The Map in the Bödkeken Cartulary

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What does an object need to feature to be called a map? Throughout the history of cartography, there has been a range of different responses to this question. In the western world, world maps developed from Roman through medieval to Early Modern times, but some mapping conventions have been invented more than once: portolan maps from the Mediterranean, for instance, use lines between points of reference to facilitate navigation. The Marshall Islands stick charts employ lines, too, using them for a quite different purpose that rooted them in a predominantly oral culture. These two regions are far away from each other, but since the speed of communication was slower in medieval times, simultaneous inventions also came up closer to each other. The document dealt with here likewise can be considered a reinvention of cartography undertaken by individuals who were certainly not experts and might not even have come into contact with other examples of cartography by the time they produced the object in question here. For simplicity’s sake, this object shall be called a “map” here, until its character is

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1 To provide a survey over the literature on this subject published worldwide would justify a publication of its own. Therefore, only two works should be mentioned here. A commonly known work in Germany has been recently reedited: Ute Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten: Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute*. Darmstadt, Primus-Verlag 3rd ed. 2012. Still widely used is the *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie*, ed. Ingrid Kretschmer, Wien: Deuticke 1986.

2 Richard L. Pfleiderer, *Finding their way at the sea. The portolan charts, the cartographers who drew them and the mariners who sailed by them*. Houten: Hes & de Graaf, 2012.

discussed in the closing section. This map (Figure 1) is situated in a Cartulary of the fifteenth century called *Böd decker Kopiar*, and appears on a leaf between other medieval documents. The map covers one folio page, showing the borderline of an estate with various landmarks placed in relation to it. The borderline itself and crossing paths and roads along it are depicted by lines of words and Roman numerals telling the length of the single sections. Likewise, a river is depicted by a line of words. Some forests are shown by hatchings, whereas the Wewelsburg, a local castle, is depicted as a double house.4

![Figure 1 Böddecken Cartulary fol. 382v. Photo: Erzbistumsarchiv Paderborn Handschriften Nr. XLIV "Böd deker Kopiar."](image)

4 In German, *Kopiar* and *Kartular* or *Cartular* may be used synonymously, and, although the book is commonly known as *Böd deker Kopiar*, it will be described as a *cartulary* throughout this article.
I. Where does the Map come from?

The Convent of Böddeken was a Carolingian foundation, originally designed as a house for canonesses. Founded in 836 by the archdeacon St. Meinolf, it soon became an important center of religious life in the immediate environment of Paderborn. The reception of numerous women from the landed gentry and nobility in the region, who often made considerable donations and left legacies to the house, enabled the convent to flourish very quickly. However, monastic discipline declined over the centuries and, together with the economic impact of the Black Death, the convent was subject to general decay. Requests to enter the convent dropped, and, as the need for agricultural products decreased, many peasants gave up their farms. Those retaining their farms could easily demand tax deductions to maintain their estates, as the fines paid in grain were reduced in weight and also brought lower prices at the market.⁵

Therefore, in 1409 the estate was transformed, and canons regular from Zwolle took over the house and led it into a second flowering as one of the convents of the Augustinian congregation of Windesheim. The canons brought in an important economic factor to the monastery: if necessary they worked themselves. As they could show that, for many of the jobs to be done, there would be a member of the monastic house (not necessarily a canon) doing it if a tenant would not, they were able to re-establish discipline and also – maybe not voluntarily – a level of prices and wages amenable to both producers and the convent. Part of the work of the monastery’s consolidation was a careful revision of the vast gifts of the past, which led to the composition of a cartulary denoting all the gifts, benefits, and privileges the monastery had received. This book brought a double benefit: the originals of the charters could be spared from use and their content became more easily accessible, as they were contained in one volume.

Some of the documents were rather lengthy and complicated, so the reason the canons created one of the oldest maps or at least an essay of a map might have grown from their desire to have a graphically supported explanation of one of the cartulary’s entries that has geographical content.

II. Where is the Map recorded?

The Böddeken Cartulary (Hs. 44 and 45), commonly called the Bödeker Kopiar, is a two-volume paper manuscript measuring 38 x 28 cm, written at the monastery during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Containing mainly charter copies, the cartulary also includes various texts dealing with the organization of monastic life, decisions of the general chapter, extracts from the Augustinian rule, and lists of members of the convent. The first writer calls himself Johannes Custodis de Valber, though he is succeeded by many other hands. The map is placed between two entries in the cartulary, containing the copy of a charter or a similar kind of medieval document each. Since it is intimately related to them, a brief description of these texts follows.

II.1 Charter 1482-February-21

The Böddeken Map is based on a description of the borders of a monastic estate. This description is closely linked to two entries in the cartulary. The first one on fol. 381v-382r

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6 Erzbistumsarchiv Paderborn, HS. XLIV-XLV. The examples presented here are all taken from Vol. XLIV.

(CCXCVv-CCXCVIr in prior numbering), bearing the title *de holtgramatu et jure silvatico in tudorpper marka* (on lumbering and forestry land easements in the district of Tudorf), immediately precedes the map and contains a complicated description of the hunting rights and silviculture in the environment of Bödkeken. The layout of this charter is highly formal, even in the copied version: the year of issue, 1482, is given as the incarnation and pontifical year of Sixtus IV, and the day of issue as 21 February and the Vigil of Cathedra Petri. In this charter, three canons regular from Bödkeken delineate, on behalf of their monastery, the rights of lumbering and hunting in the rural districts of the villages of Oberntudorf and Niederntudorf, both situated only four kilometers from the monastery. The bounds are described by their situation next to each other, by their names and the names of their owners. Since this document contains a lot of information about various pieces of land and their adjacent rights, the persons in question are mentioned in the margins (*ius priore; ius brencken;* 381v). The next page, 382v, contains the map itself.

**II.2 Protocol, 19 November 1481**

The facing folio, 383r, contains the document on which the map is based. It is not formally a charter, but the minutes of a boundary inspection dated 19 November 1481. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, Eastern Westfalia and the northern parts of Hessen had become the main region of such inspections, called *Schnadegang.*8 They were carried out on a regular basis to anchor the boundaries of a city or territory in the communicative memory of the local

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8 A profound analysis of this habit is still due. Initial information therefore still must be taken from Josef Lappe, “Der Schnadzug - ein altwestfälischer Rechts- und Volksbrauch,” *Heimatblätter der Roten Erde* 4 (1925), pp. 452-467
population. The day of first participation in the Schnadegang in some rural towns in Westfalia was also the day of granting civil rights to new inhabitants. The author of this document introduces himself as frater Johannes Valbert, the first and main writer of the cartulary. He also walks along the boundaries of the monastery’s territory as he goes out searching the border stones with three other brothers, Johanne plebano seniore, Gebordo de Lippia, Johanne Sassen, donato, stating:

Uppe dat de breve hijr vor geschreven folio lviiij wij arnoldus und folio lix wij olrik debeth verstaen worden und der stene sate und stede de vaster bekant und beholden worden est it gevelle dat de stene verworpen worden. Soe dachte ick frater johannes valbert wo ik sey mochte enkennen unde in sculten unsen nakommen to der ere godes und gemeynenbesten overgeven (383r).

In order to understand the letters written above on fol. lviii by Arnoldus and fol. lix by Olrik Debeth and to make known and maintain the locations of the stones, as it may be that the stones may be removed, I, Brother Johannes Valbert wondered where I could find them and hand them over to our successors in service of the glory of god and the common good.

Although he names his brothers as witnesses, his main interest is to provide a written description of his short trip along the borders of the estate, which might have taken the four canons only one or two days.

Once again, marginal notes attempt to facilitate the reader’s orientation. Most of the ways to the eighteen existing stones are described very briefly. Only the environment of the ninth stone is mentioned in greater detail, since it has been transformed from the eponymous hunting spot for foxes into exploitable agricultural surface. This stone and its environment were taken into question by another document also contained in the cartulary, described in the following section.

The concept of communicative, and cultural memory as forms of collective memory has been introduced by Maurice Halbwachs and amended by Jan and Aleida Assmann. A concise summary is given in Jan Assmann, “Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität,” in (eds.) Jan Assmann and Tonio Hölscher, Kultur und Gedächtnis. Suhrkamp 1988, pp. 9-19.

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II.3 Related document: Charter 1434-April-14

On fol. 125r (LVIII in old numbering) we find a charter (Nr. 225) defining the use and possession of various pieces of land by the monastery of Böddeken and the lords of Brenken. These two documents are linked to each other by those marginal notes. The document was issued on 14 April 1434 and is the first document in this context referring to the piece of land and the border stones that will later come into question. In the course of describing the way along the border stones, we find a footnote symbol referring to one of them in a marginal note. Although this graphical element is the earliest in the cartulary, it is quite probable that it was present neither in the source document nor in its copy in the cartulary, but added only when the map was drawn on fol. 382v.

IV. The Language Used to Describe the Area

The standard method of presenting landscape in a cartulary is with text, and this method is employed in the documents and on the map itself. Therefore, a brief survey of the set of words used to describe the estate will be given. Although it might be insufficient to describe the region covered by the Wewelsburg map, its borders and the ways within, one still has to admit that the way of pointing out directions, in relation to the place of departure, is based on a profound knowledge of the region by those who use the map. This would be the case with the protocol as well. A traveler would know where he would like to go, making the description of directions by points of reference a sensible option.
IV.1 Directions

A very common way of describing both rural and urban environments was to explain how various estates were situated in relation to each other. The necessity of creating mental images from the description rises with its length and complexity. We can find simple versions of such descriptions for the cathedral cloister of Paderborn, where a map of the area may be created by comparing the names of the owners mentioned in documents with the names of their neighbours.\(^\text{10}\)

\(^{10}\) Erzbistumsarchiv Paderborn (EBAP), Bestand Metropolitankapitel, Repertorium Urkunden 1257-1674, n.D.
Descriptions according to cardinal directions hardly ever appear. In this cartulary and thereby in the document collection it was based on, directions are described using points of reference or orientation. For example, the Alme, flowing through the region in question, is represented by a sentence: *hir vluth de alme neder achter der wewelsborch in dat dorp the Graffen* (here the Alme flows down into the Village of Graffeln behind the Wewelsburg River, 382v).

Looking at the descriptions, we see that we can rely on a well-developed system of milestones corresponding to the practice of the Schnadegang, which was presumably established by then. Cities, feudal lords, and private landowners used the system: many crucial crossroads or landmarks are places *daar de steen steyt* (where a stone is set, 125r). They are individually defined as *an dem voschagen vor der strote* (at the street by the fox-garden) or *an dem hagedorn vor der lake* (by the bushes before the pond, 125r). The structure of these place markers is very common, so by linking two objects or one object and a landform configuration, the single stones can be identified definitively. The general descriptions for the landmarks applied is *tekenen* (signs, 125r).

As stated above, the milestones link the two documents in question to each other. On fol. 125r, a footnote sign indicating the beginning of a border description is given. Next to its repetition in the bottom line it says: *hic nominantur sita et loca ubi lapidi situati sunt. Clarius tum infra folio ccxcvii uppe dar* (here the places and situations of the stones are mentioned, more clearly though below on folio ccxxvii). CXXCVII is the old folio number of the map.

**IV.2 Distances**

Distances are described in rods, a unit of length that varied from three to five meters or yards; however, for Eastern Westfalia we can assume four meters or three and a half yards to a
rod. Similar to the *Morgen*, the rod was based on agricultural or silvicultural work: 150 square rods, which were originally taken as units of forest clearance, equalled one *Morgen*, which indicated the size of the piece of land a farmer could plough in half a day. On smaller scales, feet (*vote*, 383r) serve as the next smaller unit.

I mentioned before that marking directions by points of reference implies at least a basic knowledge of the region described. When this system is consecutively applied multiple times, the same applies to distances. For example, when a route description says: *und vort van daer vor der lake rechte neder vor deme wytbusche ment in de rode up dat holt dat ok ghetekent is und dan vort dor holthusen hen weiter an de olde regule to graffen wart* (125r), the distance between those places might only roughly be indicated to those familiar with this region.

**IV.3 Areas and Surfaces**

Quantifying the size of smaller and larger pieces of land was a common practice even in the early and high Middle Ages and units for these quantifications exist for various regions such as currencies do. A common unit for an estate in Westfalia is described as *hove* here (e.g. *ene hove landes* on fol. 125r). Given the places in question, this must roughly be what is called a *manse* or mansion elsewhere, i.e. an estate allowing a whole large family to dwell on it with some excess crops for trade and without any necessity to work in dependency elsewhere.

A major unit of landscape is defined by *marke*, since the text of the charter on fol. 125r mentions *de marken heynrichusen un graffen*. This term appears more often in the two texts, taking other *marken* into account as well. As the words of the texts indicate, this term defines larger pieces of land, consisting of a range of *stucke* or *ackere*. As described in the protocol and the silviculture treaty, most of them seem to have gained their name from some kind of
settlement, at least a mansion. Today, some of those settlements have developed into proper villages, as for instance Tudorf. Graffeln has merged with the village of Wewelsburg and now only gives its name to two streets. Some names persist as the name of a field sector, whereas the settlements themselves are void, and others are completely lost.

In the measurement protocol we can even find an example for the change of place names. The text begins with nine stones being checked. Thereafter, the commission arrives at a narrow piece of forest suitable for hunting foxes (*eyn groit bussch holtes also dat de yeghere den vossen in dem bussche stricke und garne satten, 383r*). Deriving from this quality, the site is named: *und dar kreigh dat holt und stede den namen af propter frequenciam capture vulpiam und so verdragh de breif mir der sate der stene*. Since 1434 however, the forest has been removed, and the protocol mentions that the spot is now a suitable place to raise grains.

**IV.4 Landform Configurations**

A piece of land in general is described as *lande*, as it says *myt deme lande, daer wi twidracht umme hadden* (as for the land we argued about, 125r). These pieces of land then are qualified. Only shortly after, it says *vele stucke und ackere unses landes* (many pieces of land and fields, 125r), disambiguating fields from other forms of agricultural forms of land use. *Stucke* does not yet offer information regarding whether only fields or pastures are meant or if this includes also woods or forests, especially as further down on the leaf one can find the distinction *landes und ackers* (125r) as well. A true definition may be found at the bottom of the leaf, where we find the pair *holtes und weyde* (125r), disambiguating *holt, weyde, and acker* as forest, pasture, and field, respectively, whereas *stuck or land* are more general terms, presumably including wastelands.
Two terms are also used to denote wooded areas. The most frequent is *holte*, and a bit less often, *bussche*. The place for fox hunting, noted above, is a good example of differentiation: *holt* indicates the possibility of an economical exploitation by forestry, whereas *bussche* qualifies a dense and young arboreal area, and perhaps a larger hedgerow. Two different kinds of roads are mentioned: a *stroite* is more elaborate than a *weghe*. Most of the ways are qualified as streets, although it remains unclear whether “street” indicates a solid fundament or the possibility of their being used by carriages in good weather.

**IV.5 Differences in Elevation**

The region described in the Böddeken cartulary is generally hilly. Differences in elevation do exist and provide a descriptive option for surfaces, but these differences are rarely significant. Consequently, the two attributes, *up* and *neder* (both 125r), are sufficient to qualify as differences in elevation. When used in connection with creeks or rivers, these expressions also describe the direction in which they flow, as, for instance, on the map itself: *hir vluth de alme neder achter der wewelsborch in dat dorp tho Graffen* (here the Alme river flows down to the village of Graffe(l)n, 382v).

**IV.6 Preliminary Conclusion**

The set of terms employed for the geographical descriptions in the Böddeken cartulary documents is restricted and precise. Reading the charters, prescriptions and protocols, we first get an impression of a writer with a good command of descriptive language suitable for describing the area represented. In the end, the long line of milestones defining single segments of the route makes following the protocol, in a purely textual way, difficult. Looking at the map's
textual elements, we can see that it has not yet become an independent object, but that it derives from the cartulary text.

By the time the cartulary was formed in the late fifteenth century, more elaborate forms of maps did exist, and maybe the monks might have been aware of them. Unfortunately, we cannot tell if that was the case from a source like a library record, since no such source has been found for the convent. Since this map served a new purpose, however, we do have to consider it as an innovation, a new method of describing possessions.

V. The Map

To illustrate the descriptions in his document, Brother Johannes graphically represented the stones researched during his trip. However, in describing this representation, I would like to start with text again, namely the title he gives to the object: De situatione lapidi iuxta graffen (about the positions of the stones near Graffeln). It is situated at top right side of fol. 382v and followed by pro liberatione a deciam vide liber II° fo. Clviii (for the disentanglement of the tithe see book II, fol. Clviii). This statement refers to a document on fol. 235r (CLVIII in old numbering), where Cord van Graffen the Elder orders the payment of duties on the piece of land in question. This document, however, has nothing to do with borders or milestones. The protocol is younger, and the inclusion of a reference to this charter from 1421 on the page of the map allows it to serve another purpose, as a reference for other elements of the cartulary.

Since all other pages of the cartulary are textual, one would start to read each in the top left corner and follow the text downwards from left to right, line by line. The map, however, is intended to be read from the left side at the very bottom, following the line of milestones. Consequently, it begins describing the territory before mentioning the first stone. To read the
initial phrase, *de grote hagen* (382v), one has to turn the book upside down. This is the only inscription on the map that requires a reader to do this and indicates that the final shape of the map might not have been quite clear to Johannes in the early stages of drawing the map.

**V.1 Directions**

In modern cartography, one would think of a straight street represented by a straight line, but expecting this of the Böddeken cartulary would be an error. Only the remaining settlement names of Graffeln, Wewelsburg and Ahden indicate that the path taken generally goes up the Alme River roughly from Graffeln to Ahden. To know how to work with the map, one has to know where *de grote hagen* (the great garden, 382v) is and which way to take from there. Today it is difficult to state this exactly, since *hagen* as a word for garden still is quite frequently found in this region. In the village of Wewelsburg alone, several streets with the name component (e.g. Vor‘m Hagen, Oberhagen) still exist.

If the reader begins here, he can follow indications for the directions taken from roads or street crossings. Since there is one way to Graffeln and then two ways to the Wewelsburg crossing, we must think of going up the Alme River at first. The road crossing at stone seven is *via van k‘eberg to wewelsburg* (382v). We can read the remaining abbreviation as *kueberg* (the present-day name of a hill and street in the area). The later crossing of a road to Altenböddeken would support this reading and indicates that we turn away from a river for some time, leading even further away since it later touches a road from Altenböddeken to Holthausen.

Relying on the place names given, at the end of this route we must return to the starting point, since it says *hir vluth de alme neder achter der wewelsborch in dat dorp the Graffen* (here the Alme flows down into the Village of Graffeln behind the Wewelsburg River) (382v). Near
the last milestones it says: *de nedersten regule went an den groten hagen*, referring to the grote *hagen* at which we commenced.

This suggests that, if we follow the descriptions written on it, the map will take us on a circular course, which seems unlikely according to the design of the map: its general shape does not correspond completely to the landscape. The distance between Ahden and Graffeln, as shown on the right side of the page, does not correspond to the distance the roads from the various villages would have had to one another.

The graphical composition of the map raises questions, too. Starting on the bottom left side the description of the road moves upwards, turning right after the ninth stone. Then, a diamond with a cross on top, like a *signe-de-renvoi*, indicates to start further left at the bottom again. Therefore, the large black bar on the left side of the page must not be seen as part of the map, but as a separation between the right and the left part of it. In the present context this system of page separation is not very elaborate. By the time this map was drawn, more refined versions of this technique did exist as, for instance, the page separations in the maps of Matthew Paris. \(^1^1\) At the bottom of the page, the turn and stones nine and ten are repeated and the way goes up again, forming a bow after stone thirteen. After stone sixteen, there would have been enough room to continue with one or two more stones, but the way turns right again. After Stone 18, the numerical numbering ends, and the course of the river is depicted in writing from top to bottom. Separated from the numbered stones, at the bottom right side of the page, there are three additional stones only included in the alphanumerical numbering, reaching from *a* to *x*, whereas

those with Arabic numerals only run from 1 to 18. Generally, stones are marked by a triangle. When they are situated at crossroads, the triangle is replaced by a square.

It seems that the turns in the course of the way are not accidental. If the writer just wanted to represent the consecutive stones, he could have done so with regular reading lines. So we must think of the turns in the direction of writing indicating turns on the way. The turn between the marks of stone 2 and 3 on the map might have been necessary to put up the abbreviated expression via van boddeken to graffeln (street from Böddeken to Graffeln). Also, the turn after stone 9 on top of the page was necessary, because there was no room for more writing or lines. This is not the case, though, concerning the inbound turn after the mark of stone 13 and the 90° turn after stone 16, where plenty space for at least one part of the road was available.

Furthermore, in the first description of the environment on fol. 125r – considered insufficient by brother Johannes Valbert-- says und vort van daer vor der lake rechte neder vor deme wytbusche ment in de rode up dat holt, dat ok ghetekent is (and [the way goes] further on in front of the pond right down before the willows called “in the clearance” to the forest, which is signposted, too; 125r). Rechte neder in this context is just as ambiguous as right down in English, covering the meanings of “turning right” and “going on.” The situation is even clearer for stone 9, where it says van deme negeden stone herde wy uns tor siden ut na der richtern hand xiii roden lank (from the ninth stone we turned to the right hand side for fourteen rods, 383r). At the tenth stone, according to the map, there should be only the sharp left turn. But also this turn is described as a right one: van deme mete wy recht hen weder upwert na dem lohove lxxvii roden (from this one, turning right and up again towards the Lohof estate we measured 77 rods, 383r). Either the directions were mixed up here or the person measuring took a position facing backwards and thereby thought of another right turn. This is interesting, since the words forming the route
sections always follow the direction described in the protocol and never turn or face backwards.\textsuperscript{12} Nevertheless these examples show that turning directions in the map indicate turning directions in reality, too.

\textit{V.2 Distances}

The indications of distances are as simple as the indication of directions are complicated. Units of distance are regularly defined by the positions of milestones on the map. The distance between the stones is not represented commensurate to reality, but by its literal representation in letters and Roman numerals. Descriptions vertically aligned to these words and numbers either describe ways, paths, or roads, or types of landscapes. In doing so, the length of the route sections follows the length of its written representation and is not proportional.\textsuperscript{13}

\textit{V.3 Areas and Surfaces}

The map does not tell us much about the size of the pieces of land. Defining borders does not seem to have been of special interest to the author of the map. Two areas, \textit{de baggenloen} and \textit{dat holt}, are encircled and hatched, while two others, \textit{de stroit} and \textit{de voshage}, are encircled without hatchings. According to the map, the length of the borders of the pieces of land given as 650 rods, or approximately 2,700 meters. If the borders encircle a closed piece of land, the

\textsuperscript{12} Another function similar to Matthew Paris’s maps. Cf. Connolly 2009, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{13} Matthew Paris did the opposite in his maps expanding words to an estimated length of a route sections. Cf. Connolly 2009, pp. 57-58.
enclosure might be up to 26,400 square rods (0.456km²) in size. The sequence of places to which crossing roads lead, however, makes it rather improbable that there was a round course here.

V.4 Landform Configurations

The hatchings mentioned above also refer to landform configurations. Whereas *de baggenloen* is a name, *dat holt* clearly identifies a forest; *de stroit* indicates a street, though *de voshage* is a name again. The route taken is represented by the lines of words containing the
measure of its length from milestone to milestone, while the roads and street crossings are indicated by lines of words giving their directions. Finally, the Alme River is depicted by a line of words indicating the direction of its flow.

Within this context, the visual representation of the Wewelsburg is special, in a way. It is shown as two adjacent houses, not as the triangular castle built in the early seventeenth century, but as the older fortified houses belonging to different lords that once stood on the same spot. These two estates were much smaller than the triangular Wewelsburg, as it has appeared since the sixteenth-century. Regarding the level of semiotic abstraction, at first glance the sketch of the Wewelsburg appears to be quite representational. We have lines of text for streets and rivers, triangles or squares for milestones, hatchings for forests. For most of these items, there are several examples, whereas the Wewelsburg is singular and, as the estate is situated on a rocky promontory above the Alme River, functions as a landmark in the environment. It is not sure whether its representation mirrors the actual outward appearance of the castle. It is also possible that the double house stands for the two fortified buildings on the promontory.

V.5 Differences in Elevation

Apart from the mentioning neder for the direction of the flow of the Alme River, no indication of differences in elevation is given on the map.

V.6 Preliminary Conclusion

The graphical representation of streets, the river and landform configurations, as we know them from other maps or cartographic descriptions, here is quite incomplete. The main problem is that an elaborate representation of directions is more or less completely missing. From the
crossroads mentioned, one can hardly reconstruct exactly where the described route passed. For users of the cartulary, the map was nevertheless of great advantage. Authors and readers of the border protocol would know the area, and the map provides a handy sketch of the indicated milestones, their distances from one another, and their approximate positions.

It was sixty years before the region was again subjected to cartographic efforts. In her book on Wewer, Isa von Elverfeldt has published a map of the environment that is at least sixty years older than the one from the cartulary dated between 1546 and 1595.\footnote{Isa Freifrau von Elverfeld, \textit{Wewer - Mein Heimatbuch}. Wewer 2011.} It comes from the archives of the Imbsen Family contained in the Archives of Landsberg-Velen and is kept in Münster today.\footnote{Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abt. Münster, Sign. 47.745, Magazin 4a, früher Sign. 14.390.} This map vacillates between two- and three-dimensional representations of the area of Wewer, and its more naturalistic depictions provide realistic impressions of the shapes and sizes of houses and mills, shown as colored, roughly perspective views along with the arms of the Alme and Lohne rivers that pass by the estate drawn in a two-dimensional plan view.

\section*{VI. Communicative and Cultural Memory: Possible Reasons for Writing and Drawing}

One reason for the creation of the 1481 protocol was that the communicative knowledge of the distances given had been lost. What was taken as a defined measure in 1434 had to be re-assessed. When the earlier document was created, it was neither precise about the number of stones nor about their exact positions or the distances between them. It seems then, that there was a shared sense about the border between the parties of the Augustinian convent and the lords of Brenken. Forty-seven years later this knowledge had been lost, a process described as loss of a communicative memory by Jan Assmann.\footnote{Assmann 1988, pp. 10-11.} The building of a communicative memory derives

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from a community, i.e. a family, neighbourhood, or, a convent. It gets lost through generations: Assmann calculates eighty years or three or four generations. Taking into account that Augustinians do not enter the convent at birth, a monastic generation is shorter than a familial one, and so 47 years may mean three or four generations. In the case recorded here, the knowledge about the borders and the borderstones was lost, not having been transformed into what Assmann calls cultural memory. Yet this transfer must not be mixed up with that from orality to literacy. Important features of cultural memory are reconstructive references for a group, a defined form of organization and liability. In civic communities, this is all featured in the *Schnadegang* carried out on a regular basis. In a convent, let alone in one newly adopted by brothers from another cultural environment (Low Countries), there is no tradition of a practice like that, and thereby knowledge established provisionally five years after the adaptation of Böddeken was lost (until 1481). So, in this case, cultural memory as a durable and liable form meant, not only the shift from orality to literacy, but also the development of an applicable form of graphical representation resulting in an object emerging from text into other forms of visual representation.

**VII. The Map – an Imagetext?**

The object dealt with has been called a ‘map’ throughout this article. However, after its description, we should turn to the question whether it actually *is* a map or not. I would like to do this, employing notions introduced by W.J.T. Mitchell. Mitchell has introduced a theory of the image built upon a foundation reaching from classical philosophy to modern scientific

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criticism.\textsuperscript{19} Although his focus is not on cartography, Mitchell’s approach seems to be applicable nonetheless. Mitchell argues that, “The domains of word and image are like two countries that speak different languages but that have a long history of mutual migration, cultural exchange, and other forms of intercourse.”\textsuperscript{20} With this cartulary map, it seems as if we are at a very early stage of mapmaking, when depiction was still emerging from description. Generally speaking, this development has been multidirectional. Looking at other examples of early cartography, one would argue that an image is fed with encoded signs to provide more information on its surface. (\textbf{Figure 4}) The drawing by Brother Johannes Valbert works the other way round: as the series of borderstones requires too much abstraction to visualize as a border, a more visual technique is introduced by a writer, starting to carry out visualization by means of writing.

Referring to Plato’s \textit{Cratylus}, Michell takes the following as one of the most enduring accounts of the word/image difference:

\begin{quote}
It might seem, then, that the difference between words and images is not built into our sensory apparatus or inherent in different kinds of symbolic forms, but has to do with different ways of coordinating signs with what they stand for. Images, we might say, signify by virtue of resemblance or imitation: the image of the tree looks like a tree. Words, by contrast, are arbitrary signs that signify by virtue of custom or convention.\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

On that scale, only the most necessary parts of the information are represented by the cartulary map’s images: the sequence of the stones, that they are positioned along a route and, partly, directions. The distances between the stones and the names of places are represented by words

\textsuperscript{20} Mitchell, 2003, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{21} Mitchell, 2003, p. 56.
Figure 4 Modern rendition of Map in the Böddecken Cartulary. Diagram: author.
and not by images. Finally, Mitchell sees the word/image difference as a dialectical trope:

It is a trope or figurative condensation of a whole set of relations and distinctions, that crops up in aesthetics, semiotics, accounts of perception, cognition and communication, and analyses of media (which are characteristically “mixed” forms, “imagetexts” that combine words and images).  

The sketch made for the measurement protocol may be called an imagetext, since it is, in Mitchell’s sense, “mixed” media. Deriving from a textual environment, this object incorporates graphical elements containing information, designed to be more legible than pure texts. These graphical elements are representations of physical objects (forests, milestones, a castle), indicate their sequence and the one of crossroads, and make initial attempts at providing directions.

Conclusion

I introduced the object on fol. 382v in the Böddeken Cartulary mainly by introducing the source itself, only taking three models or examples, respectively, into account for comparison. With these three it should be possible to triangulate this object in the vast landscape of late-medieval map making.

Comparing it to the maps of Matthew Paris, it becomes obvious that here a similar, serial form of graphical support for the description of a route emerges from the necessity of supporting the legibility of a written document. If the writer of the Cartulary did have knowledge of map making, he was certainly not as skilled or inventive as Matthew Paris. Nonetheless, judging from the appearance of the object, it is possible that he had some indirect knowledge of the map by word of mouth.

Adapting this object to the model of communicative and cultural memory established by Halbwachs and Assmann, we may think of it as a visual form of cultural memory that became

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necessary due to the incapability of other means of commemoration. Since the border stones were not visited on a regular and formal basis, that might have prevented brushwood from hiding and covering them, the design of the map is a shift from orality (or inprecise recordings) to exact literacies and beyond. The object condenses all information from the protocol necessary to retrieve the stones, leaving out those that were interesting only in terms of the use of the land on its sides or its owners. Thinking of Mitchell’s “imagetext,” one has to admit that the object contains information fitting exactly into this category, especially the main route constructed from sections of written words. It is so even more when we think of an imagetext as a combination of words and images. And this would then strengthen a hypothesis of this object not being a map, but an imagetext. This, however, would be too easy. What we find here are clearly efforts to visualize distances, but even more directions and relative positions. These are techniques also applied by Paris and other medieval map designers. And therefore I would call this a map, too, in a contemporary sense. “Narrative map” seems a suitable designation, if one is needed.