel Sant'Angelo*, which is depicted as a defensive structure, and exits the urban zone toward the right near the *Porta Pinciana* – itself mistakenly positioned, i.e. too far toward the left – in a curve that is owed to the elliptical, compressed shape of the district as a whole. The area delimited by the river and the *Castel Sant'Angelo*, which lies on the site of the Vatican *Naumachia*, was discovered only in the nineteenth century, and is depicted here as a hunting ground; it takes the form of an antique circus, and the division into courses seems to be specified by the presence of a central horizontal axis (the *spina*).

Two sites are accorded special attention: at the center lies the Forum /Fig. 7/. Not unlike the city walls, the buildings here are oriented in various directions. Enthroned on the left-hand side, and topped leftward toward the Capitoline Hill – which is also tipped over into the vertical in order to orient its front side toward the Forum – is the Senator's Palace. It is identified by an inscription and was erected in this form only during the twelfth century within the classical remains of the Tabularium. As an emblem of the Commune of Rome it lasted briefly during

the twelfth century and is often interpreted as a political statement¹⁷. Inscribed with topographical correctness toward the northwest, and so to speak gazing toward the south, is the *Torre della Milicia*, which the modern viewer is likely to confuse with Trajan's Column by virtue of its location near Trajan's Market and its striking form. Neither column nor market, astonishingly, are actually registered. The *Turris Comitum* too is specifically named, so that two buildings call our attention toward medieval interventions into the urban ensemble. The areal is closed on the right-hand side by the Colosseum, which is tipped over onto its right, while the well-proportioned architecture of the Palatine Hill delimits the complex toward the south.

On the right, below the lowermost hill, the Caelian, is the *Campus Lateranensis*, together with antique monuments that were set up there during the Middle Ages / Fig. 6/¹⁸. These consist of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, regarded during the Middle Ages as representing the Emperor Constantine, and the hand, head, and *sphaira* of a colossal statue, the only antique statues (or fragments thereof) found on the map¹⁹. The Lateran is identified as the former palace of the Emperor Nero, and in order to avoid confusion, there is a reference to another Palace of Nero in the proximity of St Peter's, which is dealt with in Chapter 40, Part 3 of the Chronicle²⁰. Conspicuous here are two properties of this map: the reference to the antique prehistory of the palace complex, which remains explicitly present in the nomenclature, and a linkage between cartographic locations and the corresponding text.

On the whole, the map emerges as a strongly schematized rendering of medieval Rome that – drawing on a knowledge of history and of its monuments – is not consistently correct topography but which favors celebrated buildings disproportionately. Beyond this, it reflects the creation of a structure that relies in part on contemporary topography, but is at the same time so distorted by the adaptation of the historiographical tradition, and at the same time by abstraction and densification, that it can hardly be compared to a modern map, to say nothing of a contemporary one. Therefore I have deliberately decided not to include a modern, “correct” map for purposes of comparison. This densification and

distortion is based on decisions by the drafter of the map that can only be deduced from the context. This context is – to emphasize the point again – a universal history whose innovative conception is indispensable if we are to explain this attempt to represent a specific urban space that has arisen gradually over a period of centuries, and which contains structures that date from various epochs. Even though we know of other medieval maps as for

- 14 The first to refer to dependency on the mirabilia was Holtzmann, “Stadtplan” (n. 2). On the mirabilia, see the standard work by Christian Hülsen, *Mirabilia Romae: Rom Stephan Planck 20. November 1489; ein römisches Pilgerbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts in deutscher Sprache*, Berlin 1925; Cesare D’Onofrio, *Visitiamo Roma mille anni fa. La città dei Mirabilia*, Rome 1988; Dale Kinney, “Mirabiliae urbis Romae”, in *The Classics in the Middle Ages. Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, Aldo S. Bernardo, Saul Levin eds, Binghamton/New York 1990, pp. 207–221; the comprehensive study by Nine Robijntje Miedema, *Die “Mirabilia Romae”. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte*, Tübingen 1996; Maria Accame Lanzillotta, *Contributi sui Mirabilia urbis Romae*, Genoa 1996; Norberto Gramaccini, *Mirabilia. Das Nachleben antiker Statuen vor der Renaissance*, Mainz 1996; as well as a harsh critic critique of the latter by Ingo Herklotz, “Reviews of: Lucilla De Lachenal, *Spolia uso e reimpiego dell’antico dal III al XIV secolo*, Milan, Longanesi, 1995; Norberto Gramaccini, *Mirabilia das Nachleben antiker Statuen vor der Renaissance*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1996; Hugo Brandenburg, *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, München, Hirmer, 1996”, *Journal für Kunstgeschichte*, 11 (1998), pp. 105–116; Gloria Fossi, “Il dotto e il pellegrino di fronte all’Antico. ‘Mirabilia,’ magie e ‘miracole’ della città di Roma”, in *La storia dei giubilei*, Gloria Fossi, Claudio M. Strinati eds, Rome 1997, pp. 104–117; Johannes Grave, “Kunsthistorisch motivierte Antikenverehrung im Hohen Mittelalter? Die Narratio de mirabilibus urbis Rome des Magister Gregorius”, *Filologia Mediolatina*, vi–vii (1999–2000), pp. 279–293; Steffen Diefenbach, “Beobachtungen zum antiken Rom im hohen Mittelalter. Städtische Topographie als Herrschafts- und Erinnerungsraum”, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, xcvi (2002), pp. 40–88; Maria Accame, I “mirabilia urbis Romae”, Rome 2004; Veronika Wiegartz, *Antike Bildwerke im Urteil mittelalterlicher Zeitgenossen*, Weimar 2004; Cristina Nardella, *Il fascino di Roma nel Medioevo. Le “Meraviglie di Roma” di maestro Gregorio*, Rome 2007; Lisa Römer, “Antike Bildwerke in der Romliteratur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit”, in *Abgekupfert. Roms Antiken in den Reproduktionsmedien der frühen Neuzeit*, catalog of the exhibition “Kunstsammlung und Sammlung der Gipsabgüsse”, (Universität Göttingen, October 27, 2013 – February 16, 2014), Manfred Luchterhandt, Lisa Roemer, Johannes Bergemann eds, Petersberg 2013, pp. 43–60; Martin Disselkamp, “Nichts ist, Rom, dir gleich”. *Topographien und Gegenbilder aus dem mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, Ruppolding 2013, pp. 15–41.
- 15 Inscribed in the vicinity of the Viminal is a barrel, which according to Frutaz, *Piante* (n. 2), p. 116, represents a water tank that was destroyed in 1472, and which had supplied the Baths of Diocletian with water since antiquity.
- 16 See Frutaz, *Piante* (n. 2) p. 117, with complete toponomastic data.
- 17 See Gramaccini, *Mirabilia* (n. 14), p. 159 ff.
- 18 See Lucilla de Lachenal, “Il gruppo equestre di Marco Aurelio e il Laterano. Ricerche per una storia della fortuna del monumento dall’età medievale sino al 1538 (parte I)”, *Bollettino d’arte*, vi/61 (1990), pp. 1–51; Veronika Wiegartz, *Antike Bildwerke* (n. 14), pp. 109–121, with a discussion of the earlier literature. She refers in particular to Ingo Herklotz, “Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter”, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, xxii (1985), pp. 2–43.
- 19 See Gramaccini *Mirabilia* (n. 14), p. 150 ff.
- 20 *Palacium Neronis Lateranense. de alio palacio Neronis xl. c. par. III quod fuit supra hospitale sancti Spiritus usque ad sanctum Petrum*, see Holtzmann, “Stadtplan” (n. 2), p. 61.

example those of Jerusalem, Paolino's map of Rome is linked in an extraordinary way to the specific text it belongs to. Before posing additional questions concerning these findings, we must therefore take a detour to explore the forms and intentions of this historiography in order to explain the specifically cartographic procedure through which history is rendered comprehensible and visually intelligible in relation to the logic of the medieval historiographer and his manuscripts themselves.

Ephitoma, Compendium and Satirica ystoria. World Historiography in Text, Chart, and Image

Paolino processed the material of world history in three different forms – and in our context, it is indeed the forms with which we are concerned²¹. In the *Epithoma*, that is to say, a kind of digest, he presents the history of the world in a continuous narrative from its origins until the year 1313, segmented by elaborate chapter divisions and additional subchapters²². Subsequently, probably during the 1320s, he developed a further version of the synoptic *Compendium*²³. Thereafter, he once again framed a chronological presentation with the *Satirica ystoria*, that is to say a mixture of diverse texts, which he however conceived as a supplement to the synopsis²⁴. It is characteristic that all of the three manuscripts that contain the map of Rome also work with a tabular synopsis, so that in sequence, these three manuscripts and their divergent conceptions allow us to hypothesize an intense labor on the visual processing of history.

This procedure is familiar from earlier historiography. In the reception of the historical works of Eusebius of Caesarea from the fourth century, and at the latest since Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (1254), for example with Martin of Troppau, there existed comparable approaches to present historical events and data in synopses²⁵. At the same time, no other medieval author applied such effort to the detailed, planar distribution of the juxtaposition and succession of interrelationships between genealogies of rulers and officeholders, political events and historical authorities, to name only a few of the categories listed in the columns, which even devote considerable space to *contingentia*²⁶.

A brief examination of several double pages will hopefully convey an impression of the complexity and flexibility of this historiographical undertaking:

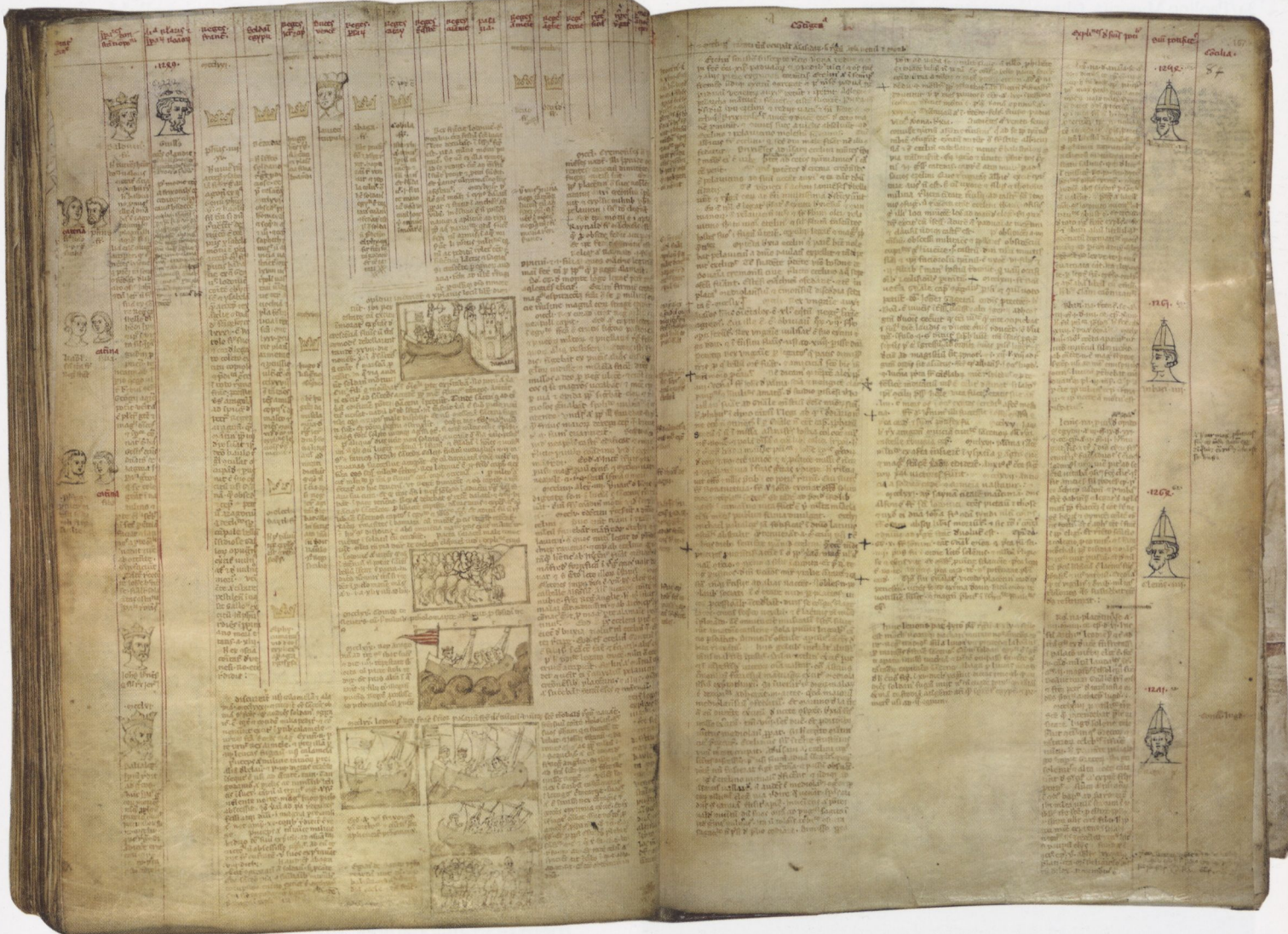
The in all likelihood oldest version of the *Compendium* is configured as a tabular synopsis of world history up to the author's own present, and presents personalities and events in chronological succession from the top down in a shifting number of up to 28 columns. It begins as with Adam and Eve and their progeny, whose relationships are to some extent differentiated into genealogical trees. The very next double page /Fig. 1/ is devoted entirely to Noah and his descendents²⁷. The most important protagonists – alongside key events the main reference points of medieval historiography – are consistently presented in fictive portraits together with their insignia of authority. The pages of the manuscript are structured by additional visual shorthand symbols and scenes – for example a world map with the three parts of the inhabited world in a T-O scheme – in order to generate conciseness for the beholder and to emphasize both events and individuals within the intricate texture of the double pages. As the reader progresses along the timeline, the number of known events (and hence those that must be registered) increases, heightening the urgency of guiding the reader through the profusion of data. This is exemplified here by a double page that compiles events from the mid-thirteenth century /Fig. 2/²⁸. It is framed by the columns devoted to emperors

21 See Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "Entrer dans l'Histoire. Paolino da Venezia et les prologues de ses chroniques universelles", in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge*, cv/1 (1993), pp. 381–442; Bouloux, *Culture et savoirs géographiques* (n. 6), p. 47; di Cesare, *Problemi* (n. 6).

22 The *Epithoma* concludes with the canonization of Pope Celestine in 1313, and is hence datable to ca. 1315. The manuscript is held in Florence, *Biblioteca Ricciardina* 3033 and 3034 (which originally belonged to a single codex), and in the *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* xxi sin 4 und xxi sin 9. A Provençal version is found in the British Museum in London, Egerton 1500, see André Vernet, "Une version provençale de la *Chronologia magna*", *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartres*, civ (1943), pp. 115–136.

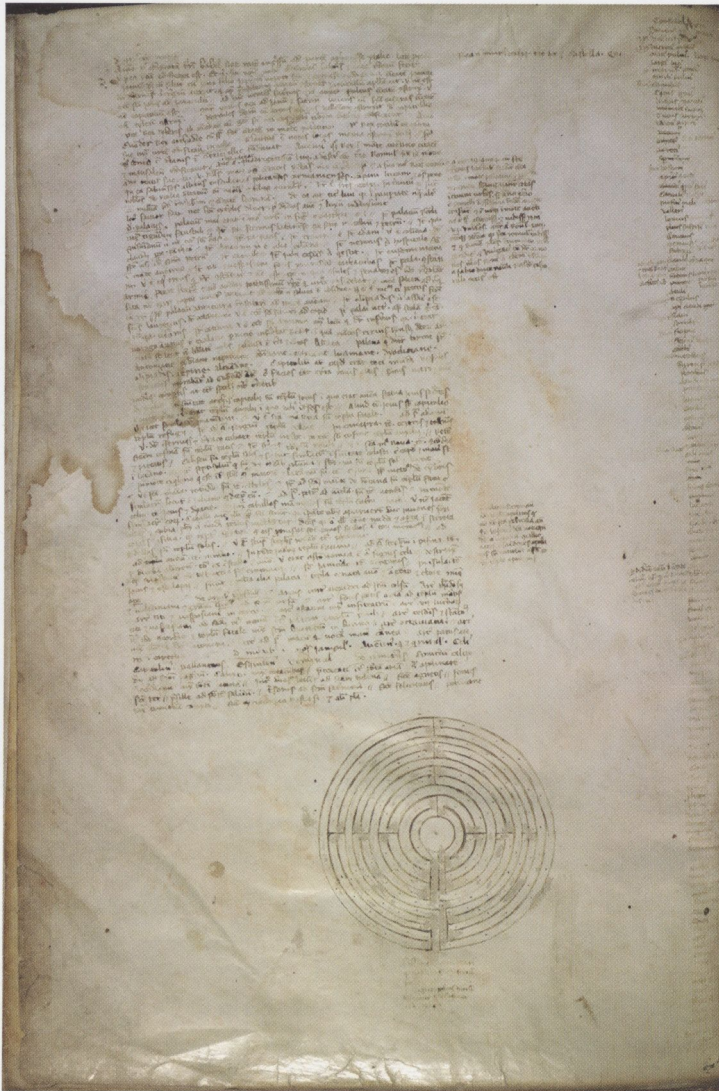
23 Depending upon his location between Venice, his bishopric Pozzuoli (near Naples), and Avignon (the papal court of John xxii), he entrusted work to a number of different workshops of scribes and draftsmen, and held a master version (the Venetian version shown here a number of times) in his possession, see Degenhart/Schmitt, *Marino und Paolino* (n. 3), p. 35 ff.

24 The adjective *satirica* is derived from *satyra*, and means "mixed". This voluminous text is contained in the Roman manuscript, Vat. lat. 1960, fol. 49–263. A further illustrated version is found in the *Biblioteca Malatestiana* in Cesena, s. xi.5, cf. Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "A proposito dell'iconografia del manoscritto s. xi.5 della Biblioteca Malatestiana. Osservazioni sulle scelte e le funzioni iconografiche", in *Libreria Domini. I manoscritti della Biblioteca malatestiana testi e decorazioni*, Fabrizio Lollini [et al.] eds, Bologna 1995, pp. 277–292; David Anderson, "La cronaca



di fra Paolino di Venezia dalla corte di Roberto d'Angiò alla Libreria di S. Francesco di Cesena: copisti e lettori nel s. xi.5," in *Libreria Domini* (n. 24), pp. 265–275; Roest, "Reading the book of history" (n. 5), chap. 7.

- 25 Holtzmann, "Stadtplan" (n. 2), p. 62 refers to Martin von Troppau in particular; See von den Brincken, *Weltchronistik* (n. 5), p. 170; See also Benjamin Steiner, *Die Ordnung der Geschichte*, Cologne/Munich 2008.
- 26 This graphic complexity is presumably also the reason none of these texts have been edited to date, which is why only a manageable number of textual excerpts circulate in the research, and are deployed depending upon specific interests.
- 27 *Marciana*, Zan. Lat 399, fol. 1v-2. The blocked textual insertions deal, among other things, with Noah and the Ark, and on the right with the kingdom of Babylon.
- 28 *Marciana*, Zan. Lat 399, fol 83v-84.



and popes. The left deals with the Emperor Baldwin (1228–1261); found on the right are the dates of the pontificates, ranging from Alexander IV (1254–1261) to Gregory x (1271–1276). Listed in the first line in the category of mentions for merit are King William of Holland, and the Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–1275). Indispensable for an understanding of historical events from Paolino's perspective are genealogically relevant weddings, recognizable here in the pairs of heads that are turned slightly toward one another and linked through multiple generations by delicate lines that flow along the edges of the page. Scenes from the Crusades, which figure prominently throughout the manuscript as a whole²⁹, are illustrated in such a way that protagonists are readily identifiable on the basis of banners or inscriptions, while events are arranged chronologically by means of specially inserted year dates. With extended descriptions and five scenes, the deeds of King Louis IX of France (identified by his golden crown) are accorded much space, including his journey in 1270 during the Seventh Crusade. He is given a scene that shows King James I of Aragon in distress at sea during his journey to Acre in 1269. In the right side, the rubric *contingentia* – which takes up nearly two thirds of the space and is divided into two columns – offers space to describe additional, less spectacular events. The variable layout is used to attach weight to events, at the same time rendering them readily locatable, to fill in spaces in unused but continuing rubrics, and not least, to set protagonists of world history and officeholders in relation to the events of universal history. The flexibility with which these charts can be used is demonstrated by the somewhat more recent Paris manuscript, which begins with an abbreviated version of the *Compendium* in which the entire history is concentrated onto three double pages. The advantages of this procedure are evident /Fig. 4/: here, a noticeably reduced chronological scale is applied to history in a kind of zoom action where a large number of tightly compressed horizontal lines makes possible an overview of a far vaster time period.

It is in particular the form of the *Compendium* – which is employed in those manuscripts that contain the Rome map – that allows us to reconstruct the historiographer's reflective process of shaping his material. He exploits the large format of the

double pages in a genuinely assertive fashion to order data on individuals and events, as well as on dynastic and political relationships in two dimensions. By doing so he processes past events and renders them comprehensible. That this concrete visual nexus of texts, scenes, and icons is far from taken for granted is indicated by the author's own methodological statements.

Grata pictura and mapa duplex. Paolino's Reflections on the Media of Historiography

In a prologue (an unusual feature for this textual genre) that indicates the kind of methodological reflections involved, Paolino explicitly describes the aims of a preoccupation with the verbal and visual forms of historiography that extends all the way to the layout³⁰. He emphasizes that in attempting to comprehend the course of world history, it is a question of grasping particular events in their interrelationships. To render accessible the relationalism in historical processes that was so important to him, he developed a *grata pictura*, i.e. a pleasing – or given the context, perhaps an “appropriate” – presentation or image, together with explications and supplements, allowing that which has already been described in the *Epithoma* or elsewhere to be grasped visually *prompte ac clare*, i.e. quickly and clearly, so to speak “at a glance”³¹.

In the prologue of the later Roman version, which combines synopsis and narrative, Paolino states pointedly that both historiographers (narrators) as well as chronographers (the authors of annals) are doomed to failure because depending upon the system employed, they neglect either the synchronicity of events or individual histories³². Paolino then defines his own task as that of linking narrative and synchronicity, thereby subsuming protagonists, events, and their temporal extension under a larger coherency – meaning in an overarching and ultimate sense, salvation history. This he accomplishes through the grids of lines on individual pages, as well as through the ingenious system of references that consists of year dates and chapter entries that is found throughout the codex. Only in this way is he able to embrace the whole through the interrelationships of particulars, and moreover within a chronological flow.

An overarching comprehension of history, however, also requires the localization of the settings and regions of events – and now, finally, we arrive back at the map itself. In the introduction to *De mapa mundi*, the historian explains that map and text must supplement one another, and specifically that a work of history becomes comprehensible only when accompanied by a world map. Without a map, it is not only difficult, but impossible (“*non tamen difficile quam impossibile*”) to conceive or understand what has been handed down (“*ea, que dicuntur de filiis ac filiis filiorum Noe*”). In the following, this literally means that what is needed is a *mapa duplex* – a map with a double aspect, i.e. composed of image and text. Neither is sufficient on its own, because in the absence of text, the image/drawing (*pictura*) shows kingdoms and provinces only confusedly, while a text unsupported by imagery, in turn, fails to specify the boundaries of provinces and their various

29 See Degenhart/Schmitt, *Marino und Paolino* (n. 3), p. 6, emphasized here in particular is Sanudo's interest in the politics of the Crusades.

30 Also referring to this circumstance is Isabelle Heullant-Donat, “Entrer dans l’Histoire” (n. 21).

31 “*Quemadmodum organici corporis, puta hominis, pulcritudinem, ite et tocius universi decursus, una parte conspecta, nullus capit obtutus, percipit autem si parcium singularem in se conexionem in toto ac proporcionem adinvicem comprehendat. Hunc universi decorem monstrare agrediar brevi compendio (...) grata pictura deducens cum glosarum seu explicacionum brevi adiectione ut que ipse in Epithomate ystoriarum seu ceteri diffuse scriptitare conati sunt prompte ac clare intueri quisque valeat, quasi in semine segetem et arborem radicalem*”, see *Ibidem*, p. 393, n. 44; Di Cesare, “Problemi” (n. 6), p. 40.

32 Adding to the text of the older manuscript, it reads: “*Prestat autem impedimentum scribendi modus: omnium enim ystorias scribentium bipertitus est ordo. Aut enim ystoriographi sunt, rerum ystorias seorsum vel separatim continuantes, sed negligentes earum contemporaneitatem, aut cronographi contra gestarum rerum contemporaneitatem notantes, sed ystoriarum continuationem omicentes, ita ut frequentur difficile sit lectori, una parte ystorie conspecta, consequentem invenire. Sic utrique deficiunt in modo scribendi. Cupientes autem hujusmodi amovere defectus, ut tocius universi decorem clarius monstrare possimus, distinctam per lineas in longum et transversum summam libri premitimus in qua sequencia pene universa conspicimus, sed sicut segetem in radice et arborem in radice*”. See the literal German translation in Melville, “Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt” (n. 5), p. 57; entire citation from Vernet, “Provençale version” (n. 2) p. 119f., n. 3.



In nomine domini Amen
 Hic est planities civitatis Romae
 sicut fuerat in antiquitate
 et sicut est nunc
 et sicut fuerit in futurum
 sub pontificatu
 Gregorij pape pape
 anno dñi millesimo
 quingentesimo
 octavo
 die mensis
 martij

Hic est planities
 civitatis Romae
 sicut fuerat in
 antiquitate et
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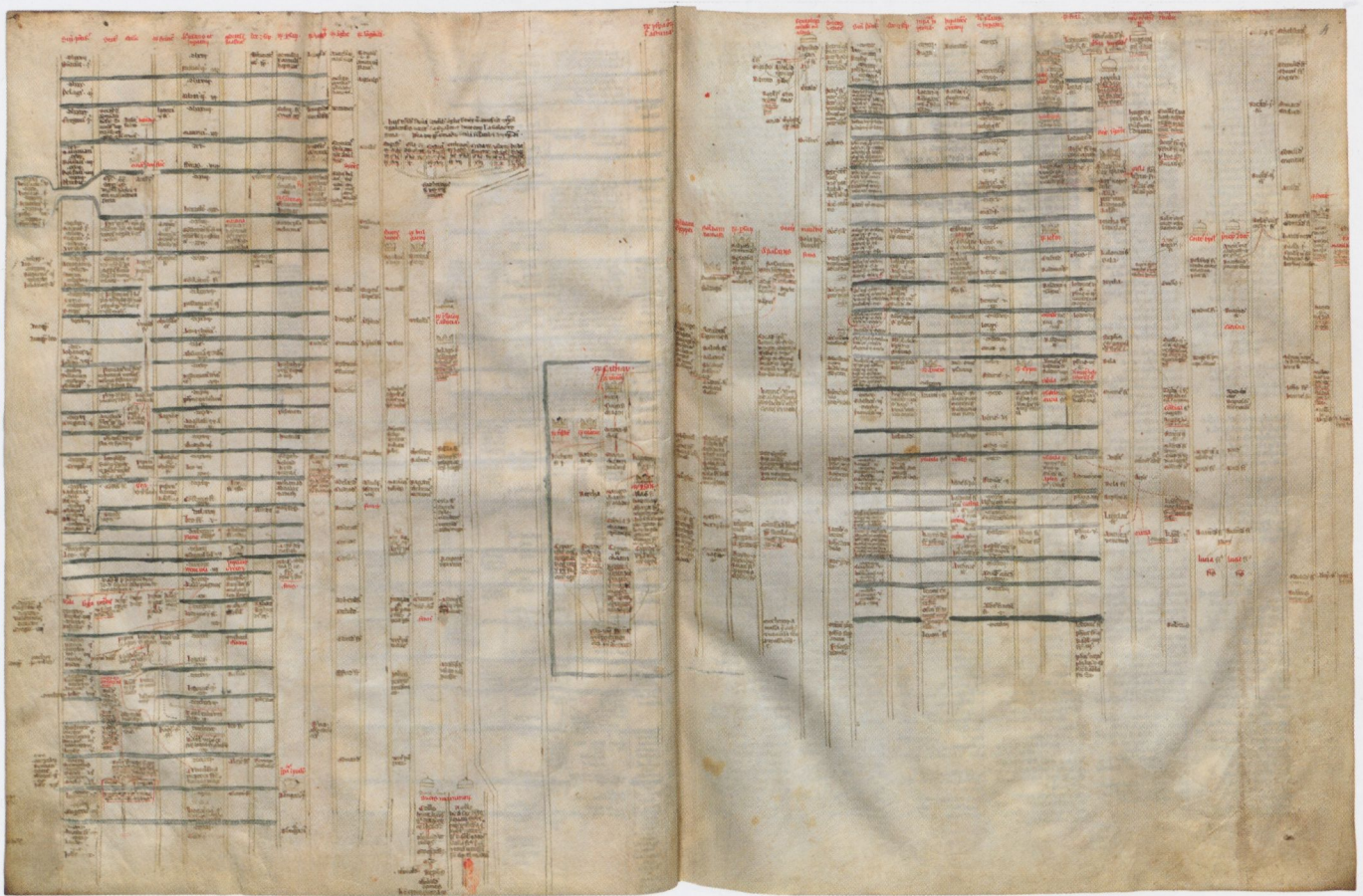
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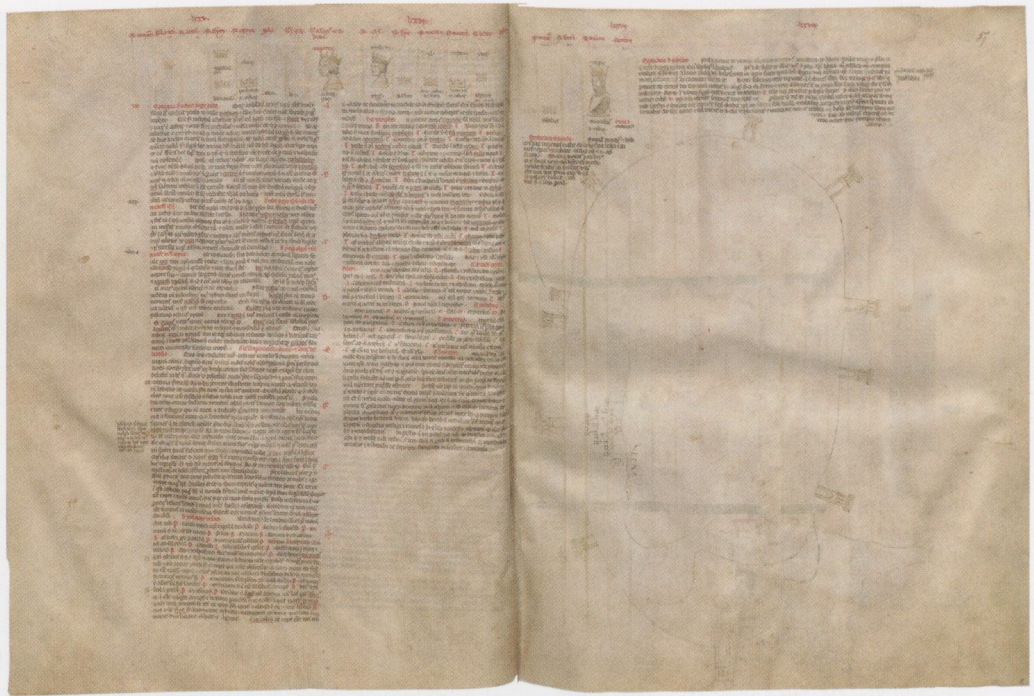




cardinal points so that they can be grasped by the eye (*"ut quasi ad oculum conspici valeant"*)³³. The (world) map (*"pictura hic posita"*) that is appended to the manuscript is said to be composed of several different maps, all consistent with the writings of authorities³⁴. And he closes with the familiar warning that one must exercise great caution in order to prevent the image from being falsified by the draftsman³⁵.

From this, it follows unequivocally that history only becomes comprehensible via maps. Through images, understood here in the broadest sense as visual representations, maps visualize the outlines of locations, while in turn, always requiring the textual identification of that which is represented. Topical in this context is the warning concerning the image's susceptibility to error – which however ought not, it is maintained, to cause us shrink back from new maps, since the procedure of compiling relies upon authorized data, thereby guaranteeing correctness. With these remarks, needless to add, Paolino stands in a long-standing historiographic

tradition. Anna Dorothee von den Brincken has observed that in his critique of maps, Paolino was able to draw on Gervase of Tilbury (1140–1220), who is mentioned in the catalog of authors³⁶. The latter uses topoi of image criticism and rhetoric, from which he borrows, for example, the category of the evidence, that is to say, of "presentness to the eye". At the same time, it would be a mistake to reduce Paolino to this level³⁷. More important are the nuances employed in dealing with the *mappa*, and in general with the *pictura*, that is to say with the instrument a visual representation as a medium of showing and of cognition. The *grata pictura*, by which Paolino means the synopsis with picture inserts, serves to see things *prompte ac clare*; and the *mappa duplex* serves purposes of visualization, and hence of cognition. Exceptional with Paolino is the energy he brought not just to the compilation of texts and maps, but to their reordering and recombination as well, and not least to the fundamental project of a graphic-visual processing of historical knowledge that goes beyond the tabular form,



4/Paolino Minorita, *Chronologia magna*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 4939, fol. 3v-4

5/Paolino Minorita, *Chronologia magna*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 4939, fol. 26v-27

33 "Incipit prologus in mapa mundi cum trifaria orbis divisione. Sine mapa mundi ea, que dicuntur de filiis ac filiis filiorum Noe et que de III^o monarchiis ceterisque regnis atque provinciis tam in divinis quam humanis scripturis, non tamen difficile quam impossibile dixerim ymaginari at mente posse concipere. Requiritur autem mapa duplex, picture ac scripture. Nec unum sine altero putes sufficere, quia picture sine scriptura provincias seu regna confuse demonstrat, scriptura vero non tamen sufficienter sine adminiculo picture provinciarum confinia per varias partes celi sic determinat, ut quasi ad oculum conspici valeant. Pictura autem hic posita ex mapis variis est composita sumptis de exemplaribus, que scripturis actorum concordant illustrium, quos imitatur, videlicet Ysi(dori) in libro *Eth(ymologiarum)*, I(er)o(nimi) de *distancia locorum et hebraicarum questionum*, Hug(onis) de *S. Vic(tore) et Hug(onis) Floriacensis* in sua *ecclesiastica ystoria*, Orosii de *ormesta mundi*, Solini de *mirabilibus mundi*, G(er)on(sii) de *mirabilibus terrarum*, Pomponii Mela de *situ orbis*, Ho[no]rii de *ymagine mundi*, Eusebii, Bede, Iustini, Balderici Dolensis episcopi in *itinerario transmarino et aliorum plurium scribentium maxime de Terre Sancte et circumstantium regnorum Syrie et Egypti, que ad multos passus intelligendos Sacre Scripture necessaria sunt. In quibus studiosissimum doctorem I(er)o(nimum) plurimum laborasse qui legit, intellegit. Quod vero per pictores non vicietur pictura, magna est cautio adhibenda*" (Vat. lat. 1960, fol. 13r), cited from Heullant-Donat, "Entrer dans l'Histoire" (n. 21), pp. 402 ff. and 403 n. 77, see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Quod non vicietur pictura. Die Sorge um das rechte Bild in der Kartographie", in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae historica*, xxxiii (Munich, 16–19 September 1986), Hannover, 1988–1990, pp. 587–599; See also Frutaz, *Piante* (n. 2), p. 118, which refers to the text without discussing the context of the Rome map, and Lucia Nuti, *Cartografie senza carte. Lo spazio urbano descritto dal Medioevo al Rinascimento*, Milan 2008, p. 11: neither transcription is complete, they differ slightly from one another. See also Jürgen Wilke, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, Bielefeld 2001, p. 53. On the treatise "De mapa mundi", see most recently Di Cesare, "Problemi" (n. 6) and *Idem*, "L'Imago mundi di Paolino Veneto" (n. 6). Bouloux, *Cultures et savoirs géographiques* (n. 6), p. 63, cites the slightly varied

Venetian version: "Universi orbis hec descriptio ponitur tam in scriptura quam pictura. Non enim unum sine alio sufficit quia confinia prouinciarum per scripturam ad oculum videri absque figura non potest et figura sine scriptura confuse omnia representat" (9r).

- 34 This exceptional awareness of the compilation is also underscored by Degenhart/Schmitt, "Marino und Paolino" (n. 3), p. 61 ff., which cites the text and supplies references to the authors mentioned there. They also remark on the astonishing fact that Bucharthus de Monte Sion, Jacques de Vitry, and William of Tyre are missing from Paolino's list.
- 35 Thürlemann/Bogen, *Rom* (n. 4), p. 30 also call attention to this passage, but do not employ it in the context of the systematics of the book as a whole, but instead emphasize in particular the map's status as a compilation.
- 36 Brincken, "Sorge um das rechte Bild" (n. 33), pp. 592–594. In Book II of the *Otia Imperialia* (1214), Gervasius nonetheless concludes on the basis of the above-mentioned error-proneness of *picturae* that the draftsman may not append the originals. "Ut autem, oculata fide avidis mentibus et sientibus auribus satisfaciamus, in summa naturalem provinciarum ordinem et situm per tres orbis partes distinctarum in emendatiore pictura subiunximus; considerantes, quod ipsa pictorum varietas mendaces efficit de locorum veritate picturas, quas mappas mundi vulgus nominat. Plerumque enim pictor, ut alias testis, cum de suo addit, partis mendacio totam testimonii seriem decolorat, ut in decretis c.3 q.9 'Pura et simplex.' Nec adscribat lector ignorantiae vel mendacio, quod interdum nomina secus, quam hoc tempore se habent, scribimus, cum nunc antiquitati seruiremus, nunc consuetudini loquentium satisfacere nos oportuerit", from G. W. Leibniz, *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium*, I (1707), cited from Brincken, "Sorge um das rechte Bild" (n. 33), p. 593.
- 37 See the case made for medieval historiography in Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1980; Ulrich Fischer, "InnenWELTEN – zur Konstruktion von Raum in ausgewählten mittelalterlichen Weltkarten", in *Innenwelten vom Mittelalter zur Moderne. Interiorität in Literatur, Bild und Psychologiegeschichte*, Claudia Olk, Anne-Julia Zwierlein eds, Trier 2002, pp. 21–38.

and beyond purely rhetorical, linguistically evoked forms of presentation. Strikingly pronounced here is the confidence and the epistemological potency of charts and maps in the service of the writing of history, both of which imply a gain in knowledge that goes beyond that which is pronounced by the text. Rightly, Paolino can be regarded as a precursor of Abraham Ortelius, who – in the sixteenth century – would apply the dictum of geography as the “eye of history”, not simply in order to promote his atlas, but to pave the way for a broader understanding of cartography as an epistemological instrument of history as well³⁸.

The Maps in the Text

In the Venetian and Roman copies of the universal history, the map is bound in all the way at the end. It is tempting to interpret the labyrinth found on the facing page in the Roman manuscript as a metaphor for Rome, as Felix Thürlemann and Steffen Bogen have done³⁹. No concrete references, however, actually favor this view. Unmistakably bound up with the map, on the other hand, are the entries on the founding of Rome on the left-hand side, and on palaces, temples, and triumphal arches, which function, entirely in the spirit of theoretical explanations, as necessary accompanying *scriptura* and as an ancillary instrument for dealing with the maps. At the extreme upper left, above the map, furthermore, the innovative approach of this depiction of Rome is underscored /Fig. 3b/. There, we read the words “*In Ymagine mundi [Rom]a habet forma leonis*”, a reference to traditional symbolic depictions of the city in the form of a lion, as found on world maps⁴⁰. Found beneath it in Paolino is a rod-like instrument whose inscription, *id est milliare*, allows us to identify it as a measuring stick⁴¹. In this way, the traditional mode of depiction is declared to be a counter model, and is juxtaposed here with something new. With Paolino, things are governed by a yardstick, one that is arguably interpretable – as in later centuries – as a reference to an exceptional exactitude and to measurement in contradistinction to symbolization. Rome is represented here precisely not as *forma*, but instead as a *mapa duplex* that is linked explicitly to the dates found in the text. On the lower left, as mentioned below, the hills (*montes*) are mentioned

again in a list. Below this, two references ‘link’ the mapped locales with the narrative. According to them, the Roman King Numa (ca. 750–672 BC) founded the Capitoline Hill, and Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (ca. 616–578 BC) is mentioned, significantly, for the sake of his contributions to the art of building⁴². Here again, the system of references is displayed in all of its complexity: historical personalities are registered for the sake of their deeds, whose traces reverberate up to the present. Places of memory are preserved in a visually intelligible space. Because the map cannot visualize their historical contexts, we are directed expressly to the text. Only the interconnection of the two results in insight into the formation of the city of Rome as a *figura* of history.

Entirely indebted to medieval conceptions of Rome is a lament that refers to the city’s devastation, characterizing it as an old man who remains standing upright with difficulty, preserving little more dignity than ancient piles of stones and ruins⁴³. This lament transposes the sorrowful experience of the medieval historian – confronted during his own time with an utterly confused cityscape that he can grasp only through a knowledge of history – into a metaphor. Still distant from the celebrated dictum “*Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet*”⁴⁴, according to which the former greatness of Rome could still be gauged from its ruins, the figure of the old man in Paolino stands instead for the infirmities of great old age, and its

38 See here Tanja Michalsky, “Geographie – das Auge der Geschichte. Reflexionen über die Macht der Karten im 16. Jahrhundert”, in *Die Macht der Karten oder: was man mit Karten machen kann*, Freundeskreis der Prof. Dr. Frithjof Voss Stiftung und Georg-Eckert-Institut, Berlin 2009. [<http://www.edumeres.net/urn/urn:nbn:de:0220-2009-0002-091>], (reviewed on March 22, 2014).

39 See Thürlemann/Bogen, Rome (n. 4), cat. no. 4.

40 See for example Thürlemann/Bogen, Rome (n. 4), cat. no. 3. The authors to refer to the text insert, but to not interpret it as an explicit departure from older modes of presentation.

41 A “*milliarus*” is a unit of a thousand, “*milliarium*” is a mile, the unit marked on Roman thoroughfares with milestones. See the inscription and the westerly orientation, Frutaz, *Piante* (n. 2) p. 116.

42 Holtzmann, “Stadtplan” (n. 2), p. 61 examines the reference, but remarks that Cap. 42, 2 “probably [contains] something about Numa, but not that he founded the Capitoline Hill”. This means that he misunderstands the sense of the cartographic entry, where it is a question of the connection between place and name.

43 “*Roma suos cineris vidit sub duce / Breno. Incendium suum moruit sub Alari-ico. Successivos atque cotidianos ruinarum / defectus deplorat. Et more senis decrepiti / vix potest alieni baculo sustentari nil habens honorabilis / vetustatis preter antiquitatem lapidum con-/geriem est vestigia ruinosa. / Ex gestis beati Benedicti antistiti / Canusie dicti quia per Totilam Roma destrueret ait / Roma a gentibus non extermina-/bitur sed tempestatibus cruciscit et turbinibus / ac terremotu fatigata marcescet / in semetipsa*”, from Frutaz, *Piante* (n. 2), p. 118.

44 First documented by Francesco Albertini in 1510 in his *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae & veteris urbis Romae*.



6/Paolino Minorita, Chronologia magna, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Lat. Z 399 [=1600], fol. 98, detail: Campus Lateranensis

7/Paolino Minorita, Chronologia magna, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Lat. Z 399 [=1600], fol. 98, detail: Forum



ruins alone are emphatically incapable of allowing the venerable Rome to rise again: historiography alone can achieve this.

The explicit linking of the Rome map with the course of history becomes even clearer in the Paris manuscript /Fig. 5/. Here, the map – which essentially renders only the fortified perimeter – is not positioned at the end, but instead inserted directly within the synoptic presentation of history, and hence directly linked with information on the founding of Rome in the eighth century BC. Only this explains the textual and image insertions as well. Romulus himself, complete with *explicatio*, is represented on an extraordinarily large scale with knight's armor and crown as the first Roman king, and the Cumaean Sibyl is registered in the column of authorities (*doctores*), and a corresponding explanation is therefore inserted. In the chart, the Kings of Judah are entitled to inclusion in the *linea regularis*. Below this chart – short as a consequence of the minimal data involved – stands an explanation of the founding of Rome; following a reference to the ruins is the familiar list of monuments, whose layout, which features abbreviations such as T for *templum* and A for *arcus*, provides an overview while facilitating the rapid location of individual items. Combined in the layout concretely with the synopsis, the map is revealed here all the more clearly as an epistemological instrument for understanding a centuries-old city. And although it would arguably go too far to discern a still yet-to-be-built Rome in this (in all likelihood not fully completed) version of the city map, it is nonetheless clear that the city in this version has found its special place, also in relation to the work's timeline, and will hence at the same time be understood as a historical construct whose form is indebted to the skill of its occupants and rulers.

Evidently, the cartographic depiction of Rome served Paolino as an example (one with which he was well-acquainted) that allowed him to concretely link and to present places and histories in such a way that they could be so to speak “grasped by the eye”, as he phrases it in the prologue to the *mapa duplex*. The map's integration into the text makes it unmistakable that it was not meant to stand for itself alone, that it speaks to the reader fully only in conjunction with chronology and charts.

The Chart as an Instrument of the Historian

Having originated in the context of the innovative visual didactics of a universal historiographer, the map preserves the material traces of its methodological reflections: *pictura* and *scriptura* are bound up with one other beyond the confines of the map and become productive as complementary media for processes of cognition and representation. The painstaking layout of the double pages in the *Compendium*, through which historical events are interrelated visually, finds its counterpart in the city map that reduces Rome to selected monuments of antiquity and of the recent past together with their most important connecting lines, and in such a way that this convoluted territory is endowed with a meaning that is derivable from history. The selection of monuments is not indebted – as is generally assumed – solely to a reading of the *mirabilia*, but instead to the concrete interests of the author, who emphasizes only those of signal importance to his concerns; it is hardly surprising that figuring prominently alongside the Pantheon and the Colosseum are additional buildings used by the Roman kings, emperors, popes, and the commune.

An interest in the aesthetic processing of the city – understood in premodern terms as a confidence in the cognitive power of perception “at a glance” – guides the procedure of the author, who strives in his charts to display relationships between particular and whole. Because the two-dimensional map is meant to serve as a medium for visualizing structures, Paolino struggles with the topographic data, that he – differently from the columns of his charts – is unable to vary. Only when the striking red of the hills is not dismissed as the incapacity of a medieval draftsman and instead taken seriously as an authentic attempt to highlight the ramifications of the concrete terrain for the shaping of the city does it become comprehensible. It testifies to a reflection on cartographic visualization of three-dimensional space whose boundaries they disclose, while at the same time seeming to transgress them through the varied orientations of the monuments.

Despite its ancillary function for the historian, the map is a work in its own right to the extent that it follows medially defined rules according to which the inscribed locations are accorded meaning not

least of all via scale and relationality. Like images in general, it must not be misunderstood as a medium that permits conclusions about the historical condition of the city itself, but instead one that – as in this late-medieval version – defines the city as a chronotopical entity, as a spatial configuration formed by the sedimentation of history. Governing the map – entirely in contrast to the continuous text of the history book – is the terrain (apparently rendered according to scale), upon which events occurring during various epochs are superimposed on individual topographical places. Accordingly, it is not the metaphor of the labyrinth that ought to be invoked here, but instead that of the palimpsest, since a conspicuous trait of Paolino's map is that erasures and overwriting consistently permit earlier entries to remain visible.

It must be borne in mind that the map displays not fourteenth century Rome, but instead the "mental map" of a fourteenth century historian. Rome is conceptualized against the background of Paolino's own experience – which is also reflected in the above-cited, topical lament on Rome – in the following ways: in its antique dimensions, with later alterations, with places of memory *avant la lettre*, saturated with history, complicated by the hills, but nonetheless as a unity that is achievable only by a scholar faced with the contemporary jumble of ancient ruins and modern buildings. And as successfully as the present-day visitor to Rome grasps the problem of the chaotic simultaneity of the non-contemporaneous, this is by no means an ahistorical phenomenon. In order to understand the map in its specific expressive force, it is necessary to envision the historically conditioned alterity of a design whose order is governed by a medieval image of history within which Rome is clearly accorded a pivotal role for any understanding of world history. The question of why this should be so must remain the topic of a future research project.

The aim of this essay has been to explain Paolino Minorita's map of Rome in relation to the universal historiographical enterprise of its author, and consequently in relation to its concrete codicological and medial function as an epistemological instrument for a historian, and hence to reconnect it to that model of explanation that is graspable in relation

to Paolino's interest in the relationalism of data and in the apparent overwriting and resemantization of historical places in the course of the chronology. The focus has been on parallels and links between the visual-graphic processing of historical data in the charts and the map, with the intention of shifting into the foreground the epistemological potential of the medieval map upon which the author reflected. Beyond that a major goal has been to liberate the map from its role as a more-or-less successful representation of a pre-existing space, to establish it instead as an emphatic statement about (not just Roman) history.

Only once we have taken seriously these findings in the history of media, only when we credit the map with a specifically world-historical formulation of knowledge, when we avoid reducing it to a compilation of the familiar – which meanwhile can hardly be verified absent knowledge of possible prototypes – do additional questions concerning the interpretation of this extraordinary map emerge against the concrete historical background of its origins: Why is Rome accorded such priority within the manuscript at a moment when it has long since ceased to be regarded as the hub of the universe, and when the popes resided in Avignon? Why is Jerusalem accorded less attention, at least in the medium of the map? Is the Capitoline Hill with the Senator's Palace readable as a political place? Do the inscribed streets visualize the itineraries of specific groups (such as pilgrims) or processional routes (for example between the Vatican and the Lateran Palace)? Does Paolino's connection with the court of King Robert of Anjou in Naples play a decisive role⁴⁵? Answers to these questions would

45 We know that Paolino was closely connected to the court, but it cannot be documented that we are dealing with a work commissioned by Roberts of Anjou; see Heullant-Donat, "Entrer dans l'Histoire" (n. 21), 390 ff.; Degenhart/Schmitt, "Marino und Paolino" (n. 3), p. 84, refers in particular concerning the maps of Italy in the Vatican manuscript to the Angevin court, where Petrarch and King Robert are said to have sketched out a map project. This hypothesis rests on a reference found in Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata: Nam pictura Italiae quam in primis sequimur, Roberti regis Siciliae et Francisci Petrarcae eius amicus opus, Vicuentiam Vicueriamque et Conam vicos profluenti Pado appositos habet*, cited from Flavio Biondo: *Italy illuminated*, Jeffrey A. White ed. and trans., Cambridge MA 2005, p. 342. A Provençal version preserved today in Cesena appears to have been owned by Robert von Anjou; Anderson, "Cronaca" (n. 24), see also Vernet, *Version provençale* (n. 22), includes a translation of the Epithoma.

require an investigation of far greater scope. Such an undertaking would mean having recourse to the unedited texts of Paolino's entire History, aligning them with other versions of contemporary historiography, and beyond that, submitting the other city plans contained in the manuscripts to a structural comparison, thereby investigating – very much in Paolino's spirit – the relationship between particular and whole. At this point, it is only possible to lay the foundation for such an endeavor.

Summary/*Grata pictura a mapa duplex.* Pozdně středověká mapa Říma jako epistemologický nástroj historiohrafy

Ve více exemplářích *Univerzálních dějin* od Paolina Minority z první poloviny 14. století se nám dochovaly mimořádně detailní mapy Říma, které jsou v odborných kruzích sice dobře známy, ale dodnes se na ně pohlíželo především jako na vizualizaci literatury o Dívce města Říma (*Mirabilia Urbis Romae*), případně jako na více či méně přesné znázornění tehdejšího Říma. Naproti tomu tento příspěvek se zabývá otázkou, jakou funkci tyto mapy plnily a jak bychom je v kontextu tohoto konkrétního pojetí měli číst a chápat. Výchozím bodem našich úvah je skutečnost, že se tyto mapy dochovaly pouze v těch Paolinových historických pracích, které nezpracovávají historická data jednoduše tak, jak šla za sebou, nýbrž v různorodější synopsi. Tato synopse umožňuje autorovi nabídnout přehled o událostech a osobách (především císařích a papežích, ale také o genealogicky relevantních svatbách dalších členů panovnického rodu), které spojují stejné historické události na různých místech. Podle autorky je vztah mezi těmito daty společný synopsi i mapě,

což vysvětluje na 14. století neobvyklý zájem historiohrafy o mapu Říma. Řím není jenom *chronotopos* s jednotlivými místy, na kterých se usazují výjimečně dlouhé dějiny. Řím musel ve středověku každému připadat spíše jako těžko přehledný palimpsest, kterému bylo možno porozumět pouze skrze dějiny. Proto Paolino mapu ojedinele opatřil odkazy na kapitolu své knihy. Oba výrazy citované v nadpise tohoto příspěvku, tedy „*grata pictura*“ a „*mapa duplex*“ pochází z autorova prologu. Tady vysvětluje, že pouze vhodný obraz umožňuje rozumět dějinám „*prompte ac clare*“, tedy rychle a jasně, takřka „jedním pohledem“. Tím je právě míněna synopse. „*Mapa duplex*“, kterou vysvětluje v prologu k mapě světa, sloužila také k tomu, aby člověk správně pochopil dějiny, protože bez nich by bylo nejenom obtížné, ale skoro nemožné pochopit předávaná fakta. Spojíme-li teoretické úvahy Paolina s jeho konkrétním zacházením se synopsí a mapami, ukáže se, že mapy Říma nejsou pouze ilustracemi komplexního obrazu města, ale že to jsou řádné vědecké nástroje poznání.