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After the past year of quarantine, how we experience the world has radically shifted.¹ Familiar routines of commuting across town to offices or libraries and even the coveted conference vacation with its promise of a change of scenery have given way to prolonged periods of sheltering in place. Now confined to our immediate surroundings, the ways we encounter the outside world are filtered through the tastes and smells of food or the melodies of certain albums that remind us of memorable trips elsewhere. Each day, the internet brings us into contact with the outside world ever more acutely, as platforms like Zoom expand our makeshift workspaces. These media transport us to events where we connect with colleagues from around the globe, while the prospects of travel remain a distant fantasy.

In an earlier instance of simulated travel, the medieval scribe Opicinus de Canistris describes an imagined trip to Venice he experienced in 1334. Set off by what modern medical professionals would call a stroke, Opicinus recounts the effects of this ailment three years later in his daybook from his post in Avignon's papal court. His words linger on how his body and mind were impacted, signaling effects such as loss of consciousness, temporary paralysation, and considerable gaps in his memory.² But in stark contrast to the gripping immobility of paralysis, he also describes miraculously finding himself in the distant city of Venice, a city he had never seen before. Opicinus writes: "I was in Venice, a town I had known only from descriptions. When I finally opened my eyes, I felt as if I had awoken from an eternal sleep and was born anew. I had forgotten everything and could not recall how the world outside looked."³ Pages later he returns the vision again, this time describing what he saw when his eyes finally opened with a greater degree of specificity, writing "my interior eyes were opened to discern the images of the earth and sea."⁴ These terrestrial and maritime images flooding into his mind were the physical features of the Mediterranean region transformed into monumental bodies (fig. 1). In the wake of this revelation, Opicinus reproduces eighty-eight unique versions of his vision between 1337 and 1341. These are now divided between two manuscripts in the Vatican Library: a medium-sized book on paper known as the Vaticanus (Vat. lat. 6435) and the Palatinus (Pal. lat. 1993), an unbound collection of monumental parchment sheets averaging over two by three feet.⁵

Figure 1. Opicinus de Canistris, map and text, Vat. Lat. 6435, fol. 78r, 1330s–40s, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Accessed September 22, 2021. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6435

Figures 2–4.
Opicinus de Canistris,
map and text, Vat. Lat.
6435, fol. 84r, 84v, 85r
(left to right, top to
bottom), 1330s–40s,
Vatican City, Biblioteca
Apostolica Vaticana.
Accessed September 22,
2021. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6435

Flipping through the images' various configurations, one quickly sees how landforms could be doubled, mirrored, or refracted into elaborate snowflake patterns. In particular, a series of three pages from the Vaticanus manuscript propose a unique method of visualizing Opicinus's interior experience (figs. 2-4). To take the most fully rendered example of the three, folio 84v (fig. 3) personifies Europe as a woman bending toward her female companion, Africa, with a graphic, red-washed devil laying between them to represent the Mediterranean Sea. The grotesque menage à trois seems to writhe on the page, with the sea-devil ejaculating onto the southern coast of Spain while he clutches an additional phallic member in his fist near Venice and wields yet another phallic-shaped sceptre in his other hand near the mainland of Greece.⁶

Figure 3. Opicinus de Canistris, map and text, Vat. Lat. 6435, fol. 84v, 1330s–40s, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Accessed September 22, 2021. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6435.

To our modern sensibilities, Opicinus's imagery is unquestionably striking and bizarre, but what makes this eclectic version so peculiar among the book's other designs is how it reimagines what the geographic world might look like. Rather than repeating the Mediterranean in visual patterns, Opicinus bends space and time by placing the city grid of his hometown of Pavia on top of the embodied landforms described in his vision.⁷ This hybrid of global and local maps is filled with several identificatory details ensuring its various elements remain legible and its layers distinct. Labels in red point to major cities and ports on the image of the embodied Mediterranean basin including Alexandria, Rome, and Paris. Opicinus's elaborate personifications of the region are complemented by his meticulous if sober city grid, using brown ink to signal the town's major landmarks such as gates, bridges, and monasteries. But he also goes beyond producing schematic diagram of Pavia's major sites by also charting the town's urban development diachronically through a series of expanding city walls.⁸

The two maps are not pushed together entirely by chance or by aesthetic judgement. Both the town and the larger Mediterranean region are oriented so that the top of the page aligns with the east. But despite this directional correspondence, Opicinus's method of layering gives rise to several questions concerning how we perceive the world and how we orient ourselves within it by unsettling the spatial organization typically assumed of maps. Through this process of culling memories, real and imagined, to visualize the world and to consider the oracular, salvific possibilities associated with miraculous imagery, Opicinus draws on representational lessons from the burgeoning field of medieval mapmaking.⁹ By means of directional orientation, a logical and centered perspective, and precise coastlines, he creates a space that both structures a visionary experience with impeccable geographic accuracy and offers insight into its hidden meanings.

Whether or not Opicinus's drawings were meant to be viewed by anyone other than himself remains a matter of debate.¹⁰ Regardless of this uncertainty, previous scholarship has focused on deciphering the meaning of the drawings by pointing to formal similarities shared with maps, mystical imagery, and scientific diagrams, which were all designed as tools for a wider community.¹¹ Putting aside these speculative concerns of whether Opicinus's drawings were intended to be viewed by anyone other than himself, it is clear that their peculiar nature resists our modern impulse for categorization. Instead of asking "what is it?" this paper will approach the drawings with a different question: "what was it good for?"¹² Contributing to the invaluable scholarship produced in recent years, notably by Karl Whittington and Victoria Morse, this paper explores how Opicinus drew on the aesthetic possibilities of cartography during a time when geographic images were rapidly changing the way they expressed both the physical and imagined world.

First, I consider the primary cartographic traditions used to structure and organize knowledge that surrounded Opicinus and his drawings. I highlight the rapidly evolving strategies for representing the known yet foreign world both through the legacy of *mappaemundi* and in the examination of how maps could construct new, imagined realities. In the second section, the focus shifts to consider how the imaginary was represented both within scientific advancements and mystical imagery. While the development of cartography moved beyond the Christian theology of *mappaemundi* to empirically map the real world, representational strategies, whether mystical or scientific, continued to grapple with issues of the invisible and visible. Ultimately, I argue that the page's experimental possibilities created an internal space that allowed Opicinus not only to explore his individual place on Earth and within the cosmos, but also to dig beneath the surface and confront the intellectual dilemmas of understanding the miraculous through empirical, scientifically grounded cartographic experiments.

Unforeseen Forces: Rendering the World on the Page

Opicinus's embodied maps of the Mediterranean represent an intermediary position between shifting cartographic traditions during the fourteenth century. Initially, cartography portrayed the Mediterranean region as a compact, geographical area expressed through physical landforms and landmarks structured by Christian belief as in *mappaemundi*.¹³ Such maps strove to explain the diversity and wonders of the world through theological belief, visualizing the result of a divine plan overseen by God and accessible to viewers. Subsequently the interconnected network of Mediterranean coastal towns and ports necessitated functional maps and diagrams to aid in maritime navigation.¹⁴ As maritime trade intensified and expanded the known world, it also contracted, requiring the images of savage beasts lying in wait in the periphery of the world lifted from oracular and religious texts to be tamed into representations of a world comprised of real, but unfamiliar cultures from far off lands.

Figure 5. "Map Psalter," Add. Ms. 28681, fol. 9r, ca. 1260, London, British Library. Accessed September 22, 2021. <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/psalter-world-map>

Figure 6. “Map Psalter,” Add. Ms. 28681, fol. 9v, ca. 1260, London, British Library. Accessed September 22, 2021. <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/psalter-world-map>

Mappaemundi such as the British Library’s Map Psalter (fig. 5) from the late thirteenth century provides a fruitful middle ground between the two traditions. Like all *mappaemundi*, the primary purpose of the Map Psalter was not to record precise locations as in maps of the Mediterranean, but to instruct the faithful on significant events within Christian history and encourage a “contemplative ascent.”¹⁵ As such, the miniature image conjoins sites from the known world such as Jerusalem and England and those from the Bible, such as Paradise with its four rivers at the top, locating them all within an overarching spiritual schema for the universe that extends to also encompass the viewer. With God represented in the second person looking down from the blue dome of the heavens and gesturing in benediction, the representation of the world gives shape to the inhabited regions as well as the fantastical and unattainable.¹⁶ Jerusalem occupies the center of the page within a series of circles, while the rest of Asia occupies the upper third and Europe and Africa are depicted in the lower half to create the so-called T-O division with the borders of

the three continents forming a T-shape inscribed within a circle.¹⁷ On the map, the farther we move from Jerusalem's grounding centre, the more frequently we encounter wondrous and marvelous creations inhabiting the margins. In addition to Paradise at top, the fringe of the African landmass at right is populated by such fantastical beasts as the cynocephaly, or men with the heads of dogs, and other hybrid creatures who are all contained within separate compartments.¹⁸ But, despite the inclusion of such exotic creatures and realms on the periphery, the map powerfully communicates that what is wonderful is not these individual elements, but that the world can encompass such unimaginable diversity in its totality.

The map's effectiveness in structuring a world rooted in both observation and theology can be seen in its intricate details of physical features. Not only does it present a clear understanding of the major river systems of the world and their sources, but it also locates major pilgrimage destinations outside of Jerusalem. These sites include the alleged site of Noah's ark which could be accessed in Armenia and vividly experienced in the viewer's unique place in time.¹⁹ In other words, the Psalter Map goes further than portraying an image purely for Christian devotion. Its representational potential is stretched beyond religious didacticism to depict a geographically accurate image of the known world in miniature form.

Serving as prefatory material to a Psalter, a book of Old Testament songs, the Map Psalter represents how cartography could be mobilized for diverse ideological or experimental purposes. Before they come to the beginning of the psalms, the reader is first presented with an all-encompassing image of the world. The recto of the folio repeats its same geometric T-O pattern, though it substitutes God in the second person with an image evoking Christ crucified with his outstretched arms and the circle's axial divisions (fig. 6). Rather than conveying images of lands and seas, it translates the topographic image into purely textual descriptions that gloss their corresponding regions and cities on the folio's verso. Maps typically are not used within Psalters, nor are they referenced within the psalms themselves, but the inclusion of one here conveys specific sites which the reader will encounter in the later text, such as Judea, Syria, and Ethiopia.²⁰ Standing in contrast to the image of the created world, the reverse of the folio visually references the physical death of Christ but also suggests the eternal nature of the *logos*. As one flips between the two sides of the same folio, the twinned representations of the world provide a working model to both understand the world with its marvels as well as bring it into the fold of religious literature.²¹

It is clear Opicinus is playing with these new trends of cartographic experimentation in his drawings, as he gives space to multiple and comingling layers with his own fantastical creatures. Just as turning the Psalter's page could reveal additional scriptural truths about the world hidden behind the image, Opicinus uses the multiple maps as one way of representing and understanding his vision. But an important distinction remains. Whereas the Psalter World Map conveys a structured message of transcendence, connecting the creation of the world from Genesis, the New Testament sacrifice of Christ, and the coming future of redemption, Opicinus's concern is rooted within the unruly boundaries of the body and of time. The logical, ordered image of a world governed by God and framed by the Crucifixion's sacrifice stands in stark contrast to Opicinus's far more ambiguous visual language. Within his world, bodies on the page are unable to contain themselves as they expel fluids beyond their boundaries, their limbs intertwined as they navigate the sticky action of coming into contact with another. Through this confrontation of divine and demonic bodies, the borders of the world feel far more unstable, and transcendence is anything but guaranteed.

As Opicinus's reference to Venice in his description of the images' origin suggests, he was just as interested in mental travel, something closely related to the practice of imagined pilgrimage currently in

fashion, as he was in geography.²² As such, the way we approach fol. 84v should reflect how the page orients both the body and the mind. While the physical act of traversing the known world became an act of kinetic devotion, by the later Middle Ages pilgrims did not necessarily have to leave their homes to experience pilgrimage. Souvenirs, woodcuts, and relics gave believers access to the holy either through mementos from an earlier pilgrimage or from local shrines.²³ The Benedictine monk Matthew Paris's Itinerary map from ca. 1250 offered a creative alternative to those who could not otherwise travel to Rome and Jerusalem but who still desired the experience of a journey (fig. 7). The Itinerary's layout replete with numerous foldouts traced the established pilgrimage route from Paris's abbey of Saint Albans to the Holy Land, even including rough estimates of how long the journey's various legs would take alongside key landmarks. Through folding and unfolding the flaps Paris added to the parchment, the map emphasizes the viewer's sense of their body as it interacted with the manuscript to mentally traverse the spaces contained within it.²⁴

Figure 7. Matthew Paris, Itinerary map (detail of the Holy Land), MS 26 fol. 3r–4v, c.1250, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library. Accessed September 22, 2021.
<http://www.myoldmaps.com/early-medieval-monographs/2251-matthew-paris-itinerar/2254-palestine.pdf>

The wandering hands of the monk who used Paris's Itinerary map would have found themselves breaking down ordered and rational understandings of space as the map positions the body in one place and the mind in another. But while Paris's Itinerary map encourages a departure from the abbey of St. Albans that mirrors a real journey with its progressive stops and its ultimate destination, the spatial representation of fol. 84v instead exists on multiple planes and in multiple places at once. A single point on the map accounts for a plural of coordinates: one on the expansive Mediterranean region and the other within a small Italian town. Distinct from the Itinerary Map, the usefulness of Opicinus's drawing in faithfully reproducing the external world does not carry much value, despite employing the highly developed and accurate cartographic technologies for spatializing the known world. Instead, the page becomes a site where knowledge of the physical world rubs up against a desire for what cannot be seen with the naked eye.

Figure 8. Angelino Dulcert, “Dulcert Chart,” Add. MS. 25691, c.1339, London, British Library.
Accessed September 22, 2021.

<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/portolan-chart-attributed-to-angelino-dulcert>

Figure 9. Hildegard of Bingen, Man and the Cosmos, fol. 9r MS 1942, Liber divinorum operum, 13th century, Luca, Biblioteca statale. Accessed September 22, 2021. <https://warburg.library.cornell.edu/panel-image/panel-b-image-1>

Through the Looking Glass: The Page as a Distorted Mirror

The transcontinental mental journeys visualized within the Itinerary map and referenced within the visions of Opicinus were themselves part of a much larger interest in navigating through space during the fourteenth century. Karl Whittington deftly handles the spatial relationships expressed in Opicinus's drawings through a careful comparison with newly developed portolan charts, specifically the Dulcert Chart (fig. 8), a map roughly contemporary with the Vaticanus manuscript's production.²⁵ Through the careful study of navigation patterns and their relation to wind currents and coastlines, these portolan charts aided in the precise delineation and shape of bodies of water by making use of rhumb lines, a network of vectors intersecting at sixteen points to correspond to established sailing winds.²⁶

What may appear at first as a complex geometric web of interlace, the rhumb lines fall into an ordered pattern across the page. Around the circumference of the area are several equidistant intersection points or "secondary centers." Each of these points is joined to most or all of the others to provide potential directions across the chart. From these points, it was standard practice for the eight winds (north, northeast, east, etc.) to be drawn in black or brown, the next eight half-winds (north-northeast) in green, and the sixteen quarter-winds (north by east, northeast by north) in red.²⁷ Like Opicinus's layering of his two maps, the network of winds shares an orientation with the coastal outline below but is otherwise independent from it and could be easily grafted onto any other map. Rather, its presence reveals how invisible patterns could be drawn for the sake of standardized navigation and a clearer image of the world.

In contrast to the stable and unified image of the world's land and water expressed by the Map Psalter and other *Mappaemundi*, to move between areas in reality meant being subjected to unforeseeable circumstances, whether anomalies in wind patterns, water currents, or even pillaging by renegade ships during this period of increased sea exploration.²⁸ But the intersecting network of portolan charts' rhumb lines allowed mathematics and geometry to provide the contours of what previously would have been a mental map of sea routes in the minds of seasoned sailors. This is akin to the famous knowledge of London's "black cab" drivers who navigate the labyrinthine city.²⁹ While the empiricism of the sea chart may seem at odds with the whimsical nature of Opicinus's drawings, they are both navigational maps, sharing a concern with distances across space.³⁰ In one marginal comment, for example, Opicinus expresses spatial anxiety by mentioning that the devil's body spills over the inner city wall of Pavia, which he concludes must be a sign that malice and mischief have spread out beyond the city walls.³¹

However, this is not to say Opicinus translates these signs into facts. In each of the three drawings that contain the two overlaid maps, Opicinus slightly alters where Pavia's grid rests on the region below it, drawing different prophetic conclusions from the changing relationships. Concerning the interplay of different maps within Opicinus's manuscripts, scholars have remarked that any two maps placed in relation to one another will yield certain similarities.³² As Catherine Harding argues in her approach to the drawings within the Vaticanus manuscript, Opicinus was always searching for the rational basis that would reconcile various forms of truth from the natural to the supernatural.³³ Like the constant refinement of the portolan chart, his interest in reconciling the natural and supernatural world leads him to make minor changes on the page, testing out multiple imaginative possibilities that bridge the local and specific with the universal.

Explorations of the relationship between the local and the global as well as the individual's place within it are not uncommon within 14th century visual culture, especially surrounding theories of

cosmology. Hildegard of Bingen's mystical imagery of the cosmos comes as close as we can get to imagining an architectural schema for the entire universe expressed with cartographic elements that resonate with Opicinus's drawings. Her image of Man and the Cosmos (fig. 9) abstracts the explicitly topographical image of the world by representing a series of idealized bodies within other bodies in an incremental scale. The eternal godhead remains the all-encompassing container that frames all subordinate beings. Within his body, an enflamed holy spirit gives matter to the world through fire, but also generating the other elements, water, air, and earth.³⁴ From this, an image of the Son is presented, outstretched and offering a harmonious image of the universe's structure.³⁵ Perhaps most closely aligned with cartography are the personifications of the winds in the inner circle with the dizzying network of lines crossing in front of and behind the figure anticipating the portolan charts that would soon emerge. As evidenced by the cosmological image, Opicinus, Hildegard, and countless other medieval mystics and philosophers, looked to the body as a fertile testing ground to explore the world and its systems on a tangible scale.³⁶

Informed by theories of the microcosm, notions that universal structures and patterns could be found in the smallest and most monumental of levels, both Opicinus and Hildegard draw on their bodily images to seek intimate knowledge of themselves and their world. But the conceptualization of the ordered universe had subtly shifted in the years between Hildegard and Opicinus. With the late medieval interest in astrology, the reciprocal relationship glimpsed in Hildegard's image were seen increasingly to go in one direction only: superior forces now exerted the power over things on a smaller scale. Medievalist Michael Camille sums up the social anxiety entwined with the changing understanding of the universe by stating "if earlier medieval writers had seen in the microcosmic image of the outstretched human the splendid Augustinian order of the universe with man as its focus, fourteenth century thinkers faced a less comforting picture...men are more like insects trapped in a spider's web."³⁷

In line with the mental exercises of Hildegard's mystical traditions and the navigational patterns of the Portolan chart, the cartographic experiments of Opicinus come into sharper focus. The various visual schemata designed to illustrate the world and cosmos were not merely the result of rendering the observable environment onto the page, they also sought to make sense of a changing world that encompassed the visible and the imagined, both of which were equally real within the medieval mind.³⁸ Such representational strategies could take an idealized form, as in the case of Hildegard, to subtly argue that all ascertainable things in the universe could be found within our body and mind, or they could also translate mental, proto-GPS models of the Mediterranean into visual expressions. While both mystical imagery and cartography emerge from independent traditions, their shared interest in making the world accessible either for religious or navigational purposes clearly held resonance for Opicinus's elaborate enterprise.

Conclusion

To return to what these drawings were good for, the diverse examples brought together within this brief article have shown that the topography of the world became a fruitful frame for projecting images equally concerned with the visible world as with the imagined. Set against the backdrop of changing images of the globe that cut across theological and geographic issues, folio 84v and Opicinus's larger project do not appear to simply be hybrid forms of mystical imagery and cartography, but rather use emerging technologies as a means of curious experimentation. He draws on the traditional conventions of orientation and centering as well as advancing techniques of the portolan chart with its exact and precise

coastlines to probe the external, material world and potential, invisible truths of his vision. Because these drawings reflect trends in cartographic innovations and mystical imagery, or topographic and imaginative worlds, the scant literature has been unsure of how to approach them, often getting too preoccupied with definitions. But perhaps they were not meant to be any singular thing. We should instead consider what happens when we stop projecting a progressive teleological march toward rationalization and embrace the creative and multivalent potential of medieval mapping practices.

While Opicinus has been previously stigmatized as an eccentric figure, now is as good a time as any to reevaluate his imagery. Restricted to bed as he recovered and slowly regained control of his body, we may find ourselves more understanding and sympathetic to his elaborate expressions after our own periods of confinement. When confronted with a map or photograph, who has not been tempted to daydream about being elsewhere, allowing our minds to travel either through the memories of a past trip or by constructing a new one? Or on a more bodily experience, who has not seen a masked person on one of our brief errands out of the house and imagined what the rest of their face might look like? As our communities cautiously relax their restrictions, most would agree that the enforced physical distancing and spatial limitations have given way to far more imaginative encounters with reality.

Endnotes

- 1 This project initially emerged from a graduate seminar on the Early Modern Body at McGill University with Chriscinda Henry, who provided invaluable support and enthusiasm, and an early version of this paper was presented at the 2018 Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians. Special thanks to Catherine Harding and Robert Marcoux for the questions and conversation. Finally, I thank my two anonymous reviewers for their rich and incisive feedback, as well as to Iraboty Kazi for seeing this to completion.
- 2 Opicinus's episode has been recounted in literature to various degrees of sensationalism. For Ernst Kris, this was a psychotic break from reality and was used as a part of his larger study on the drawings on the mentally ill. See Ernst Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (New York: International Universities Press, 1965), 120–23. But even in the more positive accounts, it has been described as destructive. See Michael Camille, "The Image and the Self: Unwriting Late Medieval Bodies," in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 88.
- 3 This passage is translated in Richard Salomon, "A Newly Discovered Manuscript of Opicinus de Canistris," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 46–47 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/750226>). See also Richard Salomon, *Opicinus de Canistris: Weldbuld und Bekenntnisse eines avignonnesischen Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts* (London: Studies of the Warburg Institute, 1936), 213 (n. 5).
- 4 This passage is quoted in Karl Whittington, *Body–Worlds: Opicinus de Canistris and the Medieval Cartographic Imagination* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2014), 3. The full passage from Vatican Library Vat. Lat. 6435, f. 53r reads, "...aliquantulum apertis oculus meis interioribus ad discernendas ymagines terre et maris et conferendas in conscientia mea secundum labellum declarationis predicte in peciis X papyri composui...".
- 5 While sharing the same visual vocabulary, these two manuscripts nonetheless represent a number of differences, including scale and writing content. On the differences see Catherine Harding, "Madness, Reason, Vision, and the Cosmos: Evaluating the Drawings of Opicinus de Canistris (1296–1351)," in *Revaluing Renaissance Art*, ed. G. Naher and R. Shepherd (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), 201–10.
- 6 Fol. 84v's use of erotic imagery, particularly the beast's multiple penises and its phallic imagery may be less representative of graphic sexuality than about generative potential. See Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 36–47, esp. 41. More recently, Karl Whittington has masterfully treated the erotic elements across Opicinus's oeuvre, see Karl Whittington, "Queer," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 164–65.
- 7 Opicinus's childhood in Pavia and later engagement with the town is described in Morse's first and second chapters; see Victoria Morse, "A Complex Terrain: Church, Society, and the Individual in the Works of Opicino de Canistris (1296–ca. 1354)" (PhD dis., University of California, Berkeley, 1996), 36–168. Muriel Laharie offers a stark contrast, with attention given to anachronistically perceived psychological breaks. Muriel Laharie, *Le Journal Singulier d'Opicinus de Canistris (1337–vers 1341)* 2 vols. Studi e Testi 447–448, (Vatican City: Vatican Library, 2008), passim but esp. vol 1, XLVII–LII.
- 8 Pavia's city walls are shown through a series of red lines that progressively surround the page's entirety with the first falling on the beast's bent elbow and the last encircling much of the figural scene.
- 9 For an overview of the various traditions of medieval map making, see P.D.A. Harvey, "Medieval Maps: An Introduction," in *The History of Cartography, Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 283–85.
- 10 The evidence seems to suggest that the Vaticanus was a private enterprise because of its small size and status as a daybook. However, Morse adds nuance here suggesting that these drawings were part of a rhetorical effort to establish himself as a divine authority to his subjects. Morse, "A Complex Terrain," 153–61.
- 11 Richard Salomon was the first to publish Opicinus in *Opicinus de Canistris* which largely sought to catalog the diverse material. Whittington points to two main schools that have developed around Opicinus in the

last thirty years following his reentry into academic discourse: a group of European scholars interested in Opicinus as a case study for psychosis and a diverse range of scholars who have cast aside this anachronistic diagnosis to focus on his place within the theological and political milieu of the fourteenth century. For psychosis see Ernst Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations*; Guy Roux, *Opicinus de Canistris, 1296–1352: Dieu fait Homme et homme-Dieu* (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 2009); Muriel Laharie, *Le Journal Singulier*; Laharie and Guy Roux, *Art et Folie au Moyen Âge: Aventures et énigmes d'Opicinus de Canistris* (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1997). For Theological Connections see above, n. 7; for encyclopedism and cosmography, see Catherine Harding, "Madness, Reason, Vision, and the Cosmos," and eadem, "Opening to God: The Cosmographical Diagrams of Opicinus de Canistris," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61 (1998): 18–39.

- 12 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 118; see also Adam Cohen, "Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany," *Gesta* 48, no. 2 (2009): 136. ([jstor.org/stable/29764904](http://www.jstor.org/stable/29764904)).
- 13 Veronica della Dora, "Mapping Meta-geographies: the Cartographic Invention of Italy and the Mediterranean," *California Italian Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2010): 1–25.
- 14 The primary mapping text in the Middle Ages was Ptolemy's *Geography*. Distancing itself from the medieval *mappaemundi*, Ptolemaic mapping used geography to imitate the world through a graphic form interested in precision not theological teaching. For an overview on the functional use of maps in the period see David Woodward, "Medieval *mappaemundi*," in *The History of Cartography, Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 288–90.
- 15 Marcia Kupfer, "Reflections in the Ebstorf Map: Cartography, Theology, and dilectio speculationis," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 15.
- 16 More specific elements further add to a liturgical reading of the image to further engage the reader. See LauraLee Brott, "The Geography of Devotion in the British Map Psalter," *Cartographica* 53, no. 3 (2018): 211–24.
- 17 On the T-O division, see Keith Lilley (ed.), *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Cornelia Herberichs, "... quasi sub unius pagine visione coadunavit," in *Text – Bild – Karte: Kartographien der Vormoderne*, ed. Jürg Glauser and Christian Kiening (Freiburg: Rombach, 2007), 201–17, esp. 209.
- 18 Early and Medieval Christians alike were endlessly fascinated with the potential monsters that lived at the world's edge, expanding on foreign stereotypes inherited from the ancient world. For a contemporary "eyewitness" account, see Friar Jordanus's *Wonders of the East* which describes the various creatures inhabiting the world. Friar Jordanus, *The Wonders of the East*, trans. Col. Henry Yule (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1863). More recently, Asa Mitmann, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 19 For pilgrimage accounts and further bibliography, see Robert Wilken, "Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," in *The City of the Great King*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 117–35, esp. 124–27.
- 20 Brott, "Geography of Devotion," 215.
- 21 This can be seen in the performance of turning the page which materializes the church teaching of the word being made flesh using the world as the model. It also engages in an allegorical vision, bridging the Genesis story of the creation of the world with the New Testament fulfillment of the word being made flesh.
- 22 Daniel Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (1999): 598–622. www.jstor.org/stable/3051336.
- 23 For a productive discussion of the multiple forms and realities created by late medieval pilgrimage souvenirs, see David S. Areford, "Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation," *Studies in the History of Art* 75 (2009): 118–53. www.jstor.org/stable/42622516.
- 24 Connolly "Imagined Pilgrimage," 606. See also Michael Gaudio, "Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the margins," *Gesta* 39, no. 1 (2000): 50–57. www.jstor.org/stable/767153.
- 25 Whittington, *Body–Worlds*, 35–40.
- 26 See James E. Kelley, "Perspectives on the Origins and Uses of Portolan Charts," *Cartographica* 32, no. 3

- (1995): 1–16, esp. 10. For a more general account of portolan charts in medieval and early modern Europe, see Michel Mollat du Jourdin and Monique de La Roncière, *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers: 13th to 17th Century* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984).
- 27 Tony Campbell, “Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500,” in *The History of Cartography, Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 371–463, esp. 376.
- 28 Silvanus P. Thompson, “The Rose of the Winds: The Origin and Development of the Compass-Card,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 6 (1913-14): 179–209, esp. 197.
- 29 Tony Campbell, “Portolan Charts,” 387; for London’s taxi drivers and more modern instances of human spatial navigation and mental maps, see Arne Ekstrom et al, *Human Spatial Navigation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 146–63.
- 30 Opicinus even acknowledges his use of nautical charts in an entry in his daybook. See du Jourdin & de La Roncière, *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers*, 198–201; Tony Campbell, “Portolan Charts,” 379 (n. 71).
- 31 Vaticanus fol. 84v: “*Tempore maioris malitie Papiensis excedentis muros ueteris ciuitatis, absconduntur peccata que tamen celari non possunt;*” quoted in Whittington, *Body–Worlds*, 75.
- 32 For the Palatinus see Jörg-Geerd Arentzen, *Imago Mundi cartographica*, (Munich: Fink, 1984), 304–10; For Vaticanus, Whittington, *Body–Worlds*, 75.
- 33 Harding, “Madness, Reason, Vision, and the Cosmos,” 201.
- 34 Hildegard presents an allegorical view of the world created from matter, engaging with the foundational image of the universe from Bede’s *De temporibus* which visualizes relationships both cosmic and bodily in the “physical and physiological fours”—the four elements, qualities, ages of man, cardinal directions, and letters of Adams name, as well as the months and the zodiac. From the raw material of the elements, all things were created. This generative aspect can be glimpsed in Hildegard’s diagram, where the image of man appears to have been born from the surrounding matter, and in fact serves as the inspiration for the mystic who documents this image in the bottom left corner.
- 35 This is, of course a drastic simplification of the diagram. For an extended study on the image, see Madeline Caviness, “Hildegard as Designer of the Illustrations to her Works,” in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of her Thought and Art*, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: Warburg Institute, 1998), 29–62; and Bernard McGinn, “Theologians as Trinitarian Iconographers,” in *The Mind’s Eye*, ed. Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Boucher (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 186–207. See Nicholas Campion, *The Dawn of Astrology: A Cultural History of Astrology: Volume 1: The Ancient World* (London: Continuum, 2008), esp. 245-56 and 267-89, for a thorough analysis of Early Christian and Augustinian conceptions of astrology, with extensive sources.
- 36 Caviness, “Images of Divine Order,” 99-120. See also Theodore Otto Wedel, *The Medieval Attitude toward Astrology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 1–24. For an overview of Greco-Roman-Christian conceptions of celestial influence, see Edward Grant, “Medieval and Renaissance Scholastic Conceptions of the Influence of the Celestial Region on the Terrestrial,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 17, no. 1 (1987): 1–23.
- 37 Camille, “The Image and the Self,” 68.
- 38 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 62.

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