

12 • Early Modern Literature and Cartography: An Overview

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In the past two decades, early modern studies have witnessed sudden and dramatic development in areas in which cartography and literature overlap and inform each other. Maps have traditionally been used to sustain and illustrate the study of history, but now literary critics are studying them in order to detect how they mix observation and fantasy, elements vital to poetry and fiction and to representation in general. Researchers, especially the eight authors of the contributions in this section of the volume, recognize how printed maps informed the creation of poetry and fiction in the early modern era. They see, too, how maps are subject to theoretical speculation and so, as a result, can be studied with apparatus deployed in the critical treatment of literature. If indeed early modern literature—a complex body of texts built from manuscripts, from printed forms, and from woodcut and copperplate illustration—can be understood to be a mixed medium, it follows that maps inspire literary creation. Concomitantly, because the boundaries between maps and writing are fluid, a map sometimes even qualifies as a work of literature.

Much in the way early modern writing drew inspiration from classical and medieval sources, maps of the same period had sources and variants of diverse origin. Both maps and text belong to traditions of graphic rhetoric inherited from the age of the manuscript and print culture in its early phases. Close analysis tends to show how maps betray ideology—defined here as an imaginary representation of social processes—in ways often identical to those of literature. When literature and cartography are treated together over the span of 170 years, from roughly 1470 to 1640, they reveal common traits that cry out for closer comparative inspection.

The authors of this section have shown exactly where, in six very different nations, cartography and literature were densely interwoven. They write of the ways that literature was directly influenced by mapping and note that, from the birth of the incunabulum up to the age of the Baroque, there was a shift from cosmographic representations of the world to topographic or monadic counterparts. They draw attention to the importance of the emergence of the *isolario*, in which, in literature as in cartography, the world is appreciated for its diversity and

taken to be an aggregate of singularities. They also take note of a muted expression of melancholy, which shares traits with the tenor of what literary historians call the “Baroque” sensibility, in literature written during the time when the atlas was taking shape. They all account for a common ground of allegory in which the *theatrum mundi*, or “world-theater,” became a place in which the foibles and fortunes of the history of the world and its inhabitants were played out. In the overview that follows, I should like to draw on their conclusions in order to identify some of the broadly converging lines of early modern literature and cartography.

EXPERIENCE AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

The authors in this section affirm that in print culture, literature and cartography mix creative fantasy with science. They believe the writer resembles the cartographer in his or her quest to put into printed form the sum of worlds both known and unknown. They insist, too, that in this age both the writer and the mapmaker share a common goal in wishing not merely to transcribe but, more decisively, to produce space reflective both of the world and of their own style and signature. Space defines both the material object of their labors—a sheet on which is impressed a woodcut image, a printed poem, a folio volume of discourse and images comprising a cosmography—and what they are describing or schematizing. Maps and reports resulting from oceanic travel are the fruit of new experience, of physical obstacles to extended voyages to which were added, notes anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, unforeseen intellectual and moral dilemmas. For the traveler going east or west, everything was a mystery. How could Columbus, at the end of his first voyage, we now ask, report having seen mermaids swimming in the Caribbean Sea, their round faces bobbing above the waves? Or why would the trees that botanists later identified as cotton trees be pictured first in books and maps with woolly sheep hanging from their branches? These voyagers were engaged in the “single total adventure proposed to humanity.” Their travels went both outward, to new places, and inward, to experience itself, that is, to encounters with death and the

unknown.¹ Seen in this light, the space produced in texts and maps must also be understood to be of concomitantly physical, representational, and mental registers.²

The writer fashions worlds based on verisimilitude, in which printed discourse transcribes what the observer notes from inherited sources or from experience. These fictions do not always find reliable correlatives in chronicles or maps, but nonetheless they are plotted according to science and method, by discursive and schematic means. The hero and heroine of Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* travel about the world insofar as it is shown in recent editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*, but contrary to the work of the Alexandrian geographer, their world is one in which discourse produces events taking place simultaneously in different locales. The giants of François Rabelais's comic epics turn common places near the author's birthplace in the Touraine into mythic spaces, into a tessellated structure acquiring the traits of a topography. The confines of William Shakespeare's stage can be at once a world map and a local space on which the fortunes of the human condition are set in play. The hidalgo and his portly Sancho Panza of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote* ride about La Mancha riddling the landscape with the traces of their travels, as might a topographer and his assistant assigned to survey the area. The mariners of Luís de Camões's *Os Lusíadas* follow the western coast of Africa in verse that amplifies beyond credible measure the deeds of those who dared to navigate the boiling seas of the Torrid Zone in their voyages south and east toward Taprobana.

These authors and others gathered information about the world from classical and medieval sources that included travel literature, cartography, chorography, and chronicle. They plied their sources to construct self-containing worlds; they thus belong to a tradition in which the writer is taken to be the cartographer of the fiction of his or her own manner. Humanist writers, like cartographers, felt the impulse to make the works they wrote or plotted a sign of their own ascendancy and subjectivity in the social milieu in which they were trained and developed.³

The geographic imagination of early modern writing is marked by the wonder and enigma of the Columbian discoveries. It is also conscious of a new autonomy it owns by virtue of being a printed and mechanically reproducible form. For the writer, traveler, and geographer, the *experience of space* is what cannot be fully put into words or drawn on maps. Yet it remains a vital component of their labors. Both the creative writer and the cartographer are born into space, a continuum that precedes them and yet causes them to ponder the nature of the world in which they live. For the early modern soul, the lands and waters of the terrestrial globe attested to the beauty of

creation while at the same time becoming the raw material from which humans created the world anew.

Both the writer and the cartographer shape their works from a tactility of space experienced through the five senses.⁴ What is put into configurations of rhumb lines and graticules or in printed characters adds to the experience of space, attesting to the presence of spaces and places that supplement those of the known world. One critic observes that literature is born of geography wherever writers include in their works reflections on the "ground [they] walk day after day and on which [they] sleep and dream." It includes, too, "the vast and narrow horizon that we see from a window, along the paths we travel, or the rifts of the terrain on which we stumble."⁵

1. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955), 81–82. This translation and others that follow are mine. Experience, which "comes out of death" (*ex-perire*), is the subject of Montaigne's *Essais* (1580, 1588, 1595); see Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, 2 vols., ed. Maurice Rat (Paris: Garnier, 1962), esp. "De l'exercitation" (1:405–17) and "De l'expérience" (1:516–78).

2. A bibliography in which space, literature, and mapping are considered together is substantial. Crucial works in the literary and social spheres are Maurice Blanchot, *L'espace littéraire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1955), translated by Ann Smock as *The Space of Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); Gaston Bachelard, *La poétique de l'espace*, 2d ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), translated by Maria Jolas as *The Poetics of Space* (New York: Orion, 1964; Boston: Beacon, 1994); and Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Anthropos, 1974), translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith as *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). Especially pertinent are the chapters on cartography and poetic space in Paul Zumthor, *La Mesure du monde: Représentation de l'espace au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1993).

3. Cynthia Jane Brown, in *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), studies how two generations of poets in the age of the incunabulum seek to gain status through the imprint of their work and signature. The conclusions can be extended to geographers of the same age.

4. Recreating the discovery of the New World through his imagination of Columbus on his first voyage, Lévi-Strauss recalls how the traveler took note of flying fish and sea birds that announced the end of the voyage. But it was especially through aroma, the most primal of the senses, that the voyager's nose first experienced the space, a "forest breeze alternating with the smell of a greenhouse, the quintessence of the vegetal realm whose freshness would have been so concentrated that it would be translated into an olfactive inebriation" (Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, 83–84). The five senses have cartographic correlates: see David Woodward's introduction to this volume (chapter 1), in which Nicolaus Cusanus's city with five gates is discussed.

5. Frank Lestringant, *Le livre des îles: Atlas et récits insulaires de la Genèse à Jules Verne* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 21. Along a similar line, Casey asserts that landscapes and maps form a "dense dialectic" in which an image of the world in writing and in picture is both refuge and prospect: refuge, because it holds areas known and unknown; prospect, because it calls for experience and interpretation, activities crucial both to the writing of fiction and history and to the making of maps and landscapes. Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 273–75.

The experience of space derives from language that describes the sensation of contact not only with the surface of the world, but also with that of its cartographic images. Because the printed map bore a novelty and vitality for early modern writers who assimilated it into their creations, geography and literature may indeed have been more intimately related in this period, a moment when the map was not yet an entirely scientific object, than in those that were to follow. For the writer the map offers the experience of the space it represents and of its composite forms, figures, and idiolects. In these works certain authors filter cartographic forms through inherited and direct impressions of the physical world. They allude to maps, but they also incorporate into their writing spatial modes of composition that are tied to cartographic practices.

MATERIALITIES: TEXT AND MAP AS LANDSCAPE

The virtual space of masterworks of cartography and literature in the early modern era was created from the vivid imagination of authors and mapmakers who mixed, distorted, and extended inherited genres and modes of expression. Writers exploit the physical character of their media, and so do cartographers who experiment with modes and styles of projection and drawing. In many maps and texts there can be found a consciousness of the physical qualities of their media. Reference is made not only to the paper on which their signs are marked. They also make the graphic form of their writing bear upon the meaning of their discourses. Often maps and texts betray evidence of the ways they have been crafted. They bring forward the discursive, graphic, and iconic elements that produce them. As a result, the material history that informs printed literature and maps becomes part of its aesthetic appeal today, where it resides in a dynamic balance of images (both verbal and pictorial), printed matter (both characters and decorative matter), and paginal space (both blank and marked). Cartographers, editors, and writers shared common idioms and exploited them extensively, especially in the phases of print culture that extended from the age of the incunabulum to that of the atlas.

Poets and writers of that age often drew analogies between a page of printed matter and a landscape. Hillocks, furrowed fields, forests, and clearings were imagined to be emerging from the array and design of printed shapes. In their eyes, writing conveyed meaning when read, but when seen on the surface of the page, it could bear affinities with the mix of relief, lines, and names printed on a map. Characters in uppercase, especially toponyms and anthroponyms, came forward,

while the “edges” of letters and lines were suggestive of the limits of language and things known.

In a similar fashion, early modern literature depicts the landscapes in which its personages travel. The analogy of a landscape with a map and a text is founded on the principle that it is stratified and must be seen and read as a sedimented surface, replete with hills and valleys, lakes and lagoons, roads and forests. Both the text and the map organize the reader’s and the spectator’s gaze. A text, observes Michel de Certeau, “had for a long time been perceived as an image. Printed editions of the sixteenth century are systems of signifiers, of graphs. The quality of letters and their organization on the page are perceived both as icons and systems of meaning and direction.” There results, he adds, an experience of the unknown when a viewer is “fascinated by something represented only metaphorically or, rather, metonymically. What is seen is the part of a whole that is unknown when seen, that refers to a series of very old, fundamental and shameful images . . . ; as if believing one were seeing something, we are also ceaselessly being seen by what we ourselves do not know, or by a story for which we are the witness rather than the author.”⁶

In ostensibly recalling the map of Brazil in the Miller Atlas (1519) or charts from the Dieppe School, Certeau implies that the effects of the red ink—in the place-names marked on the coastlines, in the heraldic flags on the masts, and even in the flesh tones of the Tupinambá carrying logs under the eyes of men in armor—are material evidence on the map of what the artist depicts: brazil wood being cut, carried, and loaded onto adjacent ships at port or sailing at full speed toward the coastline. For him the viewer of the Miller Atlas both sees and reads in the landscape the industry and the operations that make the map the material object that it is. Unlike later maps and texts that hide textual and iconic elements explaining how their representations have been made, this atlas tends to inscribe upon itself the “historical operations that give birth to it.”⁷ As a general rule it can be said that, like maps and literature of the Middle Ages, those of the early modern era bring forward the physical matter of their media and make it part of their design.

6. Alain Carbonnier and Joël Magny, “Michel de Certeau,” interview in *Cinéma* 301 (January 1984), 19–21, esp. 19–20. In this scheme a metaphoric representation would be a map and a metonymic counterpart would be a poem or a narrative.

7. Michel de Certeau, *L’invention du quotidien, 1: Arts de faire*, new ed., ed. Luce Giard (Paris: Gallimard/Folio, 1990), 178. Certeau adds that the map as such eventually wins over these representations, “colonizing the space, slowly eliminating the pictorial figurations of practices that give rise to it. Transformed by Euclidean, and then descriptive, geometry, constituted as a formal totality of abstract places, [the map] becomes a ‘theater.’” The world map from the Miller atlas is illustrated in figure 30.21.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ALTERITY

A good deal of early modern literature related to cartography poses the conundrum of Peter Apian's emblematic rewriting of the first sentences of Ptolemy's *Geography*. The construction of a world map is compared to an artist's rendering of a complete portrait of a human face (which Apian illustrates in profile, the sitter looking left and toward the world map enclosed in a frame), just as the depiction of a city view is likened to that of an eye or an ear:

Chorography . . . is also called Topography, [as] it only takes up some places or particular sites in themselves, without having some comparison or semblance to the environment of the earth. For it brings forth all things, and nearly the slightest contained in their places, as are cities, seaports, peoples, countries, the routes of rivers and a few other things such as buildings houses, towers, and other similar things. And the aim of this is accomplished by making the comparison of a few particular places, as might a painter wishing to represent a single eye, or an ear.⁸

Apian's analogy begs the viewer to grasp a tension between parts and wholes, but of parts that do not necessarily fit in any preordained order. The world is seen as a sum of singularities that may be amassed in the heterogeneous look of a city or a dissymmetry of continents and islands sprinkled on an ocean-sea. And the geographer is implied to be God or an absent origin where the painter, whose portrait is placed adjacent to the globe, is taken to be a topographer.

The latter might also be a writer if "description" is taken in the figural sense of topography or chorography—a science, in the words of the Protestant writer-cartographer Antoine Du Pinet, that "serves the living representation of particular places without being concerned with measures, proportions, and dependencies of the place it describes. . . . No one can be a good chorographer who is not a good painter."⁹ In both writing and cartographic images, new views of local and national space are depicted. They have much to do with an implied fragmentation and pluralization of the world in the wake of the Columbian discoveries, on the one hand, while on the other local and national idioms are taken to be the living languages that define places and peoples that gain ascendancy over what had been given under the authority of Greek and Latin forebears.

In chorography is posed the dilemma of where the individual stands in relation to a cosmos of uncertain borders. Thus, as Theodore Cachey demonstrates, the elisions of maps and texts that depict Petrarch's wanderings in the Vaucluse attest to a new literary self-consciousness of spatial and geographical valence. A topographical map in Alessandro Vellutello's edition of *Le volgari opere*

(1525) correlates the text with an implied quest to locate the attachments of the poet's work and his travels to the topography of southern France. For Henry Turner, John Donne's "cartographic fetishism" conveys a self-consciousness relating the body of the poet to the spaces that define both the individual and the person the same individual thinks he might be. And for Neil Safier and Ilde Mendes dos Santos, Camões's epic of the life of Vasco da Gama subscribes to a vision of nature drawn through the fantasy-portrait of an individual explorer. In each instance the writer faces the dilemma that Apian's emblem brings forward: the more the topographer seeks to portray a total national space in an epic (either the *Lusíadas* or Pierre de Ronsard's *Franciade* of 1572), the greater the effect of fragmentation, of a limited point of view on the topic, and of singularities that do not fit in a greater or reassuringly self-contained picture.

The topographer—whether writer or cartographer—discovers extraordinary varieties of terrestrial space that can be depicted in ways that exceed what the eye is given to see. Topography allows space "to think and to breathe," in other words, to "deploy a temporality,"¹⁰ and to let experience and the imagination discover new places in the manner of both classical and modern geographers. Thus many writers and poets accede to vernacular idioms at the same time they bring into their works a strong cartographic impulse and a new spatial consciousness. As Nancy Bouzrara shows with respect to French writing, contemporary spaces are valued where they are seen mapped over a classical past. The taste for ruins in the lyrical and satirical sonnets of Joachim Du Bellay, François de Belleforest's encomia of the Pont du Gard and commentary based on Gabriele Simeoni's map of Auvergne (depicting the battle of Caesar and Vercingetorix) in his *Cosmographie universelle*, or Michel de Montaigne's conflation of Rome and Paris in a memory-image of timeless time in the *Essais*: in each prevails a bitter-sweet taste. Made manifest is an affinity for historical geography in which language and human action are embedded in European soil. But for these writers the Latin and Greek texts on which a new linguistic and geographic consciousness is based do not mesh with their direct experience of language and space. The models of antiquity

8. Peter Apian, *Cosmographie* (Paris, 1551). A close reading of this passage is offered by Lucia Nuti in "Le langage de la peinture dans la cartographie topographique," in *L'œil du cartographe: Et la représentation géographique du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Catherine Bousquet-Bressolier (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1995), 53–70, esp. 54–55.

9. Antoine Du Pinet, *Plantz, pourtraits et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l'Europe, Asie, Afrique que des Indes et des Terres Neuves* (Lyons: Ian d'Ogerolles, 1564), xiv, cited by Monique Pelletier in *Cartographie de la France et du monde de la Renaissance au Siècle des lumières* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2001), 21.

10. Lestringant, *Livre des îles*, 31.

that humanists strove to imitate, like early versions of Ptolemy's regional maps, needed to be adjusted and modified for an expanding world.

Topography, a field in which cartography and literature cross paths, brings forward an immediate and compelling sense of what is "same" or "self" and also of alterity. Who and what is other, and how does that other—be it a stranger, a supposed infidel, an inhabitant of new-found lands—summon the demarcation of the boundaries of the self? The question was posed when the impact of oceanic travel began to be assimilated. Local and national spaces were set against the backdrop of an expanding world and in broadened and unsettling perspectives brought forward with collections of illustrated accounts of travel, cosmographies, world maps, and city views (Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* shows how cities are different and not reducible to a general woodcut image as they had been in earlier chronicles). With the growth of vernacular literature came an acute sensitivity to local ways of speaking and living. What a writer might see and feel *here* was not *there*, in places signaled by reports of travelers voyaging about the world at large. Things unknown became "singularities" that the topographer staked out to plot when he distinguished one geographical and cultural locale from another.

In his essay "Des cannibales," the first great ethnographic document in the early modern canon, Montaigne is a dispassionate ethnographer of the other. Among other sources, he draws on Sebastian Münster's compilation of the histories of known cultures in his *Cosmographia universalis* (1544), which was expanded into many editions in different languages and in which city views and maps are printed. But Montaigne does not heap praise on creation for its infinite diversity; he uses irony to approach a neutral point of view with respect to the new discoveries. He spurns the distorting lens and overwrought style of the cosmographer in order to welcome bearers of local knowledge who will help him sort through conflicting reports from the Americas. They will help him to obtain, too, a better perspective of his own milieu. Reflecting on the River Dordogne that bends through and about his homeland of Gascony, he observes that its shifting and tortuous course in the landscape is so unsettling (it is so unfamiliar yet familiar) that it is sign both of a world turned topsy-turvy and of places beyond his ken. From an intimate, indeed mapped, locale in the essay he seeks to obtain a picture of the world at large: "When I consider the impression that my River Dordogne makes toward the right shore of its descent, and that in twenty years it has so much risen and whisked away the foundation of several buildings, I see well that it's an extraordinary agitation; for, were it always to continue along this course or so go in the future, the face of the

world would be turned upside-down." Singularities, which had recently become part of the descriptive lexicon of the cosmography, lead the essayist to assert that topographers are needed to make detailed descriptions of the places they have been.¹¹ The assertion betrays a coy wryness by which he implies that perhaps these experts in detailed depiction of spaces they know by heart might be the very cannibals he welcomes in the confines of his essay.

In all events, topography is a defining trait of early modern literature and cartography. Between 1550 and 1630 a discovery of the "other" typified an unsettling relation with the unknown. New "breviaries" of ethnographers who encountered alterity, as Lévi-Strauss called them,¹² took the shape of books of singularities that include and refer to maps. Among them are Antonio Pigafetta's account of his circumnavigation with Ferdinand Magellan; Münster, cosmographer and editor of an edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*; André Thevet, cartographer and cosmographer under three kings, who authored an expansive *isolario*; Alonso de Santa Cruz, Spanish mapmaker and writer of a precocious "Islario"; and Jean de Léry, Protestant traveler who "corrects" Thevet's account of the Villegagnon colony in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. New worlds and ways of life are described where mystery, fantasy, and veracity conjure images of people, flora, and fauna that mix knowledge of known things with fantasies that mediate the fear of alterity. Fragmentary and local depictions become oddities in books that combine images, maps, and textual matter. Some of the literature spills into books of prodigies and monsters, of marvels and wonder. Its legacy lies in the strange ways it allows the imagination not to be divorced from careful observation and description of experience. Its cartographic counterparts are found in the flora and fauna that speckle the oceans and continents of world maps.

THE ISOLARIO AND LITERARY FORM

Topographical consciousness finds an open-ended container in the *isolario*, the unique cartographic and literary form that ran from the fifteenth century to the end of the early modern age. Its first expression was in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's "Liber insularum archipelagi" (1420), a description of the islands of the Aegean that soon witnessed the production of over sixty manuscript copies and inspired a printed analog in Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's

11. Montaigne, *Essais*, 1:234.

12. Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, 38. His reference is to Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, autrement dite Amerique* ([La Rochelle]: Pour Antoine Chuppin, 1578), translated by Janet Whatley as *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

isolario (Venice, 1485).¹³ Sonetti's modest book juxtaposes a loosely knit narrative of travel and chorography, mostly in the shape of sonnets, against woodcut images of the islands of the Aegean archipelago. Drawn in the style of the portolan chart and set amidst compass lines bearing signs of cardinal direction and of Mediterranean winds, the maps suggest that the sonnet, too, is a fragmentary—yet autonomous—form, an island of words adjacent to an island mapped, and that the text of fourteen lines might also have cardinal bearings and be an object studied as might a mariner's chart. If, as the juxtaposition of the poem and the island suggests, the poem that describes the neighboring land may also be read haptically, in such a manner that the eyes of the reader rove about its characters and their interstices, along the jagged edges of the gothic font, the same gaze might also follow the accidents of the shorelines.

The composite unit of sonnet and island is suggestive of a future narrative literature built from isolated events or encounters. In his *isolario* of 1528, Benedetto Bordone, drawing on new information, adds islands from the Caribbean and an image of Temistitan (Mexico City) in counterpoint to that of Venice. He surrounds his woodcuts with geographical prose that begins to resemble a literature of travel. The motif of the island of chivalry becomes a mold for episodic constructions in books of chivalry (including, we can add, the *Amadis de Gaula*, one of the most influential and popular texts in the sixteenth century). Aggregates of episodes of love and adventure captivated Iberian and French readers of these works, the picaresque novel, and the fictions of Cervantes. The sentimental voyage of these works is fashioned from places that ground events that authors and editors string together to promote accompanying illustrations (in frontispieces, in woodcut images in the body of the text, and even in a map of North and South America in the eighth volume of the *Amadis*) that serve a cartographic function by reminding readers about where they are in a virtual archipelago of sentimental fiction. That Cervantes has Don Quijote set off blindly in search of knightly adventure following his protagonist's enrapture with works in the mode of the *Amadis* indicates the breadth of influence the island book exerted on early modern fiction. For Simone Pinet, Cervantes' masterpiece knells the death of chivalric romance, but only through a deeper affiliation with cartography. Both parts of *Don Quijote* are composed of isolated encounters. The novel contains satire of cartography and cartographers but also plots strangely familiar and even subterranean spaces in La Mancha.

The *isolario* belongs and may implicitly give rise to a tradition of modular construction that includes collections of poetry, travel accounts, comic epics, the personal essay, the cosmography, and the novella.¹⁴ Born from the

juxtaposition of a map or a topographic image and a text were literatures of motley shape and form. They first grew by dint of addition and accumulation, a process that defined a good deal of early modern writing. Authors added new material and information but balked at the idea of subtraction or excision. They conceived open-ended works that changed with the fortunes of those who wrote and edited them.

In this respect the *canzoniere*, a collection of poems recounting a spiritual and geographical quest, was exceptionally influential. As Theodore Cachey observes, when Alessandro Vellutello inserts a topographical map of southern France in his edition of Petrarch (1525), the poet's love of Laura moves between description of amorous passion (in the text) to topophilia (in the relation of the map to the poetry and its toponyms). The reader tends to locate each sonnet—a representation of a moment of heightened emotion, a recollection, a wish, or a reflection along an amorous itinerary—into a landscape that figures in a broader narrative that might follow the design of a route-enhancing map.¹⁵

In Vellutello's edition the quests of the mind and desire embroil allegory and geography. Further, the map includes Mont Ventoux, the windswept peak dominating the Vaucluse, which Petrarch ascended to obtain a first great view of a landscape.¹⁶ Thus, too, Ronsard, as Nancy Bouzrara indicates, follows a similar model when he projects him-

13. See chapter 8 in this volume and Elizabeth Clutton's contribution in P. D. A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," in *HC* 1:464–501, esp. 482–84.

14. Jeanneret develops the point through attention to syntax, a spatial ordering that allows new forms to grow from older ones. See Michel Jeanneret, *Perpetual Motion: Transforming Shapes in the Renaissance from da Vinci to Montaigne*, trans. Nidra Poller (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

15. David Woodward contrasts the "route-enhancing" map to its "equipollent" and "center-enhancing" counterparts. An equipollent map assigns an equal value to any point on its gridded surface, while a center-enhancing map (the medieval *mappamundi*, for example) draws the eye toward a central area. A viewer of the route-enhancing map (e.g., Battista Agnese's world map on which is drawn the line of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe) follows a trajectory over or across a plotted space in a visual narrative composed of points or episodic places reached and traversed. The typology has a parallel in the construction of literary texts. See David Woodward, "Roger Bacon's Terrestrial Coordinate System," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80 (1990): 109–22. Lestringant shows how an itinerary map, a shape close to Charles Estienne's *Guide* of 1550, emerges from the ordering of place-names; see Frank Lestringant, "Rabelais et le récit toponymique," in his *Écrire le monde à la Renaissance: Quinze études sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et la littérature géographique* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993), 109–28.

16. According to Broc, Petrarch's ascension of the mountain marks a decisive event in Renaissance geography. The poet's voyage came at a moment when the perspective of Ptolemy's *Geography* could be both felt and seen; see Numa Broc, *La géographie de la Renaissance (1420–1620)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1980), 82 and 211.

self as belonging to a generation of hypothetical topographers in the sonnets of his *Amours* (1552–56), where descriptions of his homeland in the Touraine figure in his itineraries of amorous and geographical discovery. Du Bellay's monumental descriptions of Roman ruins, fashioned to contrast with the humble beauty of his Angevin origins in the *Regrets* (1558), constitute a sum of images that are sometimes, given their modular construction, isolated landscapes or themselves ruins. Edmund Spenser would quickly translate Du Bellay's contemporaneous *Antiquitez de Rome* into English, in which one poem (the twentieth) extends a map conceit.

CARTOGRAPHY AND EMOTION

For all these writers, as Henry Turner cogently argues, images of maps in and about the poems are indexes of the emotional or moral state of their speakers. The design of a given form—*dizain*, elegy, ode, or sonnet—becomes a graphic shape that “expresses an intangible idea, quality, or spiritual condition” through an affinity with cartographic form.¹⁷ When in literature an emotive state is associated with the representation of a geographic space, there emerges an aesthetics and a politics of experience. The writer praises (or decries) an area that in the same blow is lived, imagined, and surveyed, often in an autobiographical mode that attaches the name and life of the author to the site in question. Here the process resembles what cartographers do when they indicate their place of origin on their maps and in their legends, or what writers do when they proclaim that the personal world of their signature is at once unique to themselves. Writers graft their names into central position or at the axis of their poem in order to encrypt and eternize themselves at a decisive origin that shapes the surrounding space of both the text and the geography. The latter is described in emotive terms.¹⁸ The writers choose an axis, a turning point for their fiction that is marked by a moment of passion—often an encounter with an “other,” who takes the name of the poet's erotic object—and proceed to build their work about and around it. It can turn about their own name or a toponym of their homeland to serve as a skeletal key that opens the work to visual and spatial analysis.

As a result—a point toward which the work of all of the authors of the chapters in this section converge—many literary creations become “language maps” insofar as lexical cartographies can be seen in the relation of their form to their content. The content has to do with the discovery of new linguistic and geographical spaces within and beyond national borders, while the form often uses schematic means—such as grids and gazetteers inspired by the arrangement of maps, texts, and indexes of place-names in printed editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*—to exploit the spatiality of printed rhetoric.¹⁹ Readers

quickly discover that a consciousness of geographical variety informs not only works that belong to new literary programs and canons but also many of the protocartographic compendia—those of Hartmann Schedel, Jean Lemaire de Belges, Joannes Boemus, Sebastian Münster, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Joannes Ravisius Textor, and many others—from which they draw mythic and factual material.²⁰

Foremost in their affective register are expressions that range from delight and awe about the world to disquiet, fear, and even melancholy felt in view of an abyss opened between individual experience of space and what received information might tell of it. Neil Safier and Ilda Mendes dos Santos write of the way *Os Lusíadas* signals a “shift from expansion to interiorization: from the actual discovery of continents and cultures far from Europe to the metaphorical loss of orientation at home.”²¹ Experience of space becomes what maps inspire but cannot entirely supplant. As simulacra they are evidence more of paper glory than of real conquest or dominion. For Theodore Cachey, it is ironic that the *isolario*, an Italian invention that began in Venice, led to little or no literary development in Italy. He argues that map production in Italy did not galvanize a literature aimed at unifying the aggregate pieces of the nation. It might be said that the melancholic strain of Torquato Tasso's epic poetry would also figure in a broader picture in which mapping and the sagging destiny of national ambitions were related. Simone Pinet

17. P. 412 in this volume.

18. The writer is prone to build a text or a work as might a humanist cartographer. Oronce Fine, notes Dainville, began a map of France by spotting a point from which lines of latitude and longitude would be drawn before the topography (cities, rivers, and relief) could be fleshed out; see François de Dainville, “How Did Oronce Fine Draw His Large Map of France?” *Imago Mundi* 24 (1970): 49–55.

19. In “System, Space, and Intellect in Renaissance Symbolism,” *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 18 (1956): 222–39, Walter J. Ong writes of the diagrammatic imagination pervading early modern literature. The onset of schematic reasoning, which replaces *memoria* in the Ciceronian order of rhetoric, tends to make language a function of visual patterns that, it might be added, become resonant during the beginnings of Baroque cartography. The point is developed in Ong's *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

20. Terence Cave coins the term “language-map” in his *Pré-histoires II: Langues étrangères et troubles économiques au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2001), 27–101, to show how the sensitivity to different languages develops in early modern texts, especially from a cartographic impulse that accompanies a fascination with the variety of idioms spoken on the European continent. Timothy Hampton writes of the use of “textual geography” to link topographic representation to national space in his *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century: Inventing Renaissance France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 109–49. Ricardo Padrón, in *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), makes a similar argument by way of his reading of Spanish epic literature.

21. P. 466 in this volume.

shows that for Cervantes travel moved inward and was given to melancholy. Surely the cartographic innuendo of Shakespeare's late and great play *The Tempest* turns the image of geographical expansion into a space of creative disquiet and anxiety about the relation of words to the world at large.²²

Toward the end of the sixteenth and in the early years of the seventeenth century, a cartographic melancholy is evinced in works that base their imaginary travels on information gathered from cartographic sources. Melancholy was contagious in the time of the development and dissemination of the "world-theater," a figure first put in circulation in Pierre Boaistuau's *Théâtre du monde* (1558). This work translated Matteo Bandello's Italian novellas for a French public and told in its third chapter "L'histoire tragique de Romeo Montecchio & Giulietta Capelletta," a tale that Shakespeare would soon exploit to draft his play. Boaistuau sought to enrich the French literary canon by introducing a new genre, the "tragic story," to a transalpine audience.²³ But the presence of *Théâtre* in the title is especially noteworthy. It anticipated the name that Abraham Ortelius would confer upon his atlas, the *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, and for a cause not unrelated to the sense of silent spectacle that was conceived for the reader to behold. The *Theatrum* was translated into Dutch in 1571 as *Theatre oft Toonneel des Aerdtbodems*, into German in 1572 as *Theatrum oder Schauplatz des Erdbodems*, into French in 1572 as *Théâtre de l'univers*, then for Spanish readers as *Theatro de la tierra universal* in 1588, and later, in 1606, as *The Theater of the Whole World*. From its first Latin edition in 1570, it had been a model for the inaugural French atlas, Maurice Bouguereau's *Le theatre francoys* (1594). Crucial to all of these titles is the spatial, political, and literary inflection of the world as theater.

THE *THEATRUM MUNDI* AS TEXT AND ATLAS

The success of the Ortelian atlas owed much to the modular construction also seen in literature, but under the new title the reader or spectator was invited to behold a cosmographic whole and a variety of local representations.²⁴ The world was tabulated and registered in line with technologies of memory and as a display of the nature of geography in general. The new atlas was an organizing form for a spatial arrangement of discourse, often in consort with cartographic models whereby books under the title *Theatrum* or *Theatre* referred to Ortelius. They were sold with the aim of having visual and textual components hold within themselves the universal memory of their topics. Readers of the atlas were imagined occupying a privileged site where, before the book whose folio pages they turned at will, they could travel over the entire world without lifting a leg. There is reason to



FIG. 12.1. TITLE PAGE FROM THE *THEATRUM ORBIS TERRARUM* OF ABRAHAM ORTELIUS, 1570. Photograph courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam (1802 A 14).

believe that from the atlas structure was generated the invention of the imaginary voyage, a literary genre that would dominate creation of later centuries.²⁵

At the historical moment when the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* replaced Ptolemy's *Geography*, the design of the atlas and the literary practice of allegory shed new light

22. Louis Marin, *Des pouvoirs de l'image* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), 169–85.

23. Tom Conley, "Pierre Boaistuau's Cosmographic Stage: Theater, Text, and Map," *Renaissance Drama* 23 (1992): 59–86.

24. Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 153–79, esp. 174–75.

25. Jacob notes that in the preface to the English edition of Ortelius the reader is seen as an imaginary aviator who flies from one continent to another while turning the pages; see Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, trans. Tom Conley, ed. Edward H. Dahl (Chicago: University of Chicago

upon each other. Frontispieces to atlases following the Ortelian paradigm deploy allegorical tactics in their design. The title page displays Europe on her throne, scepter and globe in her hands, while Asia and Africa flank, respectively, the left and right sides of the columns beside which they stand (fig. 12.1). Below lies America, recumbent, adjacent to Magellanica, a figure composed of a comely head and armless shoulders that emerges from a granite stele. America holds the head of a bearded (hence European) victim. The personification of a self-contained and omnipotent Europe at the top of the cartouche contrasts with that of what seems to be a fantasy of bodily scatter below.²⁶ The savage below, in the western hemisphere in Ortelius's allegory, is diametrically opposed to the regal (but inert and far less engaging) figure in the eastern counterpart above.

ALLEGORY AND UTOPIA

In a pathbreaking essay on late medieval cartography, Schulz argued that before 1500, no matter how realistic their views, maps were never indexical representations of the places they portrayed.²⁷ A moralizing agency served the ends of religious allegory in most cartographic documents. Moralized geography extended well into the early modern age, when the map was transformed into a scientific or logistic object. The same can be said in literature, with the difference that by means of allegory, mendacity and distortion of indexical representation came to be counted among its virtues and powers. As literature became an object of silent reading, it was progressively laden with spatial and figural allegories for which it found inspiration in the tradition of moralized cartography.

"Des coches," one of Montaigne's later *Essais*, is a salient case. Dealing with the after-effects of the discoveries of the Americas, Montaigne tenders a conceit in which the image of two hemispheres gives way to a vision of the end of the world. To denounce the effects of Iberian plunder in South America, the writer appeals to allegory, cartography, and figural typology to envisage an apocalypse in which a just retribution will be countenanced for the evils of the Black Legend:

Our world has just found another . . . no less great, full, and vigorous than itself, nonetheless so new and new-born that it is still learning it's a, b, c's. Only fifty years ago it knew neither letter, weights, scales, clothing, fields, nor the vine. It was still nude and lived in the lap and nourishing virtue of mother nature. If we conclude well about our end, and this poet [Lucretius] of the youth of his century, this other world will be brought into light when our own will be in crepuscule. The universe will fall into paralysis; one member will be shriveled, the other in vigor. I fear that by our con-

tagion we will have spurred its decline and ruin, and that we will have sold to it dearly our opinions and arts.²⁸

A moralized geography, of the Old World opposed to the new, is endowed with cartographic latency. In the text forces are set in opposition, in spatial and discursive tension, by which the image of the emaciated branch is juxtaposed with a virile and vigorous counterpart. Implied is that the New World, what figures on the left of the text (imagined, possibly, as a planisphere), will overtake what is on the right. Montaigne's allegory is related to the disposition of the Ortelian model and to the conventions of an allegorized landscape.²⁹ He maps out a spatial diagram of Europe in respect to the newly discovered continents that is cast into a figural time, a time in which a universal history signals a second coming. The degeneration and death of one hemisphere gives way to the growth of another.

The fantasy of the end of time attests to the way that biblical typology is marshaled to support the spatial or schematic girding of an allegory. Montaigne's vision of a second coming or of worlds divided is drawn from the Bible, a source, like that of many cosmographies, in which maps were made available to a public at large. Among others, maps in Bibles record Daniel's dream of the Four Kingdoms and their symbolic beasts (see fig. 11.4).³⁰ As it was copied and revived over the course of the sixteenth century, the prophet's vision became a figment of many

Press, 2006), 75–76. Mangani notes that the Ortelian atlas is an object of contemplation obtained through memory and meditation in Giorgio Mangani, *Il "mondo" di Abramo Ortelio: Misticismo, geografia e collezionismo nel Rinascimento dei Paesi Bassi* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1998). Universal memory is seen in Christophe de Savigny's stenographic diagram in which an Ortelian world map is surrounded by nodules connected to lines that ramify from an oval that contains the title of his creation, "Géographie." Illustrated in Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472–1700*, 4th ed. (Riverside, Conn.: Early World Press, 2001), 181–82 (no. 159); see also Henri-Jean Martin, ed., *La naissance du livre moderne, XIV^e–XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 2000), 272.

26. The history of the success of Ortelius's allegory is illustrated in Catherine Hofmann, "'Peinture & Image de la Terre': L'emluminure de cartes aux Pays-Bas," in *Couleurs de la terre: Des mappemondes médiévales aux images satellitaires*, ed. Monique Pelletier (Paris: Seuil / Bibliothèque Nationale de la France, 1998), 68–85, esp. 74–75.

27. Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 425–74.

28. Montaigne, *Essais*, 2:341.

29. Erwin Panofsky, in *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 1: 205–46, remarks that the Van Eyck brothers plotted landscapes in allegorical terms. Closer to Montaigne, the system pervades representations of discovery in the pictures and maps of Theodor de Bry.

30. Daniel 7; Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500–1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991), 71–72.

visions while making use of the tradition of the *isolario* and the allegory of new and old worlds at odds with each other. In the same vein, maps of Eden and its rivers (see fig. 11.3) or scenes of Exodus provided Bibles with information not only for literature of voyage and encounter but also for fantasy fueling fiction and satire.

A crucial map and text in this tradition, as Franz Reitinger indicates in his informative essay on German literature and cartography, is the *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* (Geneva, 1566), a satirical work of twenty-four sheets drawn by Pierre Eskrich, an engraver who executed maps and illustrations for numerous Bibles and works of literature in Geneva and Lyons (see fig. 11.5). The open mandibles of a great beast staring at the viewer contain (or the beast is vomiting) an image of Rome and the world as it is pillaged by the Catholic Church and its emissaries. The world floats in the mouth of the monster assailed by minuscule armies of Protestant warriors, many on horseback and others on foot, who fire cannon (on whose barrels are printed “the divine word”) at the enemy or who throw hand grenades (figured as Bibles) over the walled fortifications. The work is framed by a bordering textual legend that explains the frenzy represented within the mapped image. The sheets are accompanied by a longer text under the same title, written by Jean-Baptiste Trento under the pseudonym “Fringidelphe Escorche-Messes” (Fringidelphe Mass-Ripper) and printed in “La ville de Luce nouvelle” (the city of New Light).

The work takes part in a polemical world in which, in the midst of the Wars of Religion, maps and literature are yoked to both satire and new imagery engineered to foment strife.³¹ The *Mappe-monde nouvelle papistique* tells much about fictional “theaters” in which the satirist articulates textual and cartographic material for the ends of a calculated distortion of the known world. As an allegorical map that inspires violence it stands at the antipodes of Madeleine de Scudéry’s *Carte du pays de tendre*, the route-enhancing chart leading to gentility and tenderness that in the next century would be a guide to the same author’s voluminous *Clélie* and a product of a literary salon that indirectly called into question the values that engineers and academicians had been investing in scientific and military cartography. The satirical map and its unlikely but logical counterpart in the world of the *précieux* bear witness to a tradition in which fantasy and satire mobilized cartography and literature for variously creative and political ends.³²

At the origins of the allegorical map in early modern Europe there undeniably stands Thomas More’s *Utopia*. The maps of the city and its island that accompany the editions of 1516 (in schematic form) and 1518 (in a woodcut including personages and bearing festoons that cause the island to appear suspended above a boat sailing by its major port) are taken to guarantee a place other-

wise described as imaginary. For European readers More’s text became a realistic site from which utopia could be thought, hence a place where the creative or literary imagination could exert political effect. Henry Turner makes clear the impact of the text and map on English writing, a point that Nancy Bouzrara echoes in her treatment of Rabelais and textual cartography. Insofar as the writing of *Utopia* both affirms and calls into question the authority of the image, the map of the imaginary place figures in a dialogical mechanism in which the possibility of a representation of any “utopia” is cast in doubt. As in emblematic constructions, the map allows the text of the work to be called into question, and so also the map.³³ The composite shape of *Utopia* marked a juncture, too, in a tradition of interwoven texts and images that would soon include the literature of emblems and of city views and cartographic images embedded in texts in order to both underscore their unity and make their reading lead in multifarious directions.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be said that in the growth and proliferation of maps—both in the midst of printed writing and in tandem with textual material—the ways that literature was appreciated and read changed dramatically. Letters and words were understood to have a spatial relation with surfaces that became gridded or were given implicit cartographic valence. The proximity of maps in poetry and

31. See the discussion in chapter 11 in this volume. The number of studies of this important map is growing: Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon,” *Past and Present* 90 (1981): 40–70; Frank Lestringant, “Une cartographie iconoclaste: ‘La mappe-monde nouvelle papistique’ de Pierre Eskrich et Jean-Baptiste Trento (1566–1567),” in *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Monique Pelletier (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1989), 99–120; Dror Wahrman, “From Imaginary Drama to Dramatized Imagery: The *Mappe-Monde Nouvelle Papistique*, 1566–67,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 186–205; and Frank Lestringant, “L’histoire de la *Mappe-monde papistique*,” *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l’Année—L’Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (1998): 699–730. Lestringant contextualizes literary analogs in his *Livre des îles*, 263–91.

32. Bruno builds the conceptual logic of her *Atlas of Emotion* from Scudéry’s *Carte du pays de tendre*. For Bruno the relation of emotion or the movement of affect to cartography determines much of modern art, cinema, and literature; see Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion* (New York: Verso, 2002), 225–45. Peters explores allegory and the space of meaning in Scudéry’s creation; see Jeffrey N. Peters, *Mapping Discord: Allegorical Cartography in Early Modern French Writing* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 83–116.

33. Isabella Pezzini notes that a good deal of imaginary cartography and literature has a grounding model in the first two editions of these works; see her “Fra le carte: Letteratura e cartografia immaginaria,” in *Cartographiques*, ed. Marie-Ange Brayer (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996), 149–68, esp. 151. She draws on Louis Marin, *Utopiques: Jeux d’espace* (Paris: Minuit, 1973), to sustain the analyses.

discourse tended to confer upon writing a sense of cardinal direction and spatiality.

Along similar lines, narratives of voyage tended to turn reading into an adventure in and through printed writing. Even if heroic and comic epics, *canzoniere*, essays of inner travel and introspection, narratives of journey and meditation, and collected works of sonnets, odes, and novellas were never called literature in their own age, their literary identity in our time owes to their rapport with the fortunes of the printed and illustrated book, a medium in which maps circulated widely and were deployed for the sake of information. Writings inflected by cartography were mixed and composite forms. At times they were abstract worlds bearing the signature of their authors, and at others they were part of broader articu-

lations of space inhering in early modern mapping and print culture.³⁴

The six chapters that follow show how many literary traditions took form through vital and burgeoning contact with cartography. The chapters attest to the ways that different modes of literature—created by the vision of writers who cast their eyes on world maps, topographic images, city views, books of islands, and allegorical projections—gave birth to much of what we understand to be the foundation of modern writing.

34. See Aude Le Dividich, “La libération de l’oeil: De la schématisation géographique à la symbolique mathématique,” in *La naissance du livre moderne: XIV^e–XVII^e siècles*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin (Paris: Editions du Cercle de la librairie, 2000), 328–40.