

18 • Literature and Cartography in Early Modern Spain: Etymologies and Conjectures

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By the time Don Quijote began to tilt at windmills, maps and mapping had made great advances in most areas—administrative, logistic, diplomatic—of the Iberian world.¹ Lines of inquiry about literature and cartography in early modern Spanish literature converge toward Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote*. The return to the heroic age of the chivalric romance, with its mysterious geography, contrasted with Don Quijote's meanderings around the Iberian peninsula, is especially ironic in view of what the author, a wounded veteran of military campaigns (including Lepanto, a battle seen in many maps and naval views, and his captivity in Algiers, with comparable cartographic resonance), probably knew about cartography.

A determining proof of the relation and a fitting epigraph for much of what follows is found in chapter six of the second part of *Don Quijote*, published in 1615. After failing miserably in his chimerical travels to save damsels in distress and to right the wrongs of the world, the knight errant still harbors the dream of venturing forward at least ten years later. Troubled by Don Quijote's intentions of leaving home for a third time in search of chivalric adventures, his housekeeper threatens the would-be knight errant that she will ask God and king to find a way to make him stay put. She demands to know if there are knights in the king's court. Don Quijote replies that it is with good reason that there are courtly knights, as they serve for the adornment of the greatness of princes and for the ostentation of royal majesty. Why, the housekeeper then asks, is Don Quijote not one of those? His reply, which extends over the rest of the chapter, is most evidently a defense of chivalry (and one derived from literature, particularly). But it is also a diatribe against courtiers, a defense of men of arms as the most useful to kingdoms, and, in this sense, is a call for justice, administrative and economic, for soldiers such as Cervantes himself. It articulates a discussion on poetics predicated on heroism and types of chivalry, a problematization of honor and class, of ethics, fiction, and access to truth. The point of departure for this wide-ranging discourse is a cartographic reference in which the hidalgo shows his housekeeper that courtiers consult maps, whereas knights actually make them in their very travels. By means of the

footprints they leave on the surface of the earth they touch, they become one with the maps of their voyages. To his housekeeper Don Quijote retorts,

Not all knights can be courtiers, nor can or should all courtiers be knights errant: of all there must be in the world, and even if all of us are knights, there is a vast difference between them, because the courtiers, without leaving their chambers or the thresholds of the court, walk the whole world looking at a map, without spending a penny, or suffering heat or cold, hunger or thirst; but we, the true knights errant, exposed to the sun, the cold, the air, the merciless weather night and day, on foot and on horseback, we measure the whole earth with our own feet, and we do not know the enemies merely in painting, but in their very being.²

Here Cervantes anticipates Korzybski's notion, consonant with Borges's celebrated fiction on the "rigor of science" in which an emperor's cartographers plot a map of his empire on a 1:1 scale, to the effect that a map is not the territory it represents, whether in economics or politics or in literature or philosophy.³ Don Quijote is not staking a simplistic claim on reality; rather he is anchoring the physical world in a greater realm of fiction. Cartography here serves not as object, or even as an instrument, but as a complex operation that, by way of a reflection on poetics and on the power of representation, interrogates the location of truth in fiction.

Spain's role in the cartography of the Renaissance is marked by evolving and contradictory phenomena: ad-

Abbreviations used in this chapter include: *Obra completa* for Miguel de Cervantes, *Obra completa*, 3 vols., ed. Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas (Alcalá de Henares [Spain]: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1993–95), and *Obras de Lope de Vega* for Lope de Vega, *Obras de Lope de Vega: Obras dramáticas*, rev. ed., 13 vols. (Madrid: Tip. de la "Rev. de Arch., Bibl., y Museos," 1916–30).

1. See chapter 39 in this volume.

2. Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 2 vols., ed. Francisco Rico (Madrid: Crítica, 1998), 1:673.

3. Alfred Korzybski, *Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*, 2d ed. (1933; Lancaster, Pa.: International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing, Science Press Printing, distributors, [1941]), 58, and Jorge Luis Borges, "On Exactitude in Science," in *Collected Fictions*, trans. Andrew Hurley (New York: Penguin, 1999), 325.

vancements triggered by the Majorcan production of portolan charts from the fourteenth century on; the experimentation and discoveries of sailors that furthered this technological development; the control that the Casa de la Contratación, or House of Trade, exerted over the circulation of accurate maps; and the interest on the part of monarchs such as Charles V, Philip II, and Philip IV in the development of cartography for and by the Spanish empire. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Spain curtailed the activities of mapmakers, editors, and censors; meanwhile, the printing industry that was evolving in the northern countries overshadowed the production of maps in Spain and quickly disseminated its commodities in other lands. A public consciousness of cartography had thus permeated and taken root in Iberian culture with paradoxical delay, in view of its colonization of the Americas. The irony of history is that the success of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* was real and sustained in Spain. Its impact on literature is clear from the presence of maps in the numerous references to geography and cartography throughout *Don Quijote*.

Spanish literary practices in the period parallel this development. Deeply informed by political and religious conflicts, the creative imagination of the period led not only to Spain's most glorious examples of stylistic, generic, and thematic revolutions, from Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina* (1499) to Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La vida es sueño* (1636), but also to a series of reflections, in fields from poetics to historiography, on the era that we now know as Spain's Golden Age. Literature certainly registered all the complicated political, religious, social, and economic problems with which cartography is related. But it also traded with cartography in developments, techniques, and preoccupations, borrowing topics and direct references, mirroring genres, and overlapping gestures. In what follows I suggest a series of operations that link cartography and literature in Spain. Aspects of description, ornamentation, and conjecture are presented through the most prominent writings of the period. The vast literary production of the age, coupled with the little investigation this cartographic line of inquiry has produced in Spanish literary criticism, opens up a field in which research has just begun.⁴

ETYMOLOGIES: METAPHORIC AND LITERAL USES

Allusions to maps in Spanish literature can be traced back to Alfonso X (1221–84), the “Libro de Alexandre” (ca. 1250), or Juan de Mena (1411–56). The first documented mention of the Latin *mappamundi* (as *mapamundi*) was in the anonymous “Semejança del mundo” (ca. 1223), and the term was used as *mapa mundi* in Spanish translations

of various works, such as the anonymous translation of Jacques de Vitry's “Historia orientalis” (ca. 1350), Juan Fernández de Heredia's 1396 translation of the book of Marco Polo, and the translation of Livy's “Ab urbe condita” by Pedro López de Ayala (ca. 1400).⁵ From the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the use of *mapa* as a fully Castilian noun proliferated, showing up in chronicles of the New World and works of mysticism, poetry, narrative, and theater. Golden Age literature used two terms to refer to maps: the general *mapa* and *carta*. The second was used to designate a cartographic genre, the *carta de marear* or sea chart. Two dictionaries, the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611) and the *Diccionario de autoridades* (originally titled *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 1726), defined the terms for the period's articulation of literature and cartography.⁶ Their definitions of *mapa* and *carta* document the changes in cartographic lit-

4. The best known of recent studies on spatiality to emerge from Hispanic literary studies is Walter Mignolo's *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 2d ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003). See also Ricardo Padrón's *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). From the perspective of the Spanish-American history of art, see Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). On monarchic interest in cartography, see Geoffrey Parker, “Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Hapsburgs,” in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 124–52.

5. Enrique Jiménez Ríos, ed., *Texto y concordancias de Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid MS. 3369, Semeiança del mundo* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992), fol. 150r; Jacques de Vitry, *Traducción de la “Historia de Jerusalem abreviada,”* ed. María Teresa Herrera and María Nieves Sánchez (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2000), chap. XCI; Marco Polo, *Libro de Marco Polo*, trans. Juan Fernández de Heredia, ed. Juan Manuel Cacho Bleuca (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2003), fol. 108r; and Livy, *Las Décadas de Tito Livio*, 2 vols., trans. Pedro López de Ayala, ed. Curt J. Wittlin (Barcelona: Puvill Libros, 1982), 1:223. The “*Historia de Jerusalem*” and *Libro de Marco Polo* are available online through the Real Academia Española, Banco de datos (CORDE), Corpus diacrónica del español at <<http://www.rae.es>>. The term *mappamundi* was later used as *mappa mundi* (1490) by Alfonso Fernández de Palencia; see his *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Comisión Permanente de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 1967), 1:clxv. As *mapa del mundo* (map of the world) it appeared about 1400–1425 in Latini's *Li livres dou tresor*; see Brunetto Latini, *Text and Concordance of the Aragonese Translation of Brunetto Latini's Li livres dou tresor: Gerona Cathedral, MS 20-a-5*, ed. Dawn Prince (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990), fols. 3r and 48v. See also Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1980–91), 3:836, s.v. “mapa.” The noun oscillated between feminine and masculine throughout the period, at times apparently specifying different meanings.

6. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611; Barcelona: S. A. Horta, 1943). Covarrubias makes the terms commutable, defining *descrevir* as “to narrate and signal with

eracy. Both dictionaries use “description” as core to their definitions of *carta* and *mapa*. Both include *carta de marear* along with a series of other meanings for *carta* (*cartas* as playing cards, for instance, as well as the common meaning, “letters”). Both define *mapa* by the material surface on which the description is drawn and subordinate *carta de marear* to *mapa* as a particular map genre. The definitions in the *Diccionario de autoridades*, however, are longer and more precise than those in *Tesoro*, introducing technological elements and providing references to authors and quotations. The *Diccionario de autoridades* expands the definition of *mapa* from the etymology to a discussion of ways of measuring distances and a classification of maps according to both the surface on which they are drawn and the extent of their depiction. Technical terms are multiplied in the entry through the quotation of works ranging from hagiography to scientific treatises. Referring directly to literary discourse is the documentation of different meanings of the term. *Mapa* as a written text summarizing a state of things, which the *Diccionario de autoridades* relates to a Latin rhetorical counterpart, *descriptio brevis*, is the first of these meanings. A second is *mapa* as a metaphor referring to “anything outstanding and bizarre in its line,” a metaphor specific to the period, related again by the dictionary to rhetoric as *ornatus*.⁷ Ornamentation and description, closely affiliated, become a common ground of cartography and literature.

In the canon of the Golden Age, maps quickly became objects described in prose and verse. Ekphrasis, a term designating a verbal description of an image, applies to writers who “portray” maps in different literary genres. Verbal maps seem to be the most obvious instance of maps as ornamentation and/or description. In the series of ekphrases in Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Egloga tercera*, the description of Nise’s tapestry tells how the course of the river Tajo is depicted. The river is “painted” on the tapestry, and the gaze of the reader/viewer follows it across the parts of Spain it bathes, whirling around a mountain, twisting across the land, past a series of ancient buildings and working watermills. A reading of the tapestry as a map is reinforced by movements between the “plot” that weaves together the episode of the story and the poem in the last verses of the passage.⁸ Clearly, in these passages description and adornment are a common ground where literature and cartography are intimately related.

Theater is not impervious to ekphrasis. In the third act of Cervantes’ *La entretenida*, a spirited dialogue consists of a series of cartographic puns employing geographical terms and toponyms in which the exchange ultimately yields a map composed of a list of wines named for the region or city in which they are produced.⁹ Similarly, in his novella *El licenciado Vidriera*, Cervantes draws a map of Italy through its wines, followed by one of Spain,

“made present without any use of magic tricks and not as if painted on a map, but really and truly.”¹⁰ For Cervantes, “map” is here analogous to a game of illusions, a trick, a piece of wit or *ingenio*. Much of what unfolds in his “exemplary tale” could be seen entirely as an itinerary across the Spanish empire.

The protagonist’s story begins in Spain and takes him by sea to Italy (with stops in Corsica and Toulon), then on land across Italy to Rome, where he remarks on monuments, streets, and buildings. He continues to Naples and Sicily (noticing things seen or verifying things known about each place), proceeds to Venice, and then alludes to Tenochtitlán (Temistitan or Mexico City). Cervantes’ imaginative comparison of the two cities is congruent with the design of the *isolario* as Benedetto Bordone (1528)—and then Tommaso Porcacchi (1572)—had crafted it to include the islands and cities from the New World.¹¹ Bordone had placed Venice, a city surrounded by many islands, in counterpoint with Tenochtitlan, an island city surrounded by a ring of water and an ambient landmass. A cartographic design explains the feeling of wonder.¹² Flanders follows Venice, and then the protagonist returns to Salamanca (via France), where he will

the pen some place or occurrence, so vividly as if it were painted. To describe the narration, or write or delineate as the description of a province or map.” *Tesoro* has numerous toponymic entries. Those of Spain are carefully contrasted in their native denominations and in comparison to other sources, such as Pliny, Strabo, Antonio de Nebrija, Abraham Ortelius, and Pomponius Mela. Frequently, for foreign toponymy, *Tesoro* refers the reader to Ortelius (cited more than fifty times). Other voices have not been considered that render further information on terms such as *marinero* (sailor), *piloto* (navigator), *rumbo* (direction), and *derrota* (route). *Diccionario de la lengua castellana . . .*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Francisco del Hierro, Impresor de la Real Academia Española, 1726–39); reprinted several times, beginning in 1963, with the title *Diccionario de autoridades*. These changes can be related to discussions on longitude and the political and cartographic problem of the Moluccas, which come into the *Diccionario de autoridades* through the texts to which it refers. All translations are mine.

7. *Diccionario de autoridades*, 4:492–93, s.v. “mapa.”

8. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Poesías castellanas completas*, ed. Elias L. Rivers (Madrid: Castalia, 1986), 201–3. It is the fourth and last nymph who describes Nise’s tapestry in verses 193–264 of the *Egloga tercera*.

9. Miguel de Cervantes, *La entretenida*, in *Obra completa*, 3:762.

10. Miguel de Cervantes, *El licenciado Vidriera*, in *Obra completa*, 2:647–79, quotation on 652.

11. On the *isolario*, see chapter 8 in this volume.

12. “From there, embarking in Ancona, he went to Venice, a city which, had Colón not been born to the world, would not have had its equal: thanks to the heavens and the great Hernando Cortés, who conquered the great Mexico, so that the great Venice had in some way one to oppose it. These two famous cities are similar in their streets, which are all of water: that of Europe, admiration of the ancient world; that of America, fright of the new world.” Cervantes, *El licenciado Vidriera*, 2:654. See also Frank Lestringant, *Le livre des îles: Atlas et récits insulaires de la Genèse à Jules Verne* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 111–23, where the author traces the analogies throughout the tradition of the *isolarii* and offers striking parallels with Cervantes’ comparison.

meet the woman who will poison him and turn him (if only in his mind) into the Licenciado Vidriera.¹³ The movement from the vision of the empire—Spain and Italy, America through Venice—to the gaze of an urban, literary nation through Salamanca can be seen as one from world-map to urban cartography. Not only does it contain within its design the complements of Venice and Mexico City; it also recalls and reworks Peter Apian's celebrated similitude in which cosmography is compared to the portrait of a man (who is painted or "described") to show how topography might have as an analog to a city view a depiction of an isolated eye or ear.¹⁴

In the first act of Lope de Vega's play *El abanillo*, three characters talk about the shape of Spain by comparing it to a bull. The interlocutors then refer to the natural frontiers and extension of Spain, its products and the "parts" into which it is divided (Tarraconense, Baetica, Lusitania). The character who makes the comparative tour de force is awarded the title "brave cosmographer." The dialogue then proceeds to a description of Barcelona.¹⁵ The movement from world map to chorography to urban cartography is repeated here, directly anticipating a discussion on poetics, revealing once again how cartography is vital to the self-reflectivity of Golden Age literature.

Close examination of the Spanish literary heritage shows that its cartographic impulse is indeed pervasive. The picaresque genre is no exception. It is keenly related to urban and regional cartography whenever it follows the displacements of the *pícaro*. It is seen also in the grids of class structure and relations that it articulates particularly through language, from the *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) to Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) and Francisco de Quevedo's *El buscón* (1626).¹⁶ Cervantes' *Don Quijote* and its verifiable itinerary through central Spain—with the exception of Insula Barataria—reflects the desire for a totalizing view of the nation that could be paralleled to contemporary projects of the Spanish monarchs. The focused gaze on Iberia and the Old World, however, is not uninterrupted: at any given opportunity, America comes into view. At times the reference is through a character, sometimes proverbial, and at others it is geographic.¹⁷ Each occurrence betrays what Alpers calls a cartographic "impulse" that here can be understood as inhering in literary form.¹⁸ Fully on the way to the Indies (even in Seville, just about to embark), a proliferation of genres speaks to a developing cartographic literacy.

The epic genre is the obvious candidate. As in Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana* (1569), the genre alludes to maps, constructs elaborate metaphors on their basis, and riddles its descriptions and discussions with reference to them.¹⁹ Closely linked to epic are numerous works from *relaciones* and *crónicas* all the way to texts such as Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios* (1537) and Carlos

de Sigüenza y Góngora's *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (1690)²⁰ and the rich historiography of the period. Travels such as Ruy González de Clavijo's *Embajada de Tasmorlán* and Pedro Tafur's *Andanças é viajes* deserve their own studies in a strictly cartographic key, particularly in relation to the *Libro del conocimiento*, a hybrid of cartography, literature, and heraldics corresponding to the period immediately before our study (ca. 1350).²¹ Finally, Baltasar Gracián's work, balancing itself on the other side of modernity, can be read in coextensively cartographic and philosophical keys.²²

The use of the word "map" itself can be documented across the genres of the period. The word is used in its lit-

13. Other verbal maps in Cervantes have been interpreted in this vein, such as the well-known picaresque map traced in *Don Quijote*, already noted by Clemencín in his prologue to *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 6 vols., ed. Diego Clemencín (Madrid: Aguado, 1833–39), vi–xxxix. See also Francisco Rodríguez Marín, ed., *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, rev. ed., 10 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1947–49), 1:129 n. 13.

14. Peter Apian's *Cosmographia* was translated and printed in Spain as *Libro dela Cosmographia de Pedro Apiano, el qual trata la descripcion del mundo, y sus partes, por muy claro y lindo artificio, aumentado por el doctissimo varon Gemma Frisio . . .* (Enveres: Bontio, 1548). Apian's comparison seems to foster the ekphrasis/portrayal issue referred to elsewhere in this chapter. I thank Tom Conley for providing me with this reference.

15. Lope de Vega, *El abanillo*, in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 3:4–5.

16. Related to urban cartographies, albeit not specific to a literary genre, is Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

17. See Diana de Armas Wilson, *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

18. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

19. See Padrón, *Spacious Word*, particularly in relation to epic and imperial imagination.

20. Besides these, the most spectacular example is Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's Andean-style world map. See the Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen site, <<http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/>>, pp. 1001–1002, and Guamán Poma's description on pp. 1000 and 1003. Peter Martyr's description of the Gulf of Mexico is also interesting. See Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz, *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 3:241, 243, and 273–74. I wish to thank Rolena Adorno for these references. See also William Gustav Gartner, "Mapmaking in the Central Andes," in *HC* 2.3:257–300.

21. *Libro del conocimiento de todos los rreynos et tierras et señorios que son por el mundo, et de las señales et armas que han*, facsimile ed. (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1999), includes studies of the manuscript by María Jesús Lacarra, María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, and Alberto Montaner Frutos. See also *El Libro del conocimiento de todos los reinos* (*The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms*), ed. and trans. Nancy F. Marino (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999).

22. Alban K. Forcione, "At the Threshold of Modernity: Gracián's *El Crítico*," which articulates cosmography, philosophy, politics, religion, and poetics, and Jorge Checa, "Gracián and the Ciphers of the World," both in *Rhetoric and Politics: Baltasar Gracián and the New World Order*, ed. Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Talens (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 3–70 and 170–87.

eral sense by Cervantes in his novellas *El licenciado Vidriera* and *La gitanilla*,²³ the play *Los baños de Argel*, and *Don Quijote*.²⁴ Lope de Vega uses it in a literal sense in many of his plays.²⁵ In *El villano en su rincón*, the king asks: “What does it matter? What beauty / can be to a court paralleled? / In which map can be found / a wider variety of painting?”²⁶ The sonnet has cartographic trappings in the same author’s work in a shipwreck poem included in the collection by Miguel de Madrigal: “The pilot lets go of map and compass / tired of fighting wind and water.”²⁷ In his historical allegory *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*, Lope de Vega alternates between *carta* and *tablas*.²⁸ With the use of *mapa* Luis de Góngora anticipates in verse 194 of his *Soledad primera* a long cartographic passage spanning verses 366–502, and Francisco de Quevedo uses the term in his satirical poetry.²⁹

Calderón uses “map” almost always in unison with the adjective *breve*, recalling the metaphor of map as summary, in many of his religious plays, called *autos sacramentales*, as in *El verdadero dios Pan* (“with what / propriety is represented, / as in abbreviated map, / the world in it”).³⁰ Frequently these uses are substituted for or multiplied by the simultaneous exploitation of “chart,” “cosmography,” and “description” to mean “map.”³¹ Lope makes use of the word in all of its meanings. He employs “map” as a metaphor for the world in *El cordobés valeroso Pedro Carbonero*, and, in the dedication of *Arauco domado*, he calls his own work a map in the sense of a concise description or summary.³² In that same passage, he compares his “map” to painting and perspective, emphasizing the hierarchies used in both to make the representation of a brief but true history possible. In *El abanillo*, Lope uses “map” as a metaphor for the face of a woman who uses makeup, alluding to the surface but possibly also to the lines of a face, which should be contrasted with his use of “map” in *El duque de Viseo* (“whose skin, imitating a map / seems in unequal pieces / to show the signs of water and land”) and in *El caballero del milagro* (“all the dress is borrowed, and of more pieces filled than has a map lines”).³³ Emphasis on the material and visual characteristics of maps is particularly important in Lope, but it is also present in Quevedo’s comparison of bald heads to *mappamundi*: “There are mappamundi bald heads, / crossed by a thousand lines, / with zones and parallels / of paths that furrow them.”³⁴ Along these lines is Lope’s labyrinth in *El amigo hasta la muerte*: “I will exit this map of spells / to the light of the street.” Maps as summaries of life are wielded by Lope in *El saber por no saber* and as an outstanding and bizarre example of a genre of things in *La burgalesa de Lerma*.³⁵ He plays with the multiple meanings of *carta* in *En los indicios, la culpa*, where

23. Miguel de Cervantes, *La gitanilla*, in *Obra completa*, 2:439–509, quotation on 443.

24. *Don Quijote* has always been related to cartography in one way or another. Maps of the period and specially drawn maps with the knight’s itineraries have often been consulted to verify its data and are frequently printed in the editions of *Don Quijote*. References or parallels less obvious than word occurrences must still be documented. See, for instance, the coincidence between an anecdote told in *Don Quijote* and one told in Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, noted by Rodríguez Marín in his edition of *Don Quijote*, 5:298 n.1.

25. For example, Lope de Vega, *Las burlas veras*, ed. S. L. Rosenberg (Philadelphia, 1912), 43; idem, *La noche toledana*, in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 13:95–132, quotation on 123; Lope de Vega, *El piadoso aragonés*, ed. James Neal Greer ([Austin]: University of Texas Press, 1951), 116; and idem, *El duque de Viseo* (Madrid: Reproducción Fotográfica de la Real Academia, 1615), vol. 51, pt. 6, p. 151, among others.

26. Lope de Vega, *El villano en su rincón*, act 2.826–29. Unless otherwise noted, all references to plays can be found online through *Teatro Español del Siglo de Oro: Base de datos de texto completo*, copyright © 1997–2004 ProQuest Information and Learning Company, all rights reserved, <<http://teso.chadwyck.com/>>.

27. Miguel de Madrigal, *Segunda parte del Romancero general y flor de diversa poesía* (Valladolid, 1605), fol. 192 v.

28. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colón*, ed. Jean Lemartinel and Charles Minguet ([Lille]: Presses Universitaires de Lille, [1980]). I comment on this play later in the chapter. The editors’ comments and notes on cartography are very useful.

29. Luis de Góngora, *Soledades*, ed. Robert Jammes (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), 239 and 271–99. Sonnet 519 of Quevedo’s satiric poems, v. 3; poem 736, v. 127; and poem 703, v. 37, use *mapamundi*, the only occurrence of the word I have found for the period. Francisco de Quevedo, *Poesía original completa*, ed. José Manuel Blecuca (Barcelona: Planeta, 1996).

30. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El verdadero dios Pan*, in *Obras completas*, 2d ed., 3 vols. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1991), 3:1243. Calderón’s other *autos sacramentales* that make use of the word in his *Obras completas* include *La viña del señor*, 3:1481; *Los alimentos del hombre*, 3:1611; *El divino Jasón*, 3:64; and *El valle de la zarzuela*, 3:721.

31. For example, Lope de Vega’s *La noche toledana*, act 2.851 and act 3.396; *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 1.71–81, act 1.109–12, and act 1.145–54; *La hermosura de Angélica* and *El abanillo*, both in *Colección de las obras sueltas: Assi en prosa, como en verso*, 21 vols., ed. Francisco Cerdá y Rico (Madrid: Imprenta de A. de Sancha, 1776–79), 2:196 and 3:10; *Arcadia*, act 3.820 and 1143; and Cervantes’ *Pedro de Urdemalas*, in *Obra completa*, 3:881.

32. Lope de Vega, *El cordobés valeroso Pedro Carbonero*, ed. Marion A. Zeitlin (Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1935), 24, and idem, *Arauco domado*, in *Obras completas de Lope de Vega*, vol. 9 (Madrid: Turner, 1994), 749–848, esp. 751.

33. Lope de Vega, *El abanillo*, in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 3:10; idem, *El duque de Viseo*, act 1.567–69; and idem, *El caballero del milagro*, act 2.733–35. The reference is probably to rhumb lines, which could be related to Casa de la Contratación maps, typically depicting more than one *rosa de los vientos* of thirty-two rhumb lines each. In *El caballero del milagro*, Lope de Vega refers to his own work, once again, in cartographic terms; see the address to Pedro de Herrera. The presence of Apian’s similitude, cited earlier, seems all the more striking in Lope de Vega’s allusion to cosmetics. See also Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964).

34. Quevedo, *Poesía*, poem 703, vv. 37–40. Lope de Vega’s and Quevedo’s parallel of faces and maps anticipates Jorge Luis Borges’s epilogue to *El hacedor* (1960; reprinted Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1972).

35. Lope de Vega, *El amigo hasta la muerte*, act 3.1076–77; idem, *El saber por no saber*, act 3.1055–56; and idem, *La burgalesa de Lerma*, act 2.474 (“In brief, you will find here a map of everything”).

a mailman is said to have his own sea chart, and compares friendship with the enterprise of discovery in *El amigo hasta la muerte*, where a character is said to be his friend's sea chart.³⁶

The New World empire is particularly important for Lope de Vega's engagement with cartography. *El Nuevo Mundo* begins with Columbus's search for a patron and ends with his return from the Americas. A mix of *comedia* and religious theater, the play quotes or refers indirectly to historical actors and writers of the period, such as Francisco López de Gómara, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Ercilla, and Cabeza de Vaca, concentrating in its first act numerous cartographic elements that display Lope's knowledge and awareness of disputes within cartography. The tripartite world of the medieval *mappamundi* is contrasted with Columbus's theories, and charts and maps, Euclid and Ptolemy, compasses, terrestrial zones, equinoctial lines, poles, and the antipodes all make an appearance. A discussion of cartography, summarized in Columbus's monologue in verses 661–84, is followed by a reduplication of the protagonist, who dialogues with his own "Imagination." It is she who allows him to believe where his conjectures, or maps, are leading him: they are clearly the possibilities of fiction based on the spatial and locational logic of cartography.³⁷

If the discipline and object itself of cartography entered the lexicon of Golden Age literature, so did the makers and their instruments. Pilots abound, particularly as the *topos* of shipwreck found a place first in chronicles and poetry, later in allegorical novels such as Baltasar Gracián's *El criticón* (1651). Cosmographers can be found in Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, Antonio de Guevara's *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, and Lope's *El bautismo de Cristo*.³⁸ Triggering a long series of metaphors, the magnetic needle (*brúxula* or *brújula*) was the most popular of instruments to enter the literary vocabulary.³⁹ *Norte*, in the sense of "direction," "course," or "guide," was commonly used in titles of the period, as in Francisco de Osuna's *Norte de los estados* (1531) and Francisco de Monzón's *Norte de Ydiotas* (1563).⁴⁰ *Brúxula* is first documented in Gutierre Díez de Gámes's *El Victorial* and appears as the instrument of, or at least as a metaphor for, direction in Calderón's *Psiquis, y Cupido* and in Góngora's *Soledad primera* ("as such, diligently his step / the youngster hastens, / measuring the distance / with the same foot as satin, / fixed (despite the cold fog) / upon the light, / North of his needle").⁴¹ However, *brúxula* also meant "little box," "hole," or "sight of a firearm," a meaning that the *Diccionario de autoridades* claims was abandoned by the eighteenth century in favor of *mira*.⁴² Nevertheless, figurative meanings of "seeing in a compass," *mirar por brújula*, were multiplied in the direction of "catching a glimpse of" or even "guessing." Calderón used it in *La devoción de la Misa*, as did Góngora in *Ro-*

mances varios, and Cervantes used it.⁴³ Lope employed both the noun and a related verb, *brujulear*. Particularly

36. See the exchange in Lope de Vega, *El amigo hasta la muerte*, act 2.418–24: "ARLAJA: What purpose do you serve him? GUZMÁN: Me? ARLAJA: Yes. GUZMÁN: One of seachart, / Columbus of his mount, / As by me he foresees, / The land he must go through." Also idem, *En los indicios, la culpa*, in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 5:275.

37. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 1.661–839.

38. *Don Quijote* (1998 ed.), vol. 1, prologue, p. 15; vol. 1, chap. 47, p. 550; and vol. 1, chap. 29, p. 870 (twice, as Sancho and Don Quijote discuss Ptolemy). Ptolemy is also referred to as Tolomeo in vol. 1, chap. 47, p. 548, linking books of chivalry with things that do *not* appear on the map: "What mind, if not completely barbaric and ignorant, can be content reading that a great tower full of knights sails the sea, as ship with favorable wind, and that today sees the sun set in Lombardy and tomorrow rises with it in the lands of Prester John, or others that neither Ptolemy described nor Marco Polo saw?" See also Antonio de Guevara, *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, in *Obras completas*, ed. Emilio Blanco, vol. 1 (Seville, 1528; reprinted Madrid: Turner, [1994–]), chap. 3, 31–36, and Lope de Vega, *El bautismo de Cristo*, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 157, ed. D. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1963), 82.

39. The duplication of *brújula* and *compás* in Spanish designating different instruments makes the translation difficult. *Compás* has multiple meanings, the most common of which is "rhythm," in wide use during the period, so identification of a cartographic sense is extremely complicated. I have been completely convinced of its use in reference to an instrument only in Lope's *El Nuevo Mundo*, where it is not only mentioned but meant to be used as a prop by Columbus. The older term *astrolabio* could probably come in second. I have not documented its use, but it appears, for example, in *Don Quijote* (1998 ed.): "And if I here had an astrolabe with which to take the height of the pole, I would tell you how much we have traveled" (vol. 2, chap. 29, p. 870).

40. These titles seem, in fact, to substitute for what remained of the genre of the medieval *speculum principii* in a series of reformulations all the way to satire. See also single poems, such as Quevedo's *Aguja de navegar cultos* (inspired by Góngora's *Soledades*), in Quevedo's *Juguete de la niñez* (Madrid, 1631); see Francisco de Quevedo, *Obras festivas*, ed. Pablo Jaural de Pou (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1981), 127–30. See also Jacinto Segura's *Norte crítico* (Valencia, 1733; reprinted Alicante: Instituto de Cultura "Jean Gil-Albert," Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 2001), and later, Antonio Pérez's *Norte de príncipes* (Madrid, 1788).

41. Gutierre Díez de Gámes, *El Victorial*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), 136 (chap. 50). Calderón, *Psiquis, y Cupido*, in *Obras completas*, 3:374. Góngora uses *aguja* in his *Soledad primera*, in *Soledades*, 215, vv. 77–82.

42. *Diccionario de autoridades*, 1:692–93, s.v. "bruxula."

43. Cervantes used *brújula* in various ways: "from the fact that I declare by compass," in Miguel de Cervantes, *Viaje del parnaso*, ed. Miguel Herrero García (1614; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Miguel de Cervantes," 1983), 236, v. 360; "to hear and see from up close and not so much by compass-guessing as through the hole," in idem, *Novelas ejemplares*, 2 vols., ed. Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1982), 2:199; and "this Argos of Auristela, who barely lets us guess a look at her by compass," in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*, in *Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: Edición de la Real academia española, facsimile de las primitivas impresiones . . .* (Madrid: Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1917–), vol. 6, fol. 70. See Calderón, *La devoción de la misa*, in *Obras completas*, 3:258, and Francisco de Quevedo, *Historia de la vida del buscón*, ed. Américo Castro (Paris, New York: T. Nelson and Sons, [n.d.]), 269.

interesting is the combination of *brújula* and another word with cartographic connotations, *carta*. In that period, the phrase *brujulear por carta* meant to guess the cards in a game.⁴⁴ The play on the cartographic connotations of both words is significant, as it would be connected to finding directions by means of a chart, a sea chart in particular. The *Diccionario de autoridades* relates this metaphoric use of *brujulear* to another rhetorical term, the Latin for “conjecture.” This was yet another operation by which literature and cartography crossed each other’s path, this time so as to establish the conditions of possibility for fiction.

CONJECTURES

Even an exhaustive rendition of references to maps would not provide us with the certainty of the circulation of a particular map in a given piece of literature. Nor should we conclude that an immediate transformation took place in the notion of space that would articulate a “modern” mentality, expressed through the gridded space of maps. In any case, the intimate association of space and time still can be documented in common expressions, frequent in all Hispanic countries today, that use space as a figure for time. Nevertheless, the numerous references in Renaissance literature prove that the use most writers made of maps was general and not technically informed. The same can be said of readers and audiences both in the court and on the streets of Spain. In addition, the metaphoric use of cartographic terms and the evolution of types, such as the pilot or the cosmographer, within poetry and theater is telling of the ways in which literature found in cartography a means for its own expression.

This chapter concludes with neither a historical identification nor a documentation of one or other writer’s actual knowledge of material maps. These tasks remain for the most part to be accomplished. A third line of investigation can be followed by studying a set of shared operations between literature and cartography—operations which I have documented in terms of description, ornament, and, particularly, conjecture. Across these references, there is a continued gesturing toward maps and mapmaking that seems to me to identify cartography and literature within a polemic on poetics: that of the nature of truth in fiction and its relationship to history.

There is another and perplexing use of maps in the references provided above. It could be interpreted as a contempt for, a suspicion of, and even a denial of maps, both literally and metaphorically—a use of maps evaluated as instruments of trickery and deception, as the metaphors for “guessing a card” clearly suggest.⁴⁵ Another evaluation along these lines sees the map as a form of magic,⁴⁶ or otherwise as a form of *conjecture*. Related to a problem of *imitatio*, the representation of a reality in some

way other than in its totality is what relates the composition of a map to the writing of fiction. Fiction is in this period the center of a polemic on poetics. It is the target of vicious attacks from moralists such as Gómara and Oviedo on one side and on the other from literary critics such as Juan de Valdés or Alonso López Pinciano, for its tendency to lack verisimilitude. The best example is the genre of books of chivalry. Pinciano calls the chivalric genre a series of *disparates*, foolishness, the same word Lope puts in the mouth of the Duke of Medinaceli to describe Columbus’s map in *El Nuevo Mundo*: “COLUMBUS: Look at this itinerary. MEDINACELI: Which? COLUMBUS: This one. MEDINACELI: What a funny sheet of foolishness! It seems you have here ciphered your brains! SIDONIA: Oh, ambition! What is there you do not portray?”⁴⁷

One could assume Cervantes’ agreement with the equation and denial of both maps and chivalric books, particularly when one is reminded of the most famous of Spanish Renaissance references to maps, Don Quijote’s reply to his housekeeper quoted at the beginning of this chapter. There is in Cervantes, apparently, an emphasis on the “real,” on the territory and its direct experience, in opposition to the use of the map as a sort of trick, which he takes up again in the passage in *El licenciado Vidriera* where Spain and Italy are described through their wines. However, all of Cervantes’ other references to maps in his work are phrased in the form of a negation: they are things that are *not* on the map: “such knight is the son of a valiant king of I do not know what kingdom, because I believe it must not be on the map,” “There is everything in the world, and this issue of hunger might push minds to things that are not on the map,” “CADI: How are you called? SACRISTÁN: Tristan. BAJA: Your land? SACRISTÁN: It is not on the map.” Even when Cervantes uses the word *cosmografía*, he uses it in this sense: “and in the end comes to be king of a certain kingdom / that no cosmography can show.”⁴⁸ Not to be dismissed is the fact that cartographic terms in Cervantes

44. For example, Cervantes, *El juez de los divorcios*, act 1.183–86 (“I want to make use of them in plain sight, and not by compass”), and Luis de Góngora, *Sonetos completos*, ed. Biruté Ciplijauskaitė, rev. ed. (1969; Madrid: Castalia, 1985), 270 (sonnet XVI).

45. Many of these works, from Ortelius to Pomponius Mela, were placed in the Inquisitorial Index underlining the overlaps between literature and empire, religion, and politics.

46. Recall the association between magic tricks and maps in Cervantes, *La gitanilla*, or see Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, *La prueba de la promesa y El examen de maridos*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1960), act 3.2690–95, where “magic can make visible a thousand strange lands without moving.”

47. Lope de Vega, *El Nuevo Mundo*, act 1.391–97. A second meaning of *derrota* (itinerary) as “defeat” is untranslatable.

48. Cervantes, in his *Obra completa*, from *Don Quijote*, 1:221; *La gitanilla*, 2:442–43; *Los baños de Argel*, act 1.807–09; and *Pedro de Urdemalas*, act 3.1060–61, respectively.

frequently occur in the context of a manifest discussion on poetics. Maps are the representation of a reality that is *not* exhaustive, that does not account for everything or every place. In short, neither the map nor the reality it represents are equal to truth. An amendment to map-making is thus suggested: the territory of the map is not to be *reality*, but *truth*, whose representation cannot be achieved without the recourse to fiction. This idea of a reality not equal to truth can be seen as alluded to in Lope de Vega's *El Nuevo Mundo* in Columbus's maps of fiction, in Cervantes through the many elaborate *dérives* he exercises on the Spanish landscape he seems to duplicate. In Calderón, where all maps reduce the universe (he uses the expression frequently), there is always the possibility of escaping the map: "If you escape from this Pole, / so hidden, that men / neither penetrated its names / nor maps knew about."⁴⁹

Cartography and literature are not only related in terms of a mutually verifiable setting or in comparable themes, but also structurally, in the common use of operations in what Harley called a rhetoric.⁵⁰ These operations can help us interrogate structural developments in cartography in tune with literary genres. Cervantes' reformulation of the episode in the construction of the modern novel, as he turns the motif of the "island" of books of chivalry from a setting to a structure in *Don Quijote*, is a case in point. This literary reformulation can be documented in conjunction with that from *isolario* to atlas. As a series of operations that both modern genres, novel and atlas, perform in their respective genesis, rela-

tions between cartography and literature provide not only evidence for historical analysis or insight into an audience's scientific knowledge, but also possible itineraries for questions of genre and poetics.⁵¹

Description, ornament, and conjecture are rhetorical and cognitive operations that link cartography and literature not only to each other, but to other disciplines as well. Both maps and literary texts are frequently interrogated in their relationship to history as forms of description and in their rapport with aesthetics as figures of ornamentation. Conjecture, as an operation that seems to anchor itself on a floating island to perform an act of knowledge, is where literature and cartography partake in philosophy, in their quest for truth. Perhaps it was that trust in the power of conjecture as operation that led Francisco de Quevedo, a year before his death, to authorize with his signature the Spanish translation of Pomponius Mela's *Compendius geographico i historico del orbe antiguo*, a book his age considered dangerous.

49. Calderón, *El divino Jasón*, in *Obras completas*, 3:64.

50. J. B. Harley, "Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps," and "Maps, Knowledge and Power," both in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 33–49, esp. 36–37, and 51–81, esp. 53–55.

51. Islands are prone to be at the center of structural ties between cartography and literature, from *cancionero* poetry to books of chivalry to Gracián. For elaboration of this argument, see Simone Pinet, "Archipelagoes: Insularity and Fiction in Medieval and Early Modern Spain" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2002).