

5

Seeing Jerusalem: schematic views
of the Holy City, 1100–1300

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A many-ringed circle spans the width of a folio that now resides in London, BL, Add. MS 32343, a modern compilation (figure 5.1).¹ The circle, circumscribed by five bands dotted with red ink, delimits the outer wall of the city of Jerusalem. Within and without this circle are locations sacred and secular, ancient and contemporary – or nearly so – with the map's production during the twelfth century. The city is divided into quarters, each of which is further subdivided. We see major pilgrimage sites, such as Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; administrative centres of Frankish settlement, such as the 'Temple of the Lord', or Dome of the Rock, and the 'Temple of Solomon', the Templar headquarters at the converted and expanded Al-Aqsa mosque; important meeting places of the Frankish community at Jerusalem, such as the 'Latin Church' and food market; a few natural features that also had devotional resonance, such as the Mount of Olives and the Kidron River; and, in the lower right-hand corner of the map, in the south-west quarter, fifty-one anonymous little houses. There are roads and a pool. Around and between these sites, providing order, structure and entrance to the city, are six gates, five punctuating the outer wall and one located near the city centre. The map is similar to other maps or plans of Jerusalem, especially the so-called 'Crusader maps', which, as Hanna Vorholt puts it, 'represent Jerusalem as a walled city with a perfectly round circumference, five portals, and an urban layout dominated by a cross – or T – shaped street network'.² It is also reminiscent of some medieval world map types.³

The fine details of this map are worth close attention. The design, layout, judicious employment of spot colour, inscriptions, inclusions and exclusions are carefully modulated to provide rich material for ruminative viewing. This folio does, after all, present the sacred omphalos of the world, a space layered with

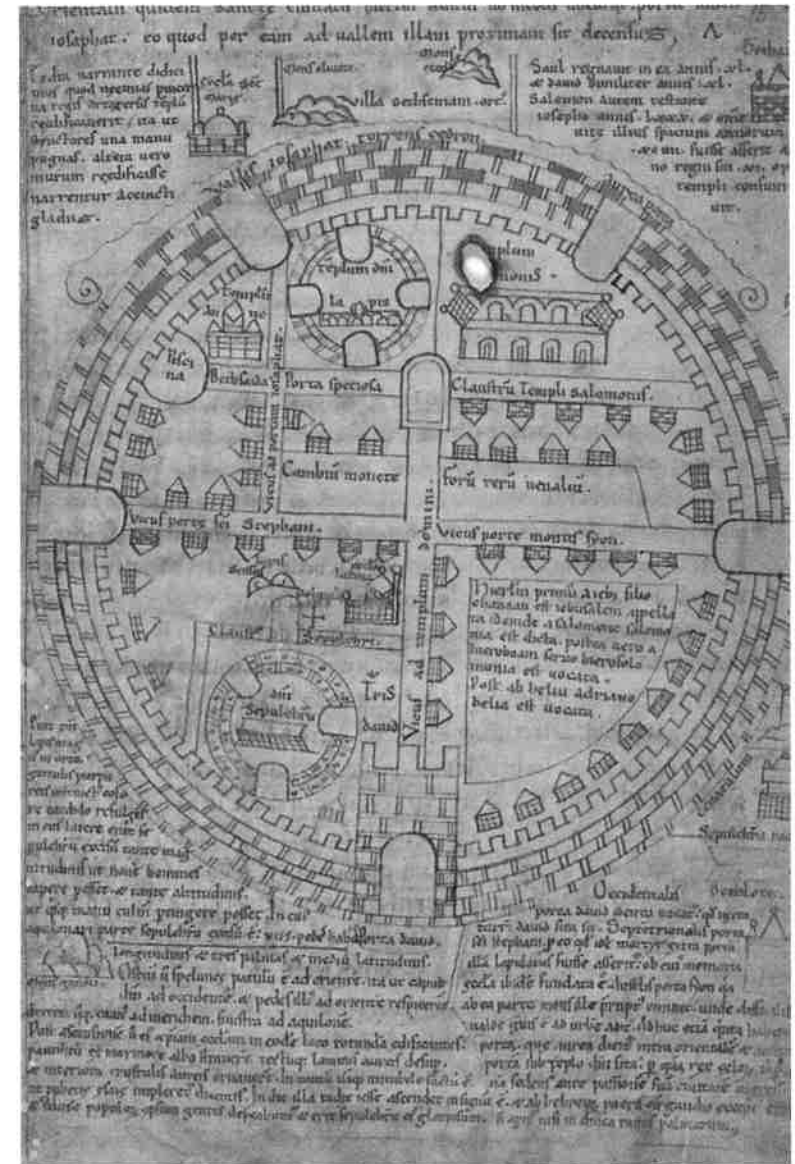


Figure 5.1 Map of Jerusalem and its environs

ancient meanings and caught up in dynamic, immediate political circumstances and military conflicts. In this chapter, we will focus on this single sheet, with attention paid to three main aspects of its construction and contents: the history of the abbey where it was drawn; its role as micro- and macrocosm; and its negotiation of the interplay between space and time, which meet at the intersection of the 'Street to the Temple of the Lord' and the 'Street of the Gate of Mount Zion' with eschatological significance. Maps sit in a potent position between the recording and production of knowledge, reflecting the 'real world' but necessarily transforming it through the process of reduction and schematisation. The map of Jerusalem and its environs in Add. 32343 actively negotiates between various forms of knowledge, as it makes arguments about the significance of Jerusalem in political and divine history. By exploring the layered significance of this map in two dimensions – first, through a close *visual* study of the Add. 32343 map, in the context of other medieval maps; second, through a *narrative* examination of the document's origins and comparative study of a prose itinerary of Frankish Jerusalem – we aim to provide views of the sacred city from two different perspectives, as it was conceived in the high medieval imagination.

Close visual reading

In this section, we will look very carefully at the map itself, focusing on design, layout and internal relationships, as well as comparisons with related maps. In Add. 32343, we find an image filled with openings of various sorts. Of course, there are the five outer portals and the Porta Speciosa, but also the three portals into the Holy Sepulchre and the four into the Temple of the Lord. There is also the entrance to the Cloister of the Holy Sepulchre, just above the church itself, an open arch emphasised by being nearly four times as tall as the wall in which it is set. These entrances become focal points through their consistent repetition; except for the double outline of the Porta Speciosa and the castellated framing of the Porta David to the west, they are all basically repetitions of the same form, varied only in scale and orientation. They also become foci of visual attention because of their very emptiness. In this busy folio, in which most of the space has been filled in with image or text, their resolute blankness draws the eye, especially given the energetic fussiness of the stonework of the city wall. Their framing of negative space invites us in, and the broad boulevards that run

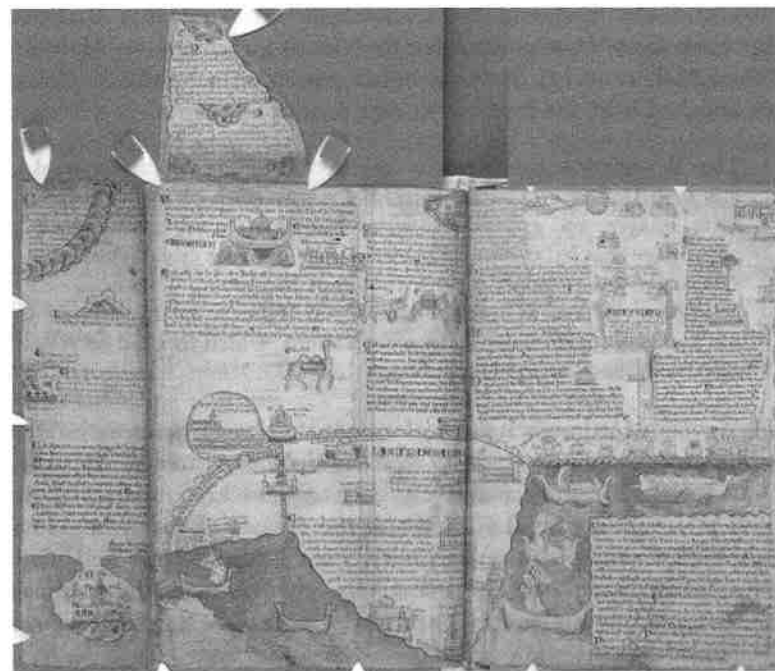


Figure 5.2 Map of the Holy Land

straight as arrows from the Porta Stephani (north), Porta Montis Syon (south) and Porta David (west) then draw us inward.⁴

The main approach to the city for travellers from Europe, prior to the Fall of Jerusalem, was along the path from the west, from Acre and Jaffa, as presented on Matthew Paris's maps of the 'Holy Land'.⁵ These maps, such as that which spreads over CCC 26, fol. iiiiv–ivr (figure 5.2), are oriented to the east, though not merely by medieval convention. They are part of a long pilgrimage itinerary – requiring at least forty-six days of travel, according to Suzanne Lewis⁶ – that spans seven folios at the opening of this volume of Matthew's *Chronica Majora*, bending their orientation to follow the generally unwavering path of the pilgrim rather than bending the path to follow any sort of naturalistic geography, at least for the first several folios of the itinerary.⁷ In the case of the depiction of Jerusalem in Add. 32343, the map can again be oriented both towards the east, following medieval convention, and towards the reader, providing access for virtual entry into the sacred space. Daniel Connolly, writing about Matthew's maps,

asserts their 'performative possibilities', tracing this tradition forward from Cassiodorus (sixth century) through to Matthew (thirteenth century). Relying on an extensive scholarly tradition established over the past forty years, Connolly argues:

The Benedictine brother who perused these pages understood this map [...] as a dynamic setting, the operation of whose pages, texts, images, and appendages aided him in effecting an imagined pilgrimage that led through Europe to the Crusader city of Acre and eventually to a complex representation of Jerusalem. This image of Jerusalem was seen as both the unavailable center of earthly pilgrimage and as a goal of spiritual contemplations, which focused on it as a figure of the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁸

However, Matthew's historical moment, almost a century later, was pointedly different from that facing the creator of the Add. 32343 map. Matthew was likely born around 1200, well after the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187, whereas the creator of the Add. 32343 map was working within the tumult of the lead-up to the Fall, or its immediate aftermath. The assertively open status of the map was therefore either a plea for continuity of access, or a defiant refusal to accept the new and raw loss.

Indeed, the openness of the map extends beyond its gaping portals. Rather, the entire city is open to us, from our God's-eye perspective. The stone walls are high and crenellated, but they are no impediment to us as we gaze down from above. Further, the microcosmic structures of the Temple of the Lord and the Holy Sepulchre are further open to us, not only via their portals but also via their missing domes. The compound perspective of the map – common to the period – presents both the Temple and Sepulchre in plan-view, like the city, but their contents are portrayed in profile. It is as if we have swooped down from on high, through their domes, to alight within, where we can look at the rock – pointedly labelled *lapis* – and the tomb. We might be able to press yet further, entering into these. The structure of the rock is somewhat unclear, here, appearing as a course of rounded stones, surmounted by a triad of upright stones, like some sort of lingam.⁹ While not clear in the image, the stone is permeable, with an entrance to the cave beneath it. More pointedly, on the map it appears that the tomb within the Sepulchre is standing open. A parallelogram of stones is surmounted by the lid, propped upright.

Open portals, open streets, open buildings and an open city – all stand open for the viewer, theoretically ensconced in the abbey

scriptorium where the manuscript was produced, but also engaged in the process of *peregrinatio in stabilitate* – pilgrimage without moving.¹⁰ If this map were produced before 1187, this openness might denote a vehement assertion of control, of the endurance of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, made to seem all the more eternal through the resonance of this city map with the Heavenly – and eternal – Jerusalem, as well as with *mappaemundi* and the body of Christ, as will be discussed below. Alternatively, if it were produced just *after* 1187, in the period when Western Christians were mourning their loss of Jerusalem, the emphatic openness of the image might be read as a defiant statement, as a record of lived memory and a battle cry for the next crusade to again conquer the city.

The circular format of Jerusalem on the map raises other points of significance. Though most representations of Jerusalem are circular, the city itself, of course, was a rough parallelogram, as shown on one twelfth-century map.¹¹ The resonance of the circle as a perfect shape surely influenced this decision, but we are more interested here in exploring the connections with *mappaemundi*, which P. D. A. Harvey asserts 'played a significant role in constructing most of our regional maps [of the Holy Land]'.¹² Harvey is primarily discussing the content of the maps, which is often cited as coming from textual sources but, he argues, is more often filtered through world maps, before being used on maps of smaller regions. The overall layout of many of the maps or plans of Jerusalem, though, clearly bear the imprint of the *mappaemundi* that may have served as a source for their design.

If we step back from this map, what we see is, in essence, a replica of standard *mappaemundi* design. For comparison, we can turn to a typical T-O map housed in a late eleventh-century copy of Isidore's *Etymologies* (Royal 6 C.i, f. 108v) (figure 5.3). Both the latter and the map in Add. 32343 present circular forms surrounded by multiple rings, divided internally by the beams of a cross. On the T-O map, the *patibulum* (the horizontal beam of the cross) is formed by the Tanais (Don) and Nile rivers, and the *stipes* (the upright element of the cross) is formed by the Mediterranean. This therefore divides the world into the three known continents, with Asia occupying the upper (eastern) half of the ecumene, and Europe and Africa each filling a quarter of the map below it. The eastern orientation of most medieval maps is generally considered to reflect the preeminence of the Holy Land, as well as the site of mankind's origins in Paradise, in the East.¹³



Figure 5.3 T-O Map, Isidore's *Etymologies*

The eastern orientation bears particular significance for the map in Add. 32343, as it presents Jerusalem, itself central to many *mappaemundi*, particularly those of the Hereford-Ebstorf-Psalter Map type.¹⁴ Here, there is an effort to present the eastern half of Jerusalem as more significant than the western half, not only through orientation but also through coloration. The eastern arc of the outer wall of the city contains red bricks, and all of the vignettes east of the wall have red highlights, whereas the wall and vignettes to the west are monochromatic. This highlighting seems to be uncommon, if not otherwise unknown. The red may reflect a desire to echo the importance of the east – the region where this map is itself set – as stressed on the majority of the *mappaemundi*. It would thereby draw attention to the role of this map, and its original, as microcosms of the world as a whole. In other words, just as the east is presented on most *mappaemundi* as the region of greatest importance, the east is emphasised on this city map, underlining the correspondence of the city map to the world map and thus echoing the correspondence of the microcosm of the city of Jerusalem to the macrocosm of the earth. This effect would have been intensified by the fact that regional maps in this period are very uncommon. As Harvey notes, Palestine is the only location for which there are several regional maps extant, prior to the fifteenth century.¹⁵

Just as Jerusalem is a microcosm of the world, as represented on T-O maps, so too the Temple and Sepulchre are – in Add. 32343 – microcosms of Jerusalem. They are the same in form and similar in their presentation of stone walls perforated by large gates. Indeed, superimposing the Sepulchre over the Temple and then enlarging the resulting circle would more or less reproduce the map. The Temple's gates at due north, west and south are in the position of those on the city wall. The Sepulchre has three gates, one of which is also in the position of the west gate. It is unclear if the other two

are intended to be in symmetrical positions, or not – the southern gate is certainly lower than the northern – but *if* so, these would be in positions equivalent to the two eastern gates in the city wall. This leaves only the eastern gate of the Temple unaccounted for, though if we invert the eastern door of the Temple, it would align with the Porta Speciosa. This is all speculative and imperfect, but our point is not that the mapmaker decided to precisely divide the portals from the city among the two round structures within it, but rather, that they all echo one another and create a dynamic sense of play with micro- and macrocosmic layers. If we enlarge the buildings, we produce the city; if we enlarge the whole city, we produce a T-O *mappamundi*, with streets replacing waterways and districts replacing continents. Just as the Temple and Sepulchre are each a microcosm of the city that contains them, so too the city is a microcosm of the whole world, of which it is the navel.¹⁶

Narrative reading

Our close visual reading of the map above, along with the comparative study of the T-O *mappamundi* that informs it, allows us to see the multiple levels on which medieval viewers interpreted the visual image of Jerusalem appearing in Add. 32343. Turning now to a narrative reading of the same document, we can find entry points into the story of how and why the map was produced, as well as insights into how the map provided its medieval viewers with a kind of itinerary or narrative passage through the streets of the imagined Holy City located at the far reaches of Outremer. We will first look more closely at the circumstances of production of the document before turning to a prose analogue to the inscriptions of the map, an itinerary of the streets of Jerusalem that corresponds closely to the street names, monuments and commercial districts identified on the map of Add. 32343. This comparative reading allows us to grasp another dimension of readers' experience of the diagrammatic map, as they imaginatively traversed the various passages through the city gates and the streets crisscrossing the urban landscape.

We know more about the time and place of the production of this map than is common for such a fragment, because the verso of the page contains an earlier twelfth-century document written at the Augustinian abbey of Formosele (modern Voormezele, in far western Flanders; figure 5.4). The British Library's *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts* ascribes the map to the twelfth century,

and the document on the other side of the leaf to Pope Callixtus II (also 'Callistus').¹⁷ We can, however, determine the date of the document more precisely, and the nature of that document can, in turn, shed light on the circumstances that led to the production of the map image and accompanying text on the other side of the leaf. The document is written in a northern continental hand, typical of early twelfth-century Flanders, suggesting that it is a copy of an original document from the court of Pope Callixtus II, who in it confirmed the privileges of the abbey. The document is addressed to Isaac, Abbot of Formosele, and enumerates the privileges assigned to the abbey, with reference to a range of local towns, naming the relevant counts and dukes associated with those lands. It is therefore possible to date this document with some precision. Callixtus II reigned 1119–1124, but Isaac did not take on the role of abbot until 2 October 1123, which allows us to date the document confirming the abbey's privileges between late 1123 and Callixtus's death in 1124. The late Carolingian features evident in the hand of the document are consistent with that date. The privileges page was probably at first unbound, judging from the remaining red wax marks from seals on all four edges of what is now the verso. These seals must have been removed before the map was drawn on the other side, as there is no evidence of the raised seals affecting the very precise curved lines of the map drawing.¹⁸

The reuse of this leaf for the map drawing is not simply evidence of the ever-practical re-employment of vellum sheets to avoid waste: instead, the use of the other side of the privileges page underscores the intense linkage of global and local concerns in the artefact. Jerusalem was, on the one hand, a distant land located at the edge of Outremer; but it was also the Christian stronghold in the East, a place infused with the apocalyptic expectation that unified all members of the church, and inhabited by a range of European national communities within the city walls. Jerusalem was remote, but it was also proximate, especially to the monastic communities of Flanders that were closely linked to the significant military orders, and ducal houses that were deeply involved in the administration of the Latin Kingdom. The hand of the map page is, like that of the privileges page, typical of the local region, bearing many of the same stylistic features (e.g., the dot above the letter 'y'; the ornamental curved terminal 's'). The hand is pre-Gothic miniscule, with some late Carolingian features, and therefore can be dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century (a slightly later date would be possible if we are dealing with an older

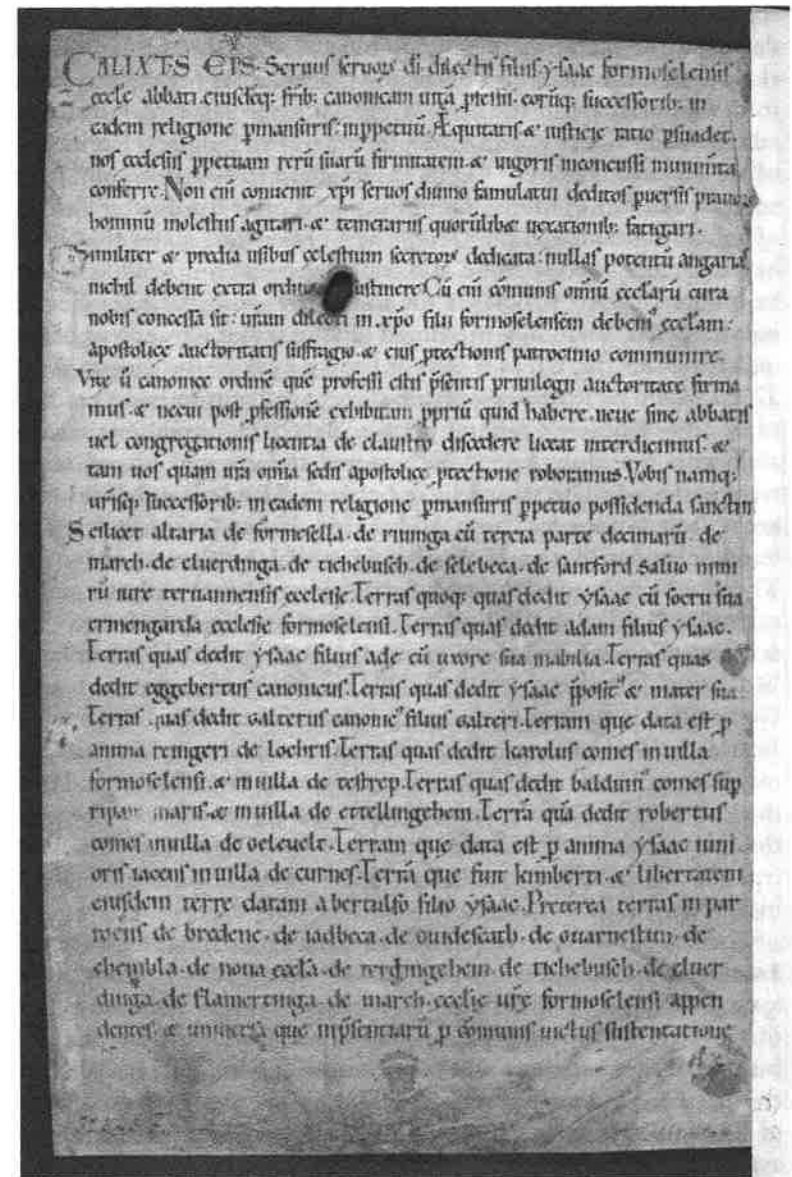


Figure 5.4 List of privileges, Augustinian Abbey of Formosele

scribe whose handwriting features were developed at an earlier date, but the map page bears no obvious evidence of this, such as shakiness of the hand).¹⁹ This would place the date of the map page in the latter years of the abbacy of that same Isaac of Formosele addressed in the privileges document, whose long service in that office – from 2 October 1123 to 13 October 1169 – caused him to be revered as a father of his community long after his death. The list of abbots contained in the *Chronicon Vormeselense* states that Isaac had many books copied out, and copied some in his own hand; that he gathered many privileges for the abbey; and that he collected notable relics, including the Blood of Christ and a fragment of the nails used on the Cross.²⁰ The intricate map of the city in Add. 32343 would have been a suitable accompaniment to Isaac's efforts to build Formosele's reputation as a place where treasures associated with the Holy Land, both sacred objects and sacred texts, were gathered. The strong links between Flanders and Jerusalem are reflected in the leaf from Add. 32343, listing local privileges on one side, and mapping the universal city of Jerusalem on the other. This double nature – local and global – is consistent with the political and social ties that linked the two regions. Early in the twelfth century, Flanders was the domain of Count Robert II – known as 'Robert of Jerusalem' (r. 1093–1111) – who was in the retinue of Godfrey of Boulogne in the early years of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and maintained strong ties to the church through his marriage to Clementia of Burgundy, sister to Pope Callixtus II; in the mid-twelfth century, late in Isaac's abbacy and around the time the map of Add. 32343 was drawn, Count Thierry of Flanders (r. 1128–68) travelled repeatedly to Jerusalem and back to Flanders, in 1156 and 1159, and again in 1164 and 1166.

Formosele was far from alone in having a map image of this sort; a series of related maps, with a shared circular form and many of the same landscape and architectural features, survives from the region of Flanders and northern France, and testifies to the intertwined history of those regions with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in this period. Yet the image in Add. 32343 is unusual in the precision of its geometric form, the level of detail and the intense focus on symmetry and symbolic structure. The circular building forms of Add. 32343, like the curved arches of the major gates and the circumferences of the city walls, were drawn with a compass, with the prick-point at the centre still visible; the streets and the edges of the gates were carefully drawn with a straight edge.²¹ There is an underlying geometry of the city, which conveys the spiritual

meaning embedded in the walls and edifices of the holy sites; at the same time, however, the materiality of the city is also emphasised, in what we might call the 'logic of stones' reiterated throughout the map image and the blocks of text in which it is embedded.

The sacred space of the city of Jerusalem, as illustrated on the map of Add. 32343, was far from simple. On the one hand, the whole city was sacred, a singular site whose unity could be represented in the form of a perfect circle. On the other hand, the city was also filled with a range of sacred locations, which varied not only in terms of greater or lesser sacrality, but in the quality of that sacrality. So many sites within the city were heavily over-written palimpsests of the religious practices observed in and around them. This was particularly true of the many locations that were sacred within both so-called 'Old Testament' and 'New Testament' hermeneutics, but the recent presence of Islamic worship in Jerusalem added a further layer. This complicating factor is particularly apparent in medieval Christian accounts of the Dome of the Rock, or 'Templum Domini'. For Muslims, the presence of the stone marked by the footprint of Muhammad was a reminder of the prophet's *milraj* or 'night journey' to paradise, and a pointer to the divine. For Christians, however, the stone could only be understood as a marker of the pagan idolatry they believed they had displaced from the site through their successful conquest of Jerusalem in 1099.²²

Yet the stone persists, not only in the modern name of the 'Dome of the Rock' but on our diagrammatic map: as we have seen, the Templum Domini features a little drawing of a stone labelled *lapis*. This site is just one manifestation of the curious 'logic of stones' apparent on this diagrammatic map. Stones are everywhere: near the Holy Sepulchre, in the bottom left corner, we find the *lapis scissa* or split stone; the north gate, at the left side of the page, named for Saint Stephen commemorates the site of the death of the first Christian martyr, who was killed by having stones thrown at him, as the inscription at the lower right recounts; the shining white marble stone of Christ's tomb is described in the inscription at the lower left, along with the exact dimensions of the tomb; and a description of the building of the stone walls of the city appears at the upper left. This 'logic of stones' is not so much a testament to the permanence and immutability of the Holy City as it is a reminder of the fundamental ambiguity of every sacred site. The sacred site is both a pointer towards the divine and a material object, dangerously open to being regarded as an idol. The diagrammatic map of Add. 32343 holds in precarious tension

these two aspects of the sacred site – abstract geometrical form and material stone – in a powerful evocation of the Holy City.

The map invokes the materiality of Jerusalem on yet another level, as well. As we have noted, the cityscape includes monumental objects – portals, domed edifices and shrines – but it also includes more mundane urban features, such as the ‘forum rerum venalium’, or food market, and the ‘cambium monete’, or money exchange. The ‘ecclesia latina’, located close to the Holy Sepulchre, did not compete with the glorious edifices of the Temple Mount, or with the Sepulchre itself; instead, it was the place where local Latin Christians came to baptise their children, or solemnise their marriages. This tension between the city as abstract symbol and lived environment comes into sharper relief when we place the diagrammatic map of Add. 32343 into conversation with a prose map of the very late twelfth century, written within about a decade of the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187.²³ Like the map in Add. 32343, the Old French prose ‘Estat de la Cité de Iherusalem,’ or ‘State of the City of Jerusalem’, was produced by European Christians who had inhabited Jerusalem since the First Crusade in 1099, but it also reflects the wistful, even nostalgic perspective of those who remembered the streets of the city they had inhabited as they looked back following their retreat to the citadel of Acre in 1187–89.²⁴ These two texts – the diagrammatic map and the prose map – both walk the reader through the streets of the city, but they do so in different ways. Most obviously, of course, this difference centres on word versus image: the diagrammatic map can be seen synoptically, all at once, while the prose map can be experienced only in a linear fashion, as the reader moves through the text. Yet, as we have seen, the diagrammatic map requires more than a synoptic glance for its meaning to be apparent: we had to make our way around the map, visually exploring its various regions, in order to get a full account of the city. The prose map differs from the visual map in that it dictates the route – or better, the various routes – that must be taken to get a full sense of the cityscape. The visual itinerary one takes to move through the diagrammatic map is up to the reader; the itinerary the reader takes to move through the prose map is set by its anonymous author.

Local knowledge

Even more clearly than the diagrammatic map (which dates from soon after the mid-twelfth century, perhaps based on an earlier

exemplar), the prose map of the ‘City of Jerusalem’ is an artefact of a peculiar time, an in-between time. After the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem became a government in exile, centred after 1192 on the fortified stronghold of Acre. From that vantage point, the French-speaking Latin Christian population recalled the streets of the Holy City that was no longer available to them, both in the form of late twelfth-century street maps of Jerusalem and through prose maps such as this one, a detailed itinerary of the streets of the city told from the vantage point of one who walked those streets. The narrator consistently speaks in the first-person singular (‘I’) – a departure from the plural first-person voice (‘we’) of the rest of the historical chronicle in which the ‘City of Jerusalem’ narrative is embedded. That first-person voice repeatedly invites the reader (addressed as ‘vous’) to imaginatively participate in this nostalgic recreation of a no-longer accessible cityscape. The itinerary of the ‘City of Jerusalem’ text recreates actual walks through Jerusalem, describing passages through winding roads in three of the city’s four quarters. The narrator first passes through the city on a west to east axis, through the citadel gate, winding through the Christian Quarter in the north-west, emerging on the east side of the city onto the Temple Mount and descending to the eastern entrance to the city, at the Golden Gates. He then begins his walk again, this time from the northern gate (called the Gate of St Stephen by the local Christian population), winding through various marketplaces and money exchanges to emerge at the southern Zion Gate to survey the surrounding region just outside the wall of the city. He finally returns once more to the Gate of St Stephen to recount his itinerary through what he calls the ‘Jewry’, in the north-east of the city. The narrator then explains his neglect of the south-western quarter, stating that its Christian inhabitants ‘are not obedient to the law of Rome’ and therefore he will not describe them. This omission corresponds to the medieval maps of Jerusalem, which either leave the south-western quarter blank or dot it with generic triangular house forms, as in Add. 32343.

The ‘City of Jerusalem’ narrative describes interactions with a range of local inhabitants, as the urban landscape was constituted in the years before 1187. These inhabitants include both Christian locals and Christian tourists, as we can see in two passages:

Chapter 5 (west–east path)

Devant la Change tenant la rue des Herbes a une rue que l’en apeloit Mal Cuisinat. En cele rue cuisinoit l’en les viandes as pelerinz que

l'en leur vandoit. Et si i lavoit on les chies, et si aloit l'en de la rue au Sepulcre. Tout au devant de cele rue de Mal Cuisinat avoit une rue que l'en apeloit la rue Couverte, la ou l'en vandoit la draperie, et estoit toute a voute par desore. Et par cele rue aloit l'en au Sepulcre. (p. 496)

(Opposite the Exchange, joining the Street of Plants, was a street known as 'Ill Cooked' [Mal Cuisinat]. This is where they cooked foodstuffs that were then sold to pilgrims, and they also washed heads there. It was reached from Sepulcher Street. Just opposite Ill Cooked Street was another called the Covered Street, where cloth was sold, and this was all vaulted over; it led to the Sepulcher. (p. 16))

Note that in this first description, we find places for visitors to bathe (where they 'washed heads') and to buy prepared foods, however badly cooked they might be. Elsewhere in the text, we find a description of places where 'were sold the palm fronds which palmers take home from the land beyond the sea' (p. 15). These moments provide an indirect glimpse of the tourist population – those who would be in the city only for a short time, on pilgrimage – and of the local merchants and proprietors who catered to those visitors. Elsewhere in the 'City of Jerusalem' narrative, different locations are described that would have been relevant not to tourists but only to locals, including the corn market, different meat markets, fish and cheese markets and so on.

A second passage describes the same region of the city as the first passage does, but following the north–south walk. This second account of the region brings out additional aspects of the local topography and, indirectly, the people who inhabited it:

Chapter 7 (north–south path)

Quant en venoit devant cel Change, si trouvoit on a main destre une rue couverte a voute par ou l'en aloit au moustier del Sepulcre. En cele rue vendoient li Surien leur draperie, et si i faisoit l'en les chandeilles de cire. Devant ces Changes vandoit on le poison. A ces Changes tenoient ces .III. rues qui tenoient aus autres Changes des Latinz. Dont l'une des .III. ruez avoit non rue Couverte, la vandoient li Latin leur draperie, et l'autre rue des Herbes, et la tierce Mal Cuisinat. Par la rue des Herbes aloit on en la rue de Mont Syon et trescopoit en la rue David. (p. 501)

(Coming to this [Syrian] Exchange, you found on the right a covered street, vaulted over, along which people went to the Sepulcher church. Syrians sold their fabrics in this street, and wax candles were made there. Fish was sold outside these Exchanges. Adjacent

to them were three streets leading to the Exchange of the Latins. One was called the Covered Street, where the Latins sold their cloth, the second was the Street of Plants and the third, Ill Cooked Street. The Street of Plants led into Mount Sion Street and cut across the Street of David. (p. 19))

Here we see the same streets, but with an additional level of difference highlighted. Instead of a single exchange, we find two exchanges described; instead of one cloth market, we find two. In each case, one exchange or cloth market belongs to the 'Latins' and one to the 'Syrians'. These terms explicitly refer to language affiliation, but these terms were consistently used in place of labels based on religious identity.²⁵ In other words, religious heterogeneity was referred to only obliquely, replaced by references to language group.

As we have seen, exchanges and cloth markets are identified in the 'City of Jerusalem' text as being either 'Latin' or 'Syrian'. That is, we have group affiliations used to designate not just different religious sites (churches and abbeys) but also secular locations. Beyond these, we also find descriptions of segregated (or, at least, concentrated) neighbourhoods. An example of this appears in a passage from chapter 9:

Chapter 9

Or m'en revient de la rue de Josaphas. Entre la rue de Josaphas et les murz de la cité, a main senestre, avoit rues ausint comme une ville. Et la manoient et demouroient li plus des Surienz dedenz la cité de Jherusalem. Et ces rues apeloit on la Giuverie. En cele Giuverie avoit .I. moustier de sainte Marie Madalegne. (p. 505)

(Now I shall return to Jehosaphat Street. Between this street and the city walls, on the left, were streets forming as it were a town. Most of the Syrians in Jerusalem lived there, and those streets were called the Jewry. In this Jewry was the church of St. Mary Magdalene. (pp. 21–2))

This passage is interesting in two ways: first, in its account of what we might call a 'town within a town', where the Syrian population is concentrated, making a kind of microcosm within the larger metropolis; second, in its description of that town within a town as 'Jewry'. Note that this region is the north-eastern quarter of the city (corresponding to the top left of the schematic map), which is not the Jewish quarter (actually located in the south-east), but what we now refer to as the Muslim quarter. This raises a question: What is the meaning here of the term 'Jewry' ('Giuverie')? The

term appears to be used in this passage to designate a segregated neighbourhood in general – not specifically one inhabited by Jews.²⁶ Since both Jews and Muslims were explicitly prohibited from residence in Jerusalem while it was under Latin Christian rule, it seems most likely that the ‘Jewry’ was inhabited by Arab Christians, who populated the city in increasingly large numbers over the twelfth century.²⁷ While the writer of the prose map states that the inhabitants were ‘Suriens’, it is not clear whether this refers to their ecclesiastical affiliation (Syriac Christian) or to their preferred language (Syriac), since these two groups did not completely overlap.²⁸ To add to the ambiguity, the Latin Christian term ‘Suriens’ can refer either to Syriac or Arabic speakers.²⁹

The narrator does not describe the streets running within the Syrian ‘Jewry’, but only those that mark its borders, and the only site within that region he does mention is the church of Mary Magdalene.³⁰ A similar obliqueness informs his account – or, rather, non-account – of the Armenian quarter. Both the west–east and the north–south walk through the urban landscape avoid any reference to what lies within the south-western quarter. The narrator explains his neglect in this way:

Or vous ai dit et nommé les abaies et les moustierz de Jherusalem par dehorz Jherusalem et par dedenz les rues des Latinz, mes je ne vous ai mie nommé les abaies ne les moustierz des Suriens, ne des Grejoiz, ne des Jacobinz, ne des Boavinz, ne des Nestorins, ne des Herminz, ne des autres manierz de genz qui n'estoient mie obeissanz a la loi de Rome, dont il avoit moustierz et abaies en la cité. Pour ce ne vous veil je mie parler de toutes ces genz que je ai ci en droit nommees, qui n'estoient mie obeissanz a la loi de Rome, si comme l'en disoit. (p. 507)

(Now I have told you the names of the abbeys and churches of Jerusalem outside the city, and those in the streets of the Latins, but I have said nothing at all about the abbeys and churches of the Syrians, nor of the Greeks, Jacobites, Bedouin [Boavinz], Nestorians, Armenians, or any of the other peoples who had churches and abbeys in the city but were not at all obedient to the law of Rome. The reason I have no intention of telling you about all these people that I have just mentioned is that they are said to have never at all have been obedient to the law of Rome. (pp. 22–3, translation modified))

Here, the narrator is explicit in explaining why he omits any description of non-Latin Christians: it is because they are ‘not “obedient to the law of Rome”’. This silence finds its visual

representation in the mid-twelfth-century diagrammatic map of Jerusalem in Add. 32343, where the south-western (lower right) quarter of the city – which corresponds to what is now known as the Armenian quarter – lacks the landmarks of the other three quarters. Instead, it features a generic bit of text on the origins of the city and the various names by which it has been known. Other Jerusalem maps of the period similarly either leave the south-western quarter blank or dot it with abstract triangular house forms. This correspondence between diagrammatic map and prose map shows how even an intricate account of the cityscape could have its blind spot – a region that the author of the map, whether diagrammatic or prose, is determined not to make visible to the reader. We could say that the city includes streets and features that are visible to the map’s reader, and other parts that are carefully kept invisible.

Conclusions

Like the map of Jerusalem in Add. 32343, medieval world maps were based on a symbolic geography where shape (ordinarily circular) and orientation (towards the east) were deeply meaningful, and where the map’s internal symmetries and interrelations revealed deeper sacred truths. While real locations were depicted on world maps – cities such as Rome, Carthage and Babylon; bodies of water such as the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the circling Ocean; mountain ranges, monuments and so on – their mode of depiction was not intended to provide a practical guide to navigation, but rather a meaningful and synoptic image of the orderly nature of divine creation and the civilised world of mankind. The placement of Jerusalem at the centre of the map, sometimes highlighted in red or decorated with a drawing of a church or temple, served to emphasise the city’s pride of place in the spiritual geography of salvation history.

Medieval schematic drawings of the city of Jerusalem also shared in this spiritual geography. One particularly revealing example of this practice appears in an early twelfth-century compilation of short texts by Lambert of Saint-Omer, the *Liber Floridus*³¹ (figure 5.5). In this work, Lambert includes a world map following the conventions outlined above. He also includes, however, *two* other depictions of Jerusalem. Just as the physical city of Jerusalem is depicted on the world map, the heavenly city of Jerusalem is depicted in two additional illustrations. One of these shows the

heavenly Jerusalem 'as a walled city bedecked with jewels'. The other illustration shows, again, the heavenly Jerusalem, this time as a schematic diagram with twelve towers symmetrically occupied by the twelve apostles. As Jay Rubenstein has pointed out, this vision of Jerusalem at once draws upon past images of 'other distant earthly cities' such as 'Rome, Troy, and Alexandria' and also points upward, towards the heavenly Jerusalem that the earthly city merely prefigures.³²

The map in Add. 32343 is significantly different from these examples. While Lambert of Saint-Omer was deeply concerned with the First Crusade and its pivotal role in the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, his view of Jerusalem was – so to speak – at a distance. Jerusalem was for him an ideal, a spiritual destination. For the composer of this map, conversely, Jerusalem is not just an ideal, but a real city. A profound symbolic geography is embedded in this map; but an actual urban environment is also reflected here, with local features embedded within the larger circle of the city. The symbolic geography appears in the microcosmic logic explicated in the first section of this chapter, with the architectural microcosms of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple of the Lord gesturing towards the urban microcosm of the City of Jerusalem, which in turn gestures towards the microcosm of the created world, itself a microcosm of the orderly universe. The actual urban environment is represented here as well, however, in a series of intensely practical buildings, street names and urban features that convey something of the texture of lived experience in Frankish Jerusalem.

The map of Add. 32343 is just one in a constellation of related maps produced in northern France and Flanders in the twelfth century. Two of the most closely related maps were produced very close to Formosele, in the adjoining region of Therouanne (mentioned as an abutting territory on the privileges page of Add. 32343), one in the first half of the twelfth century, copied at Saint-Omer or nearby Saint-Bertin,³³ (Figure 5.5) and one near the end of the century – certainly after 1187 – at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bertin, around 1190–1200.³⁴ A few others survive, as well.³⁵ These maps, seen together as a group, refract the ways in which the Holy City was imagined during the twelfth century, ranging from around 1120 (with the *Liber Floridus*) to shortly after the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187. The maps in this group are clearly related, sharing the same circular form and many of the same specific features. But the map of Add. 32343, while it remains to



Figure 5.5 Map of Jerusalem and its environs

us just in a single leaf, in a random gathering of interesting odds and ends compiled in the nineteenth century, has a uniquely rich story to tell us about the ways in which Jerusalem was imagined in the twelfth century. It was at once an abstract form, reflecting the divine reality above, and a material environment, made of stone and mortar, flowing with money and food, and resounding with the footsteps of its inhabitants.

Notes

- 1 Add. MS 32343 is a curious place for such a map to have wound up, as it seems to be something of a celebrity document collection, with short letters and documents by, among others, Empress Josephine of France, Hans Christian Andersen and Charles Dickens, as well as several musical sheets by Henry Lewes, composer of the music for Milton's *Comus*. It was apparently donated as a collection by Walter Bloomfield; a flyleaf reads, 'Transferred from the Dept. of Prints and Drawings, 26 May 1884'.
The authors would like to thank the AHRC Research Network on *Remembered Places and Invented Traditions: Thinking about the Holy Land in the Late Medieval West*, and its organiser, Anthony Bale, for bringing us together and inspiring this chapter.
- 2 H. Vorholt, 'Studying with maps: Jerusalem and the Holy Land in two thirteenth-century manuscripts', in L. Donkin and H. Vorholt (eds), *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 175 (2012), 163–200 (166). The earliest three examples are all connected with Saint-Omer.
- 3 Such works are often called 'plans' rather than 'maps', implying the presentation of an architectural edifice and thereby constructing the city of Jerusalem as a single, cohesive citadel. There is correspondence between this perspective and the perfectly circular representation in Add. 32343. However, the circular wall marks only the perimeter of the city, not the extent of the geography charted; in fact the *map* spreads over most of the folio, with important sites located beyond the city walls. To the east, for example, we find *Mons gaudii* (Mount Joy, so named by crusaders grateful for a first glimpse of the city at the map's centre), *Bethleem* (Bethlehem) and *Sepulchra rach[eli]* (Tomb of Rachel). We see a valley and a river, hills and mountains, and other cities (in drastically reduced scale, such that they appear smaller than some of the structures within Jerusalem). A similar point is made by Vorholt, 'Studying with maps', p. 165: 'The distinction between maps of Jerusalem and maps of the Holy Land is often artificial. Few maps show exclusively the city of Jerusalem, and some regional maps give more prominence to Jerusalem or show it in greater detail than they do other cities'.
- 4 The Porta Aurea (south-east) has clear abrasions within its opening. Close examination suggests that the city wall originally had continued erroneously across the opening, but was then removed. This suggests the strength of the mapmaker's desire to emphasise the portal's openness.
- 5 D. K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), p. 15, argues that the maps were likely produced between 1250 and 1255.

- A rich study of the production of the maps and the relationship of Matthew's map of Palestine to his maps of Britain can be found in S. Sansone, *Tra cartografia politica e immaginario figurativo: Matthew Paris e l'Iter de Londonio in Terram Sanctam* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2009).
- 6 S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 342.
 - 7 Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, pp. 55–62.
 - 8 D. K. Connolly, 'Imagined pilgrimage in the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris', *Art Bulletin*, 81.4 (December, 1999), 598–622 (598). See also, among others, E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997), p. 14; A. S. Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 31; and M. Botvinick, 'The painting as pilgrimage: traces of a subtext in the work of Campin and his contemporaries', *Art History* 15 (1992), 1–18.
 - 9 The raised structure at the centre of the *lapis* might evoke the Christian belief in a Muslim idol on the site, as recorded by Fulcher of Chartres. See S. C. Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 242–7 (p. 247).
 - 10 J. LeClerq, 'Monachisme et pérégrination du IXe au XIIe siècle', *Studia Monastica*, 3 (1961), 33–52; and G. Constable, 'Opposition to pilgrimage in the Middle Ages', *Studia Gratiana*, 19 (1976), 125–46. See also Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*, pp. 32–9, on Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*, where the sixth-century historian writes: 'tum si vos notitiae nobilis cura flammaverit, habetis Ptolomei codicem, qui sic omnia loca evidentiter expressit, ut eum cunctarum regionum paene incolam fuisse iudicetis, eoque fiat ut uno loco positi, sicut monachos decet, animo percurratis quod quiquorum peregrination plurimo labore collegit' ('if a noble concern for knowledge has set you on fire, you have the work of Ptolemy, who has described all places so clearly that you judge him to have been practically a resident in all regions, and as a result you, who are located in one spot, as it seems for monks, traverse in your minds that which the travel of others has assembled with very great labor'), R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 66, no. 25; translation from Cassiodorus, L. Webber Jones (trans.), *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), p. 125, 'Divine Letters', no. 25. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, p. 14, connects this notion to medieval maps.
 - 11 Cambrai, Centre Culturel, MS 437, fol. 1r, mid-twelfth century. For illustration and brief discussion, see P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of Holy Land* (London: British Library, 2012), p. 23. In discussing Matthew Paris's three maps of Palestine, Harvey, p. 85, notes that the

- square representations of the city are surprising, and possibly connected to the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, with its twelve gates. The Ebstorf Map's square depiction of Jerusalem is explicitly the Heavenly Jerusalem.
- 12 Harvey, *Medieval Maps of Holy Land*, p. 7.
 - 13 For an extensive discussion of the role of the eastward orientation of many medieval maps, see A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 125. This orientation was tied to the representation of the Garden of Eden, believed to be located in the far east, but also to the temporal role of the east. As Scafi, p. 127, summarises, 'What happened in the east, happened first'. See also Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, pp. 48–50; J. R. Short, *The World Through Maps: A History of Cartography* (Abingdon: Firefly Books, 2003), p. 15; and B. L. Gordon, 'Sacred directions, orientation, and the top of the map', *History of Religions*, 10.3 (February 1971), 211–27.
 - 14 Iain MacLeod Higgins suggests that the convention of featuring Jerusalem at the centre of medieval world maps was far from ubiquitous: 'Defining the earth's center in a medieval "multi-text": Jerusalem in the *Book of John Mandeville*', in S. Tomasch and S. Gilles (eds), *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1998), pp. 29–53 (p. 44). For a summary of the centrality of Jerusalem in medieval maps, see Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 50–2. See also Harvey, *Medieval Maps of Holy Land*, p. 28.
 - 15 Harvey, *Medieval Maps of Holy Land*, p. 16
 - 16 Similarly, the north-east quadrant of the map is, like the city as a whole, divided into four quadrants by streets in the shape of the cross. This is, then, another microcosmic echo of the overall design.
 - 17 British Library, 'MISCELLANEOUS: Add MS 32343 A–G: 12th century–19th century', *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*, no date, <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/> (accessed 31 January 2014). We disagree with Pamela Berger, who dates the map to the thirteenth century in *The Crescent on the Temple: The Dome of the Rock as Image of the Ancient Jewish Sanctuary* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 90, figure 5.7.
 - 18 The privileges page was probably at first bound as a recto page that then had the map drawn on its verso, since the map has ornamentation on the left side that looks like it was the outer margin of the page. Later, the page was apparently sliced out from a fairly tight binding, hence the losses to what was the inner edge. This edge is also less straight than the outer edge, as if the cutter began a bit out from the gutter at the top, then pressed more tightly in against it for the bulk of the folio, before slipping back out a bit from the gutter as he approached the lower edge. Further, the upper corner of the outer edge is slightly rounded, suggesting wear from page turning in its original binding. The margins

- of the verso show evidence that the leaf was pasted down at some point, with the recto showing; there are lines of adhesive residue, with whiter fibres still stuck within, especially at the outer edge. The leaf also shows evidence of having been folded in half horizontally. This suggests that the leaf might have been reused in a binding.
- 19 The authors would like to thank Prof. Alexander Andrée for his opinion on the dating of the hands in London, BL, Add. MS 32343 (r and v).
 - 20 *Chronicon Vormeselense*, Recueil de chroniques, chartes et autres documents concernant l'histoire et les antiquités de la Flandre occidentale, publié par la Société d'Émulation de Bruges. Première série: Chroniques des monastères de Flandre (Bruges: C. de Moor, 1847), p. 2.
 - 21 Pinpricks are visible at the central crossing of the streets; 1 mm above the drawing of the stone at the *Templum domini*; and just under the 'I' in 'sepulchrum' at the Holy Sepulchre. A compass was also used to make the curves of the gates, subsequently corrected freehand.
 - 22 For a detailed account of this aspect, see Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 235–47.
 - 23 Jaroslav Folda has dated the prose map to the 1190s or very first years of the thirteenth century. See J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 42–5.
 - 24 'L'Etat de la cité de Iherusalem', in *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, II (Paris: L'Imprimerie nationale, 1859), pp. 489–515. A translation can be found in *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with Part of the Eracles or Acre Text*, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 13–29. The text and translation are subsequently cited in the text by page number.
 - 25 C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 102.
 - 26 This usage is perhaps echoed in the modern usage of 'ghetto', a term originally used to describe a Jewish neighbourhood, but now denoting any minority neighbourhood.
 - 27 E. Kohlberg and B. Z. Kedar, 'A Melkite physician in Frankish Jerusalem and Ayyubid Damascus', pp. 116 and 121; reprinted as entry XII in B. Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993). See also B. Z. Kedar, 'The subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant', pp. 147–9; reprinted as entry XVIII in the same volume. On Jewish, Muslim and Arab Christian populations in the larger region, see R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

- 28 Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 26–7.
- 29 MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*, pp. 102–4.
- 30 Compare Daniel Lord Smail's account of the 'cartographic uncertainty' concerning the Jewish quarter in fourteenth-century Marseille: notarial records for the period provide little evidence for this region, except for the north-eastern corner, which had a substantial Christian population. D. L. Smail, 'The linguistic cartography of property and power in late medieval Marseille', in B. A. Hanawalt and M. Kobińska (eds), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis, MS: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 37–63, esp. p. 44.
- 31 Lambert of Saint-Omer, *Liber Floridus* [facsimile of Ghent University ms.] in A. Derolez (ed.), *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus: codex autographus bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis: auspiciis eiusdem universitatis in commemorationem diei natalis* (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1968). See also A. Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the 'Liber Floridus': A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, Corpus Christianorum Autographa Medii Aevi, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998). An overview of the *Liber Floridus* can be found in Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 75–89.
- 32 'When looking toward Jerusalem from twelfth-century Flanders, what Lambert and these other nameless scribes saw was a glimpse of their own homeland, a bit of God's city mingled together with unthinkably prosperous earthly urban spaces and with hints of other distant earthly cities, too – Rome, Troy, and Alexandria. All of these places served as signposts on humanity's journey [...] to the heavenly Jerusalem'. In Lambert's illustrated Apocalypse, Jerusalem appears almost as a schematic diagram, with twelve towers symmetrically occupied by the twelve Apostles. Jerusalem 'is the destination where all truths, all maps, and all cities would, with the passing of time, become as one'. See J. Rubenstein, 'Heavenly and earthly Jerusalem: The view from twelfth-century Flanders', in B. Kühnel, G. Noga-Banai and H. Vorholt (eds), *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2014), pp. 265–76 (p. 275).
- 33 Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, MS 776, fol. 50v.
- 34 Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F 5, fol. 1r. On the Hague manuscript, see H. Brandhorst, 'The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 76 F 5: A Psalter Fragment?', *Visual Resources*, 19 (2003), 15–25, esp. 23–4; on the illustration of knights at the base of the map, see A. Stones, 'Les Débuts de l'héraldique dans l'illustration des romans Arthuriens', in H. Noyau and M. Pastoureau (eds), *Les Armoriaux* (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1998), pp. 335–420, esp. pp. 403, 412, n. 65; Stones argues for an early thirteenth-century date for the image on 'stylistic grounds'.

- 35 Other maps in this group include Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 9823–4, fol. 157r; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. 2o 56, fol. 135r; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 5129 (in a late twelfth-century manuscript of Robert the Monk's *History of Jerusalem*). Reproductions of the maps found in Stuttgart and Saint-Omer can be found in Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple*, pp. 88–9 (figures 5.5 and 5.6). Note that Berger's dating is not reliable, based on the thirteenth-century date she assigns to London, BL, Add. MS 32343; see Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple*, p. 90 (figure 5.7).