MAPPING EMPIRE: TWO WORLD MAPS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

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Introduction

Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans during the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, produced a poem about a magnificent table map (Carmen 47), which states: 'Totius orbis adest breviter depicta figura, | Rem magnam in parvo corpore nosse dabit' (Here is the figure of the entire world depicted succinctly and it will allow you to know a great thing in a small body) (ll. 49–50).[1] As Patrick Gautier Dalché observes, 'le Moyen Age a laissé une profusion de mappemondes, mais guère de textes qui puissent nous renseigner sur leur fabrication, leur perception et leur usage' (the Middle Ages left a profusion of world maps, but hardly any texts which can inform us about their manufacture, their perception, and their use), which makes Theodulf's poem especially valuable.[2] Theodulf's words offer an insight into the importance of cartography as both powerful transmitter of knowledge and reflection of status; his edifying table map, whether real or imagined, reveals a tradition of exploiting the spiritual and temporal value of displaying images of the world in Carolingia. Across the Channel in what is now England, in the succeeding centuries, world maps were produced with a similar aim to communicate more than geography. The most complex surviving examples of early medieval English cartography exhibit a tendency towards innovation and an independence from their manuscripts' other contents that potentially frustrates analysis of how they were

[1] *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. by Dümmler, p. 548. Translation, 'The Poetry of Theodulf of Orleans', trans. by Alexandrenko, p. 270.
[2] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 693.

employed. Yet, by examining both what they represent and how they represent it, alongside scholarly insights on the Carolingian practice which they emulate, a picture of their manufacture, perception, and use emerges. This chapter focusses on two world maps preserved in an eleventh-century codex, London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B V, in order to consider what great things these succinct representations of the world enabled their audience to know.

The maps in Tiberius B V offer both a view of the world and an insight into the early medieval world view. The manuscript, which was probably produced at Canterbury around 1025–50, contains both a zonal map of the globe (Fig. 1) and a detailed map of the oikumene (Fig. 2), the inhabited temperate zone of the northern hemisphere. A map of the heavens was also present but is now lost. The two world maps are both distinctive, suggesting an innovative engagement with mapmaking in England in this period.[3] By examining the Tiberius B V maps in dialogue with the surviving corpus of early medieval English maps, and examples from the Carolingian centres on which they evidently depend, they can be placed in a broader cartographic context. In early medieval Francia, as Theodulf's writing shows, large-scale map making was political, educational and/or spiritual — often all three concerns can be seen as shaping the production and reception of cartography. This chapter argues that the same is also true of these two English manuscript maps, and their interest in urban space and the translation of imperial power from east to west is examined to highlight the ambition, and limitations, that they invite people to contemplate in visual form.

To Know A Great Thing in a Small Body

[3] McGurk 'The Macrobian Zonal Map', pp. 65–66; Edson, 'World Maps and Easter Tables', p. 35; Hiatt, 'The Map of Macrobius before 1100', p. 170 n. 46. On the way both Tiberius B V maps problematize standard schemes, see Edson, 'Isidore, Orosius, and the Medieval Image', p. 220 n. 5.

Perhaps the most famous owner and user of cartography in early medieval Europe was Charlemagne, who, according to his biographer Einhard, possessed metallic maps of Constantinople, Rome, and the whole universe (*Vita Karoli Magni* XXXIII).[4] These maps, which the emperor bequeathed in his will, are an evident statement of imperial power.[5] Possession of a map indicted that one assumed knowledge and by extension some control over the area depicted; the precious materials and artistic skill used to render the image only served to increase the owner's prestige. Cartography is obviously and easily connected with imperialism, yet in early medieval Europe it is most often found being produced and used in religious contexts. Church and empire obviously intersect, but their interpretation of cartography differs; Charlemagne's maps are a statement of worldly power, but for Theodulf a map is a statement that worldly power is temporally limited. Carmen 47 describes how the map could be a tool for perceiving greatness, but also that greatness passes. The poem connects the seats of worldly and ecclesiastical power with the fixed seat of the earth — and by implication the seats around the table. The result is a playful, yet pointed musing on impermanence:[6]

> Per sedes etiam mundi signantur honores,
>
> Perpetuo quod eos nemo habiturus adit.
>
> Alter in alterius gaudet residere cathedra,
>
> Hic sedet, hic sedit, hic it, et ille redit. (27–30)[7]

[4] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. by Holder-Egger and Pertz, p. 40.
[5] See also Albu, 'Imperial Geography and the Mediaeval Peutinger Map', pp. 139–40.
[6] Theodulf's Carmina 46 and 47 are discussed by Kupfer: 'Medieval World Maps', pp. 265–67. On the identification of the subject as a map see Vidier, 'La mappemonde de Théodulfe et la mappemonde de Ripoll (IX^{e}– XI^{e} siècle)'.
[7] *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. Dümmler, p. 548.

> [The honours of the world are signified by the seat also, because none will have them eternally. One rejoices to sit in the seat of another: this one sits, this one sat; this one goes, and that one returns.][8]

Theodulf's polyptoton suggests rule is rather like a game of musical chairs. The synchronic view of time provided by the map shows the movement of human power by affording the viewer a God-like perspective. The map's fabulous materiality conveys not only status, but also worldliness. This table map, from which guests derive both physical and spiritual sustenance, may be entirely imagined, but it offers a useful insight into what the uniquely distanced perspective afforded by a map could communicate about the magnificence and mutability of the world. Could this be how the maps are to be read in Tiberius B V? Gautier Dalché has persuasively argued that the ability of cartography to replicate the perspective of a divine vision was key to its popularity in the high medieval period, as, especially in a manuscript context, it allowed the viewer to occupy a position like that of the enlightened soul beholding the world from above, as in the vision of Benedict in Gregory's *Dialogues*.[9] Whilst Gautier Dalché suggests that this way of using cartography in a manuscript, as opposed to on a wall, as a contemplative tool flourished from the twelfth-century, he acknowledges that earlier examples of codex maps with evident contemplative function exist, and that the fragmentary nature of the corpus makes assessing trends difficult. The two Tiberius maps, with their evident focus on synchronous representations of human power alongside geographical information, and notable independence of the manuscript's other contents, show that the contemplative potential of manuscript cartography was understood and exploited in eleventh-century England.

[8] 'The Poetry of Theodulf of Orleans', trans. by Alexandrenko, p. 269.
[9] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', esp. pp. 753–57.

The two Tiberius B V world maps are not the only world maps surviving from early medieval England. Loredana Teresi has produced a provisional survey of the corpus which identifies some twenty-four items.[10] Given the limited survival of manuscripts this number of maps suggests cartographic images were relatively readily available in English intellectual centres. All twenty-four of the maps Teresi lists are the product of monastic scriptoria, most are schematic, and many are relatively conventional, occurring in copies of texts with an established tradition of cartographic illustration, such as Isidore's *De natura rerum.* This is to be expected of early medieval Cartography, as maps, as part of broader geographical and historical knowledge, were, alongside the seven liberal arts, core to monastic education. In his *Institutiones* (I.XXV.1–2) Cassiodorus famously encourages monks to make a study of the world so that they can understand scriptural geography and travel with their minds to holy places that they cannot and should not physically reach.[11] The geography which Cassiodorus recommends is not focused specifically on the locations of holy places; the recommended works are much more general. Evidently a broad knowledge of the world was to be encouraged, allowing sacred places to imagined in a wider context and the wonder of creation to be appreciated. As Gautier Dalché notes in his discussion of this passage, there is, for Cassiodorus, a difference in nature and utility between text and map, and the map is subordinated to the textual geographies.[12] This is the relationship between text and map that we expect to see in manuscript in the early medieval period, and it holds true for the majority of the English examples that Teresi identifies. Yet, as Teresi also highlights, there are some innovative items from the eleventh century where the relationship of priority between text and image shifts.

[10] Teresi, 'Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman "Mappaemundi"'.
[11] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. by Mynors, p. 66; Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning; and, On the Soul*, trans. by Halporn, pp. 157–58.
[12] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 696.

A small group of maps found in English manuscripts present a notable development of the classic T-O design to incorporate a more obviously spiritual element, presenting the world as dominated by God's power. These English maps follow the general trend towards high-medieval cartography as independent contemplative tool that Gautier Dalché shows in a distinctive way. T-O maps schematically represent the three continents of the northern hemisphere surrounded by the O-shaped world ocean and trisected by T-shaped sea. Oxford, St John's College, MS 17 (*c*. 1110, Thorney, 6r) and British Library, MS Harley 3667 (s.xii$^{2/4}$, Peterborough, 8v) both contain diagrammatic T-O maps which are unusual in listing cities, often rather inaccurately located, in the three continents and in having Jerusalem written in large letters across the crossbar of the T; Teresi terms this unique design the 'Jerusalem T-O map'.[13] Much of the legend on these maps is biblical, and Greek and Latin names are used for the cardinal directions to achieve the word 'ADAM' encircling the world, as in Byrhtferth's diagram which accompanies the map in both manuscripts.[14] Clearly, the originator of this design, who Martin Foys suggest was in the school of Byrhtferth, desired to fuse catalogue-like information on cities with a schematic representation of the world to create profound spiritual meaning.[15] Cartographic tradition is being adapted to communicate more effectively a particular perspective on the world to these manuscripts' monastic readers.

The St John's and Harley manuscripts are both *computus* compilations containing other texts and diagrams that spread the same kind of spiritual and geographical knowledge that their T-O maps convey. In this context the cartography is an obvious complement to other kinds of geographical, computistical, and spiritual information. However, there is a third copy of this map in a slightly different context which shows the map operating entirely independently of relevant texts and suggests that manuscript cartography, like larger wall

[13] These maps' puzzling layout is discussed by Teresi: 'Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman "Mappaemundi", pp. 353–54.
[14] Edson, 'World Maps and Easter Tables' p. 37; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, pp. 86–93.
[15] Foys, 'An Unfinished *mappa mundi* from Late-Eleventh-Century Worcester'.

maps, was being valued for its ability, as Theodulf noted, to communicate a great deal of information in a small space. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 (Worcester, s.xi[2]) contains an unfinished *mappa mundi* on p. 210 which belongs to the same family as the maps in the St John's and Harley manuscripts. Martin Foys suggests this map was added to an originally blank leaf *c*. 1090, showing that the original template for these maps was from pre-Conquest England.[16] This map's place in the Corpus manuscript is intriguing; MS 265 is not in any way a *computus* manuscript: it is a copy of Wulfstan's Commonplace Book.[17] The unfinished map occurs apparently incongruously between *formulae* for excommunication and blessing; Teresi suggests its lack of relation to the other manuscript contents may be why it remained unfinished, but the fact it was begun in the first place is revealing.[18] The presence of the map in a book primarily consisting, as Dorothy Bethurum notes, of 'entries relating to the affairs of a bishop', suggest that whoever began it thought it of utility to the book's users.[19] The map clearly does not have the practical quality of the principal texts, such as the penitentials, or other small contemporary additions such as *formulae*, but it does convey in an instant something about the nature of the world, with as Edson notes, a strongly spiritual inflection.[20] Corpus 265 seems to be using this map as a contemplative tool rather than for geographical information. The map, had it been complete, would have provided a valuable aid to reflection on the nature of the world for busy bishops; with a map, 'Rem magnam in parvo corpore nosse dabit' (it will allow you to know a great thing in a small body), as if receiving a vision, as Bishop Theodulf noted. The aborted copying of a world map into Corpus 265 shows that in England in this period maps were thought of as carrying

[16] Foys, 'An Unfinished *mappa mundi* from Late-Eleventh-Century Worcester', p. 272. Only a small part of Asia Minor has been inked, but drypoint marks reveal that the map was planned to be more ornate in design than either of the surviving complete examples.
[17] On its relation to the other manuscripts: Sauer, 'The Transmission and Structure of Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"'.
[18] Teresi, 'Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman "Mappaemundi"', p. 355
[19] Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', p. 916.
[20] Edson, 'World Maps and Easter Tables', pp. 35–37; Edson, *Mapping Space and Time*, pp. 87–90

independent meaning, and as contributing to the effect of a volume in their own right, rather than simply as aids to understanding other texts. This insight shapes how we should read the two maps in Tiberius B V which, although complementing several other geographical items in the volume, present a distinct way of interpreting the world in their own right.

The Maps of Tiberius B V

The two Tiberius B V maps, like the Jerusalem T-O maps discussed above, reshape existing cartographic templates to create a new emphasis that shapes their viewers' understanding of the word. Rather than adding imagery that presents an explicitly spiritual interpretation, the Tiberius B V maps focus on empires and shifts in human power: their spiritual meaning is implied. The two maps connect physical geography with urban space to offer a narrative of transition, of the movement of empire from east to west, reflecting the manuscript's broader interest in human power and history alongside scientific information. Tiberius B V was produced around 1025–50, during the reign of Canute or his successors, possibly in Canterbury, although much of the material has an evident Glastonbury provenance.[21] Tiberius B V is a rather beautifully illuminated volume containing computistical, astronomical, genealogical, regnal and geographical material in Latin and Old English. The principal surviving original contents in their current ordering, are as follows:

Ff. 2r–19r: A computistical miscellany including the labours of the months and a Metrical Calendar

Ff. 19v–22r: lists of popes, Roman emperors, and English bishops

Ff. 22r–23v: Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies

[21] On the manuscript's origins see Barber, 'Medieval Maps of the World', p. 4; Dumville, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', pp. 26–27; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 297–99; Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 255–56; McGurk, 'Conclusion'. On the Glastonbury connection see McGurk, 'The Mappa Mundi', p. 79.

F. 23v: lists of Glastonbury abbots and tenth-century popes

Ff. 23v–24r: The *Itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric*

Ff. 24r–28v: Ælfric, *De temporibus anni*

F. 29r: Macrobian zonal map

Ff. 30r–32r: prayers and astronomical texts

Ff. 32v–49v: Cicero, *Aratea*

Ff. 49v–54v: astronomical excerpts

F. 56v: *mappa mundi*

Ff. 57r–73r: Priscian, *Periegesis*

Ff. 78v–87v: *Wonders of the East*, in Latin and Old English, including the account of Jannes and Mambres.[22]

A celestial map and a text of Hrabanus Maurus's *De laudibus sancte crucis* have been lost.[23] The manuscript became disordered prior to the twelfth century when material related to St Nicholas and Battle Abbey was added.[24] The manuscript's contents have broad thematic parallels, but the whole presents a somewhat eclectic assemblage of material related to earth and the heavens. There is *computus* material, but it cannot exactly be termed a *computus* manuscript. Tiberius B V has an interest in distant places — it contains a text of *Wonders of the East* – and pays much attention to Rome, as noted by Nicholas Howe and Kathy Lavezzo, but there is also a great deal of material relating to England, such as episcopal lists and

[22] A detailed list of contents is given by McGurk: 'Contents of the Manuscript'.
[23] McGurk, 'Contents of the Manuscript', pp. 25–27.
[24] Fols 55^{r}–56^{v}, 73^{r-v}, 77^{r}: *Vita metrica sancti Nicholai*, f. 88$^{r–v}$: notes relating to Battle Abbey. Documents related to Ely and Exeter copied on parts of eighth-century gospel books have also been added.

genealogies.[25] In general, Tiberius B V takes a broad interest in the cosmos, the world and mankind's place within them, as do its maps.[26]

Tiberius B V is not an especially large manuscript; its folios measure 260 x 220mm. Each of its two surviving maps occupies a single manuscript page: the zonal map on 29r and the *mappa mundi* on 56v. The amount of detail that each map is able to reproduce within this relatively confined space is impressive. The zonal map (Fig. 1), which was originally paired with the now-lost celestial map, comes between Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* and Cicero's *Aratea*, but it is indebted to Macrobius's widely circulated fifth-century work, *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*. The Tiberius B V zonal map is in many respects typical of the maps used to illustrate Macrobius's commentary, although it does not appear with that text in this manuscript.[27] *De temporibus anni* also offers information on the zones and tides, so in some respects the zonal map complements this text by offering a visual image of similar information, although in other ways its interests differ from those of Ælfric's work. The zonal map represents the globe; like the *mappa mundi* it is orientated with east to the top, whereas a north-south orientation might more commonly be expected for a macrobian map.[28] The globe is divided into five temperature zones: two frigid zones, one at each pole, then the temperate zones of the northern and southern hemispheres, with the torrid zone across the equator. The globe is surrounded by the *oceanus*, the world ocean, which is depicted in green, and this is in turn circled by a text, repeated for each quarter, which reads: 'hinc refluit oceanus ad septentrionem (for the northern hemisphere)/austrum (for the southern hemisphere) per lxiii stadiorum' (from here the ocean flows back to the north/south through 63 stades). Across the

[25] Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 154; Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World*, p. 28.
[26] A detailed study of the map in its manuscript context forms the basis of a recently completed doctoral thesis that I have been unable to consult: Tedford, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cotton Map in Context'.
[27] On Macrobian maps see Hiatt, 'The Map of Macrobius before 1100'; Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', 713–14. As Edson notes, there are excerpts from Macrobius later in the manuscript on fols 51 and 54, but not the section on the zones. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 78.
[28] Teresi, 'Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman "Mappaemundi"', p. 347. Other examples exist but they are the minority, see Hiatt, 'The Map of Macrobius before 1100', p. 175.

equatorial zone is further information on the sea. The text derives, as Evelyn Edson notes, from Bk II.vi.2 of Macrobius, but is unique to this map:

> aequinoctialis zona hic incipiens paene tota alluitur superius et inferius mari quod dum per medium taerrae circumlabitur in IIII quasi insulas totus orbis diuiditur quae inhabitentur est enim solstitialis superior et inferior habitabitabilis similiter superior et inferior hiemalis sicque fit ut per medium et in circuitu orbis mare currat quod calore uel frigore est intransmeabile est que deprehensus totius orbis ambitus in stadiis ducentis quinquaginta duobus milibus.
>
> [Here the equinoctial zone begins which is almost entirely washed, both above and below, by the sea, which flows through the middle of the earth as if the whole earth were divided into four islands, being inhabited above in the [summer] solstitial zone and below in the *hiemalis* [winter solstice] zone, Thus it is that the sea runs through the middle and around the edge of the earth and is impassable due to either heat or cold, and the circuit of the entire earth is 252,000 stades.][29]

The map's focus on the behaviour of seas and tides is typical of the corpus of Macrobian maps.[30] Yet, in other ways the Tiberius B V zonal map is more unusual in the information it communicates. Whilst most zones are left blank, the northern temperate zone the map depicts the three continents (labelled 'Africa', 'Asia Maior et Minor' and 'Aquitania'), two individuated turreted cities, and the pillars of Hercules which appear on the edge of the inhabited space. This level of detail for the oikumene in a zonal map is unusual before 1100,

[29] Translation from Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 78.
[30] On these see Hiatt, 'The Map of Macrobius before 1100'.

although there are comparable examples, perhaps most notably the macrobian map associated with the *computus* of Abbo of Fleury and the more sophisticated Ripoll map.[31]

Alfred Hiatt tentatively connects the Tiberius B V zonal map to the map contained in Abbo of Fleury's *computus*, as exemplified by Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Phillipps 1833 (Rose 138), produced in Fleury during Abbo's time.[32] It features a zonal map on f. 39v which gives similar details for the landmasses and uses small icons to represent several cities. This model had a wide reach. A copy of this map is found on f. 76r of the early eleventh-century computistical collection in Dijon, Bibliothèque municipal, MS 448, and a variant accompanies Macrobius's work on 74r of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 6362, a scientific miscellany produced *c.* 1000 in southern Germany. Despite general similarities between this group and the Tiberius B V zonal map, closer examination reveals key differences. Members of the Abbo group are orientated with north at the top and the cities are fairly accurately located (and in the case of Clm 6362 labelled) whereas the Tiberius B V map has east uppermost and shows only two large cities in the centre of the map.[33] Phillipps 1833 and Dijon 448 both depict Britiannia, out in the world ocean together with Hibernia, and Clm 6362 shows unlabelled islands off north-western Europe; but if the Tiberius B V zonal map shows Britain at all, it would be the very large landmass above the northernmost body of water within north-western Europe: as with this manuscript's *mappa mundi*, Britain is not depicted as peripheral. Gautier Dalché states of Phillipps 1833, 'Le rapport du texte et de l'image, par rapport à l'œvre d'origine, est ici inversé. C'est le texte qui glose la carte' (the relationship between the text and the image, compared to the original work, is here reversed. It is the text which glosses the map), a change he attributes to the use

[31] Hiatt argues this is a post 1100 development generally ('The Map of Macrobius before 1100', p. 161).
[32] Hiatt, 'The Map of Macrobius before 1100', p. 170 n. 39 and 46. See also Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography*, pp. 104–06.
[33] Rome, Corinth(?), Jerusalem, Syene (Aswan) and Meroë.

of Macrobius's work as a school text in Fleury under Abbo.[34] The Tiberius B V zonal map, as Gautier Dalché notes, takes a similar approach.[35] It seems likely that the model for the Tiberius B V zonal map was found in a school book, but while Abbo's *computus* map may be the model behind it, the orientation and the representation of urban space have been modified, as argued below, to serve a new purpose.

The Ripoll map is found across fols 143v–44r in Città della Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 123, which is roughly contemporary with Tiberius B V.[36] This carefully assembled *computus* manuscript originated in the Benedictine monastery in Ripoll, Catalonia and obviously depends on Carolingian material. The world map, which is zonal in design, and orientated with east uppermost, logically follows the third section of the *computus* which deals with *De natura rerum*, but stands independently.[37] The Ripoll map offers an unusually detailed image of the oikumene, depicting many cities of which Constantinople is the most significant.[38] The map claims to be derived from various sources, and includes in the southern zones lines adapted from Theodulf's verse, including those about perceiving a great deal in a small space; it is accompanied by a short geographical text.[39] Although there are clear differences with the simpler Tiberius B V map, the independence of this map from the neighbouring material, yet evident commonality of purpose, suggests a similar utility. Gautier Dalché highlights that the encyclopaedia contained in the Ripoll manuscript has aims beyond the purely scientific — it is also spiritually edifying.[40] The same is true of the looser encyclopaedia that is Tiberius B V, which originally included the explicitly devotional *De laudibus sancte crucis* alongside more purely scientific material. If

[34] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 732.
[35] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 732.
[36] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', pp. 761–62.
[37] See Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, pp. 80–86.
[38] On this map see Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography*, pp. 181–83.
[39] Gautier Dalché, 'Notes sur la "carte de Théodose II" et sur la "mappemonde de Théodulf d'Orléans"'.
[40] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 762.

the Ripoll map, like the map evoked by Theodulf which it references, aims to offer spiritual as well as intellectual food and to serve a contemplative purpose, sharpening the effect of the manuscript's other contents, then the zonal map of Tiberius B V should be considered in the same way, as should the *mappa mundi* with which it is so evidently connected.

The Tiberius B V *mappa mundi* (Fig. 2) is much more obviously idiosyncratic than the zonal map. Although there are general commonalities with Y-O maps, it is notably independent of other cartographic traditions; this may be because of the very limited survival of detailed world maps from this period, but the distinctly insular perspective it offers suggest a significant element of local innovation in its design.[41] The *mappa mundi* was originally bound together with Priscian's Latin geographical text, the *Periegesis*, the *incipit* of which in this manuscript reads:

> Incipit liber Periegesis, id est de situ terrae Prisciani grammatici urbis Romae Caesariensis doctoris quem de priscorum dictis excerpsit ormistarum sed et huic operi de tribus partibus uidelicet Asia Africa Europa mappam depinxerat aptam in qua nationum promontoriorum fluminum insularumque situs atque monstrorum formatur honeste.[42]
>
> [Here begins the book, 'Periegesis', by Priscian, grammarian of the city of Rome, professor of Caesarea (Africa), that is about the situation of the earth, gathered by him from the writings in ancient world maps; and to this work of three arts, that is to say, Asia, Africa, and Europe, there is painted a suitable (*aptam*) map in which the

[41] Appleton, 'The Northern World of the Anglo-Saxon *mappa mundi*'.
[42] British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B V, f. 57r. Transcription and translation from Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, pp. 75–76.

location of nations, mountains, rivers, islands, and also wonders are accurately arranged.]

The *mappa mundi* does serve to illustrate the inhabited world on which the *Periegesis* focusses, but, as Konrad Miller noted, its geography is primarily derived from Paulus Orosius's *Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri VII*.[43] The source was probably a larger wall-map which has not survived.[44] The *mappa mundi* is rectangular, allowing it to fill the manuscript page. It represents the three continents of the known inhabited world, Europe, Asia, and Africa, orientated with east at the top. The land, which has lovely crinkly edges, is surrounded by the *oceanus* shown in grey, and considerable space is given to other seas, especially the Mediterranean, on which the map centres. The seas are full of islands. A number of undulating mountain ranges are shown in green, and some inland seas, including the Red Sea, are red. Province boundaries and rivers are delineated in brown. Cities, in a similar plan an elevation design to those on the zonal map, albeit simplified, dot the landmasses, from Babylon in the east to Armagh in the west. In another echo of the zonal map the pillars of Hercules stand on the western boundary of the map. A fetching lion is drawn in Asia. The map's legend is fairly comprehensive, although not all features are labelled.[45] It is mostly in Latin, but the scribe was evidently accustomed to writing in Old English, as indicated by the use of the insular letterforms and the term 'suð Bryttas' applied to Brittany.[46] The map appears to draw on a number of sources; features such as the straight province boundary divisions in Africa and the Mediterranean-centric view show links to

[43] Miller, *Mappaemundi: die ältesten Weltkarten*, III, p. 35.
[44] Edson, 'World Maps and Easter Tables', p. 32; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 76. Large maps are far less likely to have survied and most are known only from descriptions. Peter Barber has suggested that this putative exemplar may have been at Glastonbury. Barber, 'Medieval Maps of the World', p. 4; Barber, 'Updating the Roman World', p. 25. I have elsewhere suggested links to the royal court, and tenth-centry West-Saxon expansionism: Appleton, 'The Northern World of the Anglo-Saxon *mappa mundi*'.
[45] For a transcription of the legend see: McGurk, 'The Mappa Mundi', pp. 86–87.
[46] Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: the Hereford World Map*, p. 27; McGurk, 'The Mappa Mundi', p. 79; Hiatt, '"From Hulle to Cartage": Maps, England, and the Sea', pp. 135–36.

Roman imperial mapping and the world map of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, as P. D. A. Harvey suggests, while Carolingian influence is, as both Patrick McGurk and Peter Barber show, quite clear.[47] The map's legend derives from Orosius, but the Old Testament and the writings of Isidore are also used, and local knowledge supplies information for north-western Europe. The map offers an exceptionally exact depiction of Britain and Ireland, which are shown as containing a number of cities; the insular world, especially Wessex, appears quite urbanised.

There is something very concrete and very human about the world as represented on the *mappa mundi*. Although scripture is used as a source for the legend, which records the tribes of Israel and God's covenants with man on Sinai and Ararat (the latter with a drawing of the Ark), the map is otherwise comparatively secular, as is the zonal map. Jerusalem is not the centre of the world, no events from the life of Christ are depicted, and no location for the earthly paradise is given; the island in the far east is not Eden but Taprobane (Sri Lanka). There are no monstrous races depicted on the *mappa mundi*'s margins, despite the *incipit* to the *Periegesis* promising *monstra*. The lion, accurately represented in Asia, hardly counts as a monster and seems to be there to fill a space devoid of cities. A few potentially marvellous races appear in the legend, but the copying is either careless or their monstrosity downplayed. The manuscript as a whole contains a superabundance of strange creatures; they appear in the *Periegesis* and in the bilingual, beautifully illustrated text of *Wonders of the East*, yet they are not emphasised by the map, which offers an image of the world complementary to yet distinct from those created elsewhere in the manuscript.

It is evident that the two Tiberius B V maps are designed to be connected. The shared orientation, distinctive cities and the striking use of the pillars of Hercules create a

[47] Barber, 'Medieval Maps of the World', p. 5; Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, p. 21; McGurk, 'The Mappa Mundi', p. 86. Reused elements of Roman imperial mapping are relatively common in medieval cartography, see: Gautier Dalché, 'L'héritage antique de la cartographie médiévale', p. 41.

commonality of perspective and invite the viewer to imagine the *mappa mundi* as a closeup of the northern temperate zone represented on the zonal map. Both maps offer an image of the world primarily as a space occupied and organised by humans. The maps adapt cartographic tradition to create an increasing emphasis on *translatio imperii* from east to west, and in the case of the *mappa mundi* to highlight England as a part of this imperial project.[48] They do not explicitly emphasize the spiritual narrative behind the physical world, but that is not to say that the two maps are not shaped by Christian thought. Although they lack the explicit devotional intent evident with the Jerusalem T-O maps or Byrhtferthian diagrams, and later medieval English maps of comparable detail, such as the Hereford *mappa mundi* and the Psalter map, they do still generate an image to be contemplated. The synchronic image these two maps offer of imperial history simultaneously glorifies the west, and highlights that all human power is fleeting.

Mapping Empires

Urban space draws the eye on both of the Tiberius B V maps. The zonal map depicts two cities, one in Europe, the other in Asia. The *mappa mundi*'s landmasses are dotted with walled cities of various sizes. No single city appears to be the most prominent, but Alexandria, Babylon, Carthage, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rome, Ravenna, Tarsus, and Tingis are on an impressive scale. The majority of the cities illustrated are clustered around the Mediterranean, but the urbanized area extends from Babylon in the east to Armagh in the west. This map's worldview, centred on the Mediterranean, reproduces the perspective of the Roman Empire, creating a western bias to the geography, yet there is also a real sense of breadth, and the large border of sea ensures that no place seems especially marginal. The numerous islands and scattered cities show a world with many regional centres, and the

[48] Appleton, 'The Northern World of the Anglo-Saxon *mappa mundi*'.

prominence of Britain with a concentration of urban space in Britain (Winchester, London, and another urban area in south-western England are depicted), serves to show a centre of significant power in the far west in contrast to the empty spaces of the east, where lions abound.

The cities on the *mappa mundi*, as on the smaller Macrobian map, are depicted as walled enclosures with varying numbers of turrets, although the drawing on the *mappa mundi* is less sophisticated, in part because they are smaller icons. On both maps cities are shown in semi-perspectival plan and elevation, a visual style that has obvious antecedents in Carolingian art, derived from Roman images, such as those of the *Agrimensores*.[49] The Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32), which had significant influence on English art, shows similar polygonal cityscapes, for example Ps. 9 on f. 5r.[50] This style of architectural representation can also be seen in the donation image of King Athelstan in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, f. 1v, which echoes the features of the unlabelled easternmost city on the Macrobian zonal map. Unlike the zonal map, the *mappa mundi*'s cities are labelled. As discussed above, much of the *mappa mundi*'s legend derives from Orosius, and the Orosian concept of the four empires is reflected in the cities it depicts. At the start of Book II of his *Historiarum adversum Paganos*, Orosius describes the four empires of the world and the movement of power between them (II.I.4–5):

> si autem regna diuersa, quanto aequius regnum aliquod maximum, cui reliquorum regnorum potestas uniuersa subicitur, quale a principio Babylonium et deinde

[49] For example, BAV, MS Pal. lat. 1564 (Aachen court, *c*. 830–900): Kaiser, 'Spätantike Rechtstexte in agrimensorischen Sammlungen', p. 282. See also: Carder, *Art Historical Problems of a Roman Land Surveying Manuscript*, pp. 189–95; Deckers, 'Tradition und Adaptation', pp. 310-11; Dilke, 'Illustrations from Roman Surveyors' Manuals'; Mütherich, *Studies in Carolingian Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 118–46. I am grateful to Dr Tina Bawden (Freie Universität Berlin) for highlighting the similarities.

[50] This masterpiece of Carolingian art was in England by the end of the tenth century, and its cities are replicated in the Harley Psalter (BL, MS Harley 603, Canterbury, s.$^{x/xi}$). Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, p. 21; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 680–81; 344–45.

> Macedonicum fuit, post etiam Africanum atque in fine Romanum quod usque ad nunc manet, eademque ineffabili ordinatione per quattuor mundi cardines quattuor regnorum principatus distinctis gradibus eminentes, ut Babylonium regnum ab oriente, a meridie Carthaginiense, a septentrione Macedonicum, ab occidente Romanum.[51]
>
> [So, if there are a number of kingdoms, it is right that there is one supreme kingdom under which all the sovereignty of the rest is placed. In the beginning, this was the kingdom of Babylon, then the kingdom of Macedon, after that the African kingdom (i.e., Carthage), and finally Rome, which remains in place to this day. Through this same ineffable ordering of things, the four principal kingdoms which have been pre-eminent to differing degrees, have occurred at the four cardinal points of the world: the kingdom of Babylon to the east; that of Carthage to the south; that of Macedon to the north; and that of Rome to the west.][52]

The scale of Babylon, Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome on the *mappa mundi* reflect this movement of imperial power from Babylonia, through Macedon and Carthaginia to Rome.

The zonal map represents urban space even more symbolically, with two unlabelled cities, one in the east, the other in the west. It seems most probable that the European city is intended to represent Rome (although some suggest Constantinople), perhaps accounting for the two individuated heads, one blonde, the other brunette, represented within its walls — a possible nod to Romulus and Remus.[53] The eastern city is the larger of the two and is often assumed to be Jerusalem, but arguably is more likely to represent Babylon as it is depicted

[51] *Pauli Orosii Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, ed. by Zangemeister, p. 35.
[52] Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*. trans. by Fear, pp. 73–74.
[53] Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 77

with one very tall tower: Babylon and Babel being conventionally equated.[54] If the two cities represent Rome and Babylon, then the zonal map also reflects the Orosian view of empire. After describing the four empires at the start of Book II, Orosius highlights the primacy of Rome and Babylon, stating (II.I.6):

> quorum inter primum ac nouissimum, id est inter Babylonium et Romanum, quasi inter patrem senem ac filium paruum, Africanum ac Macedonicum breuia et media, quasi tutor curatorque uenerunt potestate temporis non iure hereditatis admissi.[55]

> [Between the first and last of them, that is to say Babylon and Rome, just as in the interval of time between an old father and his young son, come the short-lived and intermediate periods of the African and Macedonian kingdoms. These fulfilled roles like those of a teacher and guardian, and came into being though force of circumstance rather than from any right of succession.][56]

Rome and Babylon are two clear symbols of imperial power, which moves between them. By depicting cities that evoke Rome and Babylon, the zonal map represents in a very contained image vast centuries of imperial history, offering an extreme example of the synchronous representation of diachronic history which characterised medieval mapping, especially that intended to prompt contemplation.

The zonal map adapts the traditional Macrobian scheme in order to reflect an interest in power and empire shared with the *mappa mundi*, on which Rome and Babylon receive the

[54] For a recent study of Babel in the period see Major, *Undoing Babel: The Tower of Babel in Anglo-Saxon Literature*. Compare also the illustration of Babylon including the tower of Babel on the Hereford *mappa mundi*. On the tradition of equating the two see further Scheil, 'Babylon and Anglo-Saxon England'.
[55] *Pauli Orosii Historiarum Adversum Paganos*, ed. by Zangemeister, pp. 35–36.
[56] Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. by Fear, p. 74.

most complex drawings, and with other texts in Tiberius B V. On this map, between Babylon and Rome, east and west, we track down the manuscript page the transfer of power between the first eastern empire of Babylon and the last western empire of Rome. The orientation of the zonal map, and the *mappa mundi,* with east uppermost causes the viewer to move forwards through human history as they naturally read the image down the page, to where they themselves sit in the west. The eastern city is larger, perhaps as the shape of Asia affords more space, but also suggesting the overweening ambition that Babylon represents. The western city is shown as populated, creating an impression of activity, but the eastern contains no figures. By leaving the cities unlabelled, and locating them centrally, the zonal map creates a focus on *translatio imperii* that accommodates the drift of power westwards from Rome, through Carolingia to England, so evident on the *mappa mundi*. The cities on the map are more representative of what Rome and Babylon symbolize than their literal geography. Power moves from east to west, from the worldly Babylonian empire to the Christian civilisation of Rome.

The maps' perspective on human history, depicting great cities and extensive empires lost to time, connects with other texts in Tiberius B V which show an interest in Rome and Babylon, and the transfer of power more generally. Tiberius B V's attention to Rome is evident; it includes lists of Popes and the itinerary of Sigeric lists churches to visit in Rome, followed by the rest stops on the journey back west to the channel coast. Babylon too is of interest, frequently occurring as a point of reference in *Wonders of the East.* The lists of bishops, kings, and popes and the genealogical material also display a focus on power and its historic transitions. The predominance of material related to England in these lists presents an assertive image of that country as part of the imperial project. Like the synchronic representation of urban space on both maps, these lists demonstrates both status and transience. The representation of time in Tiberius B V is often strange and synchronic.

Sigeric cannot have visited all of the Roman sites in the time allotted. *Wonders of the East* presents Babylon as a present marker, rather than a ruin, switching the reader into a previous age; the reader travels backwards in time as the focus moves eastwards, as on the maps. In Tiberius B V *Wonders* uniquely ends with the apocryphon of Jannes and Mambres, Pharoah's magicians who contended with Moses. In this text the soul of Jannes, summoned by magic, warns the living Mambres of infernal punishment for the assumption of unnatural power and its misuse.[57] The reader is reminded that God cannot and should not be defied. In Tiberius B V the overweening ambitions of the past, of Jannes and Babylon, come back to warn us of God's power. In the Lumley Library catalogue of 1609 Tiberius B V is recognisable prior to its reordering by Robert Cotton. Intriguingly, in that catalogue *Wonders* appears first, then *De laudibus sancte crucis*, and finally the calendrical and geographical material which ends with the *Periegesis* and presumably the *mappa mundi*.[58] The manuscript in this form neatly echoes the general east to west flow of power and knowledge visible on its maps, but as it had already been disordered once by this point, this may not reflect the original scheme.

In using cartography to think about empires and the movement of human power the English are echoing the Carolingians. The Tiberius B V maps, like several of the manuscript's contents, must depend on material transmitted through Carolingian copyists, and it appears that alongside these materials came ways of reading and using them.[59] The Carolingians showed an intense interest in Roman geographical writing, using it, as Natalia Lozovsky highlights, to represent the transition of imperial power from the Romans to the Franks and selectively adapting and excerpting earlier material to serve new purposes.[60] As

[57] See Biggs and Hall, 'Traditions Concerning Jamnes and Mambres in Anglo-Saxon England'.
[58] Johnson and Jayne, eds., *The Lumley Library; the Catalogue of 1609*, p. 162; McGurk, 'The History of the Manuscript', p. 25.
[59] For example, the *Aratea* depends on BL, MS Harley 647, a Carolingian book: McGurk, 'The Astronomical Section'. Lapidge makes the point that Carolingian knowledge of classical learning runs ahead of that of Anglo-Saxon England, making Francia the logical route of transmission for Roman mapping. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 129–31.
[60] Lozovsky, 'Roman Geography and Ethnography in the Carolingian Empire'.

Gautier Dalché has shown, cartography was a key part of this programme of *renovatio imperii*; as noted above, Charlamagne understood the value of the statement made by maps, and by adjusting the image of the world inherited from earlier sources, contemporary interests could be served.[61] I have suggested elsewhere that if a wall map does indeed lie behind the Tiberius B V *mappa mundi* then it might have been the product of the imperial ambitions of the West Saxon court in the tenth century, designed to emulate Charlemagne and highlight the rising power of England.[62] By copying the *mappa mundi* into a manuscript context, rather than having it function as prestigious display item, the meaning shifts. Although the *mappa mundi*'s independence of the manuscript's other contents means that it retains the narrative function of its large ancestor, rather than serving as a gloss to the texts, the shift in scale foregrounds a reading more aligned with Theodulf's perspective on cartography than that of Charlemagne.

Conclusion: Politics, Piety and Perspective

Tiberius B V is not a royal manuscript; it likely comes from Christ Church Canterbury, and the image of imperial power it presents is shaped by that context. Tiberius B V (as originally created) mixes geographical and historical information with spiritual material; as Edson states, its underlying theme 'concerns the measurement of time and space'.[63] Measurement by implication suggests limit, and this shared preoccupation with dimensions across the disparate items ensures that, even when an individual text offers a relatively secular

[61] Gautier Dalché, *La 'Descriptio mappae mundi' de Hughes de Saint-Victor*, pp. 122–23; Gautier Dalché, 'Les sens de mappa (mundi): IV^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle', p. 188; Barber, 'Medieval Maps of the World', p. 5; Gautier Dalché, 'Tradition et renouvellement dans la représentation de l'espace géographique au IX^{e} siècle'; Albu, *The Medieval Peutinger Map*, pp. 44–45; Albu, 'Imperial Geography and the Mediaeval Peutinger Map', 136–38.
[62] Appleton, 'The Northern World of the Anglo-Saxon *mappa mundi*'. On these ambitions see also Leneghan, '*Translatio imperii*'.
[63] Edson, 'World Maps and Easter Tables', p. 35.

perspective, the reader cannot forget that the world is God's creation — he is the *Metod*, the measurer. The Tiberius B V maps may not be as explicitly spiritual in intent as the Jerusalem T-O maps, but their reading context, in a Canterbury manuscript, provides a Christian interpretative frame for their image of imperial geography, and highlights the limits of human power by presenting a vast sweep of human history in a tiny space. The maps may be positive about the movement of imperial power in England's direction, and work together with texts such as the regnal lists to present a confident assertion of English power and influence, but their synchronic perspective also allows the viewer, like Theodulf, to contemplate the inevitable transience of power, and ultimately the world, should they so choose.

Gautier Dalché makes the argument that the manuscript-bound world map came to have a particular value in the high medieval period for the way in which it echoed a divine vision, like those experienced by Columba and Benedict, of the world from the perspective of God. Manuscript maps cease to merely gloss texts and become contemplative objects in their own right. The independence of the Tiberius B V maps from the rest of the manuscript's contexts, and the level of detail they show, suggests that they are early examples of this use of maps as aids to contemplation as well as knowledge. Gautier Dalché states:

> Toute *mappa mundi* rassemblant l'œcumène dans le bref espace de la page du codex met qui la contemple dans une situation analogue à celle du saint illuminé par la lumière divine, puisqu'elle permet d'embrasser ce que l'œil naturel, l'*oculus corporis*, ne peut voir: le petitesse du monde, rempli pourtant de si nombreuses cités, et formé de lieux témoins d'une si nombreuse histoire. De ce point de vue, le moindre schéma de l'œcumène peut servir à cette fonction contemplative […]. Mais les cartes qui la remplissent au mieux sont celles qui offrent le plus de détails, traduisant la réalité du monde terrestre par des contours plus ou moins précis, et par des légendes

> abondantes. Car '*omnis mundis*', comme dit Grégoire le Grand, c'est non seulment le monde physique, mais encore son histoire humaine, qui elle aussi est tout entière en Dieu, de son début à son accomplissement.[64]
>
> [Any *mappa mundi* bringing together the oikumene in the brief space of the page of the codex puts the one who contemplates it in a situation analogous to that of the saint illuminated by divine light, as it allows one to embrace what the natural eye, the *oculus corporis*, cannot see: the smallness of the world, yet filled with so many cities, and formed of places that bear witness to so much history. From this point of view, the slightest diagram of the oikumene can serve this contemplative function […]. But the maps which fill it best are those which offer the most details, translating the reality of the terrestrial world by more or less precise outlines, and by abundant legends. Because '*omnis mundis*', as Gregory the Great says, it is not only the physical world, but also its human history, which too is entirely in God, from its beginning to its completion.]

As Tiberius B V is a relatively small book, its maps are especially effective at conveying 'le petitesse du monde'. A map, Gautier Dalché points out, shows time as well as place, like a universal chronicle.[65] In showing all times at once, it replicates the synchronic divine perspective and offers an echo of the view afforded the enlightened soul. In setting out this argument for the map as replica of enlightened vision, Gautier Dalché highlights the way in which Orosius, in Bk I.I.15–16, talks about representing the world in his history as if seen

[64] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 757.
[65] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 757.

from a watchtower, a *specula*, in order to contemplate a narrative of *cupiditas*.[66] The Tiberius maps replicate Orosius's imagined perspective on human history, viewing *translatio imperii* from Babylon to Rome from above. The viewer of the two Tiberius B V maps is therefore able, like Orosius, to overlay the passage of empires with a Christian interpretation and so contemplate the nature of the world. These maps are more than a completement to the manuscript's texts, they are an aid to enlightenment.

The two maps in Tiberius B V show that cartography in early medieval England served a similarly diverse range of roles to maps on the continent, and that England participated fully in the development of new ideas and approaches. Early medieval English maps conveyed information, and had an obviously didactic function, but they also communicated powerful political and spiritual messages by offering a synchronic view of human history and imagining the world as seen and ordered from above. The *mappa mundi* in Tiberius B V offers an image of a confident and prominent England participating in *translatio imperii* that reflects how large-scale world maps were used as statements of power, but this image is condensed onto a small page, and beheld not from a distance by gazing upwards, as with a wall map, but close to and looking downwards into the manuscript. The explicit connection to the even more distanced view of the globe afforded by the zonal map highlights both human ambition and the insignificance of the world. Working together the Tiberius B V maps articulate both the importance of the west, especially Rome and England, but also the transience of human endeavour. England is an important part of the world, but it is also a part of the world and so subject to the world's limits. To view a map is to perceive, as Theodulf says, a great deal in a small space; a map offers a replica of enlightenment and so allows its

[66] Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose à la contemplation', p. 755. *Pauli Orosii Historiarum Adversum Paganos*, ed. by Zangemeister, p. 4. Orosius may have drafted his geography using maps, although no map appears to have originally accompanied the text. See Janvier, *La Géographie d'Orose*, pp. 165–69.

viewer to step outside the world and inhabit, momentarily, something akin to a divine perspective and assess England accordingly.

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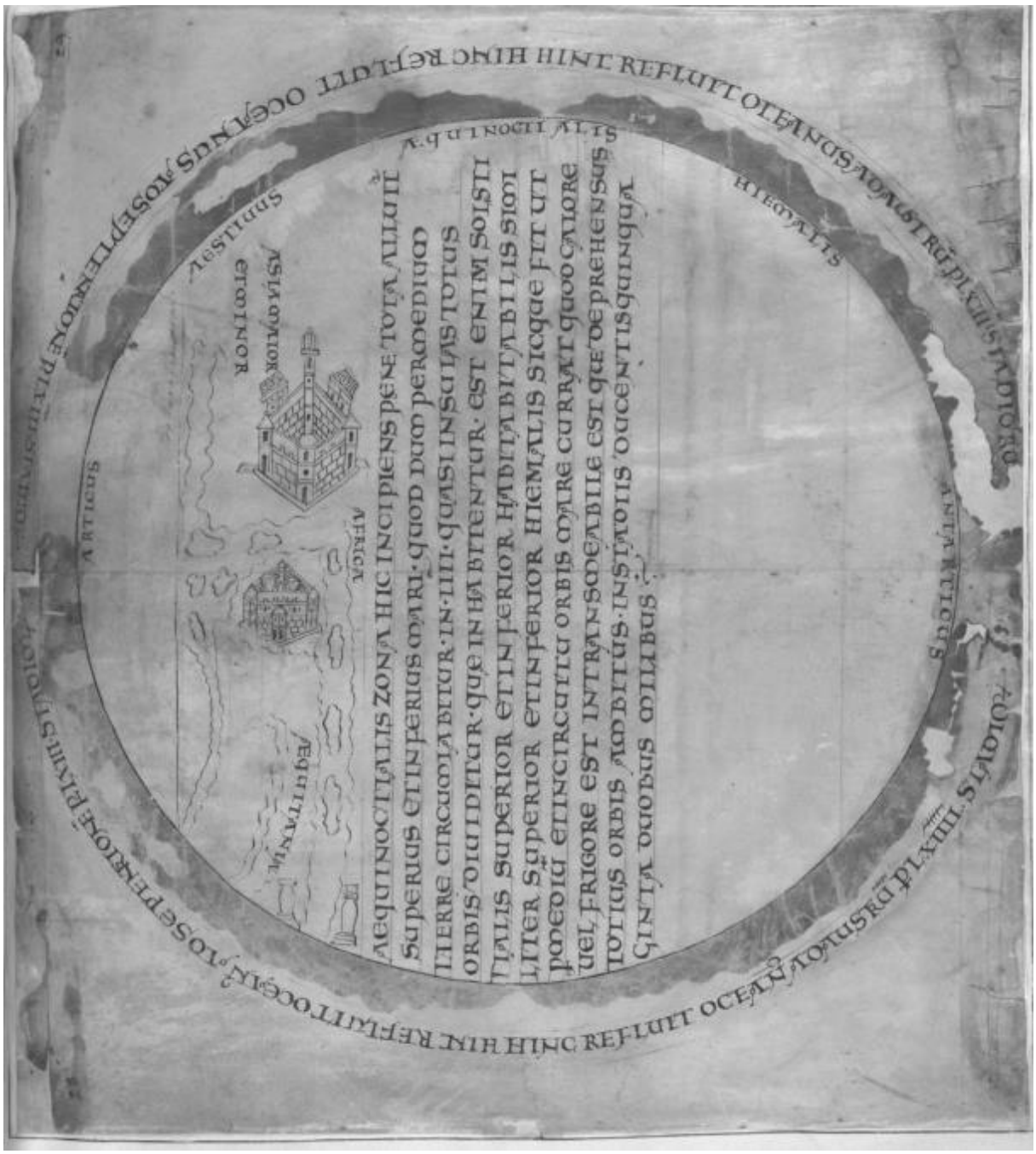

Fig. 2: ©British Library Board. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B V, f. 56v. *Mappa mundi*. East is at the top.