THE PSALTER MAPPAEMUNDI: MEDIEVAL MAPS ENABLING ASCENSION OF THE
SOUL WITHIN CHRISTIAN DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

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Medieval mappaemundi, world maps, have been primarily studied by geographical and cartographical scholars as visual representations of medieval conceptions of geographical space or as an encyclopedia of biblical history. Recently, however, art historians have begun to engage with the visual aspect of medieval maps and have questioned how the viewer approached and used such works. This essay contributes to the development of an art-historical understanding of medieval cartography by investigating two maps found within the thirteenth-century manuscript known as the Psalter Mappaemundi. I argue that the two maps of the Psalter Mappaemundi operate as an interactive media, analogous to other forms of illuminated psalter manuscripts, to aid the beholder in devotional practices. To explore the performative aspects of the Psalter Mappaemundi, I place the world maps within the devotional context of a psalter and connect it to medieval concepts of vision. I, then argue that the formal aspects of the maps, including their structural formatting, imagery, and color were strategically designed to aid in devotional memory practices or in a mirrored pilgrimage. These medieval mappaemundi are not merely representations of the world created by medieval cartographers, but rather are illustrations that enable interaction between object and beholder during devotional practices.
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INTRODUCTION

Mappaemundi, or medieval world maps, once served as sites of active contemplation for the Christian worshiper. Based on biblical or ancient classical sources, the maps did not profess to faithfully depict geographical phenomena; rather, they were created as teaching aids for the memorization of concepts and as tools for the cultivation of the beholder’s soul during devotional practice. As interactive illuminative media, medieval mappaemundi were analogous to other forms of devotional illustrations that fostered body-mind connections in their viewers.

Geographical and cartographical scholars have concentrated primarily on the textual and geographical sources for medieval world maps and other regional maps, and have argued for either allegorical or actual readings of space. For example, while J. B. Harley and David Woodward have examined medieval mappaemundi as objects that display historical or moralizing stories in a geographical setting,1 Evelyn Edson analyzed, in a large encyclopedic format, maps as accurate representations of medieval time and space.2 Recently, art historians have begun to engage with the visual aspects of medieval maps and have questioned how the historical viewer once approached and used such works. Naomi Kline’s groundbreaking work, primarily on the imagery and text of the Hereford Mappamundi, provides a model to examine how mappaemundi, as objects of art, are understood and viewed by a contemporary viewer.3

This essay contributes to the development of an art-historical understanding of medieval cartography by investigating two maps found within the thirteenth-century manuscript known as the Psalter Mappaemundi (Fig. 1 & 2). Produced circa 1262, the Psalter Mappaemundi are the


smallest extant world maps from the medieval period. Until now, art historians have given little consideration of the Psalter Mappaemundi, despite their richly preserved color and imagery, and instead most attention has been focused on large-scale, independent examples of world maps such as the Hereford Mappamundi. Yet, as I argue in this essay, the Psalter Mappaemundi presented a fundamentally different approach to medieval cartography, one that was contingent on the beholder’s participation. These medieval mappaemundi were meant to be viewed as interactive illustrations, not merely geographical representation of the world in the thirteenth century.

Found on both the verso and recto of folio 9, the mappaemundi must be viewed together within the context of the psalter. The recto mappamundi (Fig. 1) is a framed circular world map centered on the city of Jerusalem. The material world is oriented to the east positioning Asia in the upper half of the world, while Europe and Africa occupy the lower left and right corners of the world. Outside the encircled space of the represented world, but within the decorative border of the manuscript page are figures set against a blue background. Above, the encircled world, at the top of the manuscript page, Christ is shown in blue and red robes facing the viewer and flanked by angelic attendants holding censers. Christ makes a blessing gesture with his right hand and holds a small globe in his left hand. Situated below the encircled world, at the bottom edge of the manuscript page, two wyverns face one another with tails that transform into decorative flora set to represent the realm of Hell.

The counterpart of this world map on the verso (Fig. 2) depicts Christ standing and trampling the heads of the two wyverns beneath his feet while surrounded above by four angelic hosts. A blue rectangular decorative border encompasses the manuscript page, while each of the figures is set against a red background. In his outstretched arms, Christ embraces a circular but
different interior depiction of the known world. Instead of a visual representation like the map on the recto, the material world is depicted by a textual description of various countries within a tripartite division of the three known continents: Asia, Europe, and Africa.

To understand how a historical viewer originally used the Psalter Mappaemundi, the maps must be placed within the devotional context of medieval psalters. Unlike other medieval world maps, such as the more famous Hereford Mappamundi created around 1300 and placed within Hereford Cathedral, the Psalter Mappaemundi were intended for private consumption. In its original thirteenth-century format, the psalter book began with the world maps; however in the later thirteenth-century, this format was altered when full-page miniature illuminations were added and placed before the mappaemundi. The addition prefatory miniatures have been stylistically linked to the Sarum Master’s workshop, which suggests a Benedictine user and viewer of the manuscript. Indeed, the historiated initial for psalm101 (Fig. 3) depicts a Benedictine monk kneeling with his hands pressed together and faced upturned to communicate with a haloed representation of God in Heaven. Since such historiated initials were commonly used to portray the patron of a manuscript, the illumination indicates a monastic reader as the original intended viewer. Another connection to an intended Benedictine viewer comes from the text of Litany, which is based on a Benedictine model. The recovery of the Benedictine viewership for the manuscript enables an investigation of the mappaemundi as media to engage the viewer for devotional practice.

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5 Ibid, 83.
6 Ibid, 83. The calendar page does not indicate a Benedictine provenance, but once had feast dates characteristic of the diocese of London. These, however, were carefully erased to adapt to a Sarum Calendar. The feast of Richard of Chichester, April 3rd, canonized 1262 is listed by the original hand in the Calendar sets the date of the psalter c.1262.
To consider the performative aspects of the *Psalter Mappaemundi*, I examine the ways in which a viewer once used these maps during devotional practices to maintain a state of grace for the soul’s ascension. I approach the maps’ structural formatting, imagery, and color as strategic devices, parallel to historiated initials and prefatory miniatures, to aid in memory practices, and argue that the maps functioned as a “mirrored pilgrimage” for the cleric beholder. As I argue, “mirrored pilgrimage” facilitated an alternative pilgrimage practices for medieval users of the *mappaemundi*, and permitted the movement of body and soul of the beholder in ways that were analogous to a conventional pilgrimage, but without the actual travel.

The first section of this essay places the *Psalter Mappaemundi* within its devotional context and considers the medieval understanding of vision as a vehicle for the soul’s transcendence. I examine the medieval understanding of physical vision in relation to the concept of spiritual vision, which enabled the soul’s movement beyond the material world. I analyze the uniqueness of medieval *mappaemundi* as a larger genre of art works, and reflect on the importance and significance of the prefatory miniatures as meditative guides in psalters. By focusing on the importance on the imagery within historiated initials as mnemonic aids for studying and contemplation of the psalms, I create a framework for understanding the *Psalter Mappaemundi* as a media, which functions analogous to the illustrations of psalter books the beholder utilize to gain spiritual vision during devotional practice.

The second section of this essay examines the *Psalter Mappaemundi* as mnemonic devices to aid a monastic viewer in devotional practices. Building on Naomi Kline’s analysis of the structural formatting of *mappaemundi* as memory aids, as well as the research of Mary Carruthers on medieval memory, I argue that the manuscript’s formal structure was designed to aid the memory of the beholder for the soul’s ascension. I analyze the imagery and their
meanings as analogous to the historiated initials and investigate their shared visual language as mnemonic devices.

The final section introduces a new way to consider mappaemundi in their role to facilitate a “mirrored pilgrimage” in devotional practices. I posit the notion of a “mirrored pilgrimage” alongside the concepts of David Connolly’s imagined pilgrimage of the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris⁷ and Annette Lermack’s notion of a spiritual pilgrimage conducted through the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg.⁸ I examine the interaction between the historical viewer and the two individual maps to posit a reading of the images as stimulants for a “mirrored pilgrimage” through the same formatting, imagery, and color that enables the maps to function as mnemonic device. Ultimately, I argue that the Psalter Mappaemundi functioned as an interactive media to aid the beholder in devotional practices to maintain a state of grace for the soul’s transcendence to God’s heavenly kingdom.


IMPORTANCE OF THE PSALTER AND VISION IN DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES

Before the fourteenth century, the psalter was a widely produced prayer book and the common book for private devotions. Psalters were owned for both communal and private use in religious setting. The sequence of a standard psalter book contained a calendar, 150 psalms, Canticles, Litany with Petitions and the Collects. However, the main focus of the psalter was the psalms, which were divided into liturgical divisions by historiated initials. Prefatory miniatures were added as decorative elements to convey visual representations of the sacred texts of the psalms and bible. The text and image of these parts were intertwined within psalters, and communicated in tandem with one another.

Like the miniatures and historiated initials of psalters, world maps rely on the Bible as a source for the shape and design of the world. The tradition of medieval mapmaking stems from classical sources of antiquity and grew in popularity during the twelfth century. However, the inclusion of mappaemundi in psalter manuscripts is an anomaly, because unlike the ancient source maps that depict the world through geographical context, most small maps were used as supplementary illustrations for religious or descriptive writing. One of the earliest known examples of such maps is found in ‘Commentary on the Apocalypse,’ an 1109 copy of an original 776 version from the work of a Spanish Benedictine monk, Beatus of Liebana. The

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10 Ibid, 211.

11 Ibid, 212.


Beatus Map (Fig. 4) illustrates the commentary on the Revelations of St. John\textsuperscript{14} and shows the prevalent medieval pattern of orienting world maps towards the east with a vignette of Adam and Eve in Paradise. The Beatus Map distinguishes itself from the medieval conventional pattern by representing the world in a rectangular quadripartite map format. A quadripartite map combines the tripartite world, seen in the Psalter Mappaemundi, with an unknown fourth continent divided from Africa and Asia by the Red Sea. The rectangular format of the Beatus Map derives from Revelations 7:1: “I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth.”\textsuperscript{15} Although the earth was considered spherical, the desire to faithfully illustrate the words of the biblical passage surpassed scientific knowledge.

The Psalter Mappaemundi, like its predecessors, the large wall maps of Hereford and Ebstorf, use a more conventional circular format of centering the world on the city of Jerusalem. The circular format corresponds more closely to the scientific model of the earth as well as alludes to a biblical passage from the Book of Ezekiel 5:5 in which God tells Ezekiel, “I have placed Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and with all the lands around it.”\textsuperscript{16} Sacred texts like the psalms were considered to have spiritual or divine powers and thus, when spoken, had divine spiritual effects upon the worshipper particularly to cure sickness and to expatriate sin. The power of the Word is exhibited in the sacramentary, or the prayers for mass, which, when spoken during the Eucharist transformed of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.\textsuperscript{17} Illuminated manuscripts visually represented the divine power of these sacred texts, and

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 16.

\textsuperscript{15} Revelations 7:1 (New American Bible).

\textsuperscript{16} Ezekiel 5:5 (New American Bible).

\textsuperscript{17} William J. Diebold, \textit{Word and Image: An Introduction to Early Medieval Art} (Colorado: Westview Press, 2000), 47.
emanated a power that was literally absorbed through the medieval visual process. Likewise, since the visual representations of medieval world maps also stem from sacred texts, *mappaemundi* emanate divine power for the viewer to consume during devotional practices.

The visual exchange between a medieval viewer and an object was a complex process that relied on the material viewing of imagery as a means to attain heavenly ascension. The medieval visual process was understood to function in one of two manners: intromission and extramission. The theory of extramission centers upon the notion that the eye emits rays which that literally touch the object that is viewed.\(^\text{18}\) The viewer actively controlled the engagement with the divinely enriched visual object and impressed his/her vision upon it. Intromission, however, was understood to act in an inverse manner; rays emitted from the object and extended in a pyramidal shape into the viewer’s eye.\(^\text{19}\) Since the eyes were perceived as the gateway to the soul, the object embedded the image of itself upon the viewer’s very soul.

The medieval visual exchange between beholder and object continued within the viewer’s mind and initiated a second part of the viewer’s study and meditation of sacred imagery and text for ascension of their soul. A model of the inner sense is suggested by Avicenna, the Arab physician and philosopher, who argued that five inner senses are set within different ventricles of the brain (Fig. 5).\(^\text{20}\) The image first enters into the *sensus communis* or common sense, where the sensory nerves were connected to comprehend images. The next cell, *imaginatio vel formalis*, or imagination retains images, while the third, *cogitative*, or cognition,
combines various images for recognition. According to Roger Bacon, this ventricle allows spiders to weave webs and birds to create nests, but within humans enables images to take new forms. The *vis memorativa*, or memory, is the final cell of the inner senses. This cell serves as a storage house in which the images of the *cogitatvia* and *estimativa* were gathered. According to the medieval historian, Mary Carruthers, memory is the “praxis of liturgical and devotional prayers”.

The depiction of the world in the *Psalter Mappaemundi* as a visual and textual representation engaged the viewer’s eye and prepared their inner senses to meditate on actions needed to cultivate the soul and to gain divine truth. In his treatise ‘On the Literal meaning of Genesis,’ Augustine was one of the first Christian theology scholars to comment upon the modes of vision as successive levels through which a viewer could move through in order to gain divine truth. As the ultimate goal of prayer, divine truth offered the face of God to the beholder to upon ascension of his soul.

In the late twelfth century, Richard of Saint-Victor argued that the modes of vision are the means for the inner senses to process the object at hand to find ways to spiritually enrich the viewer’s soul for the ascension into the heavenly realm. According to Richard of Saint-Victor, the first mode of vision, also referring to the processing of the first cell, begins by acknowledging form and shapes, while the second mode of vision recognizes elements of shape and form for higher significance. This understanding of the visual process helps to explain a

23 Ibid, 564.
viewer’s gaze upon manuscript illuminations that represent the world in imaginative ways. For example in the rectangular world presented in the *Beatus Map*, the beholder could first read the image as an inaccurate representation of the known world as a rectangular shape. However, if the beholder had previous knowledge of the Book of Revelation, this viewer could recognize the connection between the Revelation passage and the *Beatus Map* as a visual representation of the sacred text and not merely a geographical depiction.

The third mode is when the *memoria* recalls images and their corresponding meanings for the *cogitatvia* and *estimativa* to conceive the discovery of hidden truth revealed through revelations during prayer and meditation. In this way of thinking, the *Beatus Map* is not just a visual representation of a sacred text but rather serves to visualize the commentaries of the Apocalypse to convey urgency for the purification of the beholder’s soul. In a similar manner, the centering of *Psalter Mappaemundi* on Jerusalem initiates a connection to sacred texts and thus may be approached as a spiritual map with hidden truths.

Medieval world maps set within religious contexts enabled viewers to see the world not through the geographical depiction of the world, but rather through the spiritual depiction of a world created and ruled by God. As Michael Gaudio has argued, “Cartographic representation was integrated into a spiritual program of self distancing from the world in preparation for the contemplative ascent.” Initiated through acts of faith and abundant prayers, the contemplative ascent achieved the highest mode of vision. The intellectual or mystical mode was when the viewer was able to move beyond physical sight and to turn the mind and soul to God. However, this intellectual mode of vision could only be achieved with the direct grace of God and only if

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26 Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*, 16.

the viewer’s soul and sight was purified by acts of faith and abundant prayers.\textsuperscript{28} Since, in its original manuscript format, the \textit{Psalter Mappaemundi} were the first images encountered by the viewer, they immediately positioned the viewer to enter into his meditations and study.

Medieval \textit{mappaemundi} set within a psalter engaged the viewer just as the prefatory miniatures and historiated initials also located within the psalter book. Lucy Sandler has argued that the visually rich miniatures and historiated initials are a “magnet to the eye but also rich stimulates to the mind, demanding engagement with the words of the text on a sophisticated level.”\textsuperscript{29} This sophisticated level is prompted by illuminations that allow a beholder to move beyond material modes of vision. Prefatory miniatures began the engagement of the viewer’s eye, but also began the viewer’s mental contemplation and meditation of the teaching of the Bible by utilizing the psalter book as a devotional aid. Often varying in subject matter and number of illuminations, the prefatory miniatures were the first images that would welcome and engage the viewer at the beginning of their daily devotions.\textsuperscript{30} The visual and textual content was defined by the particular devotional character of each psalter; different pictorial decoration was required for various commitments to prayer and levels of spirituality.\textsuperscript{31} These variations often occurred because of the influence of local liturgical usage, devotional needs, and patronage need.\textsuperscript{32}


\textsuperscript{30} Calkins, \textit{Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages}, 214.

The psalter book of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* contains six miniature prefatory scenes from the New Testament including the *Adoration of the Magi*, *Christ Rising from the Tomb* and the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 6A & 6B). The prefatory images illustrate the story of Christ’s life from his birth to the Crucifixion and subsequent resurrection. Illuminations act as pedagogical devices by illustrating Christ’s life on earth as the Son of God on earth, and allow the beholder to connect to and relate with Christ as a mortal man. The last prefatory miniatures of the *Crucifixion* and *Christ Rising from the Tomb* draw visual attention to the wounds of Christ. The artist of the *Christ Rising from the Tomb* illustrates red marks of blood in indicate the wounds on Christ’s palms and side. The viewer is encouraged to meditate on the wound not merely as a wound through the first and second modes of vision but through the third mode of vision. The third mode permits the beholder to contemplate and reflect on the wounds of Christ’s crucifixion as the wounds of suffering and sacrifice of a mortal for the salvation of mankind. The prefatory miniatures initiate meditation and prayer in encourage the beholder to become psychologically aware of Christ’s sacrifice and to initiate acts of penance, one of the seven sacraments that a Christian must conduct in daily life to seek forgiveness of sins and to cultivate a pure soul for ascension.

The prefatory miniatures may engage meditation and act as “bible picture-books,” but the psalter’s use as a devotional book is structured around the psalms. The importance of the

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33 The depiction of scenes from the Old and New Testament became convention during the English Romanesque period; Ibid, 211.


psalms centers on the concept of psalms as moral guides to the religious life of a Christian. Furthermore, as with the prefatory miniatures, the psalms offer a means to satisfy a penance requirement upon repeated recitation. The psalms were recited during the service of Divine Office and Mass as well as in the private domain of devotional practices. In the early middle ages, a devotee was expected to recite the 150 psalms in a single day; later the sequence was changed to extend the reading over a span of a full week. Historiated initials were used as a means to divide the psalms for recitation at the liturgical divisions of the psalms during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As with the miniature illuminations, the division and the imagery of the psalms varied depending on the location and usage of the psalter. The psalm division of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* is a ten part division, common in English Psalters, which combines the three-part Irish (psalms 1, 51, 101) with the eight-part Roman usage (psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, 109). The importance of these visuals at each liturgical division allowed the viewer to use the historiated initials as mnemonic cues.

The psalms were expected to be memorized for recitation. Historiated initials helped the viewer to recall and organize the 150 psalms into smaller divisions for easier memorization. Smaller divisions allow the viewer to successfully recall the psalm text because, as Carruthers cautions, “One should not tire the memory by trying to memorize too much at a time, or too

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37 Bennett argues “In a sense, prefatory miniatures transformed Psalters into bible picture-books for visual meditation.” Ibid, 212.

38 Ibid, 214.

39 Ibid, 214.

40 Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, 207.

41 Ibid, 214.

42 Ibid, 208.
quickly, for this produces an over-loading problem.”\(^{43}\) A successful recitation from memory occurs when the beholder utilizes visuals to establish memory cues. The historiated initial’s imagery acts as a mnemonic device because the initials “translate literally the word or phrases in the psalm incipits.”\(^{44}\)

The historiated initial in the *Psalter Mappaemundi* for psalm1 depicts David as a musician playing a harp set against a gold background within the initial letter B. Seen in the historiated initial of the Sidney Sussex Bible, c.1260-70 (Fig. 7), the historiated initial letter begins the psalm passage of “Beatus vir” (Blessed man) and visually attests to the figure of David as the model of moral consciousness and behavior.\(^{45}\) The figure of David in the act of playing the harp alludes to the context of David as the composer of the psalms. The action of harping also illustrates the singing and musical instruments prevalent in the text of the psalms and the physical chanting conducted by the beholder during Mass and in Divine Office.\(^{46}\) As with the prefatory miniatures, the connection between David harping and to the viewer’s own actions during devotional practices establishes a connection between the beholder and the psalter. The figure of David within the initial B stands as a visual cue for the beholder to enter into the textual psalm and establishes a visual memory cue.

Elizabeth Peterson supports the idea of visual cues as mnemonic devices.\(^{47}\) Peterson describes the process of the viewer’s engagement with historiated initials as visuals “meditated

\(^{43}\) Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 61.


\(^{45}\) Ibid, 214.

\(^{46}\) Ibid, 215.

by the physical relationship of the image and the first words of the psalm text. The eye travels across the historiated initial to the letters forming the incipit and anchors the text by acting as a locus for exegetical concepts of the whole psalm."  

Psalm 68, for example, illustrates the opening line “Save me O God for the water are come in even unto my soul” with a depiction of Jonah’s emergence from the whale. In certain psalters, the historiated initial of psalm 68 is represented by David in the water, but in others the figure is represented by Jonah. As the psalm initial for the Psalter Mappaemundi, the initial in the York Psalter (c. 1260) depicts Jonah emerging from the whale (Fig. 8). The historiated initial, whether David or Jonah, visually captured the proceeding text and enacted visual cues of the theme of salvation.  

As images for mnemonic devices, historiated initials allowed the viewer to engage in reading and meditation of the psalm text as well as allowed the beholder to analyze his own spiritual condition through the interplay between imagery and text.

While many French psalters tended to repeat the David image throughout the historiated initials, the English tradition was to represent a lay or religious patron or devotee. Psalm 101 was chosen for patron imagery because of the opening line: Hear, O Lord, my prayer and let my cry come to thee.” The text of the psalm initiates a first person voice enabling the psalm’s “prime intention of the person at prayer.” The historiated initial of the Psalter Mappaemundi depicts a Benedictine monk praying at an altar with Christ coming out of the clouds (Fig. 3).

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49 Calkins, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, 220.
51 “Domine audi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat”
52 Morgan, “Patrons and their Devotions,” 319.
53 Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscripts, 83.
The Benedictine order was one of many religious orders, including the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites, who established themselves within the major towns in England. The *Psalter Mappaemundi’s* initial of psalm 101 permits a cleric viewer to associate himself with the actions of the Benedictine figure, just as with the David figure in psalm 1.

The actions of the patron initial signify different meanings and vary from a hand gesture, raised eyes, or hands moving from books to look up to Christ or God. Despite the various significances of the patron’s actions, the initial for psalm 101 gives a clue to the original intended audience. The same figure allows the viewer to associate himself with David since “Indeed, the Psalter was a form of a penitential book, and its ascribed author, David, was regarded as the paragon of the repentant sinner.” Since, penance is one of the seven sacraments the psalms permit prayers of praises and thanksgiving to God, laments of sins committed, and pleas for mercy. These prayers condition the mind and body of the beholder within a continuous state of grace in order for the viewer to attain the fourth mode of vision, the final mode of vision that is only accessible when the beholder is prepared through prayers and acts of faith and when God grants the viewer the divine truth. Worshippers participate in the act of meditating, studying, and contemplating the psalms to relieve or strengthen their souls against sin. However, as Nigel Morgan warns, while certain psalms are appropriate to call upon deliverance, salvation, and penitence, there are no indications as to which specific text reference was used as an aid.

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55 Morgan, “Patrons and their Devotions,” 315.


57 Ibid, 214.

58 Morgan, “Patrons and their Devotions,” 318.
choice of a particular psalm for penance and forgiveness is personal to the beholder. The historiated initials and the prefatory figures allow the beholder to enter into the sacred text to receive divine forgiveness of sin, but it is the beholder who decides which prayer is appropriate for asking for forgiveness.

The interplay of text and imagery within a psalter provokes prayer. The psalm text and image “forms a matrix resonating with associations that can both spark meditation and shape interpretation.” The psalms are considered prophecies that foreshadow the New Testament by visually and textually linking the historiated initials with the miniature prefatory illuminations. The historiated initials allow the viewer to anchor visual cues to the textual psalm for study as well as facilitate prayer and meditation. The miniature prefatory illuminations prompt the beholder to gaze upon and begin meditation within their inner mind, while the historiated initials continue the process of devotional exercise. The interpretation is personal but allows the beholder to become aware of the presence of God through contemplation and meditation. The simple composition and generic imagery emphasize penitence, deliverance, prayer, and salvation all major moral/pastoral concerns.

While the function of many medieval world maps continues to be debated because of their lack of context, such as the Hereford Mappamundi within Hereford cathedral, the location of the Psalter Mappamundi within the manuscript offers a clue to the function of mappamundi in a psalter. The Psalter Mappamundi functioned analogously to the other visual sections of the manuscript whether as mnemonic aids (in the case of the historiated initials) or as prompts for

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60 Bennett, “The Transformation of the Gothic Psalter in Thirteenth-Century France,” 217. As Bennett notes the imagery in both miniature illuminations and historiated initials “appear as guides, exhorting the viewer to lead a virtuous Christian life.”
meditation (as in the case of the prefatory miniature illuminations). The interplay of text and visual representation in *mappaemundi* is similar to the creation of the miniature illuminations and historiated initials. The visuals within a psalter draw upon sacred texts to visually display the text for the beholder’s gaze to initiate contemplation and meditation within the modes of vision. Recognizing the medieval concepts of vision, the visuals representations act as guides and aids for a beholder to contemplate sin and seek penance for salvation and cleansing of the soul. The practice of acts of faith and prayers through these guides cultivates the viewer to extend beyond the material mode of vision for ascension into spiritual vision for Heavenly Paradise.

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61 Thus, the approach to the *Psalter Mappaemundi* should be as Peter Barber comments “As with illustrations so with maps.” Peter Barber, "The Evesham World Map: A Late Medieval English View of God and the World," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 17.
THE PSALTER MAPPAEMUNDI AS A MNEMONIC DEVICE

As a mnemonic device to study psalms or Christian theology, the *Psalter Mappaemundi* (Fig. 1 & 2) relied upon the structure formatting, or division, of the manuscript to store the visual cues of color and imagery. Psalters are divided into various sections to establish an overall composition adherent to traditional psalter production. These divisions allow convenience for the cleric viewer to utilize the psalter effectively in the manner the viewer choices during devotional practices. As Mary Carruthers has discussed memory aids rely upon the composition and division of information for effective memory recall. “For mnemonic purposes, diagrams, like other sorts of images in medieval books, can have either (or a combination) of two functions: they can serve as “fixes” for memory storage, or as cues to start the recollective process. The one function is pedagogical, in which the diagram serves as an informational schematic; the other is meditational.”62 Through a close examination of the structural layout of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* along with the imagery and color situated within the composition, this section of the essay seek to establish the medieval *mappaemundi* as mnemonic devices.

Just as the historiated initials structurally divided the psalms into ten segments for easier memorization, the *Psalter Mappaemundi* rely on the same function of the division of space. Many mnemonic devices depend on a variety of formats, ladders, trees, and columns, but the circular format was favored among monastic teaching as a pedagogical tool and memory aid during the thirteenth century.63 The *Psalter Mappaemundi* use the circular formatting device for the depiction of the known world, which is prevalent in earlier diagrams meant for memorization of the natural world. The tripartite map type, or T-O, represents the known world as a disk

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surrounded by a ring, or O, which stands in for the ocean. The land is separated into three sections. The upper land mass represents Asia, and Europe and Africa are separated below in the lower left corner and lower right corner respectively. The “T” represents the division of the land masses by three major hydrographic features: the Don River separates Asia and Europe, the Nile divides Africa and Asia, and the Mediterranean Sea divides Europe and Africa. Together, the lands and waters represent the entire known world.

As Naomi Kline has explained, the tripartite divisions of medieval mappaemundi are based on medieval cosmological diagrams called rotae and are part of a larger body of these cosmological diagrams. These cosmological rotae were used for “memorizing the physics of the world” and depict the relationship between humans and the natural world. Isidore of Seville is credited for utilizing circular diagrams in the middle ages to establish visual cues to organize and compile information quickly during study and memorization. Some circular diagrams, such as The Zones of the Earth (Fig. 9), were meant to teach the known world’s climate zones, represented in each of the five petals, as a mnemonic device based on the five fingers of the hand. Yet, other diagrams began to blend rotae formats with the tripartite map diagrams.

The Winds (Fig. 10), produced around 1190-1200, is a rotae that depicts a T-O map surrounded by twelve winds, each represented with humanoid faces turned inward towards the earth. The T-O map of The Winds is oriented eastward with the continents clearly labeled. The twelve winds are also titled and include descriptions of the wind in the band-like spokes of the

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65 Kline, Maps of Medieval Thought, 12.
67 Kline, Maps of Medieval Thought, 13.
rotae. The winds are turned so the eastern wind, Subsolanus, is at the top to align with the orientation of the T-O map. The same structural format of The Winds is seen in the Psalter Mappaemundi. The recto mappamundi (Fig. 1) depicts the twelve winds, each labeled, and oriented so Subsolanus is positioned at the top of the world map. The verso mappamundi (Fig. 2) depicts the schematic T-O map that is found in the center of The Winds. Together the composition of the two world maps of the Psalter Mappaemundi visually and textually link to the mnemonic structuring of the rotae.

The division of the verso mappamundi demonstrates similar properties of mnemonic rotae. The verso’s type of T-O form is referred as a list map in which each continent section houses the textual information of various provinces and cities that correspond to that particular country geographical space. Evelyn Edson has argued that list maps served as memory aids for students to sort out and recall lists of names. Included in the listed locations of Europe are Bulgaria and Dublin, while Ethiopia is legible within the Africa side. When the two maps are manipulated the viewer is able to use the pages as a device to study the various land titles with a visual and textual depiction.

The division of space within the Psalter Mappaemundi to facilitate the study of the names of provinces is based on the same method used to study the psalms during devotional practice. For example, the historiated initials in the psalter book of the Psalter Mappaemundi divide the 150 psalms into smaller divisions of 10 for easier memorization and organization as the ‘T’ of the verso mappamundi divides space into three discernable continents. Historiated

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68 Ibid, 22-23.

69 Edson, Mapping Time and Space, 5.

70 Edson, Mapping Time and Space, 6.
initials, like the initial of psalm68 of Jonah from the psalter book of the Psalter Mappaemundi, act as visual prompts for the beginning lines of psalms similar to the visual representation of the recto mappamundi. While, the verso mappamundi divides the textual information of the terrestrial world, the recto mappamundi prompts the viewer with a visual representation of the terrestrial world. The simultaneous engagement with image and text of historiated initials enables the beholder to recall the psalm passages. The two world maps create a similar engagement as image and text to aid the viewer to memorize locations of provinces.

The division of space into smaller groups permits the memoria to categorize geographic textual information of the verso mappamundi for easier recollection when the beholder is visually engaged with a geographical representation similar to the recto mappamundi. The interplay of sacred text and visual objects studied during devotional practices allows the beholder to continuously immerse the body and soul outside of personal devotion. The circular diagram of the known world also attributes a larger division of the full manuscript page.

Carruthers argues that the formal design of geometric diagrams, including the border and distribution of imagery and text, indicates that they should be viewed diagrammatically. “The justification for this practice is mnemonic necessity. The framework of the page provides a set of orderly loci; furthermore, this frame remains constant while the images in it change from page to page—that is the manner of a diagram…” Carruthers, The Book of Memory, 248-249. The border contains the imagery and contains the eye’s movement within the manuscript. The viewer is encouraged to remain visually focused within the boundaries of the manuscript. The basic formatting provides a means for all cleric viewers to organize their memories in order to store and recall information correctly. However, the way in which each person utilizes the manuscript’s space is entirely personalized. As Mary

71 Carruthers, The Book of Memory, 248-249.
Carruthers cautions, each person has his/her own way of memorizing and formatting their own mental structure to store essential information. The structure of the manuscript page, whether rotae or mappaemundi, permits the viewer to organize and study the world. However, the application of rotae as mnemonic devices changed from understanding the “physics of the natural world” to religious theology. When Christian doctrine began to strengthen and expand in early ninth century Europe, the rotae that enable the study of the natural world was assimilated into Christian theological practices to teach the cosmos’ celestial hierarchy deemed by the Creator.

The organizational composition of the recto mappamundi (Fig. 1) does not present a way to understand the natural order of the world, such as concentric rings representing the winds as layers of the atmosphere, but rather depicts God’s vision of the cosmos. The outer rings depict the twelve winds with the manuscript’s border, which divides the material realm from the spiritual realm of Christ’s kingdom and the realm of Hell. The outer border of the recto page and the border of the known world divide the space into three distinct visual areas of hierarchy. The realms of Hell, Earth, and Heaven are depicted in vertically-stacked zones of the page, with Hell as the bottom and Heaven at the top. Organized to read in a vertical motion from bottom to top, the three part division promotes the meditation of the viewer’s physical presence within the larger construction of God’s ultimate plan.

The overall composition of the manuscript may be understood as a mnemonic device that facilitates the Christian study of the cosmos and symbolically displays the connection between the material world of man and the divine world of God. The Christianization of preceding diagrams to establish new religious symbolism extends to the divisions of the T-O diagram. The “T” that represented the major waterways that separated the continents maybe read symbolically
as the crucifix. The symbolism of the crucifix superimposed onto the world stood to represent Christ’s sacrifice for mankind.\textsuperscript{72} The constraint of the eye’s movement by the border and division of space permits the beholder to contemplate and study the visuals. The act of meditation and contemplation allows the beholder’s eye to move beyond viewing the mappaemundi as geographical maps in the first mode of vision to engage with spiritual maps in the mind of the third mode of vision. This new religious symbolism of the T-O diagram further extends into the orientation of the material world for a spiritual visual representation to suit the needs of Christian theology.

Many early maps of classical antiquity oriented maps with east at the top to signify the rising of the sun and beginning of the day.\textsuperscript{73} Christian cartographers continued the practice of eastern orientation but associated the rising of sun with Christ symbolically standing as the light of the world. To orientate the map to the east, the compositional placement of Jerusalem at the center of the known world emphasizes its status as the Heavenly Kingdom on earth and visually dominates all other Christian nations as the axis of the world.

The centering on Jerusalem in the mappaemundi tradition is based on textual reference from the Book of Ezekiel permits a newly acquainted beholder with the Book of Ezekiel to establish a memory cue between visual and textual. Similar to the historiated initials in the psalter, the recto mappamundi visually demonstrates the passage for the viewer to use as a memory cue for later use in meditation or prayer. The centering of the map could also promote recollection of psalms related towards Jerusalem since the production of the map coincides with the Crusades to win back the Holy City. As a Prayer for Jerusalem, psalm78 begins: “O God, the

\textsuperscript{72} Edson, Mapping Time and Space, 5.

\textsuperscript{73} Evelyn Edson, The World Map, 1300-1492: The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation. (Baltimore; Sante Fe, N.M.: Johns Hopkins University Press; Published in association with the Center for American Places, 2007), 20.
heathens are come into the inheritance, they have defiled the holy temple: they have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit.” The centering and the orientation of the known world permits viewing the inaccuracy of geography in medieval maps as spiritually motivated; they were not geographical maps intended for use in physical travel.

Theological diagrams reveal their meanings slowly and the beholder most ponder the meanings of such various images to reach a conclusion. The eye needs to linger on the illumination for the cleric viewer to process the items at hand through the inner senses to conduct in a final conclusion. The gaze upon the *Psalter Mappaemundi* allows the viewer to contemplate the ordering of the cosmos deemed by God before partaking in reading and studying the psalms for the first time or again for repetition to instill within the *memoria*. This new theological composition of the page allows viewer to establish a set of new imagery. As Carruther’s observes, a diagram’s framework never changes but the images do change from page to page.

The composition of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* allows the cleric viewer to use the manuscript page as a beginning foundation for a mnemonic device. Structural formatting enables the viewer to divide and organize space for images and texts to reside for clarity of memorizing. The similar division of composition utilized in earlier mnemonic diagrams and historiated initials supports the structural formatting of the *mappaemundi* as mnemonic formats. Yet, it is the imagery contained within the structural formatting that enables a cleric viewer to further utilize the *Psalter Mappaemundi* as a mnemonic device.

The mnemonic capabilities of the historiated initials rely on imagery to anchor a visual cue for the recitation of the psalm text. “No human being is capable of thinking entirely

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75 Ibid, 249.
abstractly without some sort of signifying image.”76 As the historiated initials utilize imagery to initiate memory cues, the Psalter Mappaemundi functions in accordance to these visual capabilities as a mnemonic device. The historiated initials contained in the rest of the psalter are signifying images for the cleric viewer to establish a visual point to begin and end a new section of memorizing the psalm. The figures in the initials allow the viewer to associate and contemplate the meaning of the image with the text of the psalm. The historiated initial for psalm69 of Jonah and the whale establishes this notion of a visual cue for textual recitation.77 The imagery within the Psalter Mappaemundi act in the same according matter as the historiated initials either as anchor for textual recitation or establishes association between viewer and the psalter for personal memorization.

The recto mappamundi (Fig. 1) depicts Christ above the material world holding an orb with the same T-O division that is represented in both mappaemundi. Symbolically, an orb of the world within the hands of a figure represents a ruler and his dominion over the world and was used extensively in politically commissioned works of emperors, such as the Equestrian Portrait of a Carolingian Emperor. Christ holding an orb symbolizes the power of establishing order from chaos as God the Creator and Ruler of the universe.78 A cleric for mnemonic purposes may use this iconography as interplay between text and visual to establish a mental anchorage for later recitation of psalm47. The psalm praises Christ as king over the nations “God is king over all the earth; sing hymns of praise. God rules over the nations; god sits upon his holy throne.”79 More importantly, Christ holding the orb visually mirrors the act of the cleric holding the Psalter

76 Ibid, 52.
77 Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscripts, 83.
78 Hiscock, “Mapping the Macrocosm,” 120.
79 Psalm 47:8-9 (New American Bible).
Mappaemundi, which establishes a personal connection between the viewer and object on physical and spiritual level with the Almighty.

The angelic attendants swinging censers is a visual source that connects the viewer with the recto manuscript page. Clerics use censers to purify the holy interior of the church, kingdom of heaven on earth, the same way the angels are censing the divine realm of heaven. The imagery enacts similar notions as the patron image of the Benedictine monk of psalm101 (Fig. 3) to establish a connection between beholder and object. Similar to the figure of David, the beholder connects with as another mortal to follow moral actions in hopes of gaining divine truth and ascension. The censing also symbolically purifies the psalms as spiritual words that have divine power for protection and enable the cleric to prepare the soul for ascension. Psalter imagery illustrates the sacred word and purifies the divine words of the psalms, which upon interaction with the objects the beholder will take into his/her body and soul. The spiritual counterpart to Christ and the Heavenly kingdom is depicted with two serpentine figures at the bottom of the recto page.

The formatting of the page and basic reading practices of establishing hierarchy allows the viewer to interpret and associated the creatures at the bottom of the page with those of Hell. These serpentine figures at the bottom are described as two winged wyverns, or vipers,\textsuperscript{80} with tails that transform into decorative flora.\textsuperscript{81} A clear connection between the highest and lowest realms is not impressed upon the viewer until the manuscript is turned over to the verso. Christ is actively engaging with the wyverns by trampling them under his feet and is similar to other psalter manuscript illuminations like the Last Judgment scene from a psalter created by William

\textsuperscript{80} Wyvern is a modern form of wyvere meaning viper in Middle English or vipera in Latin.

de Brailes (Fig. 11). Although the psalter illustrates a scene of the Last Judgment, the action performed by Christ is similar to the verso mappamundi (Fig. 2). Instead of trampling two wyverns, the psalter of William de Brailes illustrates Christ’s feet press upon a lion and a dragon. The two psalter manuscripts illuminations demonstrate the textual description associated with Psalm 91:13 that states “You shall tread upon the asp and the viper, trample the lion and the dragon.”82 Christ that was the Creator and Ruler is now the savior and protector from all evils.

Even, the hierarchal format in the psalter of William de Brailes mirrors the hierarchy in the Psalter Mappaemundi. The Last Judgment’s depiction of Hell is represented by the mouth of hell positioned at the bottom of the page, while the realm of morals is situated in between Heaven and Hell. Above, Christ is seated and surrounded by angelic attendants. Even, the divisions of space in the psalter of William de Brailes are defined by borders similar to the mappaemundi. However, the Last Judgment scene applies circular borders for only the realms of mortals and Hell, while the Heavenly realms are separated by mandorlas, almond shaped borders, which symbolically emphasize the division between the sacred and profane. The psalter of William de Brailes contains the scene within one manuscript page, but the Psalter Mappaemundi utilizes two images on two pages, which permits the viewer to actively engage with the illuminations.

The Psalter Mappaemundi continues to connect with the visual languages of Last Judgment imagery through its incorporation of the Gates of Gog and Magog, situated in the upper right hand corner of the known world in the recto mappamundi (Fig. 1). The Gates are described in the Book of Revelations as a container for the physical manifestation of a race that will descend upon the earth when the antichrist appears on earth. “When the thousand years are

82 Psalm 91: 13 (New American Bible).
completed, Satan will be released from his prison. He will go out to deceive the nations at the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them for battle; their number is like the sand of the sea.”

83 Last Judgment scenes initiate the beholders’ contemplation of the state of their souls: they must be prepared to accept the judgment of Heavenly ascension or decent into Hell. The beholder’s interaction with the recto and verso mappaemundi visually strengthens the depiction of Christ as Savior. The viewer can view the Last Judgment reference in the Gates of Gog and Magog then meditate on the actions of Christ trampling evil on the verso mappamundi.

The replacement of the body of Christ with the tripartite world further strengthens the visualization of Christ as the Savior (Fig. 2). The superposition of the world as Christ’s body represents the sacrifice of Christ, who gave his life for the salvation of man and symbolizes the literal expression of the body and blood of Christ, the same body and blood taken into the beholder’s own body during communion at Mass. The beholder’s interaction with the recto and verso mappaemundi establishes a continuous practice of retaining a state of grace to enable to soul’s ascension during and beyond devotional practice.

The structural formatting of the manuscript into simple easily defined portions organizes and arranges space for memorization. Imagery establishes anchors as visual cues either as textual recollection or moral preparedness. The use of color emphasizes the mnemonic properties of imagery and establishes further memorization.84 Particularly the use of blue and red creates a stimulus impact on the cleric’s eyes. As Michael Camille has discussed, the use of alternating red and blue grounds in historiated initials or prefatory miniatures is a device to prompt stimulation.

83 Revelations 20:7-8 (New American Bible).

84 Kline, Maps of Medieval Thought, 229.
between an object and the beholder’s interaction. This stimulation was needed for the beholder to contemplate and meditate for spiritual movement beyond the material realm.

Color in the medieval period was perceived based on brightness not in terms of hue, saturation, or value. The brightness of color was due to the quality of pigments used for painting. The purity of the pigments in manuscript illuminations, such as a direct use of lapis lazuli for bright blue, allowed basic colors to implement their effect into the memory. Memory can only recollect certain basic colors, not variety of hues, and whether or not the color was dark or bright. The use of a blue and red for the backgrounds of the recto and verso mappaemundi engages and impresses the images deeper into the memoria. The alternating use of blue and red optically affects the viewers encounter with the manuscript’s space.

The spatial effect caused by the placement of two contrasting colors is termed stimulus contrast. Two strong contrasting colors “will intensify each other along the edge where they meet.” It is not a physical property of the color red to literally move forward in space but a device implemented by the artist by placing a cool color such as blue before the warm red. The effective use of contrasting colors allows the viewer to experience a visual shock of a receding space on one page and an advancing space on the other. The emotional and optical surprise brought on between the mappaemundi further creates an experience for the memory and also initiates a spiritual connection.

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The active participation of the cleric turning the page to view the recto and verso as complementing images initiates the action of Christ trampling the wyvern, which mirrored the action of the clergy using the psalms as part of their daily devotions to purge themselves from sins. The interaction also established a relation between the sacrifice Christ gave to save mankind and the sacrifices made by clerics in order to rid their souls of evil and purify the body when the End of Days arrives on earth. The active participation of contemplation and studying of the mappaemundi and the psalms is part of preparing the soul for the fourth mode of vision. The properties of color also enable the viewer to contemplate and focus on the mappaemundi’s theological abilities by slowing the eye’s movement for the memoria to require more information and revelations. The historiated initials divide passages of the psalms but also visually stop the eye’s movement for the memoria to rest, receive, and sort new concepts.

The alternation of red and blue background slows the movement of the eye as the division of space initiated by the manuscript’s borders contains the eye to permit a prolong engagement with the manuscript. The utilization of color in this manner is represented within the recto mappamundi’s depiction of the marvelous races contained within the material world. The marvelous races, or monstrous races, are fourteen races that originate Pliny’s “Natural History” in the first century and Solinus in the third century. As a group they are depicted in the Psalter Mappaemundi at the farthest corner of the material realm in Africa (Fig. 1). The races are depicted as humanoid figures with various abnormalities; some have no ears, others no head, or others possess an excess of limbs. Their position within the material realm is far away from the sacred area of Jerusalem, yet they remain within the boundaries of the material world. The reasoning for including the marvelous races in the recto mappamundi, and the larger Hereford

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and Ebstorf maps, has been debated by Naomi Kline, who argues that the races are symbols of redemption basing her argument using St. Augustine’s ‘Civitas Dei’ to explain the races as prodigies.\(^\text{90}\) The races symbolize God’s power to create and thus are a part of a larger unknown ultimate plan.

The races also represent the physical manifestation of God’s displeasure of sinners.\(^\text{91}\) The alternating use of blue and red backgrounds allowed the cleric viewer to contemplate his own sins and recall psalms to seek forgiveness. The viewer was urged to consider his actions and study psalms like psalm38 to purify his soul when the Judgment comes to earth, which is visually represented by the Gates of Gog and Magog positioned directly across from the fourteenth races in the \textit{mappamundi}. Like the marvelous races the position of the Gates of Gog and Magog are far from the sacred land of the holy city, yet they still represented a physical threat to Christians and they encourage the viewer to prepare the soul.

As a mnemonic device, the marvelous races establish a visual cue. Carruthers argues that memory retains “only what is extraordinary, wonderful, and intensely charged with emotion, the images should be of extremes-of ugliness or beauty, ridicule or nobility, of laughter or weeping, of worthiness or salaciousness.”\(^\text{92}\) A cleric viewer utilized the races as visual codes to associate sinful deeds and establish various cues for remembering psalms like psalm38. The marvelous races stand as a reminder of the human ability to fall from state of grace brought on by spiritual and physical manifestations of evil. The alternating colors reflect a passing of time when the clergy turns the manuscript page or allows the eye to slow its movement to contemplate the meaning of marvelous races.

\(^{90}\) Kline, \textit{Maps of Medieval Thought}, 146.

\(^{91}\) Ibid, 147.

\(^{92}\) Carruthers, \textit{The Book of Memory}, 133.
Color can also establish connection between two spiritual cities, while promoting mnemonic capabilities for recollection. The formatting of the material world centers and emphasizes the city of Jerusalem to recall biblical narratives but the addition of red alludes to the significance of the city to the cleric viewer. The association of blood with the color red reiterates the connection of Jerusalem as the city where Christ died and mirrors the event that will take precedent on the verso mappamundi. Memory allows images to be impressed via training or the extreme but also retains images connected to an emotional component.\(^9^3\) Emotion of a particular event is stored with the mental image is an affect of memory; whether or not to draw upon emotion as a tool for finding salvation and protection in God depends on the beholder.

Yet, the positioning and color of the city of Jerusalem reflects Eden in the recto mappamundi. Eden is depicted by the color blue and is incased by circular walls, an indication that Eden is a realm no longer accessible on earth because of the temptation of Adam and Eve. The alternating blue and red backgrounds of the recto and verso mappaemundi create a visual movement of advancing and receding space is the same effect achieved with the two spiritual cities. The blue depiction of Eden allows the red depiction of Jerusalem to stand out and represent a new Paradise on earth. Eden is the land connected to the Fall of Man, but Jerusalem is man’s salvation. Eden’s circular wall separating the once sacred land from the rest of the world mirrors the circles around Jerusalem. The division brought on by the use of circles to establish holy ground versus profane is represented by the same division of spiritual and material spatial realms of the winds. These circular walls also reflect the circular diagram of the whole world set within a border devised as a mnemonic device. “The symbiotic relationship between memorial effectiveness and the layout of books throughout the Middle Ages is apparent at the

\(^{93}\)Ibid, 133.
level of principle and general rules: the more difficult problem is to know to what extent the selection of images and decorative elements reflected particular mnemonic techniques and themes."94 Although we may not know exactly which visuals in the mappaemundi establish memory cues to a particular textual reference for a cleric viewer it is certain that the Psalter Mappaemundi is able to function as a mnemonic device.

The composition and division of the page stems from earlier diagrams specifically meant to memorize the relationship between mankind and the natural order of the universe. The use of imagery contained within a structural format of the mappaemundi creates connections between visual representation and textual depiction of psalms. Imagery and color employed within the world maps permits the beholder to establish deeper connections between object and viewer for personal devotional experience. The composition, imagery, and color work seamlessly together to allow the viewer to interact with the Psalter Mappaemundi as device for studying the psalms. A novice monk may have employed the use of world maps to begin his study and memorization of the psalms. A more experienced monk could have observed the illuminations to continuously reestablish, refresh, the memoria connections between image and text. Every viewer that came upon the Psalter Mappaemundi would have established his own connections. As Carruthers has suggested, “One designs and builds one’s own memory according to one’s talent, opportunities, and energy.”95 The Psalter Mappaemundi has the ability for a viewer to utilize the manuscript to find their way to God but it still is up to the beholder to undergo the process during their devotional practices.

94 Ibid, 243.

95 Ibid, 43.
THE PSALTER MAPPAMUNDI AS A PILGRIMAGE AID

The Psalter Mappaemundi enabled a viewer to memorize or recollect various psalms for use in devotional practice. By the use of composition and division, the memoria is able to organize imagery to recall passages and invoke meditation. The notion of memorizing the psalms during devotional practice to use later during the liturgy is the same notion of the world maps as an aid for a mirrored pilgrimage. A conventional pilgrimage conducts the movement of both the body and soul of the worshiper equally through the material and spiritual space. The body of a pilgrim moves through the physical space from a material to sacred ground. The soul moves through the spiritual plane during the meditation of sacred objects. The Psalter Mappaemundi aided the cleric’s reading of composition and imagery for an alternative pilgrimage called mirrored pilgrimage.

A mirrored pilgrimage strives to convey the same equal movement of the body and soul without actual travel to a pilgrimage site. The movement of the body is conveyed while reading the map’s structural format and associated with the physical movement during the liturgy. The movement of the soul is initiated through meditation on the mappaemundi as prefatory miniature illuminations. The reading of the structural format of the mappaemundi together with meditation on imagery enabled the viewer to undergo a mirrored pilgrimage. Traditionally, a Christian would embark on a pilgrimage to a holy site to gain spiritual and physical closeness with God for the further cleansing and preparation of the worshipper’s soul for ascension. However, the cloistered life of a cleric prohibited travel to spiritual destinations, and from this restriction of movement came alternative pilgrimages, which were initiated during devotional practices. A mirrored pilgrimage as an alternative to a conventional pilgrimage stems from a blending and alteration of other alternative pilgrimages referred to as imagined and spiritual pilgrimages.
David Connolly defines an imagined pilgrimage as a pilgrimage that sought, above all, to reach the Heavenly Jerusalem to attain a vision of God. Connolly connected the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris with such an alternative pilgrimage (Fig. 12 & 13). The engagement of the eye and the itinerary maps allowed the bodily movement through space by the act of reading the structural format of the manuscripts. The itinerary maps, which show a route from London to Acre (Fig. 12) and conclude with a Palestine map (Fig. 13), illustrate the first seven pages of the ‘Chronica Majora’ produced around 1250. Matthew Paris created the ‘Chronic Majora’ for the Benedictine order of St. Albans to use as an alternative means to access a vision of God without leaving the monastery. Connolly claims that “reading becomes movement” when a viewer engages with the composition of the manuscript pages.

The composition of the Psalter Mappaemundi stems from mnemonic diagrams made to explain the relationship between the cosmos and mankind, but they also exhibit a similar structural reading to the columnar format of the itinerary maps. The use of the concentric rings in the recto mappamundi constitutes a visual reading of the realms of Christian theology and cosmology. The Scale of Being (Fig. 14) is an illumination that visualizes the movement through the realms of Christian cosmology. The illumination depicts humans attempting to ascend beyond their terrestrial realm as if the rings of the atmosphere are rungs of a ladder. The representation of ladders was used for mnemonic purposes as well but also for an allusion to a pilgrimage. Kline observes that the Scale of Being illumination is a “visualization of the medieval desire to rise above the temporal world, to move from the earthly to the heavenly realm.”

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97 Ibid, 607.
temporal world extended to various religious practices, such as the Benedictine order of St. Albans.

Instead of rings, the itinerary maps (Fig. 12) are formatted into two or three columns to a page. The columns are designed to read from the bottom of the first column continuing upwards until beginning again at the bottom of the next column in a typical reading pattern from left to right. Katharine Breen, building on Connolly’s observations, argues that the reading of columns compresses the beholder’s eyes “so that he begins each stage of the journey near his own body and then is encouraged to move away from himself, toward the horizon that recedes beyond the upper page boundary.” The Scale of Being encourages the same perception as the columnar formats of moving the viewer through different spaces essentially moving from the earthly body of the viewer towards the spiritual realm of Heaven. Breen argues that viewing the columnar format of the itinerary maps was as a way for the viewer to project themselves into the space of the maps. The beholder moves himself through his eyes up towards God as if climbing a ladder. By extending this visual to the recto mappamundi the layout read in a vertical manner is a fusion of cosmological diagrams and the itinerary maps.

The concentric rings from Jerusalem towards the twelve winds act as rungs of a ladder. As the eye reads upward, it promotes the same columnar reading of the itinerary maps that starts close to the body positioned on earth and moves upward towards the heaven. However, the concentric rings of the mappamundi also allude to the concept that one can also descend the ‘ladder’ and enter into Hell if the soul of a Christian is influenced by sinful deeds. The notion of

98 Kline, Maps of Medieval Thought, 48.


100 Ibid, 63.
descending acts as a visual warning of an unsuccessful cleansing of the soul, a warning that the itinerary maps fail to represent.

The use of a ladder structural formatting also extends to prefatory miniatures designed to promote pilgrimages. The location of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* as the original first miniature in the manuscript associates a connection with prefatory miniature illumination. As a prefatory miniature, the *Psalter Mappaemundi* exhibit structural similarities of prefatory miniatures created to initiate an alternative pilgrimage. Annette Lermack discusses the *Six Degrees of Charity*, the first miniature of the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg* produced c. 1345 (Fig. 15), as a metaphor of life as a pilgrimage, where a figure is shown ascending a staircase towards God. The figure of God sits frontally in the same posture as the Christ figure of the recto mappamundi. Even the orb in God’s hand is marked with the same T-O markings signifying that the iconography seen in the *Psalter Mappaemundi* continued in popularity beyond the thirteenth century. A figure repeated twice, once at the bottom of the staircase and again on the third step, alludes to the patron of the psalter, the Duchess of Normandy. 101 A similar tactic was used in the psalter book of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* for the historiated initial of psalm101, which depicts the figure of a Benedictine monk.

As already discussed, the mnemonic use of circular diagrams to study the natural world was assimilated into the Christian faith as a way to teach theology. The imagery for stairs or ladders stems from the iconography of second century Jewish texts commenting on Solomon’s temple of having fifteen steps. These steps were “associated with the gradual psalms which Jewish commentaries connected with ‘going up’ to the temple at the pilgrimage times of Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles.” 102 Christian theologians used the iconography of the

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stairway to illustrate the steps led to the Holy of Holies and Solomon’s Temple became a prototype for the Church.\(^{103}\) Whether or not the stairs led to Solomon’s Temple or to Heavenly Kingdom, the ascension imagery is similar to the allusions of the columnar format of the itinerary maps and the concentric rings of the *Scale of Being.* The vertical reading of these map and diagram formats invokes a movement upward but also permits the sense of moving eastward.

Breen stresses that the columnar structure imparts a sense of orientation so the reader becomes gradually “aware of his physical and spiritual relationship to the east…”\(^{104}\) The itinerary maps do not follow an accurate depiction of real space. It is the orientation of the columns that moves the viewer towards to the top of the page and seemingly to the east. The *Psalter Mappaemundi’s* orientation to the east constitutes Christian theology of the sun representing Christ and establishes Jerusalem above all other nations. As a pilgrimage aid, the *mappaemundi’s* orientation exhibits the same notion of the itinerary maps and the prefatory miniature of the *Six Degrees of Charity* in which viewers are positioned at the bottom of the manuscript and must move toward Jerusalem and then continue toward the heavenly kingdom. It is not just the physical movement toward the east but the spiritual movement upwards as well that connects these maps and prefatory miniatures to the beholder’s devotional practices. The orientation of the recto *mappamundi* (Fig. 1) in particular visually aligns the three major pilgrimage sites in hierarchy.

Santiago de Compostela, a favorite pilgrimage destination among English pilgrims, is closest to the beholder and as the eye moves upward the viewer arrives at Rome, the burial site

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\(^{102}\) Ibid, 101.

\(^{103}\) Ibid, 101.

\(^{104}\) Breen, "Returning Home from Jerusalem," 63.
of Saint Peter. The eye continues to move the beholder to the site of Jerusalem the most important holy site at the center of the page. As Connolly argues, “reading becomes movement,” and the format of the columns allows the beholder’s to conduct in an imagined pilgrimage though a bodily movement towards Heavenly Jerusalem through the eyes.105

The Psalter Mappaemundi, as an aid to guide the viewer in a mirrored pilgrimage, utilizes the physical movement of the entire body during the liturgy. The psalms are memorized through the aid of historiated initials for devotional practice but also for the use during liturgy. A mirrored pilgrimage relies on the viewer’s ability to make associations between the structural readings of the Psalter Mappaemundi as movement along a ladder toward a sacred area during devotional practice, which connect with the architecture layout of churches and similar movement through space conducted during mass. The rings that divide the sacred area of Jerusalem from the rest of the material realm discussed as part of the mnemonic process of the recto mappamundi allude to the same division of church walls to separate the sacred house of God from the outside terrestrial world. Churches were regarded as the Heavenly Jerusalem on earth and, once a worshipper entered through the doors of the church, he literally passed from one spatial plane into another.106 The walls of the church represent the same division of space as the concentric rings. Even, the church plan is the same composition as the T-O format of the known world.

The Roman cross plan used in many Christian churches such as the Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 16) echo the “T” shape and symbolism association with the crucifix as the T-O diagram seen prominently in the verso mappamundi (Fig. 2). Peter Fingesten builds upon the

connections between the image of a crucified Christ and church plans by analyzing the proportions and similarities observed in the writings of thirteenth century Bishop Durandus of Mende. Durandus describes this allusion between the church and human body as “the chancel, or place where the altar is, presupposed the head: the transepts, the hands and arms, and the remainder—towards the west—the rest of the body.”\textsuperscript{107} Santiago de Compostela was even referred as having a “head” where the altar is found, one “body” and two “limbs.”\textsuperscript{108} The allusion of the crucifix to mappaemundi and church plans is further emphasized in the orientation.

The philosophy and theology of the eastward orientation in medieval world maps extended to church plans. Furthermore, the orientation allows a superimposition of these two media to invoke a visualization of a mirrored pilgrimage. A worshipper who entered the church at the western entrance echoed the entrance into the recto mappamundi through the Straits of Gibraltar (Fig. 1). The worshipper moved eastward physically through the church and upward spiritually through the mappamundi until he arrived at the crossing of the church or at Jerusalem. The sacred city and altar reflect each other as the location of the transformation of the bread and wine into body and blood of Christ. The movement through space is a “symbol of transformation of the pilgrim/marcher, seeking transcendence, and physical or spiritual healing/miracle.”\textsuperscript{109} The Psalter Mappaemundi acts like a physical mirror, which produces a reflection, similar to but an imitation of a conventional pilgrimage taken through the church. The Psalter Mappaemundi is a device for memorizing the psalms during devotional practice to use later but also could be employed as an aid for a mirrored pilgrimage. In order to establish a mirrored pilgrimage, the

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid, 14.

\textsuperscript{108} Hiscock, “Mapping the Macrocosm,” 123.

viewer must take the studying and teachings of their devotional practices and apply to other daily rituals beyond devotional practices like the memorization of the psalms.

Although the formatting of the itinerary maps and the *Psalter Mappaemundi* constitute similar readings of the cleric’s eye along the manuscript page towards Christ in Heaven, the eye alone cannot constitute as an alternative to a conventional pilgrimage. Connolly stresses the eye’s ability to move the body for an imagined pilgrimage but does not address whether or not the spiritual benefits are the same. A mirrored pilgrimage constitutes a similar but different spiritual benefit to conventional pilgrimage. Instead of viewing a relic through a pilgrimage, the body and soul move through the church’s interior and receive the Eucharist in a mirrored pilgrimage.

The *Psalter Mappaemundi*, as a prefatory miniature, relies on the imagery of the *mappaemundi* for spiritual movement of the soul through meditation. A mirrored pilgrimage relies on an equal movement of the body and soul through physical and spiritual space that is constituted by a traditional pilgrimage. As the viewer moves through the space of the church and engages in the reading of structural formatting of the *mappaemundi* initiates an equal movement of the body. Annette Lermack argues that the text and imagery in the miniature illuminations of the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxemburg*, c. 1332-1349, are meditative aids for an alternative pilgrimage called spiritual pilgrimage. Miniature illuminations allow a reader to convey a spiritual journey through the meditation of imagery to encourage penance, suffering and piety.

A spiritual pilgrimage, unlike an imagined pilgrimage relies on meditation of imagery for the soul’s movement through space, while the bodily movement of a pilgrimage is conducted through life. The conclusion of the meditation of a spiritual pilgrimage ends with an anagogical contact with the holy. The reader meditates upon devotional books in the same way an actual
pilgrimage concludes with contact with viewer gazing up the holy in the form of relics.\textsuperscript{110} The end goal of a spiritual pilgrimage is not Jerusalem or any other holy site other than the eternal kingdom after death. The miniature the \textit{Six Degrees of Charity} (Fig. 15), where a figure is shown ascending a staircase towards God addresses a structural reading but the imagery of the stairs promotes meditation and contemplation for movement of the soul.

Lermack reflects that the steps of the staircase are “progressive, with the acquisition of each degree dependent on the one before it. Like pilgrimage, they are also related to penance, suffering, and piety.”\textsuperscript{111} The steps refer to different teachings that must be achieved before ascending to the next until ending with unity with God. The first step, \textit{suavitas}, teaches the viewer to taste the sweetness of God through penance. “Sorrow over sin and the desire to atone for it are necessary before one can learn to taste the sweetness of God’s love in the form of forgiveness.”\textsuperscript{112} The figure of David in historiated initials initiate penance and the teachings within the recto \textit{mappamundi} also present the beholder with imagery to contemplate and study.

The marvelous races, at the far southern border of Africa, prompt visual cues for recalling psalms of forgiveness but also promoted travel for some pilgrims instead of seeking forgiveness of sins or relief from disease. Yet, the fourteen races engage the viewer to consider and meditate upon the acceptance of these monstrosities. The issue was how the Church could explain the presence of the races in a world created by God and whether or not to accept the monstrosities as redeemable races.\textsuperscript{113} As mentioned above, St Augustine concludes in ‘Civitas Dei’ that the races

\textsuperscript{110} Lermack, “Spiritual Pilgrimage in the \textit{Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg},” 97.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid, 99.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid, 99.

\textsuperscript{113} Kline, \textit{Maps of Medieval Thought}, 146.
are prodigies, related to the sons of Noah and therefore redeemable. However, the marvelous races were also seen as representing the deformities of humans as portents of God’s displeasure. Viewing the marvelous races in this way prompts the viewer to reflect upon the sins the viewer made have committed and thus needs to repent through meditation, prayer, or pilgrimage to climb past the suavitas step towards God.

Penance of suffering in some form, such as giving up life’s pleasures, reflects the monastic teachings of clerics entering the monastery to remove themselves from the pleasures of life. The third step, saturitas, and the fourth, ebriatas, involves the viewer’s act of turning away from material pleasures and embracing suffering for God’s love. Lermack argues that the act of meditation on the reading and the miniature of the Six Degrees of Charity is the form of piety and thus the “entire stairway provides a model for the pious life.” The depiction of a pilgrim for the historiated initial for psalm39 (Fig. 17), of the psalter book for the Psalter Mappaemundi, illustrates the viewer’s movement through life for redemption. As a mnemonic the figure represents the literal translation of “I said I will take heed to my ways.” The word vias literally means the road but it symbolizes the way of life a Christian conducts. As a pilgrimage aid the imagery of the historiated initial alludes to the road upon which a pilgrim travels as the same path the viewer is conducting during devotional meditation for an alternative pilgrimage.

The steps of a stairway or the rings of the map visually enable the viewer to ‘climb up’ the page and the imagery within the rest of the miniatures of the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg and those within the recto mappamundi enable meditation to move towards God. The final meditation of the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg reflects on the last two miniatures where the

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114 Ibid, 146.


116 “Dixi custodiam vias meas.”
reader is face to face with images of Christ. The first scene is the Crucifixion (Fig. 18) where Christ is pointing to his wounds as two kneeling figures, possibly the patrons, look upon Christ. Lermack comments that this confrontation between the body of Christ and the two figures echoes the same meeting a pilgrim feels when arriving at the end of a pilgrimage. The last miniature is the Side Wound and Arma Christi (Fig. 19). The two illuminations work together to bring the viewer’s eye inward, closer, into the body of Christ. As Bennett proposes, the prefatory miniatures act like bible picture books for visual meditation. It is by this meditation of Christ’s side wound the patron experiences movement to the holy by visually gazing at wound directly similar to holy relic at the end of an actual pilgrimage. In the same way the two mappaemundi work together to draw the viewer inward closer into viewing and meditating Christ’s sacrifice and suffering.

The recto mappamundi (Fig. 1) displays Christ as the Creator and Ruler over the material world. Intricate and detailed, the recto manuscript page engages the viewer to see himself as part of God’s ultimate plan. The pages allow the viewer to reflect on his own position in the world. The placement of the known world in between the realms of Hell and Heaven reflect the same position as the figure on the third, middle, step of the Six Degrees of Charity. Lermack observes that the halfway position of the figure visualizes that the encounter with God is close at hand and encourages the viewer to continue their meditations during devotional practices. However, in the process of turning the Psalter Mappamundi manuscript over the viewer participates actively in making Christ the Creator the Savior.

The verso mappamundi (Fig. 2) recalls the acts of Christ suffering as the meditation of the Side Wound and Arma Christi miniature. The illuminations force the viewer to reflect on mappaemundi

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117 Ibid, 106.

118 Ibid, 103.
Christ suffering as a role model to conduct the beholder’s own bodily actions and soul’s purity.\(^{119}\) The red background of the verso *mappamundi* reflects and refers to, the side wound that depicts the blood Christ shed for mankind. The choice of red reflects the western association of the color red to the meaning of blood, courage, and sacrifice. These western connections are established through the association of color to the natural world such as red meaning blood and green to water.\(^{120}\) The association between color choice and natural world is seen in the world maps depiction of the ocean in green and rivers in blue. However, the association of color to meaning is purely cultural and colors should not be associated to a set standard of symbolic meanings. Yet on occasion color depicts poignant moments of time.

The *Crucifixion and Deposition* (Fig. 20) illumination from the *Psalter of Blanche of Castile*, dated to 1230, uses color in the upper ring of the crucifixion scene to denote the time and the symbolic moment between the life, blue, and death, red, of Christ. The division between blue and red is employed as a device to illustrate the moment of Christ death as it was- textually described in the Gospel of Luke as “It was now about noon and darkness came over the whole land until three in the afternoon because of the eclipse of the sun.”\(^{121}\) The artist further employs the image of the sun and moon to emphasize the time as both day and night. The implications of the use of color as time and the turning of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* allude to a visual impact of the moment of Christ’s sacrifice for the salvation of mankind, or specifically the viewer. As a mnemonic device, the color changes embed the active participation and the symbolism of the

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\(^{119}\) Ibid, 109.

\(^{120}\) Fabri, *Color; a Complete Guide for Artists*, 63.

verso as Savior. As a mirrored pilgrimage, the red optically advances towards the viewer aiding meditation as a miniature illumination.

When the beholder turned the *mappaemundi*, the encounter with the advancement of space prompted contemplation. The viewer takes in the holiness of a relic at the end of their pilgrimage just as a worshipper takes in the holiness of the Eucharist and alludes to the superposition of the *mappaemundi* to the church plans. The superposition of the body of Christ with the verso *mappamundi* (Fig. 2) also mirrors the Eucharist that Christians would ingest during communion. The beholder physically ingests the divine during communion and spiritual absorbs the divine through the medieval concept of vision. However, the beholder must return to the material world after cleansing the body and purifying the soul. The ending of a pilgrimage begins anew with continuous devotional practices. A mirrored pilgrimage allows repeated journeys to enable the ascension towards the Heavenly kingdom.

A mirrored pilgrimage attempts to faithfully represent an actual pilgrimage through an equal movement of body though space and the soul through meditation. The imagined pilgrimages conveyed through the itinerary maps exert minimal bodily movement through the eye and interaction with the Palestine attachments. However, the meditation upon imagery to convey a sense of penance, suffering, and piety through the *Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg* relies on the meditation of imagery but the bodily movement is restricted since life’s journey only conveys one pilgrimage. The *Psalter Mappaemundi* act as aids to mirrored pilgrimage and combine both of these alternative pilgrimages. The bodily movement upwards through physical and spiritual planes is conducted through the reading of the map’s structural format of concentric rings as rungs of a ladder and physical movement of the body during the liturgy. The spiritual movement of the soul is conducted during meditation on the imagery of the monstrous races or
the figure of Christ on the recto and verso mappaemundi. The combination of both the reading
and movement of the structural space and the meditation on imagery allows the viewer to
undergo a mirrored pilgrimage. Although a mirrored pilgrimage relies on the cleric’s ability to
make association and connections, the Psalter Mappaemundi acts as a guide to convey an
alternative to a pilgrimage during devotional practice for further use throughout the cleric’s
studies within the monastery for ascension of the soul.
CONCLUSION

Traditionally medieval *mappaemundi* have been studied as visual representations of moral and historical stories set in a geographical setting or visual representations of the geographical world. These approaches to *mappaemundi* ignore the important relationship between the object and viewer, which has only recently been brought forth by art historians as a mode of analysis for the maps. By analyzing the engagement between the beholder and *mappaemundi*, set within a devotional context, this essay establishes a different approach to the field of studying medieval cartography. These maps function not as geographical maps but as spiritual maps designed to aid a viewer during devotional practices. The performative aspect of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* constitutes an involvement between beholder and object analogous to other illuminations found within a psalter, which, when used during devotional practices, enables the cultivation of the soul for ascension in Heaven.

The interplay between sacred text and imagery of *Psalter Mappaemundi* is similar to the creation of historiated initials and prefatory miniatures. However, the medieval understanding of vision promotes the ability of the soul to move beyond the material world. The physical and spiritual absorption of the divine through imagery and text allows the *mappaemundi* to stand equal to the ability of other devotional illustrations either as mnemonic devices or mirrored pilgrimage aids.

As a mnemonic device, the *Psalter Mappaemundi* draws upon diagrams of earlier *rotae* to organize the manuscript’s composition. Yet, the *Psalter Mappaemundi* also utilizes the use of imagery to convey visual cues to anchor text within the inner mind. The imagery of the *Psalter Mappaemundi* also recollects corresponding psalms or provokes a memorable experience to instill teachings deeper within the *memoria* for further meditation into higher modes of vision.
The Psalter Mappaemundi mnemonic capabilities are personalized by the beholder, just as modern-day students personalize their own notes and visuals to study for examinations.

The Psalter Mappaemundi as a mirrored pilgrimage is a new way to consider mappaemundi during devotional practices. It attempts to faithfully represent an actual pilgrimage though an equal movement of body though space and the soul through meditation. The same structural formatting, imagery, and color for mnemonic purposes strives to enable the viewer to read and utilize the maps as spiritual guides of alternative pilgrimages. The Psalter Mappaemundi’s composition initiates reading as physical movement of the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris, but relies on the bodily movement conducted during the liturgy. The mappaemundi utilize the meditative properties of imagery found in prefatory miniatures, like the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg to convey the soul’s movement through the spiritual plane.

The context of the Psalter Mappaemundi allows new approaches to the study of medieval mappaemundi. Medieval world maps are not merely representations of the world created by medieval cartographers, but rather are illustrations that enable interaction between object and beholder during devotional practices. These mappaemundi are analogous to illustrations in devotional texts to enable ascension of the soul to the Heavenly Kingdom.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX

Figure 1
Psalter Mappaemundi (recto), illumination on parchment. 6 ¾ x 4 7/8”. c. 1262. British Library, London (MS 28681, fol. 9r).
Figure 2

Psalter Mappaemundi (verso), illumination on parchment. 6 ¾ x 4 ⅞”. c. 1262. British Library, London (MS 28681, fol. 9v).
Figure 3

Figure 4
Figure 5
Diagram of the brain with its five cells, according to Avicenna. illumination on parchment. 8 ½ x 5 ½ “. c. 1300. University Library, Cambridge.

Figure 6
Christ Rising from the Tomb (A) and Crucifixion (B), added to Psalter Mappaemundi. illumination on parchment. 6 ¾ x 4 ⅞”. c. 1290. British Library, London (Add. MS 28681 f.6r).
Figure 7
Psalm 1, David harping, from the Sidney Sussex Bible. c. 1260-70. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (MS 96, f. 177).

Figure 8
Figure 9
Isidore of Seville. *The Zones of the Earth*, from the *De natura rerum*, 10th century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS lat. 6649, f.8v)

Figure 10
Figure 11
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Psalter MS 330, fol. 3).
Figure 12
Matthew Paris. Itinerary map showing route from London (bottom right) to Reims and Beauvais (top right), from the *Chronica Majora*. c. 1250. Paris.
Figure 13
Figure 14
The Scale of Being. c.1100. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS lat. 3236A, f. 90r).
Figure 15

Figure 16
Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. plan. 1075-1120.
Figure 17
Psalm 38, A Pilgrim, from Psalter Mappaemundi. illumination on parchment. 6 ¾ x 4 ¾”. c. 1260. British Library, London (B.L., Add. 28681, f.54v).

Figure 18
Figure 19

Figure 20
*Crucifixion and Deposition*, illustration from the *Psalter of Blanche of Castile*. 11 ⅝ x 8”. c. 1230. Bibliothèque de L’Arsenal, Paris (MS franc. 1186, fol. 24r).