1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore an interesting corner of 16th-century biblical scholarship. This is the period when reformers were translating the scriptures into their local vernacular; the first European vernacular Bible was published in German in Strassburg in 1466; there were nearly 20 other German bibles before Luther’s German New Testament appeared in Sept. 1522\(^1\) and his Old Testament in 1534. Tyndale’s English translation of the NT appeared in 1526 and his Pentateuch in 1530, Coverdale’s translation in 1535, the so-called ‘Matthew’s Bible’ (largely based on Tyndale) in 1537, the ‘Great Bible’ (largely Coverdale’s work) in 1539 and 1540; this drew also on the work of the Hebraist Sebastian Münster, who had issued a literal German translation of the Hebrew Scriptures in 1534–1535.\(^2\) These two decades, then, between 1520 and 1540 saw much activity by Hebraists, bible translators, printers and publishers, both in England and on the Continent, and also much activity by another group of scholars, the cartographers.

2. Ptolemaic Maps

The printing of the Ptolemaic maps at Bologna (1477) and subsequently at Rome (1478), Florence (1482), Ulm (1486), and again Rome (in 1490) (Map 1), and a new edition by Martin Waldseemüller in Strassburg (1513),\(^3\) had made scholars more aware of the importance of maps.

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\(^3\) For bibliography of editions of Ptolemy, see H.N. Stevens, *Ptolemy’s Geography: A
Luther apparently hoped to include a Ptolemaic map, presumably of the Holy Land, in his 1524 New Testament, though none appeared. Somewhere between 1522 and 1525 (according to Armin Kunz) Luther's friend and supporter, the artist Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), produced a map of the Holy Land (Map 2). Cranach appears to have borrowed his outline from the Ptolemaic map 'Quarta Asiae Pars'—one notes the coastline, the Lebanese mountain range, the shape of the Jordan, the Sinai range running out between the Gulfs of Suez and Aqaba, and the Arabian mountains on the southern edge of the map. Cranach thus turned a professional cartographer's map into a means of telling the biblical story, complete with illustrative vignettes of biblical scenes (Cranach was, after all, an artist, not a professional mapmaker). His map is a view of the Promised Land as seen from high above Arabia looking north. The foreground and focal point of the map presents the exodus-wilderness story as told in Exodus 12–19 and Numbers 13–21 (Cranach does not use the list of wilderness-stations in Num. 33, or the short list in Dt. 10:6–7, as later biblical mapmakers did). Cranach begins with Sochot (Succoth; Exod. 12.37), shows the Egyptian chariots pursuing the Israelites across the Sea, locates Ethan (Etham, Exod. 13:20), Marath (Marah, Exod. 15:23), Elim (Exod. 15:27), Sur (wilderness of Shur, Exod. 15:22), Sin (wilderness of Sin, Exod. 16:1), with an illustration of the heavenly manna on the ground. At Rephidim (Exod. 17:1) Moses is seen striking the rock. Sinai (Exod. 19:1) has Moses on top, and a calf being worshipped below. Cades (Kadesh) Barnea and the wilderness of Pharan (Paran; Num. 13:26) are illustrated by the results of Korah's rebellion, Korah's followers being swallowed up in pits (Num. 16:34). The route

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5 Kunz, 'Cranach as Cartographer', 132, note 48, thinks that Cranach located Ethan from his reading of Num. 33.