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Before and After Nation States: Premodern Maps and the European Union
Policy of Regionalism

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Declaration

I, Annelien Beatrix Norbertus Ramakers, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “Before and After Nation States: Premodern Maps and the European Union Policy of Regionalism”, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed

20/07/2011
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<td>AER</td>
<td>Assembly of European Regions</td>
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<td>DG</td>
<td>Directorate General</td>
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<td>ESPON</td>
<td>European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>EUR-Lex</td>
<td>Official Journal of the European Union legal texts</td>
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<td>INTERACT</td>
<td>INTERREG Animation, Cooperation and Transfer</td>
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<td>INTERREG</td>
<td>Community initiative which aims to stimulate interregional cooperation</td>
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<td>LAU</td>
<td>Local Administrative Units</td>
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<td>NUTS</td>
<td>Nomenclature Territorial Units for Statistics</td>
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<td>SCNF</td>
<td>Société des Chemins Nationale de fer Français</td>
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<td>URBACT</td>
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Introduction

Regional development has been important in the policies of the European Union from quite an early stage. Already in the late 1960s the then president of the European Union Jean Rey stressed the importance of the regions:

We believe there is still a great deal to do in the Community in the field of regional policy. The possibilities have perhaps not been properly realised or acted on. In particular, we need to give a fresh impetus to regional policy formulated at the same level of the Community and, I should point out, with regular cooperation by Member States’ governments, which is essential if it is to succeed.¹

Currently the European Union focuses on the development of the regions via cohesion funds and European Territorial Cooperation objectives and has developed several different types of regions eligible for funding: NUTS regions, cross-border cooperation programmes, transnational cooperation programmes and interregional cooperation programmes. These regions are not necessarily historical or even cultural constructs; they can be considered as products of the regionalisation processes by European Union.² Due to European integration regional development has been altered and it is no longer a matter between the state and the region; regions that are a part of the European Union have more space for development and can tap into regional development funds provided by the European Union.³ These regions exist within the framework of the European Union as well as the member states. According to Paasi borders of sub-state and supra-state entities are more flexible than those of fixed nation states.⁴ This means that the regions in the European Union are flexible and can expand or decrease in size, and as will be explained later, regions can move up and down in the NUTS system according to their size. It also shows that fixed borders on the European regional level are not as important as on a nation state level. In order to provide comprehensive information to its audience the European Union has created several maps to display the regions. These

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cartographic representations of the regions by the European Union can be found on the website of the Directorate General (DG) of regional policy information.

The importance of cartographic representation for the European Union can easily be overlooked and it is unclear to what extent the maps of regional development are known to the European audience. Within political theory and cartography Europe itself can be considered as a region and postmodern cartographers might claim that Europe is a culturally constructed geographical classification; Europe can be legitimately called a world region, a place where several countries have historical and cultural bonds. On top of that the member states of the European Union can also be considered to be regions within the framework of the Union. However, this dissertation will examine the cartographic representation of regional development by the European Union on a sub-national and international European level.

The current developments of the regions within the European Union and the cartographic representations of the regions can be compared to medievalist forms of governance and medieval maps of Europe and regions of Europe. The resemblance of governance has already been developed by several scholars, for example Bull and Friedrichs, in a theory called new medievalism. Governance did not come from a single entity, but a variety of entities had some level of power and was forced to share this power to a certain extent. This interpretation of governance will be used throughout this dissertation. The cartographic resemblance between modern European Union regional maps and their medieval counterparts has not been examined yet. Hence this topic is terra incognita to a certain extent. A single definition of what a region is is not available. Many different types of regions exit, both now and in the Middle Ages. On top of that the manners in which regions, as well as Europe itself, are represented on maps vary greatly both now and in the Middle Ages. It is not easy to directly compare modern European Union maps and medieval maps due to the different cultural backgrounds in which these maps were and are created. However, there are definite resemblances between modern European Union regional maps and medieval maps depicting Europe or parts of Europe. Thus the following thesis statement will be examined in the dissertation below: the policies of the European Union for developing its regions echo medievalist forms of governance; it is creating a sense of region and centre, this leads to a re-evaluation of the categorisation of member states. The European Union manages this not only by giving preference to regions, but also by providing convincing visual and cartographic representation for its inhabitants.

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The first chapter of this dissertation will discuss the definitions of European regions and will elaborate on the political theory of new medievalism. On top of that several maps concerning European regions by the European Union and related institutes will be examined. The second chapter will continue with an examination of medieval regions and medieval maps focussing on Europe or regions of Europe. The third and last chapter will first discuss several European Union medievalisms in relation to the Carolingian Empire and Charlemagne. Comparisons between the European Union and the Carolingian Empire are regularly made due to similarities concerning the area once a part of the Carolingian Empire and now part of the European Union. The chapter will continue with setting out several features of new cartographic medievalism and compare several maps discussed in the first and second chapter.
1. European Union Regionalism and Cartographic Representation

This chapter will deal solely with European Union regions, regionalism and the cartographic representations of the regions by the European Union. The chapter will first explore the definitions of regions and regionalism and the political theory of new medievalism; then continue with the objectives, regional divisions and source documents of the European Union concerning regional policy. The last part of this chapter examines the cartographic representations of the regions by the European Union and related institutions and the importance of these representations. Most maps referred to in this chapter can be found in Appendix A.

1.1. Definitions of Regions, Regionalism and Regionalisation in the EU

Under the regional policy structures the European Union has divided its member states into many different regions. However, despite the amount of literature which has been written about regionalism in the European Union, there is no clear definition of what the word region means for the European Union. Unfortunately there is no clear and straightforward definition provided on the European Union website of regional policy to show what a region constitutes of in the eyes of the Union. However, scholar Fitjar explains in his book *The Rise of Regionalism* that it is difficult to define what a region is because the term “region” has different meanings across state borders, or even within the same state; regions can be conceived as economical, political and/or cultural territories, and Fitjar immediately comes to the conclusion “that quite often people do not know – or at least do not agree on – what a region is.”

Because Fitjar wishes to examine the rise of regional political elites opposing the central state authority rather than examine the support of the European Union for the development of its regions, his idea of what a region consists of cannot be used here. However, Camiz acknowledges that the term region may refer to slightly different structures,

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6 This can be deduced from the variety of manners used to define regions in the literature used here. Fitjar uses criteria such as “economic” or “cultural” entities (p. 2) while ultimately using regional political governments and sub-state authorities on meso-level as his criteria for a region (p. 3). R. Scully and R. Wyn Jones use several different definitions that all relate to a different type of sub-national regional governance (pp. 6-8). On an international level Camiz and Käkönen (in *Europe and the New Role of the Regions*), among others, discuss transnational programmes; cross-border programmes are discussed by Markus Perkmann. On top of that the European Union itself uses various classifications concerning the various regions existent in the Union. All these definitions are correct, thus there is no single definition of what a region in Europe and the European Union must consist of.

although these structures all refer to a somewhat similar meaning, namely to a homogenous territory of some sort, be this administrative, scientific, and economical or a part of a geographical identity.8

Thus, depending on how regions are defined, many different regions can be constructed where they previously did not exist as such, as is for example the case with many “Euroregions” consisting of cross-border and transnational cooperation programs between at least two countries, one of which having to be a member state of the European Union. The importance of regional development for the European Union lies in the integration process of member states into the European Union. As nation states decline in power upon entering the European Union, regions and regionalism manage to push for more power and self-regulation. The European Union supports the regions, either cross-border or sub-state, in their quest for more power. Käkönen states the following concerning the European Union support of the regions: “A (…) regional strategy could be the goal to create a framework for a post-nation-state political space, which would improve local level transnational connections within the region.”9

The development of regions is for a large part forced ahead by regionalism: a striving for regional autonomy and emphasizing regional distinctiveness; however, regionalism can lead to conflicts on the distribution of power in a nation state, and the concept can overlap with nationalism and even separatism.10 Regionalisation can be defined as the division of an area, for example a state, into regions and the transfer of administrative as well as political responsibilities to those regions.11 Thus regionalism present in a region can lead to more administrative powers being transferred from the state to the region (a regionalisation process) which will in turn become a more self-ruled and more clearly defined region than before. The European Union is trying to influence its member states to develop and support their regions. The European Union itself also has projects running to support and develop the regions.

11 Ibid.
1.1.1. Old and New Medievalism and the Regions in the EU

The idea to compare the new developments of regionalisation and power in the European Union to the political situation of Europe in the Middle Ages is not new. Hedley Bull, an Australian professor of International Affairs, was a supporter of a theory termed as new medievalism. New medievalism draws the attention to modern political developments and certain features of the medieval political systems.\(^\text{12}\) Aspects of old medievalism in Europe are related to the fact that there was no single ruler who had supreme authority over a population or territory, because authority was always shared, either with vassals or the Pope, and political authority was organised via complex hierarchies.\(^\text{13}\) The complex power-sharing relationships and their distribution throughout a kingdom, realm or region rather than in the centre, promoted stability; however, this also made the centre quite weak, and thus monarchs did not hold absolute powers over their realm.\(^\text{14}\) New medievalism takes the current weakening of the European states and the implications of the weakening as a base for comparison.

Member states of the European Union have seen a decline in the formerly exclusive loyalty of their inhabitants. Hedley Bull has identified five major trends to support the idea of new medievalism, two of which are of particular importance here: Regional integration and the disintegration of existing states; both trends involve the uncertainty of where actual power is located due to the multi-faceted power divisions.\(^\text{15}\) According to Gamble, for scholar Robert Cox new medievalism also finds expression in the manner in which cities, rather than entire countries, are once again centres of interaction and exchange; as well as in the manner in which provinces and other sub-national regions are growing, whereas the powers of the states are declining.\(^\text{16}\) These comments can be related to the analysis of scholar Josiah Cox Russell whose definition of medieval regions will be discussed in the next chapter: cities were the most important centres in the Middle Ages, and usually a region was associated with a city rather than the other way around.

For critics the idea of new medievalism does not fit with the current world order. The world looks different now than it did in the Middle Ages, and new medievalism is not only used to analyse the current developments in the European Union, but also in Asia and America; on top of that there are still countries within Europe who do not fit in the new

\(^\text{13}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{14}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{15}\) Ibid., p. 31.
\(^\text{16}\) Ibid., p. 32.
medievalism approach. Nonetheless for the discussion in this dissertation the theory of new medievalism is very useful, because it is only used in relation to European Union regionalism.

However, even Bull disposed of his idea again, and the theory of new medievalism was left aside for a while. Jörg Friedrichs, a scholar from the University of Munich, aims to rehabilitate the theory; he warns that the use of new medievalism will be creative, and will thus not aim at a phenomenological understanding of the Middle Ages. Friedrichs also redefines Hedley Bull’s statement of new medievalism:

The concept was defined in the 1970’s by Hedley Bull as a system of overlapping authority and multiple loyalty. An intuitive problem with this definition is that the system it describes is bound to be highly unstable. In historical reality however, the socio-political decentralisation of the Middle Ages was balanced by the dual universalism of Empire and Church. This observation leads to us to a redefinition of medievalism as a system of overlapping authority and multiple loyalty, held together by a duality competing universalistic claims.

However, Friedrichs uses the definition of new medievalism to analyse global developments of globalisation on the one hand and localisation on the other. Nonetheless Friedrichs, by reassessing the five criteria set out by Bull, concludes that the theory of new medievalism is well suited for analysing the current situation in the European Union and that there is impressive evidence that the European Union as well as the many other parts of the world are moving towards a new medievalist form of governance. According to the theory of old medievalism kingdoms in the Middle Ages did not have a centre; however, the European Union does have a centre, namely Brussels. The member states on the other hand are losing their status as centre, and become an intermediate player in the European arena.

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19 Ibid., p. 482.
20 Ibid., p. 484.
1.2. European Union Regional Objectives and Source Documents

Currently the construction of the European Union is still based on Charles de Gaulle’s “Europe des Nations” principle.\textsuperscript{21} It essentially means that nation states form the base of the European Union. This is not always easy as the member states and the European Union do not always agree with each other on matters such as legislation or integration. Instead of forcing the member states to develop a European feeling with their inhabitants, the European Union is trying to take a more bottom-up approach. The European Union is supporting regional development on national and international levels, but does not force regions to cooperate. The European Union looks to counteract the effects of nation-building by member states.\textsuperscript{22} When a nation state starts to be decentralised it has less power, strengthens local autonomy in various ways, and it provides new possibilities for (inter)regional cooperation.\textsuperscript{23} By emphasizing the role of the regions the European Union is changing the political field on the European level. Instead of a two-way political field, the member states and the European Union, it has created a multilevel political field in which regional actors are placed next to or even above member states; this creates complex decision making patterns which can differ across various fields of interest.\textsuperscript{24} Although more complexity is not something the European Union needs, it is useful to place less importance on the member states and more on the regions; on top of that regions might feel that they are taken more seriously on a European level than on their national levels thus enhancing the importance of the European Union.

1.2.1 Objectives

The European Union is actively searching to equalize regions and member states across Europe. Equal income and job opportunities throughout Europe will enlarge a European feeling of belonging. The European Union has developed several objectives to develop its regions. The objectives are stated on the European Commission website for Regional Policy. These three objectives include Convergence, Regional Competiveness and Employment, and European Territorial Cooperation:


\textsuperscript{22} Rune Dahl Fitjar. \textit{The Rise of Regionalism: Causes of regional mobilization in Western Europe}. (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), p. 23.


The Convergence objective is to promote growth-enhancing conditions and factors leading to real convergence for the least-developed Member States and regions. (...) The Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective aims at strengthening competitiveness and attractiveness, as well as employment, through a two-fold approach. First, development programmes will help regions to anticipate and promote economic change through innovation and the promotion of the knowledge society, entrepreneurship, the protection of the environment, and the improvement of their accessibility. Second, more and better jobs will be supported by adapting the workforce and by investing in human resources. (...) The European Territorial Co-operation objective will strengthen cross-border co-operation through joint local and regional initiatives, transnational co-operation aiming at integrated territorial development, and interregional co-operation and exchange of experience.25

The objective descriptions do not solely mention the development of regions; the extract quoted above also includes the term member states. Member states are thus included in the development of their regions and cross-border cooperation. Obviously member states cannot be left out of the discussion concerning regional development. Much of the regional development instigated by the European Union takes place on national levels and hence the member states play an important role in the development as well. However, it is clear that the objectives are mainly meant for regions. It is both a top-down and a bottom-up strategy: regions on national levels and across borders need to be developed and supported and this is done by providing subsidies to regional projects, however, international regions must “find each other” and apply for funding themselves. The equalisation of the European regions is done from an economical rather than a humanitarian point of view; the development of closer connections among countries with for example similar water ways and trade routes, i.e. the British Channel or the Rhine river, will mean that goods will flow even quicker from one country to another and mobility is increased. Equalising the regions, and together with them the member states, hopefully means that the economical strength of Europe will increase in the long run.

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1.2.2. NUTS Regions

In order to make regional development on a national level a little more comprehensive the European Union has (sub-)divided national regions into the NUTS system. NUTS is a shorthand for “nomenclature of territorial units for statistics” and aims to classify the economic territory of the European Union. The purpose of these classifications is three-fold: to collect, develop and harmonize EU regional statistics; socio-economic analysis; and the framing of EU regional policies. The NUTS classification has three levels of subdivision: NUTS 1, major socio-economic regions; NUTS 2, basic regions for the application of regional policy; and NUTS 3, small regions for specific diagnosis. Regional policies are framed along the NUTS classifications; for example, regions that are eligible for the regional policy structural funds must come from the NUTS 2 division. In total the list includes 97 regions at NUTS 1 level, 271 at NUTS 2 and 1,303 regions at NUTS 3 level. That makes a grand total of 1,671 regions under the current NUTS system.

The NUTS classification has three principles: the first principle defines the minimum and maximum population for a NUTS region: for example a NUTS 3 region holds a minimum of 150,000 inhabitants and a maximum of 800,000 inhabitants; when the population of a region grows to more than 800,000, the region will be classified as a NUTS 2 region etc. The second and third principles are that NUTS favours administrative divisions and general geographical units. What exactly these general geographical units consist of does not become clear on the website. On top of the three NUTS regional classifications, there are another two Local Administrative Units (LAU), formerly known as NUTS 4 and NUTS 5; these LAU consist mainly of municipalities or similar administrative units in member states.

Eurostat provides a list containing all the member states and how member states call their NUTS and LAU regions in their national languages. Not every member state has a NUTS 1 region, and nor does every member state have a LAU 1 region.

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27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
The NUTS system is based on member state territory and does not include any cross-border or transnational regions, it was developed for the European Union so that statistical data could be provided; it was set up during the 1970’s and the data on the regions is updated every three years and member states themselves are required to replace historical data according to the new regional breakdown by NUTS.\(^{35}\) There are no necessary relationships between the NUTS regions and the manner in which regions are perceived in member states themselves; on top of that in several cases the boundaries of NUTS 1 regions correspond with the boundaries of smaller member states and this is even the case with several NUTS 2 regions.\(^{36}\) This of course leads again to the question what a region consists of in order to be denominated as such. The NUTS regions do not always overlap with administrative regions in the member states, and regions within member states that regard themselves as distinctive regions are not always regarded as such by the European Union.\(^{37}\)

1.2.3. Cross-border and Transnational Programmes

The Cohesion policy of the European Union encourages all regions and cities to work together across borders; the European Territorial Cooperation Objective covers three types of programmes: Cross-border cooperation programmes (52 programmes, also known as “Euregions” or “Euroregions”); transnational cooperation programmes (13 programmes); and the interregional cooperation programme as well as three networking programmes.\(^{38}\) The cross-border programmes work along national borders of member states, whereas the transnational programmes cover larger areas of cooperation, often due to geographical similarities such as the North Sea region or the Alpine region.\(^{39}\) The interregional programmes are cooperation projects among various regions concerning specific topics, for example education or health care. These projects are set up by regional actors themselves, for


\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 7.


\(^{39}\) Ibid.
example hospitals or secondary schools, and the best of these projects can be admitted to the fast track network in order to receive extra funding.40

The cross-border cooperation programmes deal with a varied list of topics and are mainly aimed at the development of employment, infrastructure and natural resources; the intention is that these cross-border cooperation programmes build bridges between different bordering regions concerning topics of importance in the respective regions.41 Examples of cross-border cooperation programmes are the Meuse-Rhine region, a cooperation programme among regions in Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium; and the “Deux Mers” region, a cooperation programme among regions in Belgium, the Netherlands, France and Great Britain. The projects of these cross-border programmes are developed by the “Euroregions” themselves. This means that they are in charge and that selected representatives of the national regions must cooperate, develop and agree on projects and matters that involve the “Euroregion”.

As mentioned above the transnational programmes cover larger areas and aim to add a large important European dimension to regional development. The transnational programmes can involve entire countries; in many cases the division resembles a geographic denomination such as South-East Europe or East-Central Europe. In the case of the transnational programmes the aims and projects are developed by member states, or divisions of member states; according to the website the transnational cooperation allows for “meaningful work between regions from several European Union member states.”42

The interregional programme tries to establish links between NUTS regions via three networking programmes, the programmes, called INTERREG, URBACT and INTERACT, are aimed at supporting, training and bringing together regions.43 The first two programmes together form the main vehicle for the European Union initiative “regions for economic change”; this initiative wants to spread the best practices for economic development used by European regions.44 The best regions may even compete for the RegioStars award in the fast track network programme. The INTERACT programme is specifically created to assist territorial cooperation programmes and provides support, training and advice concerning

44 Ibid.
European Union legislation, policy development and several other areas.\textsuperscript{45} Thus the interregional cooperation programmes are aimed at exchanging knowledge among regions. The European Union provides two maps in relation to the interregional cooperation programmes. These maps only display the fast track networks. Unfortunately other maps showing a complete overview of interregional cooperation programmes are unavailable.

All the international cooperation programmes of the European Union are established by regions, regional actors or by member states. However, the maps presenting these regions are all created by the European Union.

\textbf{1.2.4. Source Documents}

The most important document for the current Directorate General (DG) Regional Policy is the new Treaty, the Treaty of Lisbon. Treaty Article 174 states the long term objectives of the Cohesion Policy and thus regional development. The following text is taken from Article 174 and is provided by the DG Regional Policy in the 2010 Management Plan:

\begin{quote}
In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Union shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic, social and territorial cohesion. In particular, the Union shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions. Among the regions concerned, particular attention shall be paid to rural areas, areas affected by industrial transition, and regions which suffer from severe and permanent natural or demographic handicaps such as the northernmost regions with very low population density and island, cross-border and mountain regions.\textsuperscript{46}
\end{quote}

These long term objectives form the base for the objectives mentioned earlier in this chapter. Every seven years the European Union renews the funding for the regional programmes. The current funding term runs until 2013. These objectives form the base for regional development policies. Several other source documents for the development of the regions can be identified. These include the EUR-Lex (the database for European law) legislation


documents supporting the development of the regions. Important documents concerning regional development include: the “Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 concerning the European grouping of territorial cooperation (EGTC)”; the “Council Regulation of 11 July 2006 laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation”; and the “Council Regulation of 11 July 2006 establishing a Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation”. These documents are renewed every seven years, due to the seven year cycle of policies and funding mentioned above. The documents are redrafted every seven years to fit the new policies and re-establish how much money goes to which institutions and projects. The Cohesion policy is also re-drafted every seven years, and the NUTS regions are also regularly updated. The updates are also included in the new regulations.

In order to understand how much the European citizens are aware of European regional policy the Eurobarometer has recently conducted a research concerning the topic. As it turned out 65 per cent of the respondents had not heard of European Union co-financed projects, and European-wide citizens in Eastern Europe (40%-100%) were more aware of European Union funded projects than citizens in Western Europe (0%-39%). Respondents of fourteen out of twenty-seven member states also thought the level of decision making should be at a regional level instead of the national level; however, only seven out of twenty seven member states would prefer a direct European Union decision making over the national decision making. Concerning the awareness of cross-border cooperation programmes approximately 79 per cent of the respondents were fully unaware of the existence of these programmes; the percentages varied between 44 per cent in Malta and a staggering 90 per cent in Italy. However, respondents in every country answered positively to the questions whether more funds for cross-border cooperation programmes should be available. Similar percentages are presented concerning the unawareness of the Baltic Sea transnational cooperation programme (on average 64 per cent); other transnational cooperation programmes were not part of the survey.

From this survey it becomes clear that the population in the European Union is quite unaware of the regional development by the European Union. There is however, one problem with the Eurobarometer outcomes concerning the cross-border cooperation programmes,

49 Ibid., p. 34.
50 Ibid., pp. 36-37.
51 Ibid., p. 37.
namely the manifold of names given to cross-border cooperation programmes. When a citizen is used to hearing about a “Euroregion” or “Euregion” and is suddenly asked whether she or he is aware of cross-border cooperation programmes, the awareness that a “Euroregion” is the same as a cross-border region is not necessarily present. Nonetheless it must be concluded that very few people are aware of the existence of regional policies and regional development supported and developed by the European Union.

1.3. Cartographic Visualisation of EU Regionalisation and its Importance
This topic is to a certain extent terra incognita. There is little research material available on the importance of cartographic visualisation of regions for the European Union. If so many people in the European Union are unaware of the existence of cross-border cooperation programmes, than it is safe to conclude that even less people are aware of the existence of maps concerning these regions. In the following part of the chapter, maps provided by the European Union and other institutions will be analysed, the second chapter the same will be done with medieval maps.

1.3.1. European Union Maps on the Regional Policy Info Website
In order to provide an image of its regions the European Union provides the European audience with a great deal of maps that are quite easily found on the regional policy website. Other institutions related to the European Union also provide maps of Europe, for example ESPON and the AER. Descriptions of these two institutions and their maps can be found below.

The European Union has many different maps related to the regionalisation of the regions. These maps vary from NUTS-region maps to cross-border cooperation and transnational cooperation maps. All the map types can be found on the regional policy website of the European Commission. The maps are usually constructed in such a way that member states are less visible than the regions. This is naturally so due to the regional focus of the maps. The maps visualise the regions with bright colours, which is especially true for the

52 When the outcomes of the Eurobarometer concerning the low awareness of the existence of cross-border cooperation programmes are considered it is logical to assume that the awareness of the maps of these programmes, as well as the NUTS maps and the transnational cooperation maps, is even lower, especially considering that these maps are only available on the European Union Regional Policy website.
cross-border cooperation programmes maps at the website. The palette of colours used to present the regions, whether national, cross-border or transnational, is varied and attractive. The regions of the European Union look like a happy bunch of territorial units celebrating their European Union stature.54

It is clear that the maps presented by the European Union concerning the regions use colouring to lure the viewer to view these maps and invite the viewer to linger and examine the maps in greater detail. The construction of the cross-border cooperation programmes website works particularly well in this respect due to the exploratory interactive functions build-in on the maps. The cross-border region map of the European Union enables the reader to click on a particular country on the map and explore how many cross-border activities the respective country is part of. As an example Sweden will be examined. When Sweden is accessed on the European map, the country pops up and, once again using bright and inviting colours, all the Swedish cross-border cooperation programmes are displayed on the screen. The map of Sweden shows six dots, these dots can all be accessed separately. When the viewer decides to have a look at the most northern cross-border cooperation region a new map appears with a close-up map of that particular cross-border region. As it turns out this region (as could already be seen on the cross-border Sweden map) is a cross-border region constituting of the northernmost parts of Sweden, Finland and Norway (hence this cross-border region will also appear on the Finland map). The map shows the Nord cross-border cooperation programme. This map, like the previous ones, also shows various colours marking even more specific regions in this cross-border cooperation programme. On the right side of the map a list of useful links can be accessed, one of these links leads to a programme summary of the Nord cross-border region and the viewer can read some success stories of this cross-border region, although there were no success stories available under this link at time of research. Every single cross-border region can be discovered in this manner. Once found, the maps are easy to view and the information provided is clear and relatively concise. Depending on the country, information is available in the native language (in this case Swedish) as well as English, German and French. Thus theoretically nearly all inhabitants of the European Union are able to learn about the region.

Other maps concerning regional cooperation across borders are listed under transnational cooperation programmes. These programs include overseas territories that are currently still parts of member states, for example the “Caribbean” operational programme led by France, with Guyana being an “EU27 cooperation area”. These transnational programmes are based on shared geographical characteristics, for example the North Sea Region or the Alpine Region, thus the countries involved and working together do not necessarily have to be direct neighbours of one another. These maps are similar to the cross-border cooperation maps, but are less interactive. Nonetheless information about the programmes and their projects about almost all regions can be found in the same way as the cross-border regions. Every country involved in a transnational cooperation programme can access the information in his or her language.

The NUTS maps of Europe and its regions are also to be found on this section of the Regional Policy Info website. These maps are just as interactive as the maps discussed above, and use clear colours to show which regions need more development. The regions presented on these maps are mostly national regions, and the national subdivisions are followed too. However, it might occur that within one region, for example Germany’s Bundesland Lower Saxony, several NUTS sub-regions belong to the “Competitiveness and Employment” objective whereas other regions belong to the “Convergence” objective. The map clearly displays this by using blue colours for the first objective and red colours for the “Convergence” objective. In this manner the divisions in the European Union become clear at first sight.

Other maps providing information about regions are those maps linked to interregional cooperation and the networking programmes. Two maps relating to these network programmes can be found. These maps are the INTERREG and URBACT fast track maps. The maps display regions that are part of the Fast Track Network. As explained earlier under point 1.2.3. these regions are interregional in their exchange of information and good practices with regions outside their own countries. Regions throughout Europe with similar interests can team up and exchange experiences and learn from each other. The Fast Track label is given to regions that are doing particularly well. Like the other maps discussed above, two maps of the INTERREG and URBACT regions with the Fast Track label are provided on the Regional Policy website. These maps provide information on which regions are working

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together on which themes set out by the European Commission. The maps are in no way interactive and unfortunately little information is provided with the maps.\footnote{European Union, 1995-2011. Regions for Economic Change – Exchanging Good Practice Between Europe’s Regions. \url{http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/cooperation/interregional/ecochange/ftn_en.cfm?nmenu=9} (accessed 13/05/2011).} There is no information regarding the content of the specific regional programmes nor information regarding the good practices the regions are exchanging. However, links to the specific programmes in which regions are participating are available, although these websites are not part of the European Union website. Underneath the maps lists with programmes the regions are participating in are provided. It is therefore possible to learn more about the regional programmes currently running, but in order to do this the viewer must leave the European Union website. However, what is really missing is a map displaying all the interregional cooperation programmes. An interactive and explanatory map like the map of the cross-border operation programmes would provide a clear overview and easier access to information concerning this type of regional development. A likely reason for not having a map like this on the European Union website is probably due to the character of the interregional programmes. The programmes can be developed among many different actors across Europe, small and large, thus the programmes can be extremely manifold, to the point where a map does not suffice for the portrayal anymore.

1.3.2. ESPON Maps

The European Union is not the only institute producing regional maps of European Union regions. ESPON (European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion), an applied research programme aimed at supporting the formulation of territorial development policies in Europe, provides the European Union with comparable information, evidence and analysis, and wishes to improve the knowledge of territorial development and cohesion in European Union regions.\footnote{European Union, 1995-2011. Regional Policy Info – Operational Programme ESPON. 26/05/2011 \url{http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details_new.cfm?gv_PAY=EU&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=1257&LAN=7&gv_per=2&gv_defl=7} (accessed 26/05/2011).} Regions are also referred to as “territorial units” by ESPON and the European Union alike. ESPON has started to publish a so-called map of the month on its website. These maps of the month are based on the NUTS 3 regions and provide a different thematic focus every month. The themes are based on one of the topics listed by the European Union. These maps provide the viewer with information on the regions that are ahead of the rest and those regions in need of more development and support in certain areas. These maps
are also constructed with colours, providing an image of the European Union regions that resembles a complex but fascinating mosaic whole. The image on the home page of the website already gives an indication of this. Just like the cross-border cooperation maps described above, the viewer is also invited to subject the map to scrupulous examination. These maps, as mentioned before, deal with specific themes. Thus, by using statistics, the viewer gets to know every region minutely on every topic available. Because many of the maps provide the information for the NUTS 3 regions, the information regarding the topics becomes very precise, for even the smallest region receives a percentage. The maps are interactive in that they can be enlarged to a certain extend. However, unlike the cross-border maps the ESPON maps do not go down to the lowest possible level. The NUTS regions are not provided with names and thus it becomes difficult to precisely determine what the prospects of specific regions are in this particular area of development.

The most striking feature of the maps is their mosaic display of Europe’s regions. They stand in contrast to the cross-border cooperation maps discussed above and the NUTS interregional maps used by the European Union: the ESPON maps make Europe look like a whole, whereas the European Union maps portray regions that are seemingly independent from one another. The mosaic display of the NUTS 3 regions on the ESPON maps is the reason for this. Despite the many colourings and the small sized regions displayed on these maps, the European Union looks like a completed jigsaw puzzle. Individual pieces do not make much sense, but as soon as the pieces find their place in the puzzle it becomes a logical puzzle piece that needs to be there in order to see the larger picture. Of course the aforementioned mosaic display is a matter of interpretation. Someone unfamiliar with the regional divisions by the European Union might wonder what small portions of the European Union these maps are portraying. The information might be confusing when in the same country different regions are provided with different colours and percentages, even though the regions in the country might be part of the same province, county or Bundesland.

1.3.3. Tabula Regionum Europæ Map by the AER
Another institution related to European Union is the AER (Assembly of the European Regions). The AER is an independent network consisting of various national regions across Europe. Its mission is to promote (cross-)regional activity and regional influence on a European level. The AER has adopted a “Declaration of Regionalism”:

(...) this declaration defines the norms and criteria for regional development and fixes the different steps to be undertaken so that the region can be acknowledged as a fully-fledged political entity. There is currently a wide range of different regional structures in Europe. The "Declaration" has not chosen to promote a specific type of regionalism but sets out a general framework within which the regions may develop.\textsuperscript{60}

The AER publishes a so-called \textit{Tabula Regionum Europæ}. The map, according to the AER, is supposed to represent the “progress so far of regionalisation in wider Europe.”\textsuperscript{61} This map also shows a Europe in which regions are more prominently visible than European nation states. However, borders of nation states are still visible and nations are provided with their abbreviations as well. The regions shown on the map all stay within their national borders. This division portrays neither NUTS regions nor cross-border cooperation programs. It only portrays national provinces, \textit{Länder} or counties. The map is thus based on national administrative and political regional entities. The statement that the map shows the progress so far of regionalisation in Europe does not really come across and thus misses its intention. The reason why it does not indicate the progress of regionalisation is due to the fact that the viewer is not provided with any comparable material. The map cannot be contrasted to previous maps provided by the AER, nor does the colouring indicate any statistical evidence that regionalisation has increased or decreased. As mentioned above, the map only provides the viewer with established regions within national borders, whether the amount of regions have increased, or decreased, is impossible to say. The colours are plentiful and form a wide palette without giving the viewer a chance to linger or pause. The map looks quite wild due to the many colourings, this is especially so in countries that constitute of many small regions. The map shows the European national regions and at the side of the map the regions are listed per nation. On top of that the \textit{Tabula} also portrays countries and their regions that are currently not part of the European Union. The map comes in two sizes: one small and one large version of the map can be accessed. On the small map hardly any region can be deducted due to its tiny size; however, the large format does not make it easier to grasp the map’s purpose and meaning. Even the large version is not large enough to be able to read the

\textsuperscript{60} Assembly of European Regions (AER) 1999-2004. \url{http://www.aer.eu/publications/aer-declaration-on-regionalism.html} (accessed on 10/05/2011).

names of the regions, especially not those regions in smaller countries. Unfortunately in this
sense the AER and its Tabula Regionum Europæ miss the goal in trying to provide the
European public with an informative portrayal of the European national regions. Nonetheless
it is the only European map portraying national regions and at the same time naming them
(although the names can hardly be read), providing the European public with an overview of
every single national region existing on the European continent.

The AER does strongly press the need for decentralisation and actively pursues studies
supporting decentralisation. However, the most medievalist feature of the map is its name.
The Latin name Tabula Regionum Europæ, would have had an air of authority in the ears of a
medieval audience. However, it is unlikely that this is also the case with a modern audience.
The use of Latin has diminished over the years, and it is quite possible that the name of the
Tabula Regionum Europæ sounds arcane rather than authoritative to a modern European ear.

1.3.4. The Importance of Mapping the Regions
Maps are mediums that are easier accessible for people than charters, plans, laws, strategies
and excel sheets. The maps described above are therefore important tools, for the European
Union as well as the other two institutions, to provide the inhabitants of the Union with
information that might have gone unnoticed otherwise. Almost the entire population of the
European Union is in one way or another living in either a cross-border, transnational or
interregional region; this becomes clear when the maps of the cross-border, transnational and
interregional programmes are reviewed. When all the regions portrayed on the maps would be
placed on one and the same map it would become clear that a large part of the area covered by
the European Union would be a part of at least one cooperation programme. This means that
many people, at least those who are aware that they are living in a cross-border, transnational,
or interregional programme might have the need to learn more about their own region. The
interactive and inviting maps provided via the websites of the European Union are a useful
tool to gather information. As mentioned before the maps are attractive and invite the viewer
to explore. This is important because the more a viewer explores the maps, the more the
viewer will learn about regional development, whether this be on a national, cross-border,
transnational or interregional level. Nonetheless it is unclear how many people are actually
aware of the existence of these maps, and how far the influence of the maps extends.

However, the “cutting up” of countries into regions that did not necessarily exist
before they were provided with the label “region” does not always fair well in every member
state. Regionalisation is not always perceived as positive. Britain provides a good example: the British press, notably the boulevard newspaper Daily Mail, writes that the Conservatives are weary of the European Union’s regional policy and heads a 2008 article “EU wipes England of the map”. The article continues to write that the Tories are rallying against Prime Minister Gordon Brown because he is hooking up with Brussels to create a United Europe and subsequently wiping England of the map. Another example can be found with scholar Käkönen who, writing about the Baltic Sea region and the German foreign policy strategies, wonders whether Germany might be aiming at regaining power in those regions it lost after the Third Reich fell. Although these are only two examples, it is evident that suspicion and animosity rooted in the history of Europe run deep. The cartographic information provided by the European Union does not necessarily change this. However, the extra information provided with the maps explains the focal points of the regions, for example the development of intensifying trade between Britain and its neighbours across the Channel and the North Sea. Although the Daily Mail article and Käkönen acknowledge the underlying reasons for regionalisation, this does not seem to relieve the tension. That is exactly the reason why these maps are so important, even when it is likely that the percentage of people who are aware of the existence of these maps is even lower than the percentage of people aware of the existence of regional policy and development.

The European Union must continue to focus on the regions and regional development and portray this on its maps combined with continuous information with the reasons why “cutting up” Europe into smaller pieces is a smart thing to do. On a smaller, regional scale people can cooperate better than on a larger scale, the European Union itself is proof of this. Communication is easier on a smaller scale and projects might be put into place faster, despite the fact that three or more languages are spoken in the region. The cartographic information provided by the European Union websites at least provides information concerning the regions and their cooperation with other regions. The maps show a kind of cooperation that is relatively new in the history of Europe: it is no more than logical that people are suspicious. The maps can help to take some of the suspicions away by continuously showing the developments of the regions and what cross-border or interregional cooperation can accomplish.

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1.4. Chapter Conclusion: European Union Regionalism and Cartographic Representation

The European Union is a strong supporter of regionalisation. Hence it is not strange to see that the website of the European Union concerning Regional Policy provides a great deal of information concerning the topic. In political theory a theory called new medievalism argues that the current developments in the European Union creatively recreate a medievalist style of governance with decentralised power of the states and multi-faceted power divisions within the European Union. Hence it is uncertain who really is in charge in the European Union. The portrayal of regions rather than the member states by the European Union fits with this theory as well. The cartographic representations of the regions by the European Union and related institutions as ESPON and the AER are manifold. The maps all display a regional Europe instead of a Europe of nations and do not explicitly have a political focus. The definitions of European regions and regionalism are manifold and differ per region and whether the region is sub-national or international. The European Union has divided all national regions in the NUTS system, and on top of the NUTS regions the European Union lists 52 cross-border and 13 transnational cooperation programmes. All of these regional divisions have been provided with maps on the European Regional Policy website. On top of that other maps, such as the maps provided by ESPON, also display the European regions; in the case of ESPON these are the NUTS 3 regions. The Tabula of the AER does not display the NUTS regions but portrays all the national regions as known in the member states. Regardless which regions are portrayed, on the maps the regions are alive and welcoming, and the regionalisation of Europe seems to be well underway. The maps present a picture of Europe without nation states, or rather with nation states that have far less influence on topics. Member states are less important than the regions, at least in this section of European Union policy.

This chapter focussed on the importance of regions for the European Union and the cartographic representation of the regions used by the European Union and related institutions. The following chapter will focus on the medieval importance of Europe and its regions, as well as the use of cartographic representation related to Europe and medieval regions. As was stated at the beginning of this chapter the governance of the European Union echoes medievalist forms of governance, by examining medieval cartographic representations in the second chapter and a comparison of European Union and medieval maps in the third it will be possible to analyse whether a new cartographic medievalism can be deduced.
2. Medieval European Regionalism and Cartographic Representation

This chapter will deal with medieval European Regionalism and medieval cartographic representation of Europe and regions. The first part will examine medieval European regions and regionalism. The second part will deal with the various medieval cartographic representations of the world, Europe and European regions. Many of the maps discussed in this chapter can be found in Appendix B.

2.1. Medieval European Regions and Regionalism

Etymologically the word region in English had a variety of meanings, ranging from division to realm, kingdom or country; the most important definition of a region for this thesis is “any large portion of the earth's surface considered as defined or distinguished from adjacent areas in some way, as by culture, government, topography, climate, fauna or flora, etc.”; the above definitions all date back to the fourteenth century. In Dutch the word region has mainly denominated a particular area or province. However, just like it is not easy to define modern regions, neither is it an easy task to define medieval regions. For scholar Josiah Cox Russell, quoting R.E. Dickinson, a medieval region can in many respects be considered similar to our modern regions: “a geographical unit of economic and social activity and organisation.”, however Russell writes that “compared to society today, medieval society was much simpler in respect to land and water, but it was already complicated by human competition for economic opportunities.” He continues to explain that natural boundaries, for example rivers or mountain ranges were important for regional borders. However, French human geographers developed different bases for the development of regions, which they named pays; namely that certain geographical areas shared common characteristics, such as a dialect, social customs, eating habits or specific building patterns; these characteristics have led to divisions of society along regional, instead of political, lines. On top of the division along the lines of dialects or eating habits, regional development can also be defined by so-called “core-areas.” These core-areas are considered to be the forerunners of modern states and grew out of the accretion of germinal areas; the expansion of these core-areas usually followed the

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65 Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam. 2007. Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands Online, entry “regio”, (accessed 04/05/11).
67 Ibid., p. 18.
68 Ibid.
route on which least resistance was encountered and where language or tradition were similar to that of the conqueror.\textsuperscript{69} Often these core-areas were economical centres, and Russell names regions after important cities associated with them, indicating the importance of the city for the region. For Russell it is clear that “nations on the map of western Europe today resemble either a region or a group of regions more than the political framework of the fourteenth century. (...) Regionalism thus preceded nationalism in creating widespread loyalties based upon physiographic and demographic conditions.”\textsuperscript{70}

Chris Wickham, in his book \textit{The Inheritance of Rome: a History of Europe From 400 to 1000}, states that it is bad history to claim that during the early Middle Ages a sense of nation could already be detected; there is a lack of evidence concerning this topic and thus nationalistic readings are common; however, they are false readings of history all the same.\textsuperscript{71} He continues to write that there was not a sense of nationality nor was there a European identity; nonetheless he admits that the idea of identity or belonging may have existed, but that this does not mean that these ideas were valid for populations of entire countries as we know them today, hence it is impossible to speak of national identities.\textsuperscript{72} The statements of Cox Russell that medieval regions reflect our modern European nation states are, at least from Wickham’s view, incorrect. However, Wickham too uses country names (for example Britain, Italy and Spain) to denote several of the regions he is discussing. It seems that it is important to name modern countries of which medieval kingdoms and regions were part, in order to give the reader an idea of where to place the regions and kingdoms. It is difficult to denote what a medieval region consisted of, and whether medieval regions developed into our modern nation states or whether this is wishful thinking. In the case of France, discussed later in this chapter, the idea of a sense of identity or belonging does seem to play a role, although I am not convinced that this sense of belonging already possesses the idea of a French identity. From this it is possible to conclude that just like our modern difficulties to define what exactly a region is; it is just as difficult to define what a medieval region constituted of. It is likely that the best solution here is to examine all the cases individually without making any generalisations.

Europe in the Middle Ages looked and functioned somewhat differently politically, although the political situation then can to some extent be compared to the political situation of the European Union now, as has been discussed in the previous chapter. Thus it is

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., p. 247.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p. 4-5.
important to note that the medieval maps focus on different matters than the modern European Union maps of regional development. As has been shown in the first chapter, in the current European Union mapping the regions is mainly done for various development purposes; medieval maps do not portray clear development purposes, however, business purposes were certainly reasons behind several of the maps discussed below. Several types of maps will be discussed. The maps regard the European continent and the regions in a variety of manners. The medieval world maps, the mappæmundi, will be used to examine how Europe is portrayed continental-wise; the portolan charts, sea-faring maps, will be used to explain southern European sea-faring trading routes; and the regional maps will look at how certain regions promote themselves and how regional maps are used to create an overview of a realm.

2.2. Cartographic Representations of Europe in the Middle Ages

There is no clear definition of what a medieval map looks like. Often, in the case of mappæmundi, maps portray a certain image of the world that regularly includes the portrayal of monsters and odd looking creatures, myths and legends, as well as a portrayal of certain regions in Europe; however, the mappæmundi do not portray the world in a geographically correct manner. Portolan charts, by contrast, display the world from a seafaring point of view and focus on a detailed and almost perfect image of the Mediterranean coast lines and harbours. Local and regional maps can serve political interests and focus on portraying a region as strong and powerful on the one hand; on the other they may also include myths and monsters. Regional maps usually date from a later point in the Middle Ages, and sometimes it is not 100 per cent clear whether a map belongs to a medieval mode of thinking, a renaissance mode of thinking or whether the map is hovering somewhere in between, as is the case with Olaus Magnus’ Carta Marina, or the late portolan charts.

Medieval maps of Europe were infrequently made. There are relatively few surviving maps; it is assumed that larger quantities were produced and surviving maps are yet to be discovered. P.D.A. Harvey puts it as follows: “Medieval Europe was in fact a society that knew little of maps. It was not just that the regular use of maps and plans for government or business was confined to a very few particular areas and crafts. The idea of drawing a casual sketch map to show some topographical relationship (…) was one that seldom occurred to people in the Middle Ages.” In the Middle Ages it was normal to record topographical

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74 Ibid., p. 464.
relationships between cities and towns, or any other topographical item of importance, in writing. Thus little can be said about local maps stemming from for example Spain, Italy or France. From the surviving medieval maps at our disposal today it can be assumed that maps were not used for daily purposes. Harley and Woodward divide the surviving medieval maps into four different sections: The mappæmundi (world maps), portolan charts, local and regional maps, and celestial maps. The first three are important for this dissertation and will be examined here.

2.2.1. The Mappæmundi

Medieval world maps are relatively common compared to other maps surviving from the Middle Ages and some 1,100 still exist. There are various classifications for these world maps. Some divide the world into three continents, the so-called T-O maps; into four continents, the so-called quadripartite map; or along zonal lines, the so-called zonal maps. The first two types are oriented towards the east; hence the east is placed at the upper side of the map. The zonal maps are oriented towards the north. The first two types of mappæmundi are the most important for this thesis.

On both T-O and Quadripartite maps the eastward orientation is important from a religious point of view: Paradise was a place on Earth and thought to lie in the east; hence it was the most important place on earth and situated at the top. Jerusalem is often situated in the centre of these maps. The T-O map is named after the T and O shape of the world. The T is clearly visible in the form of the rivers, whereas the O is formed by the ocean surrounding all of the continents. The Quadripartite map owes its name to the four continents on the map. Africa, Europe and Asia are joined by a fourth continent, the Antipodes. The Antipodes was the continent on which most strange creatures and monsters were situated. The first of these maps were simply drawn, showing not much more than a T-O or Quadripartite structure. However, the maps started to receive more embellishments. A tradition developed, mainly in Oxford and Paris, to create large wall maps representing the world; the most famous of these maps are the Hereford map (ca. 1290) in Hereford, England, and the Ebstorf map (ca. 1234) in Ebstorf, Germany. Because these maps did not necessarily serve a geographical purpose

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77 Ibid., p. 307 and 311.
of knowing which city lay where exactly, the maps are, from a geographical point of view incorrect, even where Europe is concerned.

Where Asia, Africa and the Antipodes were swarmed with animals, odd looking creatures and monsters, Europe is often shown with some more geographical care, although the image of Europe is still far away from the image as we know it today. The manner in which Europe is represented on the mappamundi varies per map. This is mainly due to the various places in which these maps where constructed. For the discussion of Europe portrayed on the mappamundi, two of the most famous will be examined: the Ebstorf map and the Hereford map. The Evesham map will also be discussed and compared to a local map of the French territories.

2.2.1.1. Germany on the Ebstorf Map

On the Ebstorf map (ca. 1234) Europe is clearly recognisable as the continent with the largest amount of towns: thirty-eight. Germany is given the largest amount of towns of any European country on the map: nine.\textsuperscript{78} Many of the German towns are located in the current state of Lower Saxony (although Bremen is currently its own state). However, four of the towns are not located in or near the state of Lower Saxony, notably: Reichenau, an island in the Bodensee at the German-Swiss border in the state of Baden-Württemberg; Nürnberg, a city in the state of Bayern; Magdeburg a town in the state of Saxony-Anhalt; and Cologne, a city in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. The other towns are located at a reasonable distance of Ebstorf. This shows that the mapmaker had some idea of his surroundings while making the map. Of course the distances between the towns are not to scale, but the importance of the German territories, or at least the region of Lower Saxony and its neighbours is hard to miss. However, whether the mapmaker inserted so many towns of the area around Ebstorf due to political assertions or because he simply wished to portray that he had a good knowledge of the area is unclear. Nonetheless, it becomes obvious that the rivers and waterways flowing through the German territories are relatively well documented. This at least gives an impression of how important the rivers were for the region.

Unfortunately a part of the European part of the map has disappeared. It is unclear what Europe would have looked like in that part. However, it must certainly have been parts of Scandinavia, north-east Germany and the Baltic. Spain receives an explanation that it has six provinces and a region near Sweden is provided with an explanation that this is the land

\textsuperscript{78} Birgit Hahn-Woernle. \textit{Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte}. 1st ed. 1987. (Kloster Ebstorf 1993), p. 39. The numbers have been taken from this book. The book does not list all the towns in Europe but lists the most important ones and most recognisable ones.
where the Normans originally came from. Italy is also relatively large with Rome as an important centre. Rome is portrayed with a lion standing on the city walls accompanied by a Latin description stating “secundum formam leonis inchoata est Roma.” This means translated “The city of Rome is build according to the form of a lion.” A city plan of Rome will be discussed later in this chapter. The amount of water in Europe compared to the other continents on the map is very large. Many towns are located near a river or sea as well; this might indicate the importance of trade and travel in Europe. This is certainly so on the Hereford map, which will be discussed next.

2.2.1.2. European Trade Routes on the Hereford Map

The Hereford map (ca. 1290) shows Europe in its geophysical form, displaying many kingdoms and provinces, as Scott D. Westrem puts it: “more than half the cities in the world, and three-fifths of its rivers, are found in Europe, reflecting its commercial and civic character.” This is also noted by Crone, who considers that the European towns on the Hereford map are displaying trade routes throughout the continent. Apparently the maker of the Hereford map must have recognised Europe’s trading characteristics. Thus, instead of regarding the map as an incorrect and fantastical piece of work which mainly focuses on religion and legends, the map also shows another European mindset. On top of that Crone argues that the map might have drawn inspiration from detailed written travel documents for pilgrims and travellers named itineraries. If this is indeed the case then the European section of the Hereford map had another function next to portraying Europe’s trading characteristics. The map was also meant to display destinations for travellers, possible pilgrimages to the Holy land or Italy and Spain. The important pilgrimage destination of Santiago de Compostella is clearly recognisable on the western tip of the map. In relation to this Evelyn Edson states that: “the cathedral of Santiago de Compostella, erected at the outermost western edge, was a sign that the Last Judgement was imminent.” Unfortunately she does not elaborate on this statement and I am inclined to disagree with Edson here. Spain is located in the south-west of Europe and the World, and so is Santiago de Compostella. The placement of

83 Ibid., p. 455.
Spain in that corner of the World is a correct geographical estimate on the Hereford map. However, Edson agrees that some of the more modern routes drawn in the map portray trade routes followed by merchants. In connection with the trade routes, the Hereford map shows Holland, Brabant and Flanders. It can thus be assumed that the portrayal of Europe on the Hereford map had multiple functions, related to mobility, business and travel.

Like the Ebstorf map that places the focus on Germany, the Hereford map focuses on England. England is quite large compared to other European regions on the map. This is not surprising considering that the map was produced there. Political features are sparse on the map, although some lines drawn in Europe and the Balkans seem to indicate some type of border. According to Edson this is due to the continuous shifting of political entities and thus the map would quickly be incorrect; for Edson it is therefore clear that the mapmaker chose to focus on unchanging geographies, such as mountain ranges, or older Roman regions instead of political boundaries of kingdoms.\(^85\)

2.2.1.3. Political Show-off: Evesham World Map vs. French Territories Manuscript Map

England and France fought a Hundred Years War from the middle of the fourteenth century until the middle of the fifteenth century. The importance of the French and English regions is clearly shown on two maps made and used around the second half, or at the end of the Hundred Years War: the Evesham map and the map of France in manuscript BNF MS Fr. 4991. The map concerning the French territories is in essence a local map and the description of this map would also have fitted in the local and regional map section of this chapter. However I have chosen to discuss the map here because it can be directly compared to the Evesham map from a political point of view. Because both maps were used more or less around the same time at the high period of the Hundred Years War it seems logical to assume that the maps were used to portray either country favourably and strong.

The Evesham map was made around 1390 and amended some twenty years later, and then re-used until ca. 1452.\(^86\) Besides dealing with the political background of the map, Barber also makes the comment that on the Evesham map, like on the Hereford map, trading routes and trading centres were of importance, as several routes and centres are clearly portrayed on the map.\(^87\)

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\(^87\) Ibid., p. 24.
The Evesham map is a world map with a large focus on England. England, when compared to the rest of the world is disproportionately large. From top to bottom the English isle is stretching from Holland past the southern tip of Spain. England has a high percentage of towns, much more than anywhere else in the world. The other countries on the map are far less important and often only country names appear without any embellishment. European towns are also mentioned on the map, though more often than not the towns are only provided with a name. Across the English Channel on continental Europe, France is quite small and Paris easily overlooked next to the large buildings given to Calais and St. Denis.\(^8^8\) The towns of Calais and St. Denis were in English hands at the time this map was made and it is easy to see that the map is meant to portray the greater significance of the English over the French.

The map of the French territories on the other side of the Channel is portraying a similar image, although the local map only portray French territories. Only Paris and several other parts of France are placed in the spotlight. The map can be found in the manuscript entitled *A tous nobles* and is dated ca. 1460, thus a little after the Hundred Years War.\(^8^9\) The manuscript in which the map is found also includes a genealogy of French kings and several other smaller maps of parts of France. It is argued by Serchuk that the patriotic manuscript and its maps belong to a line of manuscripts testifying an emergent self-awareness and to some extent an emerging French national consciousness.\(^9^0\) The most important map in the manuscript is the map of the French territories; it only contains ca. 45 places and four rivers. Paris is located in the middle and is clearly the largest and most important town on the map. There is a description below the map that explains how the kingdom has grown and shrunk over time.\(^9^1\) Towns that played a significant role for the French in the war against the English also received a place on the map, no matter how small they might have been; other towns include Rouen, an important town for the French and the town where the inhabitants lay under siege of the English for a long time; Rouen was also the town where Joan d’Arc was ultimately tried and executed.\(^9^2\) Other towns which belonged to the French territories at the time the manuscript was compiled do not feature on this map, which is quite surprising considering the importance of these towns for the French territories; the omitted towns include for example Reims, a town where the archbishopric was seated and where the


\(^{9^0}\) Ibid., p. 136.

\(^{9^1}\) Ibid., p. 140.

\(^{9^2}\) Ibid., p. 142.
coronations of the French king took place. It is also clear to Serchuk that most places on the map were under Burgundian control; why exactly Burgundian towns feature so prominently is not entirely clear to Serchuk and she provides several possible answers to this question. No matter what the correct answer to this question might be, the purpose of the map is quite clear. It aims to show the expansion of the French territories, and according to Serchuk the emergence of a French nation and national identity:

Whereas medieval English maps showed the island or islands of Britain, which comprised several political entities, rather than portraying just one of the constituent nations, the map in the manuscript of *A tous nobles* addressed directly the definition of the nation of France. For indeed, the rhetoric of the image was explicitly national, not regional, and any hint that the nation in question might be part of larger whole was resisted. The map thus is not merely a map of French territory: it is a map of France.

To claim that the French territories as they are portrayed on the map is a clear sign of some sort of French national identity and to claim that it is a map of France seems to early. Although I believe that the map of the French territories clearly wishes to portray towns that belong to the French nobility and thus showing a sense of unity against the English invasions that took place earlier in the century, it is too early to claim that this is a map of France. As Serchuk points out in the article, notable towns also belonging to the French territories at the time are left out. If this is supposed to be a map of France then those towns should also have been included on the map. On top of that she mentions that the towns on the map are mainly Burgundian and immediately afterwards writes that the Burgundian king sided with the English less than three decades earlier. It seems illogical to assume that this map is portraying the nation of France; instead the map is portraying that Burgundy is now on the French side and that the united territories of France are now stronger than before. This is expressed, even celebrated, in the form of a cleverly constructed manuscript proving the genealogy of the French kings as well as a map of the French and Burgundy territories.

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94 Ibid., p. 143
95 Ibid., p. 144.
96 Ibid., p. 143.
belonging to the victorious French. The major town on the map is Paris, and in 1460 Paris was a town of major importance, but cannot be called the capital of a French nation state quite yet.

Both the Evesham map and the French territorial map display clear signs of patriotism. Whereas the English world map portrays England as powerful and overarching in the French territories, the French map only displays cities that are part of its own territory. During and just after the Hundred Years War it was important for both sides to establish their power in the region and both maps do exactly that. To claim that the map of France expresses nationalistic feelings is overstated, but the map seems to be sending a clear message to the English: “Burgundy belongs to our territories, so stay away from it.”

2.2.2. The Portolan Charts

Portolan charts are, in the simplest sense, maps portraying the Mediterranean Sea and the South European and North African coasts. The portolans portray mainly navigational knowledge: regions and kingdoms are not mentioned and borders are barely visible. It is quite obvious that these maps were not meant to be used for political purposes, even though some maps do display images of rulers as well as flags. Contrary to the mappæmundi the portolans are oriented towards the north, which may indicate that they were used in combination with a compass.97 The importance of portolan charts for the development of mapmaking during the Middle Ages and later can hardly be overestimated. The portrayal of the southern European and North African coasts is incredibly detailed and accurate, and could still be used today to navigate the Mediterranean. It is thought that the earliest portolan known to modern scholars, the Carte Pisane, is a contemporary of the Hereford map, dating back to the late thirteenth century. These sea charts are statements of geographic and cartographic knowledge in the Middle Ages. The origin of the maps remains unknown; earlier proto-types of the maps are generally thought to have existed, but when or where these maps were made is unclear.98

As mentioned the portolans show the Mediterranean coasts, and political information was subordinate to the navigational information. The first and foremost purpose of these charts was obviously for on board use to locate trading ports; these are thus most prominent on the maps. It is generally thought that those portolan charts used on board ships were

discarded when they had worn off. Thus most of the surviving portolan charts were not meant to be used on board. Considering the many embellishments on the maps it is more likely that the survivors were used to decorate homes. Several atlases comprised of portolan charts are thought to have been made in order to be used to plan or record voyages with. The portolan charts were made in Catalonia or Italy, where the most important publishers were situated in Genoa and Venice. The Catalan school did include a few sketches of rulers and regularly included flags, as mentioned above, because “they may have been interested in the political information; they may also have been interested in commercial information as here and there interior topography and cities further of coast are shown.”

According to Richard Unger, the later portolans also started to show influences of the mappamundi, hence the maps started to portray more information on the landmasses, for example by displaying biblical events next to the all important coastlines. However, the opposite has also been suggested: portolan charts also influenced mappamundi. According to Hiatt the Aslake mappamundi (made around the middle of the fourteenth century) shows a significant influence of portolan charts: “While the Aslake map contains many features consistent with the traditions of medieval mappae mundi, such as the presence of monstrous races in southern Africa, it also shows a surprising level of influence from seacharts. Contemporary place names appear along the coast of Africa from larissa (modern El Arrouch) to milela (Melilla), while ‘ffes’ is marked inland.” Thus both portolan charts and mappamundi have had an influence on shaping the medieval world view, and aspects of both genres can be found on both types of maps.

Two portolan charts will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter, comparing them to the Mediterranean transnational cooperation map of the European Union.

2.2.3. Local and Regional Maps

Medieval maps, especially local and regional maps are relatively rare. Some countries, such as England or Italy have more surviving maps than others. Due to this lack of cartographical

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102 Ibid., p.49.
104 Ibid.
evidence Harvey concludes that “maps were practically unknown in the Middle Ages.”

This is quite true for regional maps. Written surveys were used to describe territories and territorial boundaries; in a sense this can be regarded as a written map. The same goes for travellers who needed to find their way whilst on a journey. Travellers did not have maps to guide them, but sometimes had an itinerary describing the way. The purpose and use of local maps in the Middle Ages seem to have been made for the support of one side or another in particular cases; the best hint at what these maps purposes were can be taken from an Italian lawyer in 1355: “legal problems arising from rights in rivers and streams can be best solved by using plans.”

However, there are also other uses for regional maps as will be shown below. Examples of local maps are the St. Gall plan, dating back to the Carolingian age of ca. 816-837, and the city plan of Vienna, the earliest European local on-scale map dating back to 1421. It is thought that regional maps may have been developed after the mappamundi, although the relationship between regional maps and mappamundi remains unclear, the possibility of cross-influence certainly exists. However, it is also thought that local and regional maps derive from earlier examples of Roman origin; according to Harvey a Roman example was used for one of the earliest maps of Europe as a continent found in the encyclopaedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer dating back to the beginning of the twelfth century. This map looks like an enlargement of Europe taken from a T-O map. Two parts of Europe are encircled with a red line: Western Europe including Alemania (Germany) Saxonia, (Saxony), and Sweden; and Southern Europe including Gallia, Aquitane, and Flanders. Other names of regions and countries such as Spain, Greece, Norway and certain tribes such as the Vandals, as well as the Huns, are named on the map but are not included in the red encircled line.

Several regional maps will be discussed in the section below. The categorisation of these maps is provided per country. I have chosen to mainly discuss late medieval maps, because most regional maps were made in this period of the Middle Ages. A German map, a British map, as well as a map of Scandinavia and one Rome city map are examined. The

111 The map can be found in: Anna-Dorethee von den Brincken. *Studien zur Universal Kartographie des Mittelalters.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, 2008), Tafel 20.
reasons for choosing these maps are due to their presumed backgrounds. The maps all seem to serve different purposes, sometimes more than one. The German map clearly has a religious background, but can also be used as a roadmap for a large part of the European continent; the British map is still surrounded by some mystery, although scholars believe that it had clear political purposes above all; the map of Scandinavia, the first one of its kind, is a complex map displaying not only Scandinavian geography, but also cultural activities, myths and history of the people in Northern Europe. On top of that the map has clear political undertones. The city plan of Rome is clearly symbolical in contrast to the other maps discussed in this section.

2.2.3.1. German territories

The Romweg map, German for the “Road to Rome map” is dated sometime between 1493 and 1500.\textsuperscript{112} The map was created by Erhard Etzlaub in Nürnberg, Germany, and as the name already informs us, the map tries to show the routes, either pilgrimage, travel, or trading routes, to Rome that can be taken from many regions in Europe. The map is oriented to the south; the area portrayed on this map runs from the southern tip of Sweden to the middle of Italy, Naples. Thus when the map is viewed Sweden will be on the south side of the map whereas Rome will be on top of the map. Because the map was probably made shortly before or in 1500, it is commonly thought that the map was meant to help pilgrims to find their way to Rome, as 1500 was considered to be an important year in Christianity.\textsuperscript{113} Although Germany is the most prominent country on the map, the map can be rightfully considered as a map of central Europe.\textsuperscript{114} Borders are not displayed on this map, nor are many country names provided. Even when country names are provided the borders of these countries are not given; although in a later coloured version of the map borders are clearly indicated. The map provides a large amount of place names, and the sheet becomes so filled that it is hardly possible to see what name belongs to which place; however this also means that the map is very detailed. It lists more place names than any other map, some 800.\textsuperscript{115} Germany is the largest country on the map and has most of the place names too; this is not surprising considering that Etzlaub had made the map for German users. Eastern Europe, behind the


\textsuperscript{113} Ibid. 23.


walled city region of Prague, does not have as many place names as the rest of Europe, nor do any routes lead from Eastern Europe into Germany and beyond. At first glance the most eastern route looks like a border, but upon closer inspection the dotted line is meant to be seen as a route. However, the borders and the colouring were later additions to the map and were not visible on the first edition according to Krüger.\textsuperscript{116}

The map is accompanied with a register in which Etzlaub tries to explain how the map works. Capital cities for every kingdom are provided, as well as places of interest for pilgrims such as Aachen; the map also comes in colour, and the colours denote the language areas and countries surrounding Germany.\textsuperscript{117} For Krüger it is clear the Romweg map is far advanced in comparison to its contemporaries: “From the city of Ribe in Jutland, by way of Lübeck, Brunswick, Erfurt, (…), Florence, Siena, Viterbo to Rome, Etzlaub counts 248 German miles of approx 7.5 kilometres each leading to 1,860 kilometres. According to modern measurements the distance is 1,908 kilometres. This gives a very small error of 2.5 percent.”\textsuperscript{118}

What can be concluded from this is that the map is very precise for its time. It seems that the mapmaker had no political ambitions with this map. However, it can be argued from the information on this map that Etzlaub was a Christian who felt that it was his duty to show his fellow countrymen, and whoever else was able to understand the map, where Rome was and how Christians from Germany and surrounding areas could get there the best.

\subsection*{2.2.3.2. British Isles}

The Gough map is probably one of the most well-known regional maps. The map displays Britain only and is thought to be one of the oldest road maps of Britain, dating back to ca. 1360, and can currently be found in the Bodleian library in Oxford. The origin of this map, where, when, how, by whom and what for it was made, remains unclear. The map is surprisingly precise considering its date. Routes between towns are marked with red lines connecting them and the distance between the towns is marked with Roman numerals; rivers are quite accurately portrayed and given strategic importance.\textsuperscript{119} On top of that, certain towns on the map are drawn with a closed wall surrounding it, seemingly without any possibility of entering the town. It has been argued that the reason for this walled enclosure is due to the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{117}] Ibid., p. 22.
\item[\textsuperscript{118}] Ibid., p. 23.
\item[\textsuperscript{119}] Bodleian Library. \url{http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/users/nmj/goughmap.htm} (accessed 18/05/2011).
\end{enumerate}
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strategic importance of these towns; towns on the periphery of the British realm for example are noted to have walled enclosures more often than towns in the inner parts of the realm, the depiction of Calais (in English hands at the time) and Carlisle are good examples of this. However what the real purpose of this map was remains unclear. It might very well be that the map had several different purposes:

The effort that appears to have been made over positional accuracy would seem great enough to indicate that the Gough map was intended to serve some utilitarian purpose. (...) such as estimating distances, travel time and costs. The map’s distinctive settlement geography, with its apparent concentration on the peripheral and more marginal parts of England, together with its deliberate ordering of settlement information based upon a method of portraying places differently (...) may indicate that the map was also geared towards coordinating armies and organizing supplies at a time when successive English rulers were attempting to assert their sovereignty over the whole island of Britain. (...) despite serving the English Crown as a tool for ordering the entire island realm, the apparent national, regional and local variations in the map’s settlement geographies— in terms of distribution patterns, typological and hierarchical differentiation, and positional accuracy— might reflect the kingdom’s disunity and the continued presence of geopolitical tensions in fourteenth-century Britain.

From the quote above it is clear that the map is thought to have had several purposes. These purposes mainly served state-efforts of controlling the British realm and displaying where some more work was needed in order to create a unified kingdom.

2.2.3.3. Kingdoms in Scandinavia
The map of Scandinavia by Olaus Magnus is a good example of a regional map made during the early transitional phases of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This map displays Northern Europe. The mapmaker, Olaus Magnus was a Swede who had travelled to Rome and

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121 Ibid., p. 19.
had seen the map of Scandinavia in the 1492 edition of Ptolomy’s Geographica. Olaus Magnus realised that this map was incorrect and decided to make a map of Scandinavia himself to show what Northern Europe really looked like.\textsuperscript{122} The map was made just after what is now considered to be the Middle Ages in Europe, 1539.\textsuperscript{123} However, as Unger notes: “the Carta Marina was a compendium of information which recalled the densely populated mappæmundi of the high Middle Ages.”\textsuperscript{124} Nonetheless the map is important because it is one of the first real regional maps of any European region.\textsuperscript{125} The map was made in Italy, and it took circa twelve years to finish. Thus Olaus Magnus started gathering information for his map around 1526-7 in the Netherlands; three to four years after King Gustav had ascended to the throne in Sweden.\textsuperscript{126} The Carta Marina lists countries known today already; however, clear borders are not distinguishable and Sweden is still divided between Svecia (Sweden) and Gothia a region now known as Gotland. The king of Gotland is also portrayed on this map. However, at the time the map was made there was no king in Gothia anymore and Gothia had become a part of the Swedish empire.\textsuperscript{127} Norwegian regions are provided with their names as well, for example in the case of Finmark and Telemark. The names of the countries are not immediately recognisable, they are written in the same style and with the same colour as other names on the map, and only the font size is larger. It seems as if the names of the countries on this map were no more important as everything else that was given a place on the map.

This Northern European map by Olaus Magnus was, as mentioned earlier, created in 1539. Olaus and his brother had been travelling for King Gustav, who had taken over the throne in 1523.\textsuperscript{128} King Gustav unified Sweden, and Sweden became independent from Denmark by leaving the Kalmar Union; the Kalmar Union had been led by Denmark and during its existence the Norwegians and the Swedes had continually revolted against the

\textsuperscript{123} The dating of the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance differs per region in Europe. It is commonly thought that the Middle Ages ended in 1500. However, just because a year or a century ends, does not mean that there is an immediate change in thinking and world view. In Italy the Middle Ages ended earlier than in Scandinavia. It is generally thought that the Middle Ages ended in Scandinavia shortly after King Gustav Vasa rose to power in Sweden in 1523. See for example the Cambridge History of Scandinavia Vol. 1. Because the map is assumed to have taken some 12 years to compile, and because the stylistic features of the map are in line with the style of Medieval maps (many embellishments and sea monsters attacking ships), I have decided to use the Carta Marina here, although I am aware that many people will not agree with me that this is a medieval map.
Danish hegemony. Hence it can be argued that at the time of Gustav’s ruling, Sweden was an important country in the region and a force to be reckoned with. This is clearly symbolised on the map and can be recognised when the two other important kingdoms of the region, namely Norway and Denmark, are given a closer look: the Norwegian is portrayed en profil, and seems to be looking at King Gustav who is sitting directly opposite; whilst the Danish king seems to be casting his eyes towards Gothia and the Gothian king. The Gothian king is also portrayed en profil. As mentioned before, the King of Gothia is not meant to portray a king ruling a kingdom that was existent at the time the map was made. Thus it is more logical to assume that the Danish king is facing Sweden. The Swedish king Gustav is depicted en face, looking straight at the viewer instead of his opponents, and thus letting the viewer know that he is the important one. Other kings displayed on the map, for example the Scottish and English kings, are also portrayed en face; hence it is quite obvious that the mapmaker wanted to show who was the most important figure in Scandinavia, but because Sweden had little to no trouble with England and Scotland, their kings are portrayed in a similar manner as the Swedish king. Thus, instead of only being a more truthful map of Scandinavia, as the James Ford Bell Library likes the visitor to believe, this map is also of political importance. However, it is hard to say to what extent the map was really used as such, because the mapmaker never returned to Sweden after they had made the map. However, even if this map was not displayed in Sweden but in other places, the message to take home was that the Swedish king was the most important ruler in the Northern European region.

2.2.3.4. Rome City Plan

One clear example of a local map is the city plan of Rome dating back to the late thirteenth century. This map is a part of Historiae Romanorum manuscript and displays a small city plan of Rome, complete with an oddly shaped city wall. The manuscript and the map can be found in the city and state library of Hamburg Codex 151, folio 107 verso. The map only shows very little of Rome and only has six buildings inside the city walls. On top of the city wall three human figures are seen, walking towards what seems to be the main city gate. The map shows some resemblance to Rome on the Ebstorf map, which also only portrays six buildings.

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inside the city walls. However, as mentioned earlier on the Ebstorf map the city wall is circular with a lion portrayed on top of it.

The oddly shaped city wall in the *Historiae Romanorum* manuscript, when seen from further off, in fact displays an animal with its mouth open and standing with one paw seemingly held upward and its tail also curling upward. The animal could represent either a wolf or a lion. However, when the words underneath the map are carefully considered the word “lione” can be deciphered, considering that the modern Italian word for lion is “leone” and the Latin word for lion is “leo” the animal shape must represent a lion. The sentence on the Ebstorf map describing that Rome was built in the shape of a lion is taken literally on the Rome city map. This manuscript map is a thoroughly symbolic portrayal of the city of Rome in the shape of a lion, hence portraying Rome’s strength and power as the capital of Christianity as well as its submission to Christ, to whom the Bible also refers to as the lion of the Judah tribe.  

Another symbolic meaning the map could be conveying is the Christian greatness of Rome compared to Constantinople. As the map was made in the late thirteenth century and the East-West Schism between Rome and Constantinople was still underway this map clearly underlines Rome as the more favourable and greater city for Christianity. This can also be compared to the Ebstorf map on which Constantinople is shown as a large city, but not as a city with any Christian or otherwise important features.

### 2.3. Chapter Conclusion: Medieval European Regionalism and Cartographic Representation

Because maps were relatively unknown to a large medieval audience, it is difficult to claim that maps helped to provide the people with a sense of region. It is difficult to fully understand what a region in the Middle Ages consisted of, where boundaries lay and how people themselves regarded their region. This is not very different from the situation today. The regional maps, as well as the Evesham world map, were likely made for political purposes: to portray their respective region in a political positive manner, or to portray where the realm still needed some regional development to create a sense of belonging to the realm at large, which could have been the purpose of the Gough map; however, this is not certain, nor is the political focus explicit. The Rome city plan map was made with a symbolic purpose built-in portraying its strength and importance to Christianity.

The portolan charts are the maps that can be directly compared to the modern counterparts created by the European Union; and when the transnational cooperation maps of

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132 Rev. 5:5 (Die Bibel in heutigem Deutsch, 1983).
the Baltic Sea and the North Sea cooperation programmes are put together, a similar image as that of Europe on the *Carta Marina* emerges. However, other maps, or rather the European parts of the mappamundi and their focus on trade routes can, to some extent, be compared to the current maps cross-border cooperation maps. On top of that the focus on trade routes and travel can be compared to the current maps of other, non-political actors in the European Union, such as transport companies and others, who, instead of focussing on borders and countries, focus on portraying transportation routes throughout Europe or parts of Europe. In the next chapter the maps of the European Union, European maps from non-state actors and the medieval maps will be compared.
3. Modern and Pre-modern Cartography and Regionalism

This chapter will discuss the comparisons between the modern European Union maps and the medieval maps examined in the first and second chapters. In addition this chapter will discuss maps of non-state European actors; these maps are independently created by actors who are not directly involved with or by the European Union. The maps of the non-state actors can also be compared to medieval counterparts. The first part of this chapter will examine European Union medievalisms and present a “new cartographic medievalism” for the comparisons of the maps. The last part of this chapter will look at future regionalist developments in the European Union. However, before it is possible to move on it is important to determine what the word “medievalism” actually means and whether other, non-political or non-cartographic, medievalisms can be found. The Oxford English Dictionary presents the following definition: “beliefs and practices (regarded as) characteristic of the Middle Ages; medieval thought, religion, art, etc. Also: the adoption of, adherence to, or interest in medieval ideals, styles, or usages.”133 The images of the maps discussed in this chapter can be found in Appendix C at the end of this dissertation.

3.1. EU Medievalisms, European Union Cartographic Representation of Regions and their Premodern Examples

One of the most well known parallels between the European Union and the Middle Ages is the comparison of the European Union to the Holy Roman Empire led by Charlemagne. The Empire led by him expanded rapidly and by the end of his reign included a large part of the European continent, an area that can be compared to the current expansion of the European Union. Aachen was one of the most important centres for Charlemagne, and it is the place were he lies buried today. It is argued by Camiz that the current construction of the European Union is a new version of an ancient dream and that the idea of the Holy Roman Empire and a united Europe never fully left the European mind.134 One of the most famous buildings of the European Union is the Charlemagne Building in Brussels, which is home to the Directorate Generals of Trade, External Relations, and Enlargement.

The Carolingian Empire was led by Charlemagne from 768 until 814. The expansion of the Frankish realm under Charlemagne and the inclusion of many new peoples created

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problems of order and control and of identity and cohesion.\textsuperscript{135} In a sense Charlemagne addressed this problem by implementing his own \textit{Acquis Communautaire}\textsuperscript{136} on the regions and peoples of Europe conquered by him. Charlemagne forced the inhabitants of the regions he conquered to convert to Christianity. He put into place an overarching religious learning system so that throughout his empire people would be taught the same orthodox principles of the religion though maintaining the plurality of the empire.\textsuperscript{137} However, the conversion to Christianity was often brutal, as people were forced to convert and would die if they refused.\textsuperscript{138} Although an empire with an emperor is not what the European Union envisions, a unified Europe following the same set of principles and rules while maintaining its plurality clearly is an aspiration of the European Union. Not only has the region of the Carolingian empire correlated with the European Union; also the use of a single currency was already established by Charlemagne. According to McKitterick it was so influential that peripheral regions of the empire adapted to the coinage of the Carolingians as well.\textsuperscript{139}

The use of maps during the Carolingian empire is generally thought to have existed; however, how and what these maps were used for is relatively unknown due to the very few maps that have survived.\textsuperscript{140} It is known that Charlemagne possessed three engraved table top maps, one depicting Rome, one depicting Constantinople and one depicting the world.\textsuperscript{141} In her article “Imperial Geography and the Peutinger Map”, Emily Albu discusses the background of the maps in Charlemagne’s possession and how these maps help to symbolise Charlemagne’s imperial ambitions: they portray a united Christian empire, with Charlemagne as its emperor.\textsuperscript{142}

Other medievalisms referring to Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire stem from the city of Aachen in the Meuse-Rhine region. Two examples are the \textit{Karlspreis} and the \textit{Médaille Charlemagne}. The \textit{Karlspreis} is an award for people who have promoted Europe and European unity in a particular manner. The award is one of the oldest in the European Union and has been around since 1950; the name of the award is taken from Charlemagne

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{136} Body of all European Union legislations which member states must adhere to and new member states must accept and acknowledge before admittance to the Union is possible. It binds all member states to the same body of legal rules and principles. Paul Craig & Gráinne de Búrca. \textit{EU Law: Text, Cases and Materials}. (Oxford. Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 16, 18.  \\
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., p. 105.  \\
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., p. 274.  \\
\textsuperscript{140} Emily Albu. “Imperial Geography and the Peutinger Map.” \textit{Imago Mundi} 57: 2005, p. 140.  \\
\end{flushleft}
who is considered to be the first real European by the award organisation. Hence, the English translation of the prize is Charlemagne Prize.\textsuperscript{143} In combination with the European Parliament the Karlspreis is also awarded to young Europeans with the best ideas concerning the creation of a better Europe and European Union; this prize has been awarded to youngsters since 2008.\textsuperscript{144} The Médaille Charlemagne is also awarded by the city of Aachen; however, this award is given to European media figures who have tried to connect and unify Europe via their performances or activities through various media. The full name of the medal is Médaille Charlemagne pour les Médias Européens and the prize itself is shaped after the monogram of Charlemagne.\textsuperscript{145}

Many of the immediate comparable European Union medievalisms can be traced back to the influence of the Holy Roman Empire and more specifically to Charlemagne. The European related prizes from the city of Aachen also use Charlemagne as a source of inspiration. However, the clearest medievalism can be found in political theory. As has been discussed in the first chapter, new medievalism identifies a development of decentralisation of the states and more power flowing to the regions. The current map of the complete European Union resembles to some extent the map of the Holy Roman Empire. However, in the book Cartographica Virga argues that: “as was not the case in the Carolingian empire, national antagonisms and national identities still survive in the European Union.”\textsuperscript{146} Despite the fact that nations still exist and that national antagonisms are still part of the European Union today, it is also a fact that the regions are more powerful than ever before in the European Union and this is represented by the various other maps created by the European Union. Thus the regional policies, the decentralisation and multifaceted levels of power of the European Union find their expression on the maps. The contextualisation of the body of European maps echoes the message the European Union is trying to send: the regions are very important and worthy players in political and social matters, whether cross-border, transnational or interregional.

The regional maps produced by the European Union entail several types of medievalisms taken from the analysis of the medieval maps. The borderless medieval maps can certainly be an expression of the multifaceted power sharing; due to the many different overlapping powers in the area it would have been very difficult to portray them all on the same map. Although on the European Union, ESPON and AER maps national borders are still

\textsuperscript{144} Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen. Europäischer Karlspreis für die Jugend http://www.karlspreis.de/jugendkarlspreis/informationen.html. (accessed 08/06/2011).
visible, the maps do not focus on the countries, and many of the ESPON maps do not focus on the member states at all. New cartographic medievalism can be deduced in modern European Union regional maps discussed in the first chapter. New cartographic medievalism is developed from the analysis of the medieval maps discussed in the second chapter: firstly, the European regional maps, like many of the medieval maps, whether mappamundi or regional maps, do not explicitly focus on political situations and do not explicitly focus on nations or member states; a second new cartographic medievalism is the portrayal of cooperation programmes among various regions which leads to cooperation concerning several topics and thus commonality amongst the regions. Medieval maps do not divide parts of Europe into regions, but do focus on commonality among regions in Europe, for example by focussing on trade, travel and pilgrim routes; a third new cartographic medievalism are the non-state actors in the European Union producing alternative maps of the European Union or parts of it; many of the medieval maps, and several of the maps discussed in the second chapter were not always commissioned by kings or other political figures; however they were always subject to the mapmakers imagination, as is currently the case as well; a fourth and last new cartographic medievalism is the current unawareness of the existence of European Union regional maps, like the argument by P.D.A. Harvey stated earlier, that maps were uncommon and relatively unknown to a medieval audience, similarly it is unlikely that many inhabitants of the European Union are aware that these regional maps, and the information concerning them, exist.

3.1.1. Portolan Charts and the Mediterranean Transnational Cooperation Map

When the portolan charts are compared to the current map of the Mediterranean transnational cooperation programme the similarities are striking. Both the portolan charts and the Mediterranean regional map focus on the coastal countries of the Mediterranean Sea. Although in this respect it must be mentioned that the portolan charts are more detailed in their portrayal of the region. In 1377 the historian Ibn Khaldûn already mentions that the charts gave the exact position of the two shores of the Mediterranean.147 The European Union map does not list any country or regions on the North African side of the Sea. On top of that place names on the transnational cooperation map are not shown, only national regions, or parts of national regions are named. Both the portolan charts and the transnational cooperation map portray almost an exact image of the Mediterranean; however the portolans are mainly

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interested in the portal towns whereas the transnational cooperation map is only interested in
the regional divisions of parts of the member states partaking in the cooperation programme.
It is necessary to wonder here why coastal and port cities in the regions on the map are not
listed. The Mediterranean is a common factor in all these regions, thus a focus on sea routes
between ports would have been a beneficial addition to the transnational cooperation map.

Two portolan charts will be used here, the first one dates back to 1375 and can be
found in the Catalan Atlas. The map was made by Abraham Cresques who was a part of the
Catalan School. Cresques worked under the patronage of the King of Aragon and the
Catalan Atlas was meant as a gift for King Charles V of France. The second map dates back
to 1466 and was made by the Italian Roselli and does not occur in an atlas but is made of a
single sheet of skin. Despite his Italian nationality, Roselli is also associated with the
Catalan School. Both charts are decorated with embellishments in the inland, and flags of
kingdoms at the time are provided. Both of the portolan charts display most of the European
coastlines. The southern coastlines around the Mediterranean are very precise and the shape
of southern Europe and North Africa are clearly recognisable. Compared to the southern
costlines, the coastlines of England and northern Europe are rather imprecise. However, the
European continent is provided with rivers and trading ports on these rivers, as for example is
the case with the Danube. Some other geographical features are provided as well, such as the
Pyrenees and the Alps. The southern European coasts and the North African coasts are shown
with great precision and care and are thus clearly recognisable. However, the regional
kingdoms of the European Mediterranean countries are provided with flags rather than names
and thus it is difficult to distinguish where borders of the kingdoms lay; obviously that was a
rather unimportant aspect to portray on the map. All the ports along the southern coastlines
are provided with their names. Concerning the purpose of these maps, whether they were used
at sea or not, it is quite evident that these maps were meant to provide the viewer with
information about the Mediterranean coasts and trading ports along these coasts. On top of
that the towns, rivers and mountainous areas on the map also provide information regarding
inland trading; and the coats of arms of the kingdoms provided on the map tells the viewer
which regions belonged to which kingdom, at least for a while, although borders for these
kingdoms are not shown. Thus the political importance of this map is very limited.

When these portolan charts of the Mediterranean are compared to the Mediterranean transnational cooperation map, it becomes clear just how detailed the information on the portolans is. The transnational cooperation programme map provided by the European Union focuses on the same region, the Mediterranean; however, it only portrays the European Union side, including several European countries that do not belong to the European Union (yet). The map does not show any cities, nor does it give any impression of geography or the political situation. Thus the first new cartographic medievalism is applicable for this map. The transnational cooperation programme map of the Mediterranean displays the regions participating in the cooperation programme. The borders of the regions are not visible on the first level of the map. These become visible when the second level of the map is accessed. However, the map does not become more explanatory. As was explained in chapter one, on the right side of the map an index can be accessed listing the cooperation programme’s success stories and a project summary. This project summary is quite detailed; priorities of the programme include the reduction of maritime risks and the improvement of the accessibility to the sea and local ports.\textsuperscript{151} However, the map does not reflect any of this or other contents of the programme. When this map would be viewed outside of the European transnational cooperation programme context, it would be entirely unclear what this map is supposed to portray and represent. The map does not incorporate any programme information, nor are there any interactive functions that extend beyond the second level. The map does not have any information concerning the cooperative regions either. The function of the map is unclear, especially compared to that of the portolan charts, despite the similarity of the region concerning the sea border and the objectives of the programme to develop Mediterranean trading ports and the aim to reduce maritime risks.

When the portolan charts and the transnational cooperation programme map are compared it becomes evident that the portolans are much better prepared at providing the necessary information they are meant to provide. The denomination of ports, and the portraying of rivers and the towns located on these rivers clearly give the maps a purpose of business and trading; in connection to this it also shows the importance of the sea for this area of Europe and North Africa. Any information of this sort is lacking on the transnational cooperation programme map. The map does not portray any specific tie connecting the regions other than that they are all located directly on the Mediterranean; however, the clear commonality of the Mediterranean among the regions portrayed on the map is in line with the

second aspect of new cartographic medievalism. There are no hints at cooperation and shared interests among the regions, apart from their obvious proximity to the Mediterranean, only the priorities stated under the information show a shared interest. Thus, even though they are not geographically correct everywhere, the portolan charts display more accurate information related to their purposes and the region than the modern counterpart created by the European Union.

Nonetheless the new cartographic medievalism is valid for the transnational cooperation map of the Mediterranean as three out of the four points relate the map to its medieval counterparts. The first two points have already been mentioned: the map does not have an explicit focus on politics or on nation states, but does focus on a commonality and among the regions, namely the Mediterranean Sea border. The third new cartographic medievalism point that is valid for this map is that it is unlikely that people are aware of the existence of this map as well as the cooperation programme when the outcomes of the “Eurobarometer” discussed in the first chapter are used as a tool for analysis.

3.1.2. The Carta Marina and the Baltic / North Sea Transnational Cooperation Maps
The transnational cooperation maps of the Baltic and North Sea regions portray their respective regions in a similar manner as the Mediterranean transnational cooperation map does. The Carta Marina is the complete opposite of the transnational cooperation maps, despite displaying similar regions.

The Carta Marina map incorporates many different types of information on the map. Because Olaus Magnus incorporated so much information, he deemed it necessary to write an accompanying book concerning all the mythical, biological and political contents of the map.152 Olaus Magnus wanted to portray the maritime culture of fishing and whaling; he also incorporated ships from northern Europe on the map while stating their port of origin, thus providing some commercial information, and commented on the profitability of trade from certain Hanse ports to Iceland.153 From the description in the second chapter it has already been shown how important the political situation of Scandinavia was for the mapmaker.

The maps of the transnational cooperation programmes of the Baltic and North Seas display as little information as the Mediterranean transnational cooperation map. There are no political focal points on the maps, however, it is clear that these regions share a commonality,

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153 Ibid., 114.
namely there proximities to the Baltic or North Seas. As was the case with the Mediterranean map the Baltic and North Sea transnational maps do not show any information concerning the programme. The priorities of the programmes do not find an expression on the maps. In the case of the Baltic Sea cooperation programme, the programme priorities are mainly aimed at overcoming the socio-economical challenges the region is facing; however, another priority is aimed at developing accessibility.\textsuperscript{154} The North Sea transnational cooperation has different priorities, for example sustainable management of the environment, innovation as well as improving accessibility.\textsuperscript{155} Despite these priorities the maps do not provide any information concerning them. Both maps would benefit from some more detailed information concerning the priorities of accessibility and development, it would provide the maps with a clearer purpose.

The maps of the European Union do not provide any information concerning the regions and the cooperation they are representing. This is in stark contrast to the \textit{Carta Marina}, which does provide a whole range of information concerning the history, commercial interest and then current political affairs in the North European regions. The map was meant to explain a whole range of topics, and hence the \textit{Carta Marina} comes with a “project summary” in the form of a book concerning the contents of the map; on top of that, a great deal can already be deduced from the map without the extra information provided. Unfortunately the same cannot be said from the European Union counterparts. The programme priorities are not at all represented on the maps. Thus, the map of Olaus Magnus is in many ways superior to the modern European Union counterparts. However, it must be noted that the \textit{Carta Marina} and the transnational maps are created in entirely different contexts. It is possible that Olaus Magnus created the \textit{Carta Marina} in order to preserve cultural knowledge concerning the region for future generations. This is not the case with the transnational cooperation maps of the European Union.

Despite the clear differences concerning information on the \textit{Carta Marina} and the Baltic and North Sea transnational cooperation maps, the transnational cooperation maps do have new cartographic medievalism features. After all, these features do not focus on direct comparisons between maps but focus on the individual features of new cartographic medievalism stated earlier. Three out of the four points can be identified; these are similar to


those mentioned in relation to the Mediterranean transnational cooperation map. The transnational cooperation maps of the Baltic and the North Sea do not have an explicit political focus; however, common interests, for example the proximity to and an interest in the Baltic and North Sea, can be deduced from the maps. On top of that the “Eurobarometer” has surveyed how many respondents are aware of the existence of the Baltic Sea cooperation programme. As it turned out, only 33 per cent of the respondents are aware of its existence. The North Sea transnational cooperation programme was not a part of the survey. Hence it can be concluded that only very few people are aware of the existence of these maps.

3.1.3. Europe on the Mappæmundi and the Cross-border Cooperation Maps

Unlike the previous paragraphs, the comparisons in this section do not focus on certain European regions, but on the representation of Europe and the European regions as a whole. Europe on the large mappæmundi of the high Middle Ages is thought to portray transport and travel routes, either for business or for religious purposes. The cross-border cooperation maps of the European Union display cooperation programmes among several member states in order to develop, amongst other things, the infrastructure and accessibility between the cooperating member states.

The medieval Ebstorf and Hereford mappæmundi as well as the Evesham map portray Europe as a continent with a great deal of towns and rivers. Despite the geographical incorrect portrayal of the continent it is evident that the waterways played a very important role in the medieval period of Europe. This has not changed since. The European waterways are still of great importance for shipping goods from one country to another. On top of that the waterways are important for companies that need water to cool their factories, or who need water in order to create products. The production of products and the products themselves have changed throughout the centuries; the importance of water for the production and the products is just as important now as it was then. Thus many cross-border cooperation programmes deal with the challenges concerning the development of the waterways.

Although the map of Europe’s cross-border cooperation programmes does not provide any geographical information concerning rivers, it is obvious that many of the cross-border cooperation programme based along the European coastlines have a shared interest in the development of coastlines, sea-based waterways and even inland waterways. When Germany,
the member state with the largest amount of cross-border cooperation programmes, is taken as an example, it becomes clear that more than half of the fourteen programmes relate to the development of seas, rivers or lakes.\textsuperscript{157} Many other cross-border cooperation programmes also prioritise the development of economy, tourism and travel in their programmes.

The comparison of Europe on the mappæmundi and the cross-border cooperation maps portray in many ways similar focal points. The importance of economy and travel, whether for religious purposes or for pleasure, has not faded, on the contrary, it has intensified. On the Ebstorf map Germany was granted a large amount of space and the German rivers were also shown in detail. Although the modern cross-border cooperation map by the European Union does not provide the geographical details of Europe, Germany still dominates as the country with the largest amount of cooperation programmes and its relation to water: eight of the programmes deal with water specifically, and another four dealing with the development of environment and nature in a variety of ways. Thus the representation of Europe as a whole, and Germany in particular, concerning the importance of trade, travel and water remains similar despite the differences concerning the portrayal of Europe. Once again new cartographic medievalisms can be identified; for example the focus on cooperation amongst member states and the commonality of interests amongst member states. On top of that there is no explicit focus on the political situation or on the nation states; it is also unclear to what extent the inhabitants of Germany and the neighbouring countries are aware of the existence of these maps. Considering the percentages presented by the “Eurobarometer”, the awareness is likely to be very low.

3.2. The Use of Cartographic Information by Other Actors to Create a Sense of Region

The maps provided by the European Union discussed in the first chapter are to a certain extend top-down because they are created by the European Union rather than the participants of the cooperation programmes, even though the cooperation programmes are not steered by the European Union. Other actors in the European Union provide alternative maps of Europe and its regions. These maps show a bottom-up approach to the European regions, and manage to show a map of Europe that is more symbolical of regions and the continent. This symbolised approach to mapmaking can also be compared to the medieval maps discussed in the second chapter.

3.2.1. Eutropolitan & the “Groenmetropool” Maps

The symbolised maps by the non-state actors of European regions and the European continent portray Europe and its regions in a different light. The best examples are the Eutropolitan map from Maurer United Architects and its predecessor from the Groenmetropool; Groenmetropool is a Dutch word and can be translated as “Green Metropolis”.

The name Groenmetropool derives from a project developed between 2005 and 2008 and subsidised by the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia and the INTERREG programme of the European Union. The project was developed by a French landscaping architect named Henri Bava. On the Groenmetropool website two maps related to the Groenmetropool can be accessed; a simplified map showing two routes through parts of the Meuse-Rhine region and providing the abbreviations for the three participating countries; and a complicated digital road map showing both routes but omitting all signs of borders and country abbreviations. Both routes are following different roads throughout the region: one is the Metropoolroute (“Metropolisroute”), and the other is the Groenroute (“Greenroute”). The Metropoolroute allows the traveller to visit all the villages and towns in the participating region, whereas the Groenroute allows for an exploration of the countryside. The simplified map showing both routes as well as an accompanying guide in two languages can be obtained in many different tourist shops in the region.

The Eutropolitan map was created by Maurer United Architects in Maastricht, the Netherlands, and is a part of their Eutropolis project. The Groenmetropool map was the source of inspiration for the Eutropolitan map as Marc Maurer from Maurer United explains in a short presentation on a PechaKucha Night in Maastricht on January 20th 2009: “we like it (Groenmetropool map) very much, but of course it is not complete because Maastricht is not in it. That’s why we did another concept, the Eutropolis (...) what we did to make a statement is, we took the London Underground map and put it scale 1:1 on this area, so we made a Eutropolitan metro map.” The Eutropolitan map features a part of the Meuse-Rhine “Euroregion” and uses the London Underground map as a base. All the lines of the London Underground also feature on the Eutropolitan map; however, the names of the London Underground stations are removed and are replaced by the names of towns and villages of a part of the Meuse-Rhine cooperation programme. The map is not 100 per cent geographically correct although it comes very close; however, geography is secondary to the actual function.

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159 Ibid.
of the map, as Marc Maurer explains: “Where London is one metropolis you have here a metropolis combining Hasselt, Sittard-Geleen, Aachen, Maastricht, Liege, its all just subway stations and all just neighbourhoods not just cities.” The three countries merge, and the many different cities and villages become part of one large metropolitan city on this map. In a sense this map symbolises the ultimate European Union ideal of cooperation and integration.

Just like the lion-shaped map of Rome is meant to represent the idea that Rome was built in the shape of a lion, symbolising strength and importance for the Roman Catholic Church; the Eutropolitan map is shaped in the form of the London Underground representing mobility and interconnectedness and is meant to symbolise the strength and importance as well as the cooperation of the Meuse-Rhine region. Borders and cities do not exist, only connections and transfer stations in one metropolitan city. This map also challenges the status quo of what constitutes cities and regions. London is one large town, with many different neighbourhoods, better known as boroughs; however, these neighbourhoods can be compared to regional areas and cities located in the Meuse-Rhine region: if the Meuse-Rhine region can be recreated as a metropolitan space representing the region as one large city, the London boroughs can be seen as regions and cities within the “London cooperation programme”.

The most important realisation stemming from both maps discussed above is the idea that people in the regions, at least in the Meuse-Rhine region, are thinking about and working together to further develop the apparent pre-existing sense of region. Both projects and the maps were developed by architects who are not directly related to politics and thus do not necessarily act upon forced ideas of state and nationhood, but manage to look beyond borders and see cooperation and commonalities in culture and development. These maps try to include the inhabitants of the region and try to show to people how easy it is to cross borders, and how similar border regions are or can be. The Eutropolitan map shows this in relation to travel and connectedness; cities such as Aachen, Liége and Maastricht are suddenly quickly accessible via public transport instead of complicated railway and highway structures that are currently in place. It is no longer necessary to travel by car from Hasselt to Düren as it is now possible to take the Underground and reach Düren by changing lines only once at the station of Drielandenpunt (Three Countries Point station). The Groenmetropool map shows this in relation to shared cultures and interests as well as making nature in the region accessible for everyone to explore. In this manner one region (at least that part of the Meuse-Rhine shown on the maps) becomes more important than the three countries for the. Eventually it is possible that these maps can contribute to the fading of national borders in a bottom-up

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manner. All the new cartographic medievalism features are a part of these maps, including the unawareness of the existence of these maps with the overall European audience. These maps are in a sense the real counterparts of their medieval predecessors because of their imaginative nature. They are not created by a political entity, do not feature any political focus and borders are unimportant.

3.2.2. Alternative European Mobility Maps

In this section two maps of Europe will be discussed. The first map to be discussed is the SNCF Railway map. This map portrays Europe and the European rail routes which can be explored with the European Railway Card. The second map to be discussed is a map of Europe by EasyWay, a project to help coordinate and develop European mobility. Both maps are clearly related to travel and mobility.

SCNF is the abbreviation for Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Français, or in English: the national French railway. The map provided by the SCNF displays a great variety of travel possibilities by train. The map has divided Europe’s tracks into five types: the grand vitesse (high speed tracks), the grand vitesse en construction (high speed tracks under construction), the classiques aménagées (adapted high speed traditional tracks), the classiques (traditional tracks), and the projets des lignes classiques (projects currently part of the traditional tracks). As can be suspected from the division of the possible rail options, the map shows a high concentration of rail tracks flowing from one country to another. The member states of the European Union are provided with a light grey colour, whereas non-European Union countries are given a dark grey colour. In some areas the density of the tracks and place names is so high that it is impossible to discern the country they belong too and although borders are provided on the map these are hard to discern due to the high concentration of rail tracks mentioned above. The same goes for the country names, that are all provided in light grey letters, which, due to the grey background of Europe and the many purple and red lines on the map are difficult to read and can be quite easily overlooked.

Quite a contrast to the map by the SCNF is the EasyWay map of Europe. The EasyWay programme has decided to divide the European Union into eight different “Euroregions”. These regions are not the same as the cross-border cooperation programmes

which can also be called “Euroregions”. The map portrays Europe and the member states of the European Union, although it does not portray it 100 per cent geographically correct. The “Euroregions” are portrayed by various colours on top of the existing map to denote the borders of the “Euroregions.” Arrows pointing in every direction to the other “Euroregions” complete the picture. The eight “Euroregions” defined by EasyWay are provided with names relating to traits that the regions apparently have in common according to the organisation, for example Northern Germany, Scandinavia and the Baltic are called “Viking”, the United Kingdom and Ireland are called “Streetwise” and the region of Eastern Germany, Poland and Hungary is called “Connect”. Unfortunately it does not become clear from the map why these regions are put together and what these regions are meant to accomplish. The question also remains as to why these regions where provided with these names. The main objective of the EasyWay programme is to improve the conditions of European roads, and this includes safety, environment and mobility. To achieve these objectives, EasyWay has created a procedure in which the operating environments can be identified and classified and includes such information as the physical characteristics of the road and the existence of safety problems. However, this information is not at all recognisable on the map. The names of the “Euroregions” do not all make sense in this respect either. Names as “Connect” and “Streetwise” and even “Corvette” are understandable, however, this is not the case in for example the names of “Arts”, “Viking”, and “Ithaca”. Although the latter two names are obviously denoting two cultural regions: Scandinavia and region around the Aegean Sea, these names have no direct relation to transport or mobility. Although the map is creatively trying to provide a new and different Europe, it does not provide the viewer with a lot of information, especially not concerning the objective of mobility and safe road travel. Taken out of its context this map might just as well give the impression of a European division in art history or cultural interests.

The SCNF railway map provides clear information concerning transportation and travel, which is one of the purposes of this map, whereas the EasyWay map provides only little information, namely an alternative division of Europe. However, the map can provide completely different information when it is taken out of its context. Both maps deal with the topic of mobility and travel, whether for business or for pleasure. Nonetheless the theme of these maps correlate with the themes of Europe on the mappamundi; the portolan charts; and

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the *Carta Marina* concerning the topics of travel and trade. However, the closest comparison of the SCNF railway map can be made to the Romweg map by Etzlaub.

The Romweg map shows a large part of Europe’s roads with references to capitals of other kingdoms and geography in the form of mountainous areas and rivers. However, just like the SCNF railway map, the Romweg map is so densely packed with names and routes that it is hardly possible to discern which name belongs to which place. On top of that both maps serve a similar purpose: providing information for aspiring travellers concerning European travel routes. The kingdoms or nations are inferior to the roads, tracks and travelling destinations of both maps. This shows that travelling was and is again possible without having to be concerned about national borders or many visa regulations; because if borders were important at the time when the Romweg map was created, or when the SCNF map was made, it is likely that they would have been clearly marked on both maps.

Both the SCNF map and the EasyWay map have new cartographic medievalism features, such as the focus on cooperation and commonality and very little to no focus on politics and nation states. On top of that the EasyWay map allows for an imaginative look upon the European Union; but once again it is uncertain how many people are aware that these maps exist. The SCNF map is likely to be a more well known map because of its focus on railways in Europe and a useful map for travellers by train; the EasyWay map is the complete opposite, and it is likely that only very few people are aware of its existence.

3.3. *The Success of EU Regionalist Policies & their Future Development*

It is not easy to predict the future development of the European Union regionalist policies. The Cohesion Policy and European Transnational Cooperation Policies will certainly be developed and continued into a new term from 2014 onwards, and the programmes to support regional projects and cooperation programmes will most likely be developed further. However, it is also important to realise that many of the cross-border cooperation and interregional programmes are often, if not always, created via a bottom-up instead of a top-down process, even though many of these programmes could not exist without the funding from the European Union.\(^{166}\) Hence the development of the regions needs both bottom-up development and top-down funding. Regions would like to collaborate but need European funding in order to do so, and Europe wishes to develop the regions, but cannot force

cooperation and can only financially support the development. Whether the regions will one day form the basis of the European Union is hard to say and it seems unlikely, as the nation states and other non-state actors are playing a part in the future development of the European Union as well.\textsuperscript{167} Perkmann also argues that cross-border cooperation programmes are often still confined by their nation states; even in cross-border cooperation programmes that have existed for several decades, and that they are hardly a means of developing new economic spaces because they fail in generating a so-called cross-border “regionness.”\textsuperscript{168} The European Union will continue to fund and help develop its regions. Regional development has been a part of European policy since the early years of the European Union, and it will be a part of the European Union many years to come. The cartographic representations by the European Union are also likely to continue to exist, despite the large unawareness of their existence with the European audience. A reason for their continuing existence is the attractive, simple and straightforward visualisation of the regions. However, the European Union needs to make sure that these maps will become available to a broader audience in the future.

3.4. Chapter Conclusion: Parallels between Premodern and Modern EU Regional Cartographic Representation

European Union medievalisms are manifold, even when the political situation is not considered, and although several medievalisms are related to the Carolingian Empire and Charlemagne, other medievalisms are related to cartography. Four new cartographic medievalisms for European regional maps can be identified: firstly, (many) maps have no explicit focus on politics and nation states; secondly, focus on cooperation and/or commonality (for example in trade or travel) within the regions; thirdly, non-state actors also provide maps, and these maps are subject to the mapmaker’s imagination; lastly, there is a large unawareness with the public concerning the existence of European regional maps. It remains unclear to what extent the European Union has actively chosen to pursue a medievalist approach for developing its regions. However, it is not as important to know whether the European Union has actively chosen a medievalist approach. Rather, the medievalist features relating to the Carolingian Empire and cartography imply a medievalist approach.

The themes that continue to reach the surface throughout this research topic are mobility and travel, whatever the objectives of the travels might be. The maps discussed in this section are not immediate roadmaps, or are at least not meant as such first and foremost, even though some can be used for the purpose. The striking part is, that although the first and foremost objective of these maps is not to tell the viewer how to get from A to B, all the maps are related to mobility and travel in many different ways and portray this in a large variety of manners. Of course there are many more maps of Europe and the European Union that have different foci, for example the map presented by Norman Davies in his book *Europe: A History*, which focuses on East-West Fault Lines in Europe, or symbolical maps of the continent and the world made during the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance (for example representation of Europe as a Queen by Sebastian Müntzer in ca. 1550).

Despite the claims that cross-border cooperation programmes and other types of regions are not successful in creating new economical spaces and a cross-border sense of “regionness,” the maps discussed in this chapter, as well as the other chapters, provide a different image. Especially the maps made by Maurer United and Henry Bava show a complete opposite picture of regional development and “regionness.” Focussing on regions, whether on local maps or European wide maps, seems to imply a connection to mobility. Thus it can be argued that the European Union is focussing, funding and developing its regions in order to create more mobility amongst the European population, and by developing the regions in such a manner, people will almost automatically become more European in the process. The cartographic representations can help to strengthen these feelings.

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Conclusion

The cartographic representations of the regions by the European Union portray the regionalist policies of the European Union. However, it is not the only institute to provide the inhabitants of the European Union with convincing cartographic material. Other institutes related to the European Union also provide maps of the European regions, such as the AER and the ESPON maps. Other alternative maps of Europe and European regions are provided by non-state European actors. The regional development policies of the European Union are aimed at developing all European regions equally, so that in the future every inhabitant of the European Union has the same prospects in life. However, the strengthening of the regions also provides the European Union with the possibility to decentralise states and create stronger regional players on the European Union political level. The decentralisation of the member states, the strengthening of the regions and a European Union centre echoes medievalist forms of governance, which is argued in the political theory of new medievalism. The cartographic developments in the European Union of portraying the regions are similarly related to medieval forms of mapmaking, and thus a new cartographic medievalism can be applied for analysing the modern regional European maps. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that an absolute comparison is not possible, and thus the new cartographic medievalism comparisons need to be used creatively. The four focal points of new cartographic medievalism are: firstly, no explicit focus on politics or nation states; secondly, focus on cooperation (for example trade and travel) and thus a certain commonality amongst regions; thirdly, non-state actors providing maps that are subject to the mapmaker’s imagination; and lastly the unawareness of the European audience concerning the existence of European regional maps.

It is difficult to say how regions were regarded in the Middle Ages. For scholar Cox Russell the answer lies in the importance of cities and the areas adjacent to these cities, for other scholars medieval regions can be defined along the lines of linguistic or cultural norms. It is difficult to state that regions were the forerunners of our modern nation states, and it is unlikely that a sense of national identity was already present in the Middle Ages. There is no straightforward definition of what a region constitutes of, both in the Middle Ages and in the European Union, and the manner in which they are represented in cartography both in the Middle Ages and now is similarly manifold. Medieval regions need to be assessed in the own right, and generalisations cannot be made. The medieval maps had various purposes, although these are not immediately recognisable for the modern viewer. On some of the maps, for
example the *Carta Marina*, the political situation was of importance, on other maps politics seems to have played no role, for example on the portolan charts that were used on board of vessels. However, most of the maps discussed in the second chapter do have several themes in common, namely trade, transportation and travel. These themes, together with the new cartographic medievalism, form a red line throughout this dissertation. Although the precise focus of the themes differ per map, it is obvious that the European Union maps as well as the medieval maps give a high priority to waterways, ports and inland travel routes, even though this is not always immediately recognisable. In order to realise the importance of these themes both now and in the Middle Ages, it is necessary to move beyond the surface of what these maps are showing and look at their specific features. Sometimes this is quite easy, especially in the case of the maps made by non-state actors discussed in the third chapter. It is more difficult to discern this in the European Union cross-border and transnational cooperation maps, although here the theme of mobility, transportation and travel are similarly important, especially concerning the development of rivers, seas and other waterways for transport.

What does this conclusion teach us about the development of the regions by the European Union? The European Union is developing its regions, which to a certain extent will decentralise the member states and create an alternative type of governance that draws parallels with the type of governance practised in the Middle Ages. However, this does not mean that the member states are losing more and more control continuously; it will still take a while until the member states will be fully decentralised, if it will happen at all. The European Union has not turned into a “Europe of the Regions” yet. The cartographic representation of the regions by the European Union underlines the development of the regions. By focussing on funding interregional, cross-border, and transnational projects the European Union indirectly funds mobility and travel which will almost automatically lead to more understanding between regions and national cultures, and in turn people participating in the projects become more European. The maps used as visual representation for the regions are attractive and invite viewers to explore Europe on a regional level. There is only one “but”: the regional maps of the European Union are unknown to the inhabitants of the European Union and thus the influence of these maps is minimal. This is once again similar to the influence of medieval maps on the medieval audience. Thus, in many respects the European Union echoes medievalist forms of governance and cartography. However, the European Union is not the only actor who wants more regional cooperation; non-state actors such as the Maurer United Architect office are also interested in closer regional cooperation, which is clearly expressed in their Eutropolitan map. This shows that there is not only a top-down
development of the regions, but that regional developments are also desired from a bottom-up perspective. From this it can be concluded that the European Union is, to a certain extent, developing its regions along medievalist governing structures and it is creating a sense of region and centre, which in turn leads to a re-evaluation of the categorisation of member states. The European Union manages this not only by giving preference to regions, but also by providing convincing visual and cartographic representation for its inhabitants. However, it is unlikely that the European Union is consciously using medievalist forms of governance and cartography.

This topic has been *terra incognita*, as a direct comparison between modern European Union maps and medieval maps has not been done before. It is necessary that this topic, as well as more detailed and specified research concerning the new medievalist type of governance the European Union is engaging in, receives more attention in the future. Current research concerning the European Union focuses on the unique features of governance, when in reality it turns out that it might not be as new as previously assumed. On top of that it can provide information concerning the future of the European Union and regional development, which may in turn lead to a more focussed development and a more clearly defined European Union, which, with the help of the visual representation of the regions, can convince its inhabitants of the value of the European Union.
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SCNF. Railway map by SNCF. 08/08/2007.

Verein Médaille Charlemagne pour les médias européens. Auszeichnung.

Appendices

Appendix A

Cross-border cooperation programmes
European Union, 1995-2011

Cross-border cooperation programme Nord
European Union, 1995-2011

Swedish cross-border cooperation programmes
European Union, 1995-2011
Transnational cooperation programmes
European Union, 1995-2011
INTERREG IVC Fast Track Networks (Interregional) European Union, 1995-2011

URBACT II Fast Track Networks (Interregional) European Union, 1995-2011

Internet roll-out in the EU-regions – Map of the Month by ESPON – The map does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the ESPON Monitoring Committee
ESPON 2013

Tabula Regionum Europae
Assembly of European Regions (AER) 1999-2004.
Appendix B

*Note: examples of the portolan charts can be found under appendix C; the map of France in the *A Tous Nobles* manuscript were not available online; the Europe map of St. Lambert of Omert was not available online; the Rome city plan map was not available online.

T-O map after Isidore of Seville

Quadripartite map

Ebstdorf map – Kloster Ebstdorf – ca. 1235
Evesham World Map – ca. 1347

Romweg Karte – Erhard Etzlaub – ca. 1493-1500
Map maker unknown – Gough map of Britain – ca. 1360
Bodleian Library 2010

Carta Marina – Olaus Magnus – 1537
James Ford Bell Library
Appendix C

*Note: the SNCF Railway map is not allowed to be reproduced here, the link to the map can be found in the section concerning the SNCF map in the third chapter, as well as in the bibliography.

Catalan Atlas – Abraham Cresques – 1375
James Ford Bell Library

Portolan Chart – Petrus Rosselli – 1466
James Ford Bell Library
Mediterranean transnational cooperation programme
European Union, 1995-2011

Baltic Sea transnational cooperation programme
European Union, 1995-2011

North Sea transnational cooperation programme
European Union, 1995-2011
German cross-border cooperation programmes
European Union, 1995-2011

Eutropolitan map
Maurer United Architects
Groenmetropool map
Groenmetropool.eu

“Euroregions” by EasyWay
EasyWay