

15 • Literary Mapping in German-Speaking Europe

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Early modern maps were surrounded by and interspersed with texts of many kinds. The intimate relationship between cartographic image and geographical text in the map was due to the map's mixed media structure and its early appearance in the context of history books, travel reports, or chorographic descriptions. Literature was based on other types of text. Epic, drama, and poetry were essentially written forms; yet they, too, were surrounded by and interspersed with numerous images. Up to the fifteenth century, direct points of contact between the spheres of geography and literature were rare. But there was a common denominator that cartography and literature shared, namely, the idea of a Christian world. Literature has never meant only the production of texts, as cartography does not mean simply the production of prints. Both deal with conceptions of reality. The predominant concept in early modern times was that of the Christian world.¹ The ongoing process of differentiation, however, made it more and more difficult to bring divergent forms of perception, such as the religious, the scientific, and the artistic, into line.

Mutual attraction between cartography and literature gave rise to a new genre, the literary map, which could be either graphic or textual. Although the geographical map was concerned with the earth's surface, the literary map used techniques of cartographic representation to depict religious, political, social, moral, and psychological facts or states other than the geographical. During the sixteenth century, the fascination with cartography grew steadily and reached the literary world in several waves. At first, the map infiltrated aphorisms and metaphorical speech. Authors later went on to structure their literary works after the model of cartography and to write their own maps. Early modern cartography also faced considerable skepticism, a frequent reaction to any new and powerful device and therefore a measure of its success. This explains the general trend in seeing the map not so much as a tool for enhanced orientation, but as the symbol of a mazelike world.

As a whole, the years between 1470 and 1650 were the formative period of literary cartography. It was at this time that the prototypes of the fictitious, the satirical, and the allegorical map were created. Yet there still was no continuous production of literary maps that would allow the

drafting of an elegant typology. At the fringe of contemporary image making and still small in number, these maps achieved their full significance only in the light of further developments at the end of the seventeenth century.²

UTOPIAN FICTION

The largest and best-known literary map in the German language is certainly Johann Baptist Homann's *Accurata Utopiae Tabula: Das ist der Neu-entdeckten Schalck-Welt oder des so oft benannten, und doch nie erkannten Schlaraffenlandes Neu erfundene lächerliche Land-Tabell*, which was printed for the art dealer and publisher Daniel Funck at the end of the seventeenth century together with a comprehensive explanatory book, *Erklaerung der wunder-seltzamen Land-Charten Utopiae*, compiled by the military officer Johann Andreas Schnebelin in 1694.³ The preface to the *Erklaerung* points to such literary sources as Thomas More, Jakob Bidermann, and Joseph Hall, who "broke down common vicissitudes into several small maps."⁴ The author's reference to his fore-runners shows that there was already a clear understanding of the history of literary mapping and of its most eminent exponents by the end of the seventeenth century.

Thomas More's fictitious account of the island Utopia was printed in mainland Europe in 1516 together with the title woodcut that appeared to be a map, rather more in the minds of its makers than as a result of its visual aspects. The woodcut executed by Hans Holbein's brother, Ambrosius, for the Basel edition of 1518 attained special renown. Book and plate abandoned the medieval

I am obliged to Nova Latimer-Pearson for her advice on the more sophisticated facets of the English language.

1. Michael Schilling, *Images Mundi: Metaphorische Darstellungen der Welt in der Emblematik* (Bern: Lang, 1979).

2. Franz Reitinger, "Discovering the Moral World: Early Forms of Map Allegory," *Mercator's World* 4, no. 4 (1999): 24–31.

3. Franz Reitinger, "Wie 'akkurat' ist unser Wissen über Homanns 'Utopiae Tabula'?" (paper presented at the 11. Kartographiehistorisches Colloquium, Nuremberg, 19–21 September 2002), and idem, ed., *Johann Andreas Schnebelins Erklärung der Wunderseltzamen Land-Charten UTOPIÆ aus dem Jahr 1694 [Das neu entdeckte Schlaraffenland]*, new ed. (Bad Langensalza: Rockstuhl, 2004).

4. Johann Andreas Schnebelin, *Erklaerung der wunder-seltzamen Land-Charten Utopiae . . .* ([Nuremberg], [1694?]), preface.

paradigm of God's universal order, still valid in the *Circulus universorum* (1488) drawing by Nicolaus Cusanus for the geographical paradigm of recent world discoveries.⁵ More and his publishers thus set a precedent in which nonrelational modes of visual representation such as the cosmographical charts in the works of Nicolaus Cusanus or Hartmann Schedel became outmoded and esoteric.⁶ While medieval aggregation schemes with their vertical alignment and hierarchical layers were ousted, scale maps, top plan views, and other relational representations received growing attention.⁷

Although More himself opposed an English translation of his *Utopia*, a German edition went to press in 1524. The first utopian island map deserving of this name was part of the earliest German utopia, the 1553 *Commentariolus de Eudaemonensium Republica*, by the Alsatian professor of Latin Caspar Stiblin.⁸ The double-page woodcut, inscribed *Macariae et Eudaemonis tabella* (fig. 15.1), acted as an equivalent to the colophon and thus functioned in a way similar to that of a frontispiece. The cut was a contribution of the learned Basel publisher Johannes Oporinus, who had connections to some of the most eminent cartographers of the time. Oporinus not only printed an edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, but produced many other historical and philological books with maps, some of which Abraham Ortelius continued to use

as models.⁹ As Holbein's frontispiece had done for More's *Utopia*, the *tabella* brought the subject of Stiblin's *Commentariolus* to the reader's eye as additional evidence of the utopian reality described. In departing from a poetry of deception, which in Lucian's *Vera historia* had become a genre in its own right, both More and Stiblin ended up as pioneers of fiction and fictitious travel reporting.

A highlight of early modern cartographic imagination is Ortelius's *Utopiae typus* (1595), devised at the request of Jakob Monau and Johannes Mattheus Wackher of Wackenfels.¹⁰ Ortelius had been on good terms with Monau and Wackher of Wackenfels, councillors at the Imperial court in Prague, since the 1570s.¹¹ Although Ortelius's historiographic interest made him little inclined



FIG. 15.1. *MACARIAE ET EUDAEMONIS TABELLA*. Double-page woodcut.

Size of the original: ca. 13.1 × 13.9 cm. Caspar Stiblin, *Commentariolus de Eudaemonensium Republica* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1555), 120–21. Photograph courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Asc. 4752).

5. Nicolaus Cusanus, *De coniecturis* (Strassburg, 1488); reprinted as idem, *Mutmaßungen*, ed. and trans. Winfried Happ and Josef Koch (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1971). See also Iñigo Bocken, "Waarheid in beeld: De conjecturale metafysica van Nicolaus Cusanus in godsdienstfilosofisch perspectief" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1997).

6. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493); reprinted as *Weltchronik: Kolorierte Gesamtausgabe von 1493*, ed. Stephan Füssel (Cologne: Taschen, 2001), frontispiece.

7. Franz Reitingner, "Die Konstruktion anderer Welten," in *Wunschmaschine, Welterfindung: Eine Geschichte der Technikvisionen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Felderer, exhibition catalog (Vienna: Springer, 1996), 145–66.

8. Although he composed the work in 1553, Stiblin waited two years to send the manuscript to his Basel publisher, Johannes Oporinus; Caspar Stiblin, *Commentariolus de Eudaemonensium Republica* (Basel 1555), ed. and trans. Isabel Dorothea Jahn (Regensburg: S. Roderer, 1994). See Luigi Firpo, "Kaspar Stiblin, utopiste," in *Les Utopies à la Renaissance* (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1963), 107–33; Ferdinand Seibt, "Die Gegenreformation: Stiblinus 1556," in *Utopica: Modelle totaler Sozialplanung* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1972; reprinted Munich: Orbis, 2001), 104–19; Adolf Laube, Max Steinmetz, and Günter Vogler, *Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen frühbürgerlichen Revolution* (Berlin: Dietz, 1974), 370–71; Michael Winter, *Compendium Utopiarum: Typologie und Bibliographie literarischer Utopien* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzgersche, 1978), LVIII and 38–40; Bernhard Kytzler, "Stiblin's Seligland," in *Literarische Utopie-Entwürfe*, ed. Hiltrud Gnüg (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 91–100; and Manfred Beller, "Da 'Christianopolis' a 'Heliopolis': Città ideali nella letteratura tedesca," *Studi di Letteratura Francese* 11 (1985): 66–84.

9. Martin Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus: Ein Basler Buchdrucker um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1967); Frank Hieronymus, ed., *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen*, exhibition catalog (Basel: Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 1992), 411–12, 421–24, and 431–40; and Carlos Gilly, *Die Manuskripte in der Bibliothek des Johannes Oporinus: Verzeichnis der Manuskripte und Druckvorlagen aus dem Nachlass Oporins anhand des von Theodor Zwinger und Basilius Amerbach erstellten Inventariums* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001).

10. Abraham Ortelius, *Utopiae typus* (Antwerp, 1595).

11. Cécile Kruyfhoof, "A Recent Discovery: *Utopia* by Abraham Ortelius," *Map Collector* 16 (1981): 10–14; Reitingner, "Die Konstruktion," 151; Giorgio Mangani, *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio: Misticismo, geografia e collezionismo nel Rinascimento dei Paesi Bassi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1998), 132 and fig. 45; and M. P. R. van den Broecke, "De Utopia kaart van Ortelius," *Caert-Thresoor* 23 (2004): 89–93.

toward literary fiction, he deemed his relationship with the two Silesians sufficiently important to impel him to comply with their fancy. Monau and Wackher shared Ortelius's strong sympathy for Calvinism and had long been his protectors. They funded topographical works published in Ortelius's literary vicinity, just as Ortelius and others had dedicated their publications to them.¹² Together the three men immortalized themselves by printing their surnames on the utopian map in the guise of topographical names to demonstrate a friendship they had cultivated over the years and for which Ortelius's *Album amicorum* furnishes further documentary evidence.¹³

Functioning as a private commemorative print, the map anticipates similar maps from the early nineteenth-century Romantic period, when heroic friendship was cultivated.¹⁴ Utopian cartographic dialectics were based on a system of topographical names employing negative qualifications, such as "No Place," "Imperceptible," and "No Water," in order to generate distance through an inverted relationship to the known world.¹⁵ These linguistic operations served Ortelius and his friends in converting the adverse political and religious conditions of their lifetimes into the image of an ideal society. The fictitious place on the map turned into a virtual "site" that enabled the companions to meet each other through a medium and to stay in touch even across long distances, similar to what we experience when we visit a web site today. Though physically far away, the friends were close to each other by means of their names inscribed on the Ortelian map. Copies of the original impression, in fact, reached Germany. One was described by Poeschel, a scholar from Leipzig, who had discovered the map in a 1518 edition of More's novel.¹⁶

SATIRE

The case of More's compatriot, Joseph Hall, proves to be more complex. Hall, who later became a leading figure of the Anglican Church, wrote his *Mundus alter et idem* while he was still a student at Cambridge University. With a general map at the beginning and a special map placed before each of the four chapters, *Mundus alter et idem* is the first known example of a satirical atlas that was moralistic. In contrast with its fortune in the author's native country, England, where its circulation had been considerably inhibited by his Puritan enemies, the book's influence in Germany continued far into the eighteenth century. Even in the 1605 first edition, the publisher replaced London as the place of publication with the feigned name of "Francofvrti" to underscore his commitment to present Hall's *Mundus alter et idem* at the annual Frankfurt book fair.¹⁷

At an early stage, the citizens of Frankfurt am Main had rejected Papistic veneration of holy images in favor of Protestant literal belief in the Book of Books. The rise of Frankfurt as the center of the international book trade

grew out of the privileges accorded a free city. Frankfurt's strategic position emphasized the importance of printing and publishing in the many urban centers along the Rhine.¹⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, to see the earliest map allegory ever published, the fiercely anti-Catholic *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique*, listed in the first printed fair catalogue of 1566. Via Frankfurt the *Mappe-monde* reached the reformed communities of such distant lands as Poland and Silesia.¹⁹

By the time Hall's *Mundus alter et idem* was exhibited at the fair in 1605–6, Frankfurt had become a center of Calvinism and the publication of religious propaganda prints against Rome was no longer subject to notable restrictions. The printer of the second Latin edition of 1606–7, Wilhelm Antonius of Frankfurt, worked in the service of the Reformist court at nearby Hanau. Antonius published numerous juridical and religious works of English origin in close relationship with the University of Heidelberg. In 1613, Gregor Wintermonat presented

12. Piotr Oszczanowski and Jan Gromadzki, eds., *Theatrum Vitae et Mortis: Graphik, Zeichnung und Buchmalerei in Schlesien 1550–1650*, trans. Rainer Sachs, exhibition catalog (Wrocław: Muzeum Historyczne, 1995), 36, 64, and 107, and Mangani, *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio*, 96, 132, 134, 145 n. 112, 240, and 271 n. 30.

13. Abraham Ortelius, *Album amicorum*, ed. Jean Puraye in collaboration with Marie Delcourt (Amsterdam: A. L. Gendt, 1969), 47 and 72.

14. Franz Reitinger, *Kleiner Atlas der österreichischen Gemütlichkeit* (Klagenfurt: Ritter, 2003), 62–64.

15. In his letter to Petrus Aegidius, published in *Utopia*, Thomas More explains the meanings of place-names; the letter was first published in the 1517 Paris edition. For More's correspondence with Aegidius, see Klaus J. Heinisch, ed., *Der utopische Staat* ([Reinbeck bei Hamburg]: Rowohl, [1966]), 13–16, esp. 15, and Peter Kuon, *Utopischer Entwurf und fiktionale Vermittlung: Studien zum Gattungswandel der literarischen Utopie zwischen Humanismus und Frühaufklärung* (Tübingen: Science & Fiction, 1985), 123–27.

16. Johannes Poeschel, "Das Märchen vom Schlaraffenlande," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 5 (1878): 389–427, esp. 425.

17. Joseph Hall, *Mundus alter et idem* (Francofvrti [London], 1605).

18. Dieter Skala, "Vom neuen Athen zur literarischen Provinz: Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Büchermesse bis ins 18. Jahrhundert," in *Brücke zwischen den Völkern: Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Messe*, 3 vols., ed. Rainer Koch, exhibition catalog (Frankfurt: Historisches Museum, 1991), 2:195–202.

19. See figure 11.5. Two of three remaining copies of the *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* are housed in eastern German and Polish collections. See Franz Reitinger, "Kampf um Rom: Von der Befreiung sinnorientierten Denkens im kartographischen Raum am Beispiel einer Weltkarte des Papismus aus der Zeit der französischen Religionskriege," in *Utopie: Gesellschaftsformen, Künstlerträume*, ed. Götz Pochat and Brigitte Wagner (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1996), 100–140. It is due to Peter H. Meurer, "Cartographica in den Frankfurter Messekatalogen Georg Willers von 1564 bis 1592: Beiträge zur kartographiegeschichtlichen Quellenkunde I," *Cartographica Helvetica* 13 (1996): 31–37, esp. 32, that we know how these copies arrived in eastern Europe from Geneva. The fact that the *Mappe-monde* is listed in the fair catalogs emphasizes the importance of Frankfurt not only as a local selling point but as a center of distribution on an international level.



FIG. 15.2. *SCHLAMPAMPENLAND*. Engraving, monogrammist FHS (sc.). Size of the original: 8.5 × 13 cm. Joseph Hall, *Utopiæ pars II: Mundus alter et idem: Die heutige neue alte Welt*, trans. Gregor Wintermonat (Leipzig: Henning Grossen des Jüngen, 1613). Photograph courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Hall's satire in a German version at the book fair in Leipzig (fig. 15.2). As with the exuberant works of François Rabelais, any attempt to translate a work so rich in allusions and new coinages into another language could result only in a reinvention.²⁰ Wintermonat's *Die heutige neue alte Welt* was thus far more a paraphrase than a simple translation of Hall's work. It went beyond the original in its reminiscence of the German Shrovetide plays and the popular account of "Schlaraffenland"—the legendary farmer's paradise where all work was banished and eating desires were fulfilled instantly—to provide a genuine narrative pattern for a world abounding in private whims and public vices.²¹ Even though the playful handling of toponyms and their hidden meanings was not entirely unknown in German literature, *Die heutige neue alte Welt* opened up a new range of possibilities.²²

During the English interregnum, Hall was detained in the Tower of London and subsequently expelled from his diocese. Even John Milton, who supported the radical Puritan wing, disparaged Hall's piece as youthful writing. Hall himself preferred inner exile to possible flight to Holland. His *Mundus alter et idem*, however, was reprinted in Utrecht together with such eminent works as Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas solis* and Francis Bacon's *Nova atlantis*. The new edition contained smaller maps than those of the previous editions, with engravings by the experienced Pieter van den Keere, who, together with his brother-in-law, map publisher Jodocus Hondius, had been forced to live in England for some time as refugees from the Dutch War of Independence.²³

DEVOTIONAL BOOKS

The remarkable string of discoveries from the times of Christopher Columbus onward, the new scientific ap-

proaches of Francis Bacon and Galileo Galilei, and the new techniques of map construction developed by Gerardus Mercator and others all together contributed to the cartographer's changing concept of the world. In the cartographer's image, sacred places such as Jerusalem, Rome, and the earthly paradise were marginalized and the world no longer enjoyed a spiritual center. Henceforth, the map could be either topographically right or wrong, but it no longer conveyed any substantial truth. Divided by confessional battle lines, the German-speaking countries particularly worried about the modern map's functional aesthetics, and thus attempted to wring a more profound meaning from cartography.

Already Philipp Melancthon, who was the leading theorist of the Protestant Reformation in Germany, had envisioned geography as the *primum iter ad Deum*, or first approach to divine experience. With the help of geography, he thought it possible to describe God's providence. As a consequence, he introduced geography as a subject in Wittenberg and other Lutheran universities and used wall maps in his teachings.²⁴

In order to bring the new concept of the world into line with the sacred writings of the Old Testament, the first Lutheran Bibles included maps, and Reformed Bibles shortly followed their example.²⁵ These soon evolved into

20. This also applies to the first English translation by John Healey in 1609. See Joseph Hall, *The Discovery of a New World*, trans. John Healey ([London]: Imprinted for Ed. Blount and W. Barrett, 1609).

21. Elfriede Marie Ackermann, "Das Schlaraffenland in German Literature and Folksong: Social Aspects of an Earthly Paradise, with an Inquiry into Its History in European Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1944).

22. In 1400, Heinrich Wittenwiler made extensive use of speaking toponyms in his "Ring." See Heinrich Wittenwiler, *Heinrich Wittenwilers Ring: Nach der Meininger Handschrift*, ed. Edmund Wiessner (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1931), and Eckart Conrad Lutz, *Spiritualis fornicatio: Heinrich Wittenwiler, seine Welt und sein "Ring"* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1990), 216 and 376.

23. For the engraver, see "Keere (Kaerius), Pieter van den," in *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie*, 2 vols., ed. Ingrid Kretschmer, Johannes Dörflinger, and Franz Wawrik (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1986), 1:407–8; for the publisher, Johannes van Waesberge, see Adriaan Marinus Ledebøer, *Het geslacht van Waesberghe: Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der boekdrukkunst en van den boekhandel in Nederland*, 2d ed. (Gravenhage: Martius Nijhoff, 1869).

24. Hanno Beck, *Geographie: Europäische Entwicklung in Texten und Erläuterungen* (Freiburg: Karl Alber, [1973]), 90; idem, *Große Geographen: Pioniere, Außenseiter, Gelehrte* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1982), 45; Uta Lindgren, "Die Bedeutung Philipp Melancthons (1497–1560) für die Entwicklung einer naturwissenschaftlichen Geographie," in *Gerhard Mercator und seine Zeit*, ed. Wolfgang Scharfe (Duisburg: Walter Braun, 1996), 1–12; and Peter H. Meurer, "Ein Mercator-Brief an Philipp Melancthon über seine Globuslieferung an Kaiser Karl V. im Jahre 1554," *Der Globusfreund* 45–46 (1997–98): 187–96.

25. Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1968–76), 4:523–24; Catherine Delano-Smith and Elisabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500–1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991); and Wilco C.

large compendia of so-called *Sacrae geographiae*.²⁶ One preliminary example of such sacred geographies was Heinrich Bünting's *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (1581). Bünting's figurative maps used the shape of a virgin, a winged horse, or a trifoil to transfer the heraldic symbolism of the German Imperial eagle, the Dutch lion, and other emblems of political cartography into the sphere of Christian literature.²⁷

The hopeless confessional controversies that preceded the outbreak of the Thirty Years War brought forth the first pietistic attempts at general reform of public life and religious behavior. In search of alternatives to the harsh and dry arguments of controversial theology, the advocates of reform championed all visual forms of belief and figurative speech, including allegory and even the newly rediscovered literary genre of Menippian satire with its mixed text types, fictitious plots, and dimensional shifts.²⁸ The churches' dwindling sacramental powers were in inverse proportion to a growing need for spiritual comfort, which in both life's journey and earthly pilgrimage could rely on basic narrative patterns.²⁹ The fearful image of the maze gave way to the depiction of common "rites de passage," such as the admission into public life, exodus from civic society, return and homecoming, introversion and conversion. A prominent member of the reform wing was the Württemberg theologian Johann Valentin Andreae, whose biblical travel allegories and utopian descriptions of a Christian commonwealth consciously emulated the tradition of Thomas More.³⁰ His *Peregrini in patria errores* (1618), *Civis Christianus, sive peregrini quondam errantis restitutiones* (1619), and *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae descriptio* (1619) complemented each other with similar themes. However, only the last book contained a plan or map: in its challenge to traditional forms of spiritual orientation, cartography together with other modern inventions failed to meet Andreae's expectations when he set about critical examination of the "Nova reperta" of his times.³¹

In a parable, Andreae tells of a sensitive youth who longs to ascend the steep road to the Royal Stronghold of Happiness. The adolescent thinks that he needs

advice from those, he has heard, might know the way ahead. Many confidently helped to plot his route, philosophers, politicians, monks, hermits, and even magicians and dreamers fancying they enjoyed a foretaste of heaven. Beset by road maps from all sides, the young man eventually went out on his journey. But, what a calamity! How often he bumped his head, how often he lost his path, and how many chasms he encountered! Then he cursed all the armchair-guides who, in their conceit, dare to trace God only knows how many paths in heaven and on earth.³²

From 1628 onward, the Bohemian teacher and reformer Jan Komenský, better known by his Latin name, Johann Amos Comenius, attempted to contact Andreae

through a letter, begging to be admitted among his "students and sons."³³ Comenius had studied at the Calvinist university of Herborn, where he was introduced by Johann Heinrich Alsted to a graphical method of systematizing knowledge by means of treelike stemmata, which originally had been developed by the French theorist Petrus Ramus (Pierre Ramée) and improved by Alsted's tutor Wolfgang Radtke. Alsted also had a marked interest in geography.³⁴

In 1620, Imperial forces achieved a devastating defeat of the Protestant Diet in Bohemia that ignited the bloody

Poortman and Joost Augusteijn, *Kaarten in Bijbels (16^e–18^e eeuw)* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1995).

26. Benito Arias Montano, *Pars Orbs. Sacrae geographicae tabulam ex antiquissimorum cultorum, familiis a Mose recensitis* (Antwerp, 1571); Abraham Ortelius, *Geographia sacra* (Antwerp, 1598); Charles Vialart, *Geographia sacra sive notitia antiqua episcopatum ecclesiae universae* (Paris, 1641); Samuel Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, 2 vols. (Caen, 1646; 2d ed. Caen, 1651); and Georg Horn, *Accuratissima orbis antiqui delineatio sive geographia vetus, sacra & profana* (Amsterdam, 1653). See also Zur Shalev, "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible," *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 56–80.

27. Matthias Burgklechner, *Aquila Tirolensis: Quatuor Ordines Comitatus Tirolis*, ed. Eduard Richter (Vienna, 1902; reprinted Innsbruck, 1975); H. A. M. van der Heijden, *Leo Belgicus: An Illustrated and Annotated Carto-Bibliography* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1990); idem, "Heinrich Bünting's *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae*, 1581: A Chapter in the Geography of the Bible," *Quaerendo* 28 (1998): 49–71; and idem, *Keizer Karel en de leeuw: De oorsprong van de Nederlandse kartographie en de Leo Belgicus* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 2000).

28. For a more precise definition of Menippeian satire, see Werner von Koppenfels, "Mundus alter et idem: Utopiefiktion und menippeische Satire," *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 13 (1981): 16–66, esp. 24–29.

29. Wolfgang Harms, *Homo viator in bivio: Studien zur Bildlichkeit des Weges* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970).

30. Compare Max August Heinrich Möhrke, *Johann Amos Comenius und Johann Valentin Andreae, Ihre Pädagogik und ihr Verhältnis zu einander* (Leipzig: E. Glausch, 1904); Harald Scholtz, *Evangelischer Utopismus bei Johann Valentin Andreae: Ein geistiges Vorspiel zum Pietismus* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1957); Richard van Dülmen, "Johann Amos Comenius und Johann Valentin Andreae: Ihre persönliche Verbindung und ihr Reformanliegen," *Bohemia: Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum* 9 (1968): 73–87; and Martin Brecht, "Johann Valentin Andreae: Weg und Programm eines Reformers zwischen Reformation und Moderne," in *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen*, ed. Martin Brecht (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1977), 270–343.

31. Johann Valentin Andreae, *Menippus, sive Dialogorum Satyricorum centuria, inanitatvm nostratium specvlvm* (Strassburg, 1617), 192, and Uta Bernsmeier, "Die Nova Reperta des Jan van der Straet: Ein Beitrag zur Problemgeschichte der Entdeckungen und Erfindungen im 16. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Hamburg, 1984).

32. Andreae, *Menippus*, bk. 2, chap. 3, 31.

33. Compare Johann Amos Comenius, *Das Labyrinth der Welt und andere Schriften*, ed. Ilse Seehase (Leipzig: Reclam, 1984), 290. See also van Dülmen, "Johann Amos Comenius," 75 n. 12. His request shows that Comenius accepted Andreae as a father figure.

34. Friedrich Adolf Max Lippert, *Johann Heinrich Alsted's pädagogischdidaktische Reform-Bestrebungen und ihr Einfluss auf Johann Amos Comenius* (Meissen: Klinkicht, 1898).

series of battles of the Thirty Years War. As a victim of the subsequent religious cleansing, Comenius found refuge at the castle of Karel of Žerotín, leader of the Moravian nobility. Secure from further harassment, Comenius traced one of the earliest maps of Moravia, thereby affirming the claim to power and patriotism of his protector. At the same time, he completed the manuscript of a satire on early modern society and its different estates entitled “Labyrint světa a ráj srdce” (Labyrinth of the world and the paradise of the heart). This work was modeled on Johann Valentin Andreae’s neo-Latin travel allegory *Peregrini in patria errores*, to which Comenius added an autobiographical touch.³⁵ A washed ink drawing placed in front of the author’s manuscript from the former Žerotín library in Breslau shows a circular map serving as a visual epitome of the book’s content and design (fig. 15.3).

A universal scholar and geographer, Comenius did not return to existing maps but set out to create a map of his own in depicting the first-person narrator’s vision at the opening of the book. Looking for a carefree life, in fact, the young man does what a land surveyor would do when seeking out the highest point of a place in order to trace an image of the surrounding area from above. He climbs an elevated tower from which he lets his eye travel over a huge city encompassed by impenetrable darkness. What he perceives from above is not simply a view among other



FIG. 15.3. LABYRINTH OF THE WORLD, 1623. Washed ink drawing in Jan Amos Comenius’s manuscript “Labyrint světa a ráj srdce,” Brandýs nad Orlicí (Brandeis an der Adler), 1623, 9. Photograph courtesy of the Národní knihovna České republiky, Prague.

possible views. It conforms to the outline of the book, its primary concept, synopsis, and final epitome, and is very much inspired by the literary theory of seventeenth-century Conceitism.³⁶ Beginning in the east, he scans the two subsequent gates of “life” and “choice of profession,” where everyone draws his personal lot. Three streets on each side, standing for both upper and lower positions in society, enclose the marketplace of the world, where class barriers have been temporarily lifted. The “Citadel of Good Fortune” (*Arx fortunae*) turns out to be as deceptive as the “Fortress of Wisdom.” In the end, everything the young man sees within this class system terrifies him. In the face of imminent death, he turns to the inner “house of his heart” for spiritual sustenance.³⁷ Comenius’s book was known only to Moravians until the eighteenth century, when a German translation made a wider circulation possible.³⁸

ILLUSTRATED BROADSHEETS

The religious paradigm pervaded every aspect of society. Abraham Ortelius’s close relations with the devout community of the “Family of Love” in Antwerp was by no means the only example of its kind. While theologians like Andreae still continued to fend off the cartographer’s new concept of the world, religious belief became an open field for public debate in which contestants readily welcomed the achievements of modern life. This fresh approach is obvious in a career at the intersection of religious conviction, image making, and geographical interest of the engraver and print publisher Eberhard Kieser. Between 1623 and 1632, Kieser launched one of the most successful illustrated topographies of the seventeenth century. In a unique way, his extensive *Thesaurus philo-politicus* combined features of an emblem book and a book of topographical views. Kieser’s own predilection for hybrid image categories bridges the genealogical gap between his ancestors and his descendants. His father had been a Protestant preacher. His youngest son, Andreas, however, became a soldier and completed his career as a cartographer in the service of the princely house of Würt-

35. See Hermann Ferdinand von Criegern, *Johann Amos Comenius als Theolog: Ein Beitrag zur Comeniusliteratur* (Leipzig: Winter, 1881), 344ff.

36. Susan Rae Gilkeson Figge, “The Theory of the Conceit in the Seventeenth Century German Poetics and Rhetoric” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1974).

37. Milada Svobodová, *Katalog českých a slovenských rukopisů sign. XVII získaných Národní (Univerzitní) knihovnou po vydání Truhlářova katalogu z roku 1906* (Prague: Národní knihovna, 1996), 67–69.

38. Johann Amos Comenius, *Übergang aus dem Labyrinth der Welt in das Paradies des Hertzens* (Leipzig: Walther, 1738), and idem, *Comenius’ philosophisch-satyrische Reisen durch alle Stände der menschlichen Handlungen* (Berlin: Horvath, 1787).



Neue und kurze Beschreibung der ganzen Himmelschen und Irdischen Welt
des Newen Hierusalems und Ewig brennenden Pfuls

WAn hat bisher die ganze Welt
Schönlich und artlich dargestellt
Figurlich Nemblich Africam/
Europam und Americam/
Nämlich von des grossen Welt/
Wie man solche sieht hin und her/
Auf grossen Wapen allerhand/
Darauff manich Königreich und Land
Man sehen kan sein gleichzeit/
Ob es weit oder vortler.
Dit ist nun eine solche Kunst/
Die man kan haben noch gar und gunt/
Ich hab aber ein Widerschreibung sein
Aufs Papier wollen bringen sein.
Die zeigt an wie ich jetzt meide/
Die gang heimlich und irdisch Welt.
Dann erstlich hat in einer summe
Durchs Oben und Erwanntum
Best beruffen die ganze Welt/
Und sie sein gross (broad) dargestellt.
Erstlich dann er verpicht so werth/
Das allen Menschen geschonnen werth.
Er sagt: Kommt her zu mir allzeit
Dier ist mich (ich) beladen sein/
Ich will euch laden und erquien/
Und euch meine heilich stes zu schen.
Dann ist die ganz beruffne Welt
Wenich einer Wapen (map) gestellt.
Welch Passagen und Gassen hat/
Dardurch zwey (two) wege weg hingest/
Dann sind man manigfalt/
Gut: heilich reich und arm/ jung und alt.
Zierlich: Heiden/ Juden und Christen/
Die sich lassen alle gunt ansteln.
Die sind beruffen allmählich/
Wann sie sterben vor Gottes Reich.

Der Fremmen gass ist breiten schmal/
Nicht wie prangen ist vortler.
Dann Christi Kirch hats ansetzen sehr/
Wann für der Welt ein (one) herheit wer.
Aber die Heiligen Kost für sag/
Al gung und weit ober die maß.
Da stehets voll auff allen stien
Wahrheit an und blasse Heiden.
Und andre döl: Christen nicht/
Die sich mein Wundt nurräumen sehr.
Der Fremmen weg ist schmal und eng/
Und ist dardurch ein (one) stien gertig.
Dardurch man zum (to) Besten kan kommen/
Doch Gottes Weisheit in acht gnommen.
Gutes Effer und fromm Gemut/
Soll man zu (to) Heilighen nemen mit.
Wann kan wol doch eben (one) schen sein/
Auch in die Wapen (map) kommen sein.
Im Oben Wapen hat mit auffsat/
Zum Reich der Heiden (one) stien bald.
So bu aber auff (one) stien kan
Aiden Anstos (one) stien (one) stien an
Das du mit Widerschreibung/
Wohl (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Hab (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Denn (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Ist in der (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
So hab du ein (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Halt dich (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
In Christi Verdienst/ Blut und Creut.
Schlag dich (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Hab (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
So wils recht (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Auf und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Trag (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Ob das (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien

Durch Schwert/ Feuer/ in Wasser Zeim
Wils die Fremmen gar (one) stien (one) stien
Sein (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Nach dem (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Dann (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
So wils dann in (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Wit (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
In dieser (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Die (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Da (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
In das (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Der (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Dem (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und die (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
All (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Anstien in dem (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Das (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Ist (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Zur (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Wils (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Herr (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Hör (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Die (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
In (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Dardurch (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
In das (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Da (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Wils (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Jülich (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Wann (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Da (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien

Oben fengt sich das (one) stien (one) stien
S. Kommt (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Vortler (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Lohn und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Dann (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Haben (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Nacht (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Dann (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Da (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Drauff (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Da (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Welche (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Wir (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Da (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Dann (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Der (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Jülich (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Dann (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Ein (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Der (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Etwas (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Ich (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Und (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Freundlich (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Laf (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Hiermit (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Der (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien
Das (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien (one) stien

Frankfurt am Meyn/ bey Eberhard Kiesern/ Anno 1620.

FIG. 15.4. NEUE UND KURTZE BESCHREIBUNG DER GANTZEN HIMMELISCHEN UND IRIDISCHEN WELT, DES NEWEN HIERUSALEMS UND EWIG BRENNENDEN PFULS. Engraving by Eberhard Kieser (Frankfurt, 1620), illustrated broadsheet.

Photograph courtesy of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (HB 25040, maps 1336a).



FIG. 15.5. *TABULA CEBETIS, CARTA VITAE*. Engraving on two sheets. Filips Galle after Frans Floris (Antwerp, 1561).

Size of the original: ca. 45.4 × 59.7 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

temberg. Between 1680 and 1687, Andreas put together a forestry atlas of 280 plane-table sheets.³⁹

Through his lifetime, Kieser was subject to two divergent fields of influence, the cartographic and the religious, which perhaps helps to explain why Kieser was the first to create a map allegory in the German language. Although Eberhard Kieser produced only a few maps himself, he developed close familial relations with surveyors and map engravers.⁴⁰ He became a citizen of Frankfurt in 1609, when he married the daughter of the official surveyor, Elias Hoffmann, who created the first map of Frankfurt and its environs. Hoffmann's eldest daughter was the wife of the multitalented painter and engraver Philipp Uffenbach, who carried on Hoffmann's workshop and supplied the city council with cartographic material.⁴¹

Upon the defeat of the Reformist troops and their English allies under the command of Count Palatine Frederick, Kieser found consolation in the teachings of the mystic Caspar Schwenckfeld together with Kieser's collaborator and subsequent friend, Matthäus Merian. By

1611, Kieser had devised a *Geistlich Labyrinth* that was the nucleus of his *Neue und kurtze Beschreibung der gantzen Himmelschen und Irdischen Welt* (fig. 15.4).⁴² Kieser's *Beschreibung* is the earliest example of a full-fledged topography of salvation. Presumably published as a New Year print in 1620, the map picked up the Christian pilgrimage as a leitmotif.

In 1561, Filips (Philipp) Galle gave the title *Carta vitae* to an illustration of the "Tabula Cebetis" engraved after a design of Frans Floris (fig. 15.5). Galle was the first to

39. Compare Joachim G. Leithäuser, *Mappae Mundi: Die geistige Eroberung der Welt* (Berlin: Safari, 1958), 364.

40. Leithäuser, *Mappae Mundi*, 364, and Klaus Eymann, "Ein Schatzkästlein wird geöffnet: Der Zeichner, Kupferstecher, Verleger und Drucker Eberhard Kieser, Frankfurter Publizistik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Spessart* 9 (1984): 2–13, esp. 7 and 12.

41. Fritz Wolff, "Elias Hoffmann—Ein Frankfurter Kartenzeichner und Wappenmaler des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 94 (1989): 71–100.

42. Werner Hofmann, ed., *Zauber der Medusa: Europäische Manierismen*, exhibition catalog (Vienna: Löcker, 1987), 374, fig. 86.

draw on the word “carte” because he considered the didactic image of the Greek philosopher Cebes of Thebes, which had been rediscovered by Filippo Beroaldo and others from ancient descriptions, a kind of map.⁴³ The Cebes Tablet demonstrated to the initiate how to acquire moral and scientific knowledge across a journey through three circles in order to reach the arch (from the Latin *arx*, stronghold) of human felicity on top of a huge mountain.

Kieser incorporates major themes of the Cebes Tablet into his map, thereby inverting the tablet’s initial setting. Turning the “Introitus ad vitam communem” into a Christian’s exodus from the city of the “Called,” Kieser makes the doctrine of predestination the central theme of his map. He relates the biblical image of the broad and narrow paths to contrast the pagan ethics of pleasure in the province *Die Wollust* (Sensuality) with the Christian sense of duty in the province *Im Gesetz* (In the law). The economic ethic of Calvinism led Kieser to believe that the poverty suffered in the district of *Armut* (Poverty) resulted only from the dubious lifestyle of its inhabitants. In the heartlands of the *mussige Schlamm Reich* (Kingdom of idle feasting), the central position of Homann’s *Schlaraffenland* is anticipated. The lower half of Kieser’s broadsheet is made up of four columns of explanation in doggerel verse.⁴⁴

EMBLEM BOOKS

Not quite ten years later, Kieser’s single-sheet print was published by Zacharias Heyns in a Dutch version.⁴⁵ Heyns’s *Wegwyser ter Salicheyt* of 1629 is the earliest Dutch example of an allegorical map. Like his colleague, Pieter van den Keere, Heyns grew up in one of the Antwerp families of distinguished manufacturers of maps and atlases who were intimately related to each other. In his early years, Heyns acted in Frankfurt as a book-dealing agent for the firm of Christoffel Plantijn. After marrying the daughter of a German businessman, Heyns became the first Amsterdam book and map publisher whose name appeared on the registers of the book fair at Frankfurt.⁴⁶ Even if Kieser’s single-sheet print was not part of Heyns’s portfolio, the print may well have reached the Lower Rhine region via one of the many Calvinist refugees from the Spanish Netherlands to emigrate to the northern provinces after a long exile in the environs of Frankfurt.⁴⁷

As a result of increasing competition and ongoing specialization in atlas production, Zacharias Heyns gave up his map business and moved from Amsterdam to Zwolle in 1606. Zwolle was the heartland of the devotional movement known as the “Brethren of the Common Life.” Head of several chambers of rhetoric and a poet himself, Heyns started to produce his own literary works in the symbolic style then universally in vogue. By the age of

twenty-four, he had already composed a visual riddle for the *Album amicorum* of his father’s friend Ortelius. Heyns praised the cartographer as “des werelts Wegwyser” (the world’s guide), because “as Christian virtue leads us to paradise, Ortelius guides us in the world.”⁴⁸

One of Heyns’s last publications was *Wegwyser ter Salicheyt*, which he conceived as a continuation of his *Emblemata moralia*.⁴⁹ The poet Joost van den Vondel, whom Heyns knew from emigrant circles in Germany, added a poetic dedication. Heyns placed his *Wegwyser* in the tradition of a genre of image-based poetry for which Andrea Alciati’s *Emblematum libellus* (1531) set the rules. The *Emblematum libellus* was first printed in Augsburg and included a single map as a “pictura.”⁵⁰ With his bestseller Alciati broke the ground for future emblematic literature, albeit not for his map motif. Heyns’s *Wegwyser ter Salicheyt* is indeed the rare case of an early emblem book in which a map figures prominently. Yet the map in the *Wegwyser* does not function as an emblem, properly speaking. Right at the beginning of the book, the image of the upsilon, known among humanists as the Pythagorean letter, hints at the work’s general theme of the two paths—the straight, narrow, difficult path to virtue and the wide, easy path to vice—to be subsequently carried out in the folded map.

43. Reinhart Schleier, *Tabula Cebetis; oder, “Spiegel des Menschlichen Lebens / darin Tugend und untugend abgemalet ist”* (Berlin: Mann, [1973]), 14, fig. 40.

44. Compare William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Baden-Baden: Librairie Heitz, 1966–67), 1:36 and 207 and 2:262 and pl. 136, and Eymann, “Ein Schatzkästlein,” 7.

45. Ernst Wilhelm Moes and C. P. Burger, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1900–1915; reprinted Utrecht: HES, 1988), 4:277–79, and Harms, *Homo viator*, 136.

46. Hubert Meeus, “Zacharias Heyns: Een leerjongen van Jan Moretus,” *De Gulden Passer* 66/67 (1988–89): 599–612; idem, “Zacharias Heyns, uitgever en toneelautor: Bio-bibliografie met een uitgave en analyse van de Vriendts-Spiegel” (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1990); and idem, “Zacharias Heyns: Een ‘drucker’ die nooit drukte,” *De Gulden Passer* 73 (1995): 108–27.

47. Eduard Plietzsch, *Die Frankenthaler Maler: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der niederländischen Landschaftsmalerei* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1910; reprinted Soest: Davaco, 1972); idem, *Die Frankenthaler Künstlerkolonie und Gillis van Coninxloo* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1910); and Martin Papenbrock, *Landschaften des Exils: Gillis van Coninxloo und die Frankenthaler Maler* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001).

48. Jan van Dorsten and Alistair Hamilton, “Two Puzzling Pages in Ortelius’ ‘Album Amicorum,’” in *Times and Tide: Writings Offered to Professor A. G. H. Bachrach*, ed. Cedric C. Barfoot, F. H. Beukema, and J. C. Perryman (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1980), 45–53.

49. Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemata, Emblemes chrestienes et morales: Sinne-Beelden streckende tot Christelicke Bedenckinge ende Leere der Zedicheyt* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625).

50. Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum libellus* (Augsburg, 1531; 2d ed. Paris: Wechsel, 1535), 109. Alciati provides a map of northern Italy in order to discuss the impact of the first duke of Milan on the rest of

NEW BEGINNINGS

The Thirty Years War marked a visible drop in cartographic production and, more specifically, in the output of literary maps. In illustrated propaganda broadsheets of that period, maps occasionally appeared as part of a symbolic plot performed by personified agents, where they are depicted as artifacts to represent a loss of territory as feces or vomit.⁵¹ The cartographic image itself, though, continued to be a plain geographical map, thus remaining out of reach of the allegorical, the fictional, and the satirical.

After the war, authors needed to reevaluate the representational possibilities opened up to the arts and literature by cartography. Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, who knew the literary scene as did no other writer of his time, provides reliable testimony as to how the literary public received cartography. In his *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (Female conversation games) (1641–49), Harsdörffer gathered together all kinds of symbolic poetry in order to test its suitability as sophisticated entertainment. In the sixty-fifth conversation of the second book, he discusses the design of painted map halls similar to the unique example north of the Alps preserved at the archbishop's residence in Salzburg.⁵² Harsdörffer then draws the reader's attention to a method of producing anagrammatical maps from actual place-names by means of "sinnreiche Verwechslungen" (meaningful transpositions of the extant sequence of letters).⁵³ As an example of this literary process, he mentions Johann Bissel's novel *Icaria*, published in the aftermath of the outlawry of the Count Palatine, Frederick V, and his country's subsequent annexation by Bavaria, in which the Upper Palatinate was metamorphosed into an imaginary land. The author's cartographic approach is reflected not only by the mythical figure of Icarus in the title, but also by the printed map of *Icaria* in the frontispiece.⁵⁴

Only by the end of the 1660s were the German-speaking countries able to catch up with the promising efforts of the pre-war period. These new beginnings accompanied a mental shift best seen in the later writings of Comenius, who at the end of his life lost his faith in the solitude of man's heart as a possible retreat from the *Labyrinth der Welt* and considered the heart a maze itself.⁵⁵ The Palatine theologian Johann Christoph Salbach went even further in his conclusion that "everyone has a kingdom in himself."⁵⁶ Salbach translated several devotional works from English authors, among them the *Christliche Land-Karte und Meer-Compaß* (1664), which highlights a renewed cartographic interest in ascetic circles. Here for the first time, the notion of "Landkarte" shows up in the title of a literary work in the German language. In his preface, Salbach states: "As the wanderer traveling overland, daily, or even hourly, fishes his map

out of his bag and tries to keep the right way and high road to the fatherland in order not to stray into insecure and tortuous paths, every true Christian, who via the stormy seas and deserts of this world, leaves for the secure port and haven of everlasting happiness, does not turn away his eyes from the spiritual compass and map, if he wants to escape dangerous cliffs, quicksands, buccaneers, and hellish pits of murder." Salbach's "spiritual map" affords the reader an alternative to the devil's undisguised intention that "we . . . manage our tiny ship and pilgrimage according to his chart."⁵⁷

Whereas the Calvinist map functioned as a salvatory road scheme, Catholic cartography endorsed the church's defensive attitude toward worldly matters, with its idiosyncratic fixations on "carnal desires, worldly behavior, and the diabolic mind."⁵⁸ The *Utopia Didaci Bemardini . . . seu Sales Musici* by Jakob Bidermann is a typical

Italy. In the motto and the description, he states that the politically divided stretch of land between the Ligurian and the Adriatic Sea can be seen as the duke's "tomb" or, as we would say, legacy. Surprisingly for a modern reader, the map includes only the lands south of Verona and north of Rome, which were then the heartlands of Italy. For the modern edition, see *Emblematum libellus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 228.

51. Siegfried Kessemeier et al., eds., *Ereignis Karikaturen: Geschichte in Spottbildern, 1600–1930*, exhibition catalog (Münster: Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, 1983), figs. 23 and 42.

52. Roswitha Juffinger, "Die 'Galerie der Landkarten' in der Salzburger Residenz," *Barockberichte* 5–6 (1992): 164–67.

53. "Since it is easy to increase and to continue the inventions of others, one should be able to introduce a nobleman to wall maps in order that the names of cities, small towns, and other spots, with the meaningful transpositions of their letters, might become strange landscapes." Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, 8 vols. (1644–[1657]; reprinted Munich: K. G. Saur, [1990–93]), 2:94.

54. Johann Bissel, *Icaria* (Ingolstadt, 1637; 2d ed. Allopoli, 1667); see Hans Pörnbacher, *Literatur in Bayerisch Schwaben: Von der alt-hochdeutschen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, exhibition catalog (Weisshorn: A. H. Konrad, 1979), 108–9 and 112.

55. Johann Amos Comenius, *Unum necessarium* (Amsterdam, 1668); in German, *Das einzig Notwendige*, trans. Johannes Seeger, ed. Ludwig Keller (Jena: Diederichs, 1904), 23–43, esp. 28–29; compare idem, *Das Labyrinth der Welt*, 254.

56. Johann Christoph Salbach, *Christliche Land-Karte und Meer-Compaß. Das ist: Göttliche, Sittliche H. Betrachtungen und Gedancken, worinnen dem Christlichen Pilgrim . . . gezeigt wird wie er sich für Gefahren vom Satan, der Welt, seines Fleisches und deß Todes, hüthen solle, damit er nicht verführet werde, und deß sicheren Ports verfehle* (Frankfurt: Daniel Fievert, 1664), 5.

57. Salbach, *Christliche Land-Karte*, "Zueignungsschrift," iii; compare Edgar C. McKenzie, comp., *A Catalog of British Devotional and Religious Books in German Translation from the Reformation to 1750* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 241.

58. [Bernardus Clarevallensis?], "Meditationes piissimæ: De cognitione humanæ conditionis," in *Patrologia Latina*, 217 vols. (Paris, 1844–55), 184:485–508, quotation on 503; compare Andreas Wang, *Der 'miles christianus' im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit* (Bern: Lang, 1975), 105–37.

example of the latter. As a teacher at the Jesuit college in Augsburg between 1600 and 1603, the dramatist wrote a collection of merry tales for his rhetoric classes to divert his students' attention from the pernicious readings of ancient writers such as Apuleius and Petronius. Although the stories are diverse, Bidermann held them together by means of a narrative frame in which the author—who is anagrammatically present as the first-person narrator Didacus Bemardini—reports on his pub crawl with friends to Kimmeria and its capital city, Utopia. Depicted as a land of permanent darkness, Kimmeria is inhabited by dark-skinned peoples who have banished all arts and sciences from their midst and are guided solely by the regimen of “boozing, guzzling, and gaming.”⁵⁹

Several editions of the *Utopia Didaci Bemardini* show cartography gaining ground in the second half of the seventeenth century. Only thirty years after its author's death, the frontispiece to the 1670 edition contained a map depicted physically as a suspended scroll or curtain that opens up to reveal a scenic landscape behind the lower edge. Based on French prototypes, this staging of cartographic space was reminiscent of the modern concept of the “Theatrum mundi” that enabled the reader to regard an atlas as a kind of platform on which the four known continents could make grand entrances, first as personifications and then as cartographic images.⁶⁰

Bidermann's *Utopia* was not only the prelude to a series of Jesuit counterutopias.⁶¹ Thanks to Bidermann's book, the literary map indeed experienced a major breakthrough in the Baroque title page and iconography. Henceforth, map allegory would become a distinct feature of Baroque visual culture. The negative stance of Catholic authors toward cartographic representation turned into an active interest in allegorical mapping at a time when the production of allegorical, satirical, and didactical maps shifted further east to Leipzig and southern Germany.

By 1714, Bidermann's *Utopia* had enjoyed several reprints, so the book and frontispiece were still up to date in Johann Baptist Homann's lifetime. The mapmaker Homann converted from Catholicism to Protestantism less for religious than for professional reasons. In his *Accurata Utopiae tabula* Homann merged the traditions of the Reformist cartography of twofold predestination and the Catholic cartography of mundane corruption. As mentioned earlier, the author of the extensive explanation of the utopian map (probably Johann Andreas Schnebelin) listed Bidermann among his models. Yet in his preface to the *Erklaerung* he felt obligated to dissociate from his predecessors and their tendency to religious polemicism, so that he could declare himself strictly impartial. Holding himself above confessional politics, he advanced the cause of literariness to the extent that the emancipation of the literary map from its dependence on the religious paradigm was irrevocable.

CONCLUSION

For centuries the Christian world had embraced the whole of Western human experience. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the world of the Christian changed in two ways. First, with the Reformation, the Christian sphere of life became the arena of either free or predestined individuals struggling for salvation. Second, with the new discoveries and explorations, Christian life was exposed to a field of tension between the known and the newly experienced.

When the marvel at the latest geographical discoveries gave way to the changing images of an ever-growing, rampant *oikoumene*, or inhabited world, cartography was in the process of establishing itself as an advanced technique of representing the earth. Long an arcane science linked to philology and theology, cartography emerged against the backdrop of the political crisis caused by the religious wars and generated a new global vision that provided the empowered European nations with an omnipresent icon of modern life. Nonetheless, the relationship between the old and the new was yet to be defined. Was cartography only another way of presenting things known, or did it spearhead a radically different worldview? Did it provoke an expansion of the old, an alteration, or even a new beginning?

When the image of the world changed, the Christian legacy gradually broke apart into the mythical, historical, and spiritual: both reformed theology and geography set about dismissing the mythical image of the world as fiction. They also met in their efforts to reconstruct its historical side. Only the physical face of the cartographer's world seemed to escape the spiritual truth of Christianity. It was this initial position that led the German philosophers such as Erhard Weigel and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to think in terms of two opposite worlds—visible and invisible, physical and moral.⁶² Their worlds were no longer a reflection of scripture, although they were not yet

59. Jakob Bidermann, *Utopia Didaci Bemardini, seu . . . Sales Musici, quibus Ludicra Mixtum & Seria Literatè ac Festivè Denarrantur* (Dillingen, 1640), bk. 3, 84; compare Winter, *Compendium Utopiarum*, 68; Pörnbacher, *Literatur in Bayerisch Schwaben*, 104; Thomas W. Best, “Bidermann's *Utopia* and Hörl von Wätterstorff's *Bacchusia*,” *Daphnis* 13 (1984): 203–16; Margit Schuster, ed., *Jakob Bidermanns 'Utopia': Edition mit Übersetzung und Monographie*, 2 vols. (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), 1:50–51, and Walter E. Schäfer, Review of *Utopia*, by Jacob Bidermann, *Arbitrium: Zeitschrift für Rezensionen zur germanistischen Literaturwissenschaft* 3 (1986): 272–73.

60. Roger-Armand Weigert and Maxime Préaud, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale 1939–), 11:148, fig. 265.

61. For example, Giovanni Vittorio Rossi, *Evdemie libri VIII* (1637; Cologne, 1645), and Giulio Clemente Scotti, *Monarchia Solipsorum* (Venice, 1645), translated into German in 1663.

62. “Like the human body is considered to be a small world, the entire human race is surrounded by a peculiar world, which might be

cultural spheres in the sense of Snow's "two cultures."⁶³ Rather they were metaphysical categories, since Leibniz considered them linked to each other quite in the same way as body and soul. The psychophysical parallelism of seventeenth-century philosophy, however obscure it might seem to us today, provided a suitable theoretical setting for enlarging the scope of cartography beyond the physical and extending it to the human mind without the danger of relapsing into the mythical worldview of previous times.⁶⁴

A main area of application for the double-world concept of seventeenth-century philosophy, with its body-and-soul-like structure, was classical rhetoric. Expounding the dual nature of figurative speech had been a task traditionally assigned to Christian orators and men of letters, such as Stiblin and Andreae, who were trained in the handling of complex texts and images with different levels of meaning. These men were the first to use cartographic language in order to draw an image of the early modern mind. Other people, such as Kieser, became involved as the market for printing and publishing grew. Mapmaking was a particularly heterogeneous field in the overall process of image printing practiced by men from largely different backgrounds. Authors, artists, and tradesmen with divergent interests and pursuits, main or supplementary, were likely to have a taste for map allegory, the more so when they had been schooled in both the trivium and the quadrivium, the three rhetorical and four philosophical arts. In a climate of change, cartography gave the author's message new relevance. The map's arrival in the literary domain was largely attributable to its capacity to create distance from the visible world and to provide a more comprehensive and crystalline view. Literary cartography allowed the refraction of one world in the light of another, not only outlining the shape of the globe, but also identifying those forces that keep realms in motion, namely, the passions and motivations of its inhabitants. Enabling the cartographer to communicate his

knowledge to spheres otherwise inaccessible to him, the literary map thus added a distinctly new value to allegory, satire, and fictitious travel reporting.⁶⁵

In contrast with the literary production in most other European nations, that in the German-speaking countries provided a broad basis for cartographic activities. German literary maps were surprisingly rich in form and content. They were basically religious, individual, and moral, covering a spectrum from the spiritual to the satirical and didactical. Due to established political and intellectual relations, reformed authors and publishers not only received impulses from England, but also, in turn, had a considerable impact on the first Dutch literary maps. On the whole, the examples they provided sufficed to prepare the ground for the heyday of German allegorical mapping in the years between 1670 and 1750.

called *Moralem Mundum*, or the Civilized World"; see Erhard Weigel, *Wienerischer Tugendspiegel* (Nuremberg, 1687), 29. As to the use of the phrase "Moralische Welt" in Erhard Weigel's 1674 *Arithmetische Beschreibung der Moralweisheit*, see Wolfgang Röd, "Erhard Weigels Lehre von den entia moralia," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 51 (1969): 58–84, esp. 70–74.

63. C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

64. "And if the first principle of existence in the physical world is the command of lending to it the greatest perfection possible, the first and foremost purpose in the moral world . . . ought to be to spread the greatest amount of happiness as widely as possible"; see Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Die philosophischen Schriften von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz*, 7 vols., ed. C. I. Gerhardt (Berlin: Weidmann, 1875–90), 4:462. Leibniz spoke alternatively of a "Monde physique" and a "Monde naturel" and adopted Bacon's double notion of a "Monde intellectual" and a "Monde sensible."

65. Besides the analog access of literary allegory, the two worlds of early modern philosophy found an ultimate point of comparison in history. In the academic tradition, geography had always been considered part of history. The definite shift from history to astronomy and applied mathematics from the late eighteenth century onward marked the end of an era, after which modern cartography was largely cut off from its human sources.