

**MAPS, MONGOLS AND THE NEOCLASSICAL MOMENT: NORTH-
EAST ASIA IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY *MAPPAEMUNDI***

By

CHRISTOPHER JOHN ROUSE

**A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Department of History
School of History and Cultures
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham**

17 January 2023

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Abstract

This thesis explores the construction and reception of North-East Asia on three thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* (Christian world maps) – the Ebstorf, Psalter and Hereford maps – assessing their creation, symbolism and developments across a century of new threats from and new knowledge about Asia. The thesis comprises two thematic and three chronological, map-focused chapters and presents three main interrelated arguments about how the maps' makers understood and used this region. Firstly, in a period of challenges from Mongol invasions and losses in the Christian Levant, the *mappaemundi* consistently present a morally and culturally flawed North-East Asia which champions and consoles Latin Christianity by comparison. Secondly, the *mappaemundi* can be understood as neoclassical; the cartographers used antique Roman sources but, rather than simply copying these older texts' information wholesale, the maps' makers creatively adapted classical knowledge to suit medieval ends, a process which included omissions of both antique and contemporary information. Thirdly, the *mappaemundi* exhibit change and historical contingency across the century. The barbarian lands of Scythia on the Hereford *mappamundi*, drawn c.1300, are extensive, fierce and bordering on Europe; conversely, earlier maps have a small, peripheral Scythia. The thesis presents the Mongol invasions as the catalyst for change here, the cartographers acknowledging the seismic changes in geographical thought while accommodating the Mongols within a comfortable formula.

To develop these arguments, the thesis analyses the construction and symbolism of important constituent themes of North-East Asia: urbanism (deliberately minimised in Asia), barbarianism and the apocalyptic Gog and Magog, each of which contributed to a savage, morally flawed land. In sum, the thesis argues that these propagandistic *mappaemundi* were, in their depiction of North-East Asia, more creative and historically sensitive than has previously been suggested. The cartographers displayed authorial agency in adapting old and new material to create maps which suited the demands and contexts of their day, creating a specifically cartographical North-East Asia to assert Christian supremacy against a range of contemporary challenges.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was written under what could be called, at the risk of understatement, less than ideal circumstances. I will remain forever surprised that it came together, and I am grateful beyond words for all those who made the process possible, achievable and – against all the odds – often enjoyable.

My first thanks must go to the Midlands 4 Cities consortium of the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. Their incredibly generous funding made this PhD possible in the first place.

Many other people made the PhD possible in their own way. I am in the unusual but lucky position to have had three supervisors over the course of my research, and I am greatly thankful to each one of them. Professor Naomi Standen, for helping get the proposal and project off the ground, for numerous insights and suggestions in the early stages, and for helping me organise a trip to China, even if a certain pandemic got in the way of that plan. Dr Margaret Small, for five years of frankly astonishing levels of patience, tolerance and support of my vague and messy ideas and writing, and for helping me pull a thesis out of the chaos. Dr Simon Yarrow, for coming into the project at a late stage – which must have been a bizarre position – and similarly helping me beat various ideas into something resembling a cohesive thesis. Each one of you has supported me with no end of help and good humour, and I can offer no more than my deepest thanks.

I offer my thanks also to organisers of seminars and conferences over the years who have given me a platform to test my ideas and receive valuable feedback on them: the EMREM committee at Birmingham; the York Centre for Medieval Studies; the team behind the International Conference on the History of Cartography 2019; Professor Neil Christie and the Medieval Research Centre at Leicester; Dr William Purkis and the Institute for Historical Research's seminar series on the Crusades and the Latin East; and the Haskins Society.

To friends and family who have similarly supported and helped along the way. I will not name many names for fear of forgetting and offending someone, but if we have

spoken or interacted over the last few years then there is a strong chance that you've helped. Thanks to members of the various idiosyncratically named WhatsApp, Twitter and Messenger groups from along the road. In no particular order: Big Pictures of the World; Mike Pence's Fly; The Bham Bunch; History: The Years; This is the Way; and Porridge. My co-organisers from the 'Meaning, Memory and Movement: Ancient and Medieval Spaces' conference were wonderful to work with, and helped deliver perhaps one of the most enjoyable experiences of the PhD.

I could not write these acknowledgements without citing some friends who have gone above and beyond. Ed van der Molen, for advice and jokes from the surprisingly deep well of ecclesiastical architecture humour during my MA and PhD. Ben Salisbury, Liam McLeod, James Kawalek and Giles Connolly: my cohort and friends I made at the beginning of this all. I could not have asked for a better group of people to see this process through with. They have earned – and deserve – every success, and I wish them the best of luck in whatever comes next. Emmie Rose Price-Goodfellow, for good advice, good humour and an even better access to the University of York's library.

To my Auntie Jo, for her usual words of wisdom and frequent updates in the world of art and museums, not to mention her very generous lending library and postcard habit. Similarly, to her son, my cousin Richard, for his advice for the PhD journey and possible destinations afterwards. I have had several very useful and reassuring PhD-based conversations with him over the years, and am grateful for the help and advice.

To Ian and Tom, for putting up with their little brother's bad jokes and moaning over the last few years (and indeed beyond), and for replying with advice, support and – far more importantly – views on the worlds of politics, TV, film, video games and Mr Tayto's baffling business decisions.

And finally, to my parents, for everything. I dedicate this thesis to you.

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Languages and Sources

All translations from Latin, modern French and modern German are my own unless otherwise noted. The translations of the Anglo-Norman on the Hereford map are my own; other Anglo-Norman and medieval German quotations are the translations of others.

Medieval Latin abounds in orthographic variation, both in spelling forms and in individual letters used; across manuscripts and editions from the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, ancient and medieval spellings intermingle and consonantal ‘u’ and ‘i’ coexist alongside ‘v’ and ‘j’ – is “to live” *uiuere* or *vivere*? For consistency, this thesis aims for a standard approach across all quoted texts. I retain original spelling differences (for instance, medieval *cedunt* but antique *caedunt*) but favour consonantal ‘v’ over ‘u’ and ‘j’ over ‘i’ for the sake of familiarity and legibility when quoting from editions or the *mappaemundi*. I make any such amendments silently in the understanding and hope that they do not alter the meaning of the original texts.

Due to the restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, physical Latin editions were not always available. Where possible, I have consulted and quoted from critical editions with page numbers. Where this has not been possible, I have used editions of texts provided on the *Latin Library* website. In such cases, in lieu of a page number, I provide as precise a location within the text as possible.

For the *mappaemundi*, I consulted different editions or versions for each map; a list of these is available in the bibliography. For the Psalter and Hereford maps, a particularly useful website was *Virtual Mappa 2.0*, created and hosted by the team at *Digital Mappa* (<https://sims2.digitalmappa.org/36>). The editions of these maps on this website provide transcriptions and notes on individual features, such as explaining their classical origins or listing alternative spelling forms of a given site. I have acknowledged where I have had recourse to use this information.

The present reproductions of the whole maps – particularly the Ebstorf and Hereford *mappaemundi* – are limited by the logistics of presenting large documents digitally in

an A4 size. I hence recommend that, if possible, the reproductions presented here are supplemented by higher-quality and easily navigable digital editions of the maps, which are locatable through such sources as Google, Wikipedia or *Virtual Mappa 2.0*.

All Bible references are from the King James Version. The exception is a comparison to the Latin Vulgate when discussing the Psalms in Chapter 3.

I favour BC and AD over the more recent style of BCE and CE when writing dates. I do so aware of the ideological baggage and implications of such a dating system, but believe that BC/AD is more transparent in its Christocentrism than BCE/CE, which imposes the same Christianised conventions under a layer of apparent objectivity, turning the same Christian system into an apparently ‘common’ one. All dating systems are culturally or religiously centred, and I choose BC/AD simply as a commonly accepted system based on the supposed birth of Jesus Christ, opting for this cultural touchstone over others. I in no way imply any given superiority for this dating system or the religious beliefs which underpin it.

Introduction

“A single map is but one of an indefinitely large number of maps that might be produced for the same situation or from the same data.”¹

On the map, North-East Asia is resplendent, exotic, powerful. It is a late-thirteenth-century world map, with new information supplementing old knowledge inherited from Greece and Rome. Moving east from Europe, the reader passes cities of the Pontic steppe, mentioned by Herodotus and Roman authors, then the Mongol capital Karakorum, visited by the Franciscan William of Rubruck and described in Roger Bacon's influential *Opus Majus*. Nomadic scenes from authoritative antique texts, and mentioned by Rubruck, dot the landscape: wagons, riders, festivals. The fish-filled river Borysthenes weaves across the landscape. Captions describe the region's gems and inhabitants, noting one group's sense of justice, and another's descent from Jason.

Further east are two places of great power: Cathay, noted by Bacon; and the mighty Christian kingdom of Prester John, a mainstay of Latin geographical thought. Because of him, North-East Asia teems with power, cities, Christianity. Asia is inviting, wealthy, with great civilisations waiting to be uncovered. The cartographer has not had to fabricate information; everything can be traced to texts and contemporary Latin thought about Asia.

The map does not exist. This thesis explores why.

*

The thirteenth century represented a neoclassical moment in Latin European cartography, which I examine by analysing three *mappaemundi*: the Ebstorf (Saxony, c.1220s), Psalter (England, c.1260s) and Hereford (England, 1290s) maps

¹ Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, Second Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 2. Monmonier's italics.

(Figures I.1-3).² This was a period of difficulty and discovery: the Mongol invasions and Crusader losses in the Holy Land shook Latin Europe politically and psychologically, while the subsequent opening of Asia led to Latin missionaries and merchants traversing the steppes, returning with information. Against this backdrop of new challenges and knowledge, thirteenth-century cartographers continued to map Asia from classical sources. However, this thesis argues, they did so in a creative, innovative, neoclassical way, combining antique notions and nomenclature with medieval Christian ideas, priorities and contexts. Each map's contents constitute a "mindscape", an imagined, idealised projection of North-East Asia, Europe and the world, constructed not just from available geographical information but from the beliefs, hopes and anxieties of the cartographer and their time.³ In selecting from, omitting from, and adapting classical information and setting it in Christian frames, the cartographers actively reshaped antique geographical ideas into projections of God's power. The maps' North-East Asia drew on and reinforced a Christian view of the geography, past, present and future of God's creation. The cartographers confronted thirteenth-century changes and challenges with a savage, regressive Asia, juxtaposed against a superior, sophisticated Latin Europe.

The thirteenth century reflects a unique transitional stage in European world cartography. Asia in 1160 had to remain antique due to the lack of contemporary information; Asia in 1260 did not. From the fourteenth century, world maps began incorporating new nomenclature; Tartary, for instance, replaced Scythia. Throughout the fourteenth century, the maps' landforms and dimensions developed as geographical discovery reshaped European views of the world.⁴ The thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* are the final examples of an old order of cartography, the last time antique knowledge reigned before the world opened up.

² Hereafter referred to as *Ebstorf*, *Psalter* and *Hereford*. *Mappaemundi*, literally 'cloths of the world', were a form of world map in the Middle Ages, examples of which form the focus of this thesis. See below for more.

³ The concept of a "mindscape" is from Cordell D.K. Yee, 'Chinese Cartography among the Arts: Objectivity, Subjectivity, Representation', in *The History of Cartography Volume 2, Book 2: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 158.

⁴ See the Conclusion p.307 for these new names and landforms.

However, *Ebstorf*, *Psalter* and *Hereford* are not passive reproductions of Roman worldviews. Nor was thirteenth-century cartography static or wholly conservative. Each *mappamundi* shows innovation in North-East Asia; the cartographers selectively, sophisticatedly adapted antique knowledge for medieval ends. These maps also demonstrate differences across the century: North-East Asia becomes larger, closer, fiercer, possibly reflecting how the Mongols made this region more prominent in Latin thought. For *mappaemundi*, North-East Asia reveals continuity and contingency; old ideas and new concerns; classical information and neoclassical interpretation. The construction and reception of North-East Asia reveal how the cartographers innovated in using their sources and responded to the conditions of their time, how they confronted crises and insecurity with proclamations of Christian superiority and God's ultimate triumph. Whatever the political situation, *mappaemundi* were triumphalist propaganda for Latin Christianity's moral victory.

Combining these themes of innovation and historical contingency, this thesis aims at highlighting the important role of authorial agency in these maps' productions. Each cartographer interpreted and adapted classical and contemporary knowledge in their own ways to create documents which share content, structures and themes, but which nonetheless remain historically and performatively specific and distinct from both each other and from antique geographical thought.

*

In three parts, this Introduction outlines the aims, analyses and arguments of this thesis in more detail, establishing its structure and locating it within relevant scholarship.⁵

The first lays out the research questions, approaches and themes which this thesis addresses. It also presents the main strands, methodologies, and methodological

⁵ Subsequent chapters further situate the thesis in scholarly trends. Chapter 1 discusses the so-called 'conservatism' of *mappaemundi*, rejecting this notion by arguing for the innovative elements of neoclassical cartography. Chapter 5 locates this thesis' analysis of Prester John in a wider body of work on that legendary figure. The Conclusion, having presented evidence of the cartographers' systematic omission of both old and contemporary knowledge, challenges the idea of these *mappaemundi* as 'encyclopaedic', a misleading term which appears frequently in scholarship.

issues and introduces the synchronic and diachronic elements on which Chapter 1 elaborates.

The second locates this thesis in its context of the history of cartography. I introduce medieval cartography and *mappaemundi*, before establishing why *Ebstorf*, *Psalter* and *Hereford* form the analysed corpus. These are the only detailed survivors from the thirteenth century, but also punctuate the 1200s and demonstrate differences and consistencies across varying periods, sizes, contexts and purposes. They are hence useful case studies in presenting this thesis' arguments of recurring trends and historical sensitivity. Relatedly, this section discusses the likelihood of a shared model for these maps, arguing that such an exemplar probably existed but did not preclude contingency, distinctiveness and innovation. I locate the thesis in the 'cultural turn' within cartographic historiography, which argues all maps must be read as cultural artefacts of their time, place and society. This thesis aims to contribute to medievalist cultural turn scholarship by focusing on North-East Asia and in arguing for historical specificity and cartographical innovation.

The third establishes the nature of North-East Asia as understood in this thesis, positing it as a cartographic region; an area defined by classical texts; and a land which overlapped with – but cannot be equated with – the Mongol khanates. Subsequently, I situate this thesis in scholarship which has examined Asia in medieval maps.

The Introduction closes by presenting the thesis structure, affirming the aims of each chapter and establishing how they demonstrate a neoclassical cartography typified by innovation, historical sensitivity and propagandising.

Research Questions, Approaches and Themes

This thesis follows research questions which inform each chapter's analyses:

- How and why did the cartographers choose from, omit from and re-interpret classical and contemporary sources of geographical information in constructing North-East Asia?

- What was the intended and likely received symbolic impact of North-East Asia, and how does this region compare with Latin Europe?
- How did the circumstances of the maps' historical background and reception affect the form and function of North-East Asia?

In addressing these questions, analytical themes and the notion of the neoclassical moment run through each chapter, particularly the chronological Chapters 2-4 which analyse *Ebstorf*, *Psalter* and *Hereford*. The 'neoclassical moment' refers to how each cartographer creatively used classical sources to respond to ongoing events in Europe and Asia, as well as to increasingly available contemporary information about Asia. This was a process unique to the thirteenth century, in which new geographical knowledge (particularly of the Mongols) contrasted against an antique cartographic Asia of Scythia and the Seres.⁶ One main concern of this thesis is hence exploring how and why the cartographers continued using older knowledge when newer information was available. Dated nomenclature provided a way of controlling the narrative of the thirteenth century, domesticating a fierce Asia and incorporating it into a comfortable framework of divine order.

In this use of classical sources, the maps became *neoclassical* in how the cartographers moulded antique information, particularly via silence. They excluded information including cities, Prester John, and inoffensive Scythians, the presence of which would have challenged the *mappaemundi*'s arguments about an inferior, flawed North-East Asia. In 1988, the theorist of cartography, J.B. Harley, emphasised the importance of silence in early modern maps, demonstrating that strategic omissions furthered the mapping party's power and control over a space. A mapmaker can present territory as favourable by excluding negative aspects, or as militarily, culturally or morally inferior by omitting positive aspects, bolstering the mapmaker's culture and potentially presenting the 'flawed' land as ripe for conquest or colonisation.⁷ This notion of selectivity aligns with Monmonier's observation, quoted above, that any map is necessarily typified as much by what it omits as what it includes. No map can include *all* possible data; cartographers must choose from

⁶ See 'Defining North-East Asia' below.

⁷ J.B. Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe', *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): passim, esp. 57–58, 60–61, 66, 70.

options. Three decades after Harley's argument, the importance of silence has not been applied systematically to *mappaemundi*, an oversight this thesis aims to address. Many insightful studies of medieval cartography unpack the symbolism and origins of much of *mappaemundi*'s content, but there is scope for a critical interrogation of what did but also *what did not* get mapped.⁸ The cartographers constructed Asia not just through savage scenes, but more subtly by excluding content which could have presented North-East Asia positively.

This strategy of selection, omission and re-interpretation is evident in three themes which each map-specific chapter assesses: urbanism, Scythian barbarianism, and Gog and Magog.⁹ Urbanism and barbarianism reflect the neoclassical omission of material to create a flawed Asia which morally and culturally privileged Latin Europe by comparison. Gog and Magog represent an active choice by the cartographers to include content from outside the authors who provided the base material for Asia: Pliny the Elder, Solinus, Orosius and Isidore of Seville.¹⁰

Scholarship has effectively demonstrated the symbolic, cultural, political and economic role of cities in Latin Europe, establishing urbanism as a lynchpin of order, sophistication and control over nature.¹¹ Such literature, however, has not used *mappaemundi* as evidence or reflected on the importance of urban distributions within maps. Previous studies on cities in maps have addressed a few specific examples or offered only brief commentary on worldwide trends. Scully explores the importance of Roman civilisation in Europe on *Hereford*, but does not analyse other cities or maps.¹² Scholars have also analysed religiously significant cities such as

⁸ See throughout this Introduction, including presently, and throughout this thesis for examples of this scholarship.

⁹ See Chapter 1 pp.81-98 for a more detailed discussion of these phenomena.

¹⁰ See 'Defining North-East Asia' and especially Chapter 1 passim for more on these figures.

¹¹ For example, R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009); Keith D. Lilley, 'Cities of God? Medieval Urban Forms and Their Christian Symbolism', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29, no. 3 (2004): 296–313; Malcolm Barber, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050-1320 Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2004); Vito Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages*, trans. Shayne Mitchell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994). See Chapter 1 pp.83-89 for more on the symbolism of the city in Latin Europe.

¹² Diarmuid Scully, 'Augustus, Rome, Britain and Ireland on the Hereford Mappa Mundi: Imperium and Salvation', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 4, no. 1 (2013): 107–33.

Jerusalem and Babylon.¹³ While these matter deeply, this thesis argues that the distribution and systematic omission of Asian cities is also enlightening. Cities were important symbols, often indicating good order and echoing the Kingdom of Heaven. Tracing their inclusion and exclusion can suggest the cartographers' aims and arguments in constructing Asia as inferior to Latin Europe. Westrem, for instance, tabulates the distribution of *Hereford's* legends to provide a statistical breakdown of the map's contents, but offers no sustained reflection on these figures because this is outside the purview of his work.¹⁴ He also compares the numbers of captions on *Hereford* and *Ebstorf*, although this is to demonstrate differences rather than consistencies across the maps.¹⁵ This thesis therefore contributes a comparative analysis of the trends involved in the maps' urbanisms, particularly in the area of omission; by excluding known cities, the cartographers reduced the apparent importance and sophistication of Asia. Cities – recognisable, symbolic and well documented in the maps' sources – provide a rich theme for assessing the rhetoric of exclusion.

Similarly, in analysing Scythian barbarianism, this thesis aims to contribute a new method and new insights to scholarship which has ably assessed different aspects of savagery and monstrosity on *mappaemundi*.¹⁶ I offer an intertextual approach which uses the evidence of omission between the *mappaemundi* and their sources. The cartographers deliberately, actively stereotyped Scythia and the Scythians, selecting only the most savage details, depicting people in the fiercest way, and omitting neutral or positive imagery. This trend is only discernible by closely reading the maps

¹³ For instance, Anna-Dorothee Von den Brincken, 'Jerusalem on Medieval Mappaemundi: A Site Both Historical and Eschatological', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 355–79; P.D.A. Harvey, 'The Holy Land on Medieval World Maps', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 243–51; Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 209; Marcia Ann Kupfer, *Art and Optics in the Hereford Map: An English Mappa Mundi, C. 1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), passim, esp. 67–68; Stephen McKenzie, 'The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi: An Investigation of the Evidence', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 336–38. See also Chapter 1.

¹⁴ Scott D. Westrem, 'Making a Mappamundi: The Hereford Map', *Terrae Incognitae* 34, no. 1 (2002): 27.

¹⁵ Scott D. Westrem, 'Lessons from Legends on the Hereford Mappamundi', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 200.

¹⁶ See the following paragraph for examples of such scholarship.

and their sources, which for the Scythians scholarship has not yet done. Scythia also demonstrates the historical sensitivity of *mappaemundi*, which changed over the century in response to the Mongol invasions even as the nomenclature and other trends remained constant.

Scholars have noted that Asia is the most diverse continent with the greatest range of exotic or savage features. However, such literature is often descriptive, part of a survey establishing general trends about *mappaemundi* and lacking detailed analysis.¹⁷ Elsewhere, scholars note the heterogeneity of Asia as part of broader thematic investigations. Hiatt, for instance, argues that in Latin thought “the east was a vast and heterogeneous space” – including the wonders, monsters and dangers which appear on *mappaemundi* – as part of his study of maps and the marginal.¹⁸ However, because Asia as a specific entity falls outside the remit of his work, beyond noting this diversity, he can provide little specific comment on Asia’s construction or function. Other scholarship on cartographic barbarianism often subsumes analysis of barbarians into broader studies of monstrosity, without a sustained focus on the Scythians’ reception and construction.¹⁹ Existing analysis is generally cursory, noting the negative depiction of these peoples and their origin in Solinus while not interrogating their construction or relationship to contemporary events.²⁰ This thesis offers a closer reading of how the cartographers drew the Scythians from classical

¹⁷ See for instance Westrem, ‘Making a *Mappamundi*’, 26 (Westrem notes that “Asia is notable for its ethnic groups and animals; it is the arena for almost all the scenes of religious – and most of those of historical – consequence”, before moving onto Europe; Leonid S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Text, Translation and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), passim; Leonid S. Chekin, ‘Lower Scythia in the Western European Geographical Tradition at the Time of the Crusades’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15, no. 3/4 (1991): passim, esp. 289.

¹⁸ Alfred Hiatt, ‘Maps and Margins: Other Lands, Other People’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), passim, esp. 664–666. 664 for quotation.

¹⁹ Monstrosity is an important aspect of cartographic Asia, but has been covered repeatedly and ably enough that this thesis does not attempt to provide anything new. Medieval monstrosity is a complex subject, and there is insufficient scope in the present work to address the subject with the detail and nuance it deserves. For examples of existing studies of monstrosity on maps, see Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Asa Simon Mittman, ‘Gates, Hats, and Naked Jews: Sorting out the Nubian Guards on the Ebstorf Map’, *FKW // Zeitschrift Für Geschlechterforschung Und Visuelle Kultur* 54 (2013): 88–101; John Block Friedman, ‘Monsters at the Earth’s Imagined Corners: Wonders and Discovery in the Late Middle Ages’, in *Monsters, Marvels and Miracles: Imaginary Journeys and Landscapes in the Middle Ages*, ed. Leif Søndergaard and Rasmus Thorning Hansen (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), 41–64; Naomi Reed Kline, ‘The World of the Strange Races’, in *Monsters, Marvels and Miracles: Imaginary Journeys and Landscapes in the Middle Ages*, ed. Leif Søndergaard and Rasmus Thorning Hansen (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), 27–40.

²⁰ See, for instance, Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 146–53. See also Denisov, ‘Scythia’, discussed below.

information in particular historical climates. As the Mongol threat intensified and their presence became lasting, Scythia became closer, larger, fiercer. These factors help demonstrate North-East Asia's varying nature across thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* – there were no entirely typical Scythia or Scythians, but different iterations suiting different contexts.

Barbarianism outside maps has received much attention; scholars have examined the idea's genesis, theology, cultural impact and development, often with reference to transgressions of norms and to areas like foodways, appearance, abode, law and fierceness.²¹ While academic literature has analysed textual evidence, more can be done with maps. In particular, this thesis builds on Phillips' important conclusion in *Before Orientalism*. She argues that in travel literature about the Mongol and Sinitic worlds, where the authors encountered North-East Asia first-hand, "the motivation to portray Asian peoples as Other to the European Self was not a pervasive theme."²² However, cartographic representations of North-East Asia, which were one-sided and lacked Asian input, presented negative one-note stereotypes. While not invalidating Phillips' point about texts, maps demonstrate that medieval European geographic thought and depictions of Asian peoples were multifaceted, with different kinds of representation stemming from different kinds of knowledge, context and presentation. Phillips' descriptions of open, empirical, often fair-handed texts occlude the point that other contemporary geographical discourse – maps – powerfully demonised Asian peoples in the forms of Scythians and Gog and Magog, a monstrous people in the far North-East. While Gog and Magog have also received scholarly attention which unpacks their genesis and nature on maps, this thesis offers closer, historicised readings of them which shows how they contribute to the

²¹ For example, see Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013), 131–45; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Kim Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Peter Jackson, 'Christians, Barbarians and Monsters: The European Discovery of the World Beyond Islam', in *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2006), 93–110; W.R. Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13, no. 4 (1971): 376–407; Noreen Giffney, 'Monstrous Mongols', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 3 (2012): 227–45; Maja Kominko, "'Ugly As Sin": Monsters and Barbarians in Late Antiquity', in *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Rebecca Futo Kennedy and Molly Jones-Lewis (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 373–89.

²² Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 64. See passim, esp. 58-67 for the broad range of responses by European travellers to East Asia, including threat, wonder, difference and similarity.

functions of Asia, and how each map's depiction of their enclosure was historically specific.²³ This thesis hence aims to complement Phillips' literary analysis by demonstrating the varied nature of thirteenth-century Latin geographical thought.

Neoclassicism, urbanism, barbarianism and Gog and Magog relate to two related investigative strands: reception and construction. Reception relates to assessing the maps' imagery and gauging their likely impact to given audiences in specific circumstances. Made not long after the Mongol invasions of Europe in the 1240s, *Psalter* is a tiny map in a devotional manuscript with a small audience. *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* are large display maps from religious institutions, received by clergy and laity, dating from the early and late thirteenth century respectively. *Hereford's* audiences engaged with a map of a world which had been reshaped by Mongol and Islamic conquests. Against these contexts, this thesis analyses the symbolism of reduced Asian urbanism, for instance, to assess what the cartographers tried to communicate about Asia, Europe, the world and God. The second strand, construction, is less tangible but illuminates the cartographers' decisions. To explore what the cartographers chose to include, and why, this thesis adopts an intertextual approach, comparing the maps with their sources to see what information was transmitted, and in what form. This theme is evident in the omission of cities and Prester John; the stereotyped Scythians; and the choice to include the non-classical Gog and Magog. One methodological approach, drawing on Monmonier and Harley, is to establish the cartographers' knowledge to determine what they deliberately excluded, indicating the principles behind mapping North-East Asia. Between these strands, this thesis posits a cartographical strategy which combines common themes with historical sensitivity, a key aspect of neoclassical cartography.

Addressing these maps' construction and reception entails two related methodological issues, compounded by a relatively small corpus.²⁴ As will become

²³ For example, see Andrew Gow, 'Gog and Magog on *Mappaemundi* and Early Printed World Maps: Orientalizing Ethnography in the Apocalyptic Tradition', *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, no. 1 (1998): 61–88; Scott D. Westrem, 'Against Gog and Magog', in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 54–75; Alessandro Scafi, 'Mapping the End: The Apocalypse in Medieval Cartography', *Literature & Theology* 26, no. 4 (2012): 408–11; Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 185. See Chapter 1 pp.93–98 for further examples of literature on Gog and Magog.

²⁴ I return to the issue of the small corpus, and the associated issues of the production and survival of *mappaemundi*, in the below discussion of the *mappamundi* genre.

evident in future chapters' discussions of each *mappamundi*'s uncertain date and original function, there is little epigraphic, documentary or historiographical evidence about when, how and why *mappaemundi* were drawn: most analysis is based on informed conjecture and inference. This lack of contemporary information probably stems from the fact that "just as no branch of ancient or medieval knowledge existed in isolation, so too was mapmaking rarely regarded as a separate activity" which warranted specific textual attention.²⁵ Consequently, the exact circumstances of each map's production and original function are debated and there is little testimony from cartographers about their decision-making processes. A related issue is that much of the analysis in this thesis relies on negative evidence and in arguing for omission made from choice, not ignorance. It is difficult enough to state with certainty why a given feature is present on a map, and more so explaining why it is not. These are serious methodological problems in assessing *mappaemundi*. One response must be that the analysis and conclusions in this thesis remain somewhat tentative and ultimately unprovable. However, the issues are not insurmountable.

While the mapmakers' precise rationales remain unknown, reception theory posits that a source's imagery and likely impact can be assessed independently of the author's original intentions. Reception theory, which arose in literary analysis through the work of scholars such as Iser and has been applied fruitfully to medieval sources by scholars including Caviness, provides useful considerations in how the *mappaemundi* were likely to function and be received. Understanding a source involves active interpretation by audiences, who draw on their background and preconceptions to give that source meaning. Symbolism comes not just from

²⁵ On this theme of there being little evidence about *mappamundi*, see for instance Evelyn Edson, 'World Maps and Easter Tables: Medieval Maps in Context', *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 30; P.D.A. Harvey, 'Medieval Maps: An Introduction', in *The History of Cartography Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 283–84; Bettina Schöller, 'Transfer of Knowledge: Mappae Mundi Between Texts and Images', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 4, no. 1 (2013): 43–45; David Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', in *The History of Cartography Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1987), 287–93; P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London: The British Library, 1991), 7–12; J.B. Harley and David Woodward, 'Concluding Remarks', in *The History of Cartography Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 503–6, 508–509. 508 for the quotation.

authorial decisions, but what the audience infers.²⁶ If the arguments and symbolism of the *mappaemundi* are assessed by thirteenth-century standards, they can be gauged independently of the cartographers' intent. Some of the maps' imagery, such as the barbarian Scythians, is unequivocally clear; there is little doubt that *Ebstorf's* gory cannibalistic torture scene, for instance, aimed to communicate savagery. By grounding the maps' imagery in contemporary ideas around urbanism, barbarianism and apocalypticism, and in contemporary reactions to the Mongols and crusading, I aim to present the maps' likely symbolism as received by their audiences and intended by their makers.

The problem of negative evidence can also be addressed. Enough information is known about the cartographers' general backgrounds that certain factors can be reasonably assumed.²⁷ Each worked towards ecclesiastical contexts (a psalter or religious house) and the *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* cartographers probably had religious institutional backgrounds. Without knowing precisely *who* each cartographer was, their interest in providing a Christianised worldview can be inferred. Furthermore, each cartographer's background would have made much geographical, historical and theological material available: the *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* cartographers, from monastic libraries; the *Psalter* cartographer, from London's institutions. Oral knowledge about the Mongols, Crusades and Prester John also spread throughout thirteenth-century Europe.²⁸ While the extent of information which these cartographers *did not* include can never be fully gauged, the balance of probability suggests that they knew, or could learn about, more than they mapped. If ignorance is not a reason for some omissions, it seems fair to argue they stemmed from choice. In examining these omissions, by tracing common patterns across the maps,

²⁶ For reception theory as it arose in literary analysis, see Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), passim, esp. ix–x, 5, 9, 13, 20–27, 147–50; Robert Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1984), 83–84, 152; Dennis Sumara, 'Fictionalizing Acts: Reading and the Making of Identity', *Theory Into Practice* 37, no. 3 (1998): 203–6; Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction (Anniversary Edition)* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 64–73. For applications to medieval material, see for instance Cynthia Hahn, 'Vision', in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 44, 50; Madeline Harrison Caviness, 'Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers', in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), passim, esp. 65–67, 71; Suzanne Lewis, 'Narrative', in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 86–89, 93–96.

²⁷ See Chapters 2–4 for these backgrounds.

²⁸ See Chapters 1–5.

it is possible to suggest deliberate strategies in how the cartographers constructed Asia. One omission could be a genuine oversight; so many, in ways which aligned to present a morally, culturally flawed Asia, seem too coincidental to be accidental.

A lack of precise background about the maps and cartographers, and the use of negative evidence, pose barriers to assessing the construction and intended reception of North-East Asia. However, by noting recurring themes of omission and inclusion, gauging the maps' imageries with reference to medieval ideas, and comparing cartographic content to its context, it is possible to argue that the cartographers purposefully constructed Asia in certain ways for certain ends – with editorial agency in selecting, removing and altering information to present Asia as savage, championing Latin Christianity by extension – albeit with conclusions remaining somewhat tentative.

Thinking About Maps, Thinking With Maps

Medieval Mappaemundi

Medieval cartography comprised many kinds of map of different scale, form and function. Matthew Paris, the thirteenth-century historian working in St Albans, mapped Britain and the Holy Land.²⁹ There are maps, or documentary evidence of lost maps, of regions including East Anglia and Italian cities such as Florence.³⁰ Sailors' portolan charts, which recorded coastlines and ports, became increasingly common from the thirteenth century.³¹ There were also many kinds of world map. Working in Roger II's court in Norman Sicily, the twelfth-century Islamic geographer Muhammad al-Idrisi produced a huge, rectangular world map, south-oriented with

²⁹ See, for example, Daniel Connolly, 'Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris', *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (1999): 598–622; Daniel Connolly, 'In the Company of Matthew Paris: Mapping the World at St Albans Abbey', in *A Critical Companion to English Mappae Mundi of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Dan Terkla and Nick Millea (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), 147–78. See also Chapter 3 for a reference to one of Paris' Holy Land maps.

³⁰ P.D.A. Harvey, 'Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe', in *The History of Cartography Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 464–501.

³¹ Tony Campbell, 'Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500', in *The History of Cartography Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 371–463.

very different landmasses from those on the east-oriented *mappaemundi* (Figure I.4).³² The Peutinger map, a twelfth- or thirteenth-century copy of a Roman map, shows a world structured by imperial infrastructure. It was originally 34cm high but 6.7m long, north-oriented with some distortion, and compresses the world as the Romans knew it into roads (Figure I.5).³³ Neither the Peutinger nor al-Idrisi maps influenced the *mappaemundi*, indicating a pluralistic cartographic tradition and the need for caution in considering the *mappaemundi* to be typical of a homogenous 'medieval cartography'.³⁴ More schematically, zonal maps divided the world, usually north-oriented, into climatic bands, following the thought of the fifth-century Macrobius (see Figure I.6 for an example).³⁵ At the simplest level, the T-O map, originally designed by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, divided a circular world into three parts with east at the top; Figure I.7 provides an example. Asia occupies the eastern half of the world; Europe, the north-western quarter; Africa, the south-western quarter. The world ocean encircles the inhabitable world, while waterways divide the continents: the Mediterranean separates Europe from Africa; the Don, Europe from Asia; the Nile, Asia from Africa.³⁶ This T-O scheme, commonly reproduced in various forms, provided the foundation for *mappaemundi*.

Mappaemundi use the T-O structure but include a range of content such as physical geography, Biblical scenes, cities, animals, monsters and barbarians.³⁷ The flow of

³² Norman Thrower, *Maps & Man: An Examination of Cartography in Relation to Culture and Civilization* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 36; Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge', in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 21.

³³ Harvey, 'Medieval Maps: An Introduction', 12; Victoria Morse, 'The Role of Maps in Later Medieval Society: Twelfth to Fourteenth Century', in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 38; Benet Salway, 'The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map', *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 119–35; Emily Albu, 'Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map', *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005): 136–48; Emily Albu, *The Medieval Peutinger Map: Imperial Roman Revival in a German Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

³⁴ See below pp.17-18 for a rejection, partly on the basis of this diversity, of the idea that *mappaemundi* represent 'the medieval worldview'.

³⁵ Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 300; Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 19.

³⁶ Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 301–2; Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'Maps, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: Some Reflections about Anachronism', trans. Patricia Stirnemann, *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 12 (2015): 144–45. Egypt was considered to be part of Asia at this time.

³⁷ Christiane De Craecker-Dussart, 'La cartographie médiévale: d'importantes mises au point', *Le Moyen Age* 116, no. 1 (2010): 173–75; Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 289–91; Evelyn Edson, 'Mapping the Middle Ages: The Imaginary and the Real Universe of the *Mappaemundi*', in *Monsters, Marvels and Miracles: Imaginary Journeys and Landscapes in the Middle Ages*, ed. Leif Søndergaard and Rasmus Thorning Hansen (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), 11–15, 17–21.

time from past (Creation) to present to future (the Apocalypse and Kingdom of Heaven) is a key feature of *mappaemundi*.³⁸ Building on this temporal aspect, Scafi argues that Eden is a defining feature of *mappaemundi*, indicating the earliest days of humanity and the future Paradise, a theme reinforced by the presence of Jerusalem which signified the life of Christ and the forthcoming Kingdom of Heaven.³⁹ *Mappaemundi* are Christianised worldviews which served a specific, spiritually orienting purpose, aiming to show the totality of God's creation from beginning to end, depicting the story of the world graphically. Analysing North-East Asia must begin by recognising that this non-Christian region was mapped within a Christian picture of world geography and time. Asia was a component of a broader cartographic agenda, and its representation furthered these maps' holistic natures and arguments about God and the world.

Ebstorf, *Psalter* and *Hereford* represent a useful corpus of these *mappaemundi* for several reasons. On a prosaic level, they are the only extant thirteenth-century detailed *mappaemundi*. This is partly a corpus of necessity; only these maps indicate what a cartographer of that period could do when drawing the world in detail. This small corpus allows close readings, but also provides a reminder that *mappaemundi* like these were probably atypical. They must be analysed as ends in themselves rather than extrapolating from three documents into a uniform thirteenth-century intellectual pattern. These maps demonstrate how cartographers could think about and with Asia in this period, and likely influenced their audiences, but caution is necessary in assessing how far they were entirely representative of thirteenth-century thought.⁴⁰ Even before considering lost examples, there are around 1100 extant medieval European maps, of which most world maps are simple T-O

³⁸ For classic studies of this theme, see David Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 4 (1985): 510–21; Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: The British Library, 1997). See Chapter 1 pp.74–81.

³⁹ Alessandro Scafi, 'Defining Mappaemundi', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), passim, esp. 348–51; Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: The British Library, 2006), passim, esp. 62–63, 84–88, 149; Scafi, 'Mapping the End', passim, esp. 400–401, 403–5, 407.

⁴⁰ The travellers of the thirteenth century, discussed in Chapter 1 and referenced throughout this thesis, provided a very different way of understanding Asia and the world, for instance. They reported different details about Asia, and the very way in which they gathered information (eye-witness reportage as opposed to consulting Roman texts) was different from the cartographers too.

diagrams in manuscripts.⁴¹ *Ebstorf*, *Psalter* and *Hereford* are all thirteenth-century, detailed, ornate objects produced and received in elite contexts. *Hereford* and *Ebstorf*'s size and freestanding nature make them more atypical.⁴² The detailed *mappaemundi* provide examples of geographical thought and represent an important way in which thirteenth-century Latin makers and viewers of maps engaged with North-East Asia, but the conclusions presented in this thesis are not definitive or typical of medieval cartography as an entire phenomenon.

That these *mappaemundi* should not be taken as completely representative of medieval geographical thought is compounded by the unknown factors of medieval production and subsequent survival. The record is almost certainly incomplete, especially for large, freestanding maps, but what remains debated is the extent of the loss.⁴³ Harvey takes one extreme view, arguing that "maps were practically unknown in the middle ages", that cartography was incredibly rare, and any detailed maps depended on Roman models.⁴⁴ By this view, large or detailed *mappaemundi* were scarce and the three examined in this thesis would have been highly unusual. Harvey is right to observe the difference in mindsets regarding mapping between the Middle Ages and more cartographically saturated following centuries, but his minimalism perhaps goes too far. There are hints of other *mappaemundi* in medieval texts; Gervase of Tilbury, for instance, referred to a *mappamundi* in his geographical-historiographical *Otia Imperialis*.⁴⁵ *Psalter* was likely a copy of a lost wall map.⁴⁶ Moreover, while *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* were not unimportant sites, nor were they political or religious centres; it would be unusual for only these places to have produced and displayed *mappaemundi*. It is not inconceivable that other religious houses also had maps as devotional or pedagogic objects. These were powerful statements of Christian superiority and would be effective tools for ecclesiastical

⁴¹ Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism', 510. For the unknown but undoubtedly large loss to the historical record and the transience of maps of all sizes, see Harvey, 'Medieval Maps: An Introduction', 8–9. It is worth noting also that the number of identified maps has likely grown since Woodward's tally in the 1980s.

⁴² Edson, 'Medieval Maps in Context', 27–30.

⁴³ Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* (London: The British Library, 2010), 10.

⁴⁴ Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 7–8, 10, 17–19. See below pp.19–20 for a further discussion of cartographic models and prototype maps.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 2 p.107.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 3 p.175.

institutions. That *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* survived through iconoclasm, warfare and exposure to the elements is astonishing; their unique nature can more feasibly be understood as a consequence of high loss rather than low production.⁴⁷ *Psalter*'s location in a book of psalms is unique, but again it is possible that other manuscript-bound *mappaemundi* existed and were lost. It is difficult to know what percentage of an original corpus *Ebstorf*, *Psalter* and *Hereford* represent, but a high proportion of loss seems likely, and it similarly seems unlikely that these *mappaemundi* were spontaneous inventions in a vacuum. Caution is hence required in generalising from these maps to a broader tradition. It is possible, at least, to note patterns in these maps while recognising that broader conclusions about medieval cartography cannot necessarily be extrapolated from three maps which represent an unknown percentage of an unknowably large tradition.

Emphasising that these *mappaemundi* represent only a small number of specific examples of cartography, and that generalisations about them remain tentative, helps provide a note of caution against some trends in scholarship on medieval mapping. Many scholars discuss *mappaemundi* as emblematic of “the medieval worldview” (note the recurring definite article) as if such a monolithic gestalt medieval intellectual consciousness ever existed, and was moreover completely, identically reproduced in *mappaemundi*.⁴⁸ These maps were prestige, luxury objects produced by cartographers with much information at their disposal for elite receptions; furthermore, the views of non-elite, non-literate people are less well known.⁴⁹ Each map is a worldview; to call *mappaemundi* the worldview is misleading. In their production and reception, these *mappaemundi* drew on contemporary knowledge and belief and are hence inseparable from the ideas of their day. However, it would

⁴⁷ R.A. Skelton, *Maps: A Historical Survey of Their Study and Collecting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 26.

⁴⁸ For example, Evelyn Edson, ‘The Medieval World View: Contemplating the Mappamundi’, *History Compass* 8, no. 6 (2010): 503–17; Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300-1492: The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2007), 11 (thirteenth-century world maps “pulled together the world view of the High Middle Ages”); Heather Wacha and LauraLee Brott, ‘Reframing the World: The Materiality of Two *Mappaemundi* in BL, Add. MS 28681’, *Imago Mundi* 72, no. 2 (2020): 149 (the *Psalter* maps “have come to stand in cartographical scholarship as exemplars of the medieval world view”); Dan Terkla, ‘Informal Catechesis and the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*’, in *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel*, ed. Robert Bork and Andrea Kann (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 141 (The Hereford map provides a “representation of the thirteenth-century worldview”).

⁴⁹ Morse, ‘Role of Maps’, 31.

be flawed to suggest either that there was ever such a generic, identikit thing as “the medieval worldview”, or that the *mappaemundi* reflected what *everyone* thought about the world. Positing a homogenous “medieval worldview” obscures the perhaps more interesting reality of the maps’ historical sensitivity and the cartographers’ authorial agency. The maps each include monsters, for instance, but on *Psalter* they are only in Africa, not Asia. *Psalter* lacks Scythian barbarians, and Scythia’s size differs greatly in *Hereford* and *Ebstorf*. Each *mappamundi*’s Gog and Magog vary. Each map reflects apocalyptic thought, but where *Hereford* emphasises the death of Christ in this world and the triumph of God in Heaven, *Ebstorf* centres the world on Christ’s resurrection on earth. Highlighting each map’s specificity and historical contingency foregrounds the choices involved in their composition, a process which created rather than transcribed an existing ‘worldview’. This underlines their nature as sources which depended on selecting and restructuring contemporary knowledge, not reproducing these ideas wholesale. While the corpus in this thesis hence remains small by necessity, this limitation can help caution against an assumption of identikit *mappaemundi* or a homogenous medieval consciousness, and instead highlight medieval cartography as the dynamic, innovative phenomenon that it was.

There are, moreover, advantages to these maps which elevate the corpus from one of necessity to one which provides useful case studies in examining continuities and contingencies in thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*. These maps punctuate the thirteenth century at roughly forty-year intervals, providing snapshots of cartographic thought before, during, and after the main impact of the Mongols. They hence provide a useful chronological span, demonstrating trends across the century but also features unique to each map, such as *Hereford*’s larger Scythia. The thirteenth century represents the last main phase of *mappaemundi* populated with antique terminology, where the cartographers opted for classical information over contemporary discovery, before new places, peoples and landforms emerged in the fourteenth century. *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* reveal what a cartographer, working to create a map for a religious institution and audience, could achieve with the luxury of space; they are maximalist pieces of propaganda. *Psalter* is smaller, in a manuscript rather than a religious house, and had a smaller audience. However, it repeats some of the themes of the larger maps, and is ideally placed chronologically, dating from soon after the Mongol invasions of the 1240s and 1250s. The *mappaemundi* offer

diachronic and synchronic insights into how cartographers and audiences could think about and with North-East Asia in a century of challenges and new knowledge about non-Christian Asian peoples.

There is one final consideration for this corpus: the role of previous maps and the possibility of copying. On the strength of similarities in form and content between the maps, Terkla, Birkholz, Morgan and Westrem posit a twelfth-century prototype for the *mappaemundi*, possibly influenced by Hugh of St Victor.⁵⁰ This calls into question the maps' distinctive 'thirteenth century-ness', a key theme of this thesis. Are thirteenth-century events relevant as explanatory factors if these maps are simply versions of a twelfth-century exemplar?

There is a convincing case for a common ancestor based on similarities between the maps, but this should not obscure three key themes: contingency, distinctiveness and innovation. Each map is different from each other and from their classical sources, with such differences relating to their historical circumstances. As a position which can be understood as 'authorial minimalism', the maps are at the very least exemplars of a decision-making process. While the existing record makes it impossible to establish how far the thirteenth-century cartographers made their own specific choices, the maps can still nevertheless serve as evidence that certain choices were made in the processes involved in producing *mappaemundi*, be it in the thirteenth century, the twelfth, or earlier. Medieval *mappaemundi*, at some point, specifically made Asia less urban and more savage; by this minimalist logic, the thirteenth-century maps illustrate a broader cartographic process, even if this trend cannot be isolated to the thirteenth century itself. While this is a vague position, it is nonetheless significant that so many omissions occur between the classical sources and the medieval texts. Asia was made flawed through selections and silences.

⁵⁰ Daniel Birkholz, *The King's Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in Thirteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 10; Nigel Morgan, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles Volume Four: Early Gothic Manuscripts [II] 1250-1285* (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), 84; Scott D. Westrem, *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), xv; Dan Terkla, 'Hugh of St Victor (1096–1141) and Anglo-French Cartography', *Imago Mundi* 65, no. 2 (2013): passim, esp. 161, 167–71.

However, the maps are sufficiently different from one another and from their classical source material to suggest some authorial agency, and it is fair to assume that these thirteenth-century mapmakers would have been informed by their circumstances such as the Mongol invasions. Westrem, for instance, notes that of Hereford's 425 legends for Europe and Ebstorf's 488, only about 140 correspond; moreover, there are differences in orthography and content, including *Hereford's* much heavier, seemingly verbatim use of Solinus and *Ebstorf's* use of Jerome.⁵¹ Differences between the maps, such as the depiction of Scythia, will also become clear throughout this thesis. The growing shape and threat of Scythia points to a specifically thirteenth-century influence as the Mongols imprinted themselves on the Latin mindscape of North-East Asia. Such differences suggest that even if these thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* did share some earlier prototype, the cartographers still had some creative impact. Their unique decisions resulted in maps which shared trends and a genealogy but remained distinct. Moreover, as reception theory suggests, the maps' impact for thirteenth-century audiences can be assessed. Even if *Hereford's* Gog and Magog and Scythia are essentially twelfth-century, for instance, they would be read very differently at the end of the thirteenth century than in the twelfth, as this audience would have been influenced by decades of difficulties from Mongols and Muslims. A possible twelfth-century prototype is a likely influential factor in these maps' production, but does not preclude a specifically thirteenth-century production and reception.

Cartographic History and the 'Cultural Turn'

I locate this thesis in the 'cultural turn' in the historiography of cartography, a scholarly development which emphasised the importance of shedding modern conceptions of what a map should look like and do, instead focusing on maps' contexts and natures as cultural documents. Before the 1970s, scholars of geographic and cartographic history tended to compare *mappaemundi* with modern cartography and its apparent objectivity, empiricism and scientific approach. The religiously informed, almost unrecognisable landforms of medieval mapping came up

⁵¹ Westrem, 'Lessons from Legends', 200–201. For instance, *Hereford* has Neapolis, *Ebstorf* does not; *Ebstorf* has Nicaea, *Hereford* does not; Norway is Noreya on *Hereford* and Norwegia on *Ebstorf*. See Chapters 2 and 4 for the roles of Solinus and Jerome.

short. In 1906, Beazley described *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* as “non-scientific ... monstrosities” emblematic of “Dark Age learning”.⁵² His approach represents a nineteenth-century trend of cartographic history as a teleological narrative where the story of mapmaking was one of scientific development in ‘accurate’ mapping.⁵³ He lauded portolan charts, the “first true maps” as “a refreshing contrast, in their often almost modern accuracy, to the work of other schools”, namely the “wildest productions of mediaeval fabulists”.⁵⁴ For Beazley, a ‘good’ map was a spatially accurate modern map. He discarded *mappaemundi*, with their different symbolisms and functions, as outliers. In 1938, Kimble dismissed *mappaemundi* “as works of art and not information”, implying that maps are only useful insofar as they faithfully represent space.⁵⁵ A similar teleology, concerned with the march towards modern mapping, is evident in Crone’s work, the fifth edition of which was published in 1978. Crone structures his work around “the progress of science”; hence, *mappaemundi* receive less attention than portolan charts and the fourteenth-century Catalan Atlas which more resemble modern notions of cartography.⁵⁶

Such attitudes began changing in the late 1960s as part of the ‘cultural turn’, in which scholars read maps on multiple symbolic, contextualised levels. In arguing in 1968 for a more rounded methodology than comparing old maps with geographic reality, Harley suggested such focal points as function, topographic and symbolic content, performative context, culture and socio-economic conditions.⁵⁷ In 1979, Robinson argued that the “map was a complex communicative device”; to assess this nature required cartography and its history to be studied in their own right as cultural phenomena.⁵⁸ He developed the notion of maps as having multiple, context-specific communicative functions in 1982, arguing that maps could communicate concepts

⁵² C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography Vol. III: A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Middle of the Thirteenth to the Early Years of the Fifteenth Century (c. A.D. 1260-1420)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 528.

⁵³ For summaries of this trend, see Woodward, ‘Reality, Symbolism’, 510; Matthew H. Edney, ‘Theory and the History of Cartography’, *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 186–88; Woodward, ‘Medieval *Mappaemundi*’, 342.

⁵⁴ Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography III*, 9–10.

⁵⁵ George Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen & Co., 1938), 182.

⁵⁶ Gerald Crone, *Maps and Their Makers: An Introduction to the History of Cartography*, Fifth Edition (Folkestone: Wm Dawson & Son, 1978), 11–25.

⁵⁷ J.B. Harley, ‘The Evaluation of Early Maps: Towards a Methodology’, *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): passim, esp. 64–65, 67–69.

⁵⁸ Arthur Robinson, ‘Geography and Cartography Then and Now’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 1 (1979): 97, 101–2.

beyond space, such as history and faith.⁵⁹ In a work co-authored with Petchenik, Robinson argued that maps were encoded representations of space which relied on processes of interpretation from sources to the cartographer and through the map to the recipient.⁶⁰ North-East Asia would hence have been interpreted heterogeneously in different maps in different contexts with different viewers.

The most significant and lasting shift in the study of the history of cartography came with the 1987 publication of the first volume of the *History of Cartography (HoC)*. While some of its themes and arguments were not new – for example, the notion of maps being contingent on their intellectual and cultural contexts – *HoC* cemented this shift and represented a sea change in attitudes to studying historical maps. The first volume's focus on ancient, classical and medieval cartography challenged the progress narrative: the editors and contributors emphasised the interactions between spatial information, cultural environments, map makers and recipients which resulted in maps which differed in appearance, content, form and purpose but shared a nature as “graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world”.⁶¹ Another important aspect of *HoC* is its understanding of maps as documents embroiled in institutional and ideological power; maps frequently came from and tried to perpetuate positions of authority.⁶² This standpoint is crucial for understanding *how* and *why* the maps presented North-East Asia as an attempt to proclaim Christian superiority against the odds.

Scholars have usefully applied the arguments of cultural turn scholarship to medieval cartography, demonstrating how medieval concerns shaped *mappaemundi* which should be assessed accordingly rather than compared with modern efforts. Rather

⁵⁹ Arthur Robinson, *Early Thematic Mapping in the History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 2–3, 9–11.

⁶⁰ Arthur Robinson and Barbara Petchenik, *The Nature of Maps: Essays toward Understanding Maps and Mapping* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), passim, esp. x, 1, 15–16, 20, 23–26, 32.

⁶¹ J.B. Harley and David Woodward, ‘Preface’, in *The History of Cartography Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xvi; J.B. Harley, ‘The Map and the Development of the History of Cartography’, in *The History of Cartography Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 2; Harvey, ‘Medieval Maps: An Introduction’; Woodward, ‘Medieval Mappaemundi’; Harley and Woodward, ‘Concluding Remarks’.

⁶² Harley and Woodward, ‘Concluding Remarks’, passim, esp. 506–8.

than strict Euclidean space being the prime concern, medieval mapmakers worked towards what De Craecker-Dussart terms the “divine-human-earth centred scheme”, including historical and theological content to do so.⁶³ She asserts the conceptual, symbolic, religiously-framed nature of medieval maps, accounting for *mappaemundi*’s religious framing and content such as the Last Judgement and Noah’s Ark.⁶⁴ Kupfer emphasises the importance of context in analysing cartography – maps should not be assessed as isolated, discrete documents, but considered alongside how and where they appear.⁶⁵ *Mappaemundi* functioned in specific physical and intellectual contexts, such as Hereford cathedral’s pilgrimage complex, which influenced how they were produced and received; they existed dialectically with their environment, drawing significance from and shaping their location.⁶⁶ Woodward and Edson have demonstrated how *mappaemundi* mapped past and future; medieval world cartography was concerned with time as well as space, and should be analysed by those conventions rather than by more modern, static conceptions of landscape and cartography.⁶⁷ The cultural turn in medieval cartography has effectively shown how *mappaemundi* were, in content, form and function, different from and not inferior to later maps. They should be assessed as representors of an intellectual tradition which encompassed more than simply geographical space, and as cultural sources, indications of how medieval people could think with and about their world.⁶⁸

Much cultural turn scholarship analyses medieval cartography as what Jacob terms “opaque” sources: studied as valuable sources in their own right in which maps as representations of space also act as windows into culture, rather than simply as “transparent” sources which are simply repositories of spatial information.⁶⁹ Two helpful studies here which have informed the approach of this thesis are Lavezzo’s work on medieval English understandings of their own marginal presence, and

⁶³ De Craecker-Dussart, ‘La cartographie médiévale’, 166. “schéma théo-anthropo-géocentrique”.

⁶⁴ De Craecker-Dussart, 166.

⁶⁵ Marcia Ann Kupfer, ‘Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames’, *Word & Image* 10, no. 3 (1994): passim, esp. 263–64, 279.

⁶⁶ Kupfer, 264.

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Woodward, ‘Reality, Symbolism’; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*; Scafi, ‘Mapping the End’. Chapter 1 discusses this temporal element in detail.

⁶⁸ On this theme, see Christian Jacob, ‘Toward a Cultural History of Cartography’, *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): passim, esp 191–92.

⁶⁹ Jacob, 191–93.

Hiatt's analysis of European understandings of the Antipodes before this region was explored.⁷⁰ Lavezzo argues that early English geographical texts and maps embraced England's peripheral nature as an aspect of their identity, with ideas of space becoming intertwined with ideas of power, belonging, politics, culture and religion.⁷¹ She shows how representations of the world, and one's place in it relative to others, were important in shaping ideas of the self. Hiatt, particularly relevantly for the present work, demonstrates how mapping an unknown space could be culturally and ideologically fruitful. He argues that – as will be seen in my analysis of classical and medieval ideas of North-East Asia – medieval understandings of the Antipodes combined classical knowledge and contemporary fluidity, in which “reception was dynamic, not static”, as writers constantly adapted and reinterpreted ideas of this region.⁷² In particular, the Antipodes were characterised as being “fundamentally beyond knowledge”, which “gave them a particular intellectual and literary potency” stemming from being both unknown and “unknowable”.⁷³ Christian writers could interpret and narrate this space in different ways to make different arguments about the world. This is, again, a highly relevant precedent for the present analysis of Asia, which the cartographers understood and depicted only indirectly through dated knowledge. Lavezzo and Hiatt's studies of representations of space, therefore, illustrate how maps and geographical texts are valuable sources not just of geographical content but also of cultural trends and epistemological processes – *how* and *why* medieval thinkers thought about and with their world to different ends. These works show depictions of home and away as windows into both space and mindsets, a trend this thesis aims to continue in exploring the symbolism, purposes and processes of construction behind North-East Asia in the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*.

I therefore situate this thesis within the cultural turn, stressing *mappaemundi* as phenomena of their time which illustrate how cartography provided one way of projecting arguments about Christian superiority in the face of challenges. I am not

⁷⁰ Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature and English Community, 1000-1534* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006); Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes Before 1600* (London: The British Library, 2008).

⁷¹ Lavezzo, *Angels*, passim, esp. 1–2, 7–8, 12–17, 46–50, 68.

⁷² Hiatt, *Terra Incognita*, 8–9, 66.

⁷³ Hiatt, 97.

concerned with ‘accuracy’ insofar as the maps reflect actual landforms; this is not a thesis grading the cartographers’ efforts in surveying the Caspian Sea. Rather, I am concerned with how the cartographers chose from and marshalled information to address contemporary concerns and priorities; not how they reproduced the actual landscape, but how and why they built an ideologically useful imagined landscape.

This approach is true of most post-*HoC* scholarship on medieval cartography, and has been applied to the maps which I discuss.⁷⁴ Many articles, books and article volumes address *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, while *Psalter* has also been analysed.⁷⁵ However, this thesis aims for two particular contributions to this rich field. Firstly, while these thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* have received attention individually, they have not been assessed diachronically with reference to the thirteenth century. Edson’s insightful history of medieval world maps, for instance, treats the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* as a uniform, essentially stable genre typified by consistency and continuity; she offers little distinction between *Hereford* and *Ebstorf*, and does not consider how their periods could have informed their content.⁷⁶ This thesis aims for a chronological, historicised analysis which notes common trends but also differences between these maps, arguing for greater variety and historical sensitivity

⁷⁴ See throughout this Introduction and thesis for examples.

⁷⁵ For studies focusing on *Ebstorf*, for instance, see Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke, eds., *Kloster Und Bildung Im Mittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); Marcia Ann Kupfer, ‘Reflections in the Ebstorf Map Cartography, Theology and Dilectio Speculationis’, in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 100–126; Armin Wolf, ‘The Ebstorf Mappamundi and Gervase of Tilbury: The Controversy Revisited’, *Imago Mundi* 65, no. 1 (2012): 1–27; Armin Wolf, ‘News on the Ebstorf World Map: Date, Origin, Authorship’, in *Géographie Du Monde Au Moyen Âge et à La Renaissance*, ed. Monique Pelletier (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S, 1989), 51–68; Hartmut Kugler, Sonja Glauch, and Antje Willing, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte: Kommentierte Neuausgabe in Zwei Bänden. Band II: Untersuchungen Und Kommentar* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007); G. Pischke, ‘The Ebstorf Map: Tradition and Contents of a Medieval Picture of the World’, *History of Geo- and Space Sciences* 5, no. 2 (2014): 155–61. For *Hereford*, see P.D.A. Harvey, ed., *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context* (London: The British Library, 2006); P.D.A. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map* (London: The British Library, 1996); Westrem, *Hereford Map*; Westrem, ‘Making a Mappamundi’; Kupfer, *Art and Optics*; Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*; Marcia Ann Kupfer, ‘The Hereford Map (c. 1300)’, in *A Critical Companion to English Mappae Mundi of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Dan Terkla and Nick Millea (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), 227–52. For *Psalter*, see Mirko Grčić, ‘Geographical Image of the World in the London Psalter Maps from the 13th Century’, *Zbornik Radova - Geografski Fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu* 69 (2021): 25–61; Chet Van Duzer, ‘The Psalter Map (c. 1262)’, in *A Critical Companion to English Mappae Mundi of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Dan Terkla and Nick Millea (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), 179–96; Wacha and Brott, ‘Reframing the World’; LauraLee Brott, ‘The Geography of Devotion in the British Library Map Psalter’, *Cartographica* 53, no. 3 (2018): 211–24. See Chapters 2–4 for further examples of literature on these maps.

⁷⁶ Edson, *The World Map*, 21–31, 85–98.

than has previously been described.⁷⁷ The studies cited above helpfully illustrate how individual maps functioned and were made, but by dint of the scholars' goals do not trace trends and differences across a century of discovery and difficulty. Secondly, this thesis emphasises the role of innovative cartographic agency; the cartographers responded to contemporary circumstances and creatively adapted classical information. I challenge claims of conservatism or inertia, arguing that the cartographers consciously, powerfully archaicised North-East Asia in line with other representational trends. Old names were not the tool of lazy, obstinate cartographers, but part of a package which presented Asia as flawed and inferior to Latin Europe.⁷⁸ The maps were not fossils of classical thought, but inventive displays of neoclassical argumentation.

This thesis, then, aims to build on the cultural turn, extending its arguments about the importance of maps as contextualised, necessarily ideological sources to analysis of the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* as illustrations of contemporary creativity. Through intertextual readings of the maps and their sources; reference to the cartographers' circumstances and the maps' functions and audiences; and diachronic and synchronic analyses which trace differences and similarities over time, this thesis suggests a new way of examining thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*, arguing for something more interesting than idle, unimaginative cartographers.

Defining North-East Asia

I now establish the geographical focus of this thesis. I establish issues around analysing ideas about North-East Asia, before offering three overlapping, complementary but distinct definitions of North-East Asia: 'cartographic-spatial', 'classical-textual', and 'real-geographical'. These represent an area on the maps; contiguous regions described in the cartographers' classical sources; and the land from which the Mongols emerged and which Latin travellers crossed in the thirteenth century. North-East Asia in thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* represents an important analytical focus because it has received few close readings and is a rich area for

⁷⁷ See Chapter 1, esp. pp.64-69, for more of this theme.

⁷⁸ See above and Chapter 1 for examples of scholarship which argues for conservatism, idleness or stubbornness in thirteenth-century cartographers' omission of new features such as the Mongols.

addressing production, reception and creativity, factors which illustrate the cartographers' historical specificity and innovation.⁷⁹ North-East Asia also offers a contrast between the maps' classical, dated nomenclature and the new information provided by the Mongols and Latin travellers.

Information about North-East Asia came primarily from classical texts, particularly Pliny, Solinus, Orosius and Isidore, from the first, third, fifth and sixth/seventh centuries respectively.⁸⁰ Before the geographical discoveries of the mid-thirteenth century onwards, medieval writers including the Aethicus Ister author, Honorius Augustodunensis and Gervase of Tilbury produced geographical treatises, but did so using classical ideas.⁸¹ The classical authors divided the world into Asia, Africa and Europe, and each continent into regions.⁸² This thesis focuses on a region of the north-east of the maps' Asia, which can be understood as Scythia and the lands beyond, including those of Gog and Magog and the adjacent region known as Seres, Cathay, and later, China. This space represents a medieval depiction of classical ideas about barbarians and their poorly known lands. Regions further away from Europe were less understood; this was especially true for the broad expanse of steppe known as Scythia and the Seres contiguous with it. Before the Mongol invasions stimulated connectivity, there was neither the opportunity nor need to fully understand this land. The classical authors were also respected enough that their authoritative descriptions were sufficient for medieval purposes before the Mongols provided a pressing reason to understand this land more.⁸³ Classical and medieval

⁷⁹ See below for Asia in map history literature.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 1 pp.69-74 for more.

⁸¹ The *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister* was a popular eight-century travel text of uncertain authorship. Like the fourteenth-century text of John Mandeville, it was a "travel" in conceit only, and was really a textual amalgam of different geographical sources. Danuta Shanzer, 'The *Cosmographia* Attributed to Aethicus Ister as *Philosophen* - or *Reiseroman*', in *Insignis Sophiae Arcator: Essays in Honour of Michael Herren on His 65th Birthday*, ed. Gernot Wieland, Carin Ruff, and Ross Arthur (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 57–86; Ian Wood, 'Aethicus Ister: An Exercise in Difference', in *Grenze Und Differenz Im Frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (Vienna: VÖAW, 2000), 197–208; Valerie I. J. Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis Imago Mundi', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire Du Moyen Age* 49 (1982): 7–153; Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for An Emperor*, ed. S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002); S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns, 'Introduction', in *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for An Emperor*, ed. S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), xxv–xcv.

⁸² See Appendix 1 and Chapters 2-4 for these regions.

⁸³ Shirin Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 22; Peter Jackson, 'Medieval Christendom's Encounter with the Alien', in *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2010), 31–32, 36.

geographical thought led to mapped versions of North-East Asia which were 'accurate' insofar as they represented contemporary understandings, even if these understandings differed from actual physical spaces. 'Scythia' and 'Seres' were *not* simply synonyms, later updated, for spaces like Mongolia or China. They were terms in the cultural understandings and mindscapes which this thesis addresses and which stemmed, but were distinct, from real physical geography. To clarify these mindscapes, I offer three overlapping definitions which highlight the multifaceted, changing medieval understandings of this region and provide a consistent analytical focus for each map. These definitions aim to encapsulate ideas of a region portrayed through classical texts and classically-informed maps, but which also became known as the origin of the non-classical Mongols.

The first definition is 'cartographic-spatial', based on the north-east of the maps. Figures I.8-10 show this region, which is similar but different on each map: compare *Ebstorf's* doubly-mountainous sealed off region with comparatively few people; *Psalter's* compact Scythia but large mountainous enclosure; and *Hereford's* expansive, more populated Scythia which is contiguous with Europe. The different forms of Scythia, even with the same source material, is an important theme of this thesis. North-East Asia was a non-fixed space which could be interpreted and drawn differently as the cartographers and their contexts demanded.

The second definition is 'classical-textual', the version of the Seres, Scythia and its inhabitants passed down to the medieval cartographers by earlier authorities who derived much of their information about Asia from Herodotus and other Greek sources. The mapmakers did not directly access the earlier Greek corpus, relying on the Roman writers and Isidore.⁸⁴ One important aspect of these *mappaemundi* and North-East Asia is hence the selective transmission of information across time and media. By examining this transmission and situating it in the maps' thirteenth-century context, how and why the cartographers thought with Asia will become apparent. This section briefly surveys the definition of North-East Asia in the cartographers' classical sources to demonstrate the position and contents of Scythia and the Seres,

⁸⁴ See Chapter 1 p.70 for the flow of information in the maps. Discussions of Scythian barbarianism also make it apparent that the cartographers used a narrowed-down version of Herodotus' information about Scythia, rather than accessing this Greek text directly (see Chapters 2 and 4).

and to demonstrate the vagueness and malleability in ideas of North-East Asia which gave the cartographers creative license in drawing it.

Of the maps' chief sources, only Isidore provided a discrete definition of Scythia. It extended

“from the eastern region on the right – where the Seric Ocean [the north-east expanse of the world-encircling ocean] extends – as far as the Caspian, which is to the west. From there, it reaches to the south as far as the summits of the Caucasus, under which lies Hyrcania.”⁸⁵

In lieu of precise measurements, which would have been impossible to provide with any real accuracy, Isidore drew Scythia's boundaries with natural features. This offered mapmakers a general position and some limits: Scythia had to stretch along the northern edge to border the sea, and was situated by the Caspian and Caucasus. To the east were the Seres from Scythia to the Eastern Ocean.⁸⁶ This part of Asia can hence be understood as a space thought to stretch from the eastern and northern limits of the inhabited world, plotted relative to mountains and seas. What this understanding does not provide is any precise size or shape, which contributed to the different forms in the maps.

Orosius also described Scythia, but did so sparingly. From the eastern end of the Caucasus (thought to extend as far as India) and the shore of the Seric Ocean to the Caspian Sea, “there are forty-two Hyrcanian and Scythian peoples, who on account of their lands' infertile expansiveness wander far and wide”.⁸⁷ As well as noting the nature of the land and its effect on the people, Orosius provided a sense of the location and size of the region, expressed by the wide sweep of land and forty-two peoples. His Scythia is broadly drawn, given a rough position and scale but few other

⁸⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX Tomus I: Libros XI-XX Continens*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), XIV.III.31. “a dextra orientis parte, qua Oceanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ad occasum; dehinc a meridie usque ad Caucasi iugum deducta est, cui subiacet Hyrcania”.

⁸⁶ Isidore of Seville, XIV.III.29.

⁸⁷ Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, ed. Karl Zangemeister (Leipzig: B.G. Teubneri, 1889), 1.2.47. “Hyrcanorum et Scytharum gentes sunt XLII, propter terrarum infecundam diffusionem late oberrantes”.

details. It is also defined through its peoples, an important precedent for *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*'s North-East Asia.⁸⁸

Pliny and Solinus lacked a single geographical definition of Scythia; their statements about it are scattered throughout their works. For instance, in describing Bactria and Sogdiana, Solinus noted that the river Jaxartes separates them from Scythia.⁸⁹ Elsewhere, while describing Persia and Parthia, he noted that the latter borders Scythia.⁹⁰ Solinus imagined Scythia as large and essentially understood by readers; rather than specifying where it was, he only had to clarify where other places bordered it. Scythia was generically north and east, given firmer details where it met better known regions.

Pliny too captured the size and general location succinctly:

“a great portion of Asia which lies to the north has swathes of desert because of the severe effect of the cold. From the extreme north to the point in the north-east where the sun rises in the summer are the Scythians.”⁹¹

Pliny indicated a basic position and great size with few other details: Scythia is large and to the north-east. Like Solinus, Pliny also defined Scythia through the Scythians, indicating how these people shaped western European notions of this part of Asia.

Pliny and Solinus placed importance in describing the people of Scythia and the Seres, rather than explaining the intricacies of their geographical positions and borders. Solinus dedicated a chapter to the Scythians, describing people like the Albani, Massagetae and Essedones.⁹² He provided no single spatial definition of

⁸⁸ *Hereford*, as argued in Chapter 4, defines its Scythia through the Scythians; *Ebstorf*, by labelling a region as Scythia.

⁸⁹ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), 180. The Jaxartes is the present-day Syr Darya, formed by the confluence of two rivers rising in the Ferghana valley of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan and emptying in the Aral Sea. Bactria and Sogdiana were regions now covered by Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

⁹⁰ Gaius Julius Solinus, 205.

⁹¹ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII Vol. I: Libb. I–VI*, ed. Ludovicus Janus (Leipzig: Teubner, 1854), 222–23. “*Asiae quoque magna portio adposita septentrioni iniuria sideris rigens vastas solitudines habet. Ab extremo aquilone ad initium orientis aestivi Scythae sunt*”.

⁹² Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 82–88. See Chapters 2 and 4 for more on Solinus and the Scythians.

Scythia, with the tacit logic that “Scythia” is where the Scythians live, to the east of Europe and north-east of Persia. Pliny, similarly, cited the “innumerable multitude of peoples” of Scythia beyond the Jaxartes and named many.⁹³ Pliny and Solinus located the Seres just beyond Scythia, forming a contiguous expanse of little-known Asian lands and peoples.⁹⁴

These authors, then, went some way to defining North-East Asia in physical geographical terms. However, they provided much more information about ethnography: the authors sometimes gave broad delineations of Scythia and the Seres, but spent more time discussing their peoples. This was perhaps because information about people travelled more easily than information about lands; because Herodotus had left much information about Scythians; and because the exotic Scythians proved more interesting than borders. Scythia in the texts – and hence this thesis’ North-East Asia – can hence be understood as the land of the Scythians of classical tradition. The land had physical boundaries as far as knowledge allowed, but was also defined by people who were known indirectly and hence poorly, and were presented as exotic, often savage. The North-East Asia of this thesis is this exotic North-East Asia of the texts given spatial representation in the maps.

The third definition of Asia has less to do with the contents of the maps but is intrinsic to their thirteenth-century reception and symbolic impact. This definition is ‘real-geographical’, addressed here briefly with subsequent chapters elaborating on events contemporary with the maps. This is the actual Asia which began to be experienced in the thirteenth century due to the Mongol invasions and Latin travellers such as William of Rubruck and Marco Polo. This ‘real’ Asia, of the Mongols and Yuan China, was not directly replicated on the maps. However, it matters for this thesis because the Mongols provide essential historical context, perhaps even influencing the shape and contents of Scythia by *Hereford*’s time. Moreover, contrasting the maps’ North-East Asia against that of thirteenth-century

⁹³ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Vol. I*, 226. For instance, he listed the Massagetae, Essedones, Homodoti, Edoes and Chroasai.

⁹⁴ Pliny the Elder, 227; Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 182–83. See Chapter 2 pp.130-134 for the background of the Seres, and Chapters 2-4 for discussions of the Seres on each map.

texts by historians and travellers demonstrates how there were multiple kinds of North-East Asia in thirteenth-century Europe, with different sources, presentations and priorities.⁹⁵ The Mongols did not exist on the *mappaemundi*, but were an important backdrop for their production and reception.

North-East Asia can also be understood by outlining what it is *not*, specifying one region by excluding others, highlighting the contribution of the present work. Several regions within Asia were qualitatively different from North-East Asia and have been discussed extensively in scholarship. The Holy Land, for instance, was of crucial ideological importance for Latin Europe and was a region known, visited and occupied throughout the Middle Ages, as well as being a former territory of the Roman Empire with accordingly well-documented geography. Several authors, notably Harvey and Von den Brincken, explore its representation in regional and world maps.⁹⁶ Similarly, because of pilgrimage, trade and the Crusades fostering travel and contact between Latin Europe and Western Asia, Persia and Mesopotamia were also more known and directly encountered than Scythia, and had their own symbolism which scholars have assessed.⁹⁷ For example, Scafi analyses Persia as a former empire plotted within a historical narrative on *mappaemundi*, while Strickland and Kupfer discuss the moralising achieved by the depiction and position of Babylon.⁹⁸ Less firmly understood regions have also received scholarly attention. 'India', for instance, was a nebulous, malleable concept, and authors like Le Goff and O'Doherty interpret the nature and function of this mindscape in medieval European geographic thought, including on maps, offering thoughtful reflections on the ideological and symbolic potential of partially, indirectly known lands, an approach I extend to this thesis.⁹⁹ I refer to these regions to contextualise

⁹⁵ See Chapter 1 passim for this theme.

⁹⁶ Harvey, 'Holy Land'; Harvey; Von den Brincken, 'Jerusalem'.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 1 passim for these connections and points of contact, comprising travellers such as William of Rubruck and Marco Polo, and fostered by events such as the Mongol conquests and the Fourth Crusade.

⁹⁸ Alessandro Scafi, 'The Image of Persia in Western Medieval Cartography', in *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europæa Vol. II: Classical & Contemporary Iranian Studies*, ed. Antonio Panaino and Riccardo Zipoli (Milan: Associazione Culturale Mimesis, 2006), 219–30; Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, 9, 46–47, 54, 67–68; Debra Higgs Strickland, 'Edward I, Exodus, and England on the Hereford World Map', *Speculum* 93, no. 2 (2018): 443.

⁹⁹ Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 189–99; Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), passim, esp. 246–59, 271, 294–98.

the depiction of Scythia and the Seres and to establish patterns for the whole of Asia, but focus on North-East Asia. This thesis hence contributes to an existing corpus of region-specific analysis of medieval European cartography by providing a close reading of Scythia and the Seres.

Chekin has addressed the cartographic depiction of Scythia in two useful studies; the scope of these analyses, however, can be complemented by the close, comparative, historicised readings which this thesis aims to deliver.¹⁰⁰ Chekin's study of "Lower Scythia" addresses a space between the Don and the Danube – a European, well-known region – and he aims to tabulate geographic information (such as toponyms and ethnonyms) and trace the cartographers' sources. This is a helpful aggregation of data, but does not aim at analysis, providing no discussion of the symbolism or cartographic impact of Scythia. For instance, Chekin does not tie Scythia and Scythians to historical and contemporary ideas of barbarianism, nor does he discuss the selectivity inherent within mapping, as this thesis does.¹⁰¹

Another of Chekin's studies provides a large, descriptive survey of northern Eurasia in medieval maps.¹⁰² Because of this book's nature and intent, however, it can provide no depth to these discussions: it aims to provide a brief overview of "198 western European and Byzantine maps that date between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries", covering present-day Russia, Eastern Europe and Scandinavia. This is immensely useful, but the work's remit necessarily provides breadth rather than close or comparative readings.¹⁰³ While Scythia and the Seres fall under the purview of this book, its range in space, time and number of maps is too extensive to be able to provide any sustained analysis or close readings of the kind this thesis offers. Chekin provides a significant study of Scythia, but of an intentionally different kind to this thesis. I aim to build on Chekin's important work by complementing his breadth with depth, offering a more detailed reading of maps from a specific historical and intellectual moment.

¹⁰⁰ Chekin, 'Lower Scythia'; Chekin, *Northern Eurasia*.

¹⁰¹ Chekin, 'Lower Scythia', *passim*.

¹⁰² Chekin, *Northern Eurasia*.

¹⁰³ Chekin, 9.

A more recent paper by Denisov provides another descriptive survey of Scythia in *mappaemundi*.¹⁰⁴ This is a short study, however, with only broad, brief analyses. It is, furthermore, unsatisfactory in several respects. Having quickly sketched the sources for and position of Scythia across a range of maps, Denisov describes one theme of Scythia: its riches guarded by griffons.¹⁰⁵ His analysis of *Hereford*, however, incorrectly conflates the monstrous griffons with the distinct Griste people, discussing the habits of this latter human group in a description of the former.¹⁰⁶ Denisov also covers the theme of “Scythian barbarity” in three paragraphs, noting the link between classical texts and the maps’ depictions of savage features.¹⁰⁷ However, this discussion lacks depth. There is no mention of Herodotus, only Solinus, and Denisov implies that the maps’ depiction of an utterly barbarous Scythia faithfully and completely mirrors a corresponding Roman attitude, as opposed to stemming from a set of cartographic choices which created savage stereotypes.¹⁰⁸ Finally, while Denisov does mention the Mongols, this is only to note the association Matthew Paris made between them and Gog and Magog. He does not, for instance, link ideas of the Mongols with changes in the maps.¹⁰⁹ Where other scholars have discussed Scythia, it is in broad terms. Kline, for instance, notes its nature as a little-known space where monsters and barbarians were reputed to live. She argues this land is “associated with darkness and evil” but provides little commentary on *why* and *how* this was the case beyond simply noting the presence of these brutal forces. Her North-East Asia is a backdrop, with no sustained focus on common trends in the construction of this region.¹¹⁰ This thesis aims to offer a close reading of North-East Asia across a small corpus, noting recurring themes in how the cartographers thought with Asia, and emphasising the maps’ contexts, with the intention of explaining why North-East Asia looks as it does.

¹⁰⁴ Andrei Denisov, ‘Scythia as the Image of a Nomadic Land on Medieval Maps’, in *Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and Their Sedentary Neighbours: Papers of the 7th International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe*, ed. Hao Chen (Szeged: Studia Uralo-Altaica 53, 2019), 73–83.

¹⁰⁵ Denisov, 73–76.

¹⁰⁶ Denisov, 77–78.

¹⁰⁷ Denisov, 79.

¹⁰⁸ See Chapters 2 (pp.140-145) and 4 (pp.230-240) for more.

¹⁰⁹ Denisov, ‘Scythia’, 80–81.

¹¹⁰ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 146–53.

Thesis Structure

To argue for historically specific maps produced by innovative cartographers, in the service of demonising Asia in order to morally privilege God and Latin Europe, this thesis proceeds in three chronological, map-specific chapters which allow close readings of the *mappaemundi* within their historical and performative contexts. Two thematic chapters which discuss areas pertinent to all the maps bookend these chronological chapters.

Chapter 1 sets out the contexts and frames of the *mappaemundi*. It locates the maps in a situation of crusading difficulties, Mongol invasions and new forms of geographical knowledge about Asia. It establishes the themes of urbanism, barbarianism and Gog and Magog, as well as setting out the creative energies which typified thirteenth-century culture and neoclassical cartography.

Chapter 2 analyses *Ebstorf*, arguing that this large map in a German religious house aimed for teaching, propagandising and entertaining. It is a bombastic statement about God's role in the world and the importance of the forthcoming Resurrection, but also seeks to thrill with savage but safely contained and distant scenes in Asia. Its Scythia is small, peripheral and contained, reflecting a period before the Mongols pushed North-East Asia into Latin thought.

Chapter 3 analyses *Psalter*, arguing that it is part of a broad devotional scheme which encouraged the reader to reflect on God's protective presence. It preaches unity and uniformity much more than *Ebstorf* or *Hereford*, but still presents a muscular vision of God as guardian. Part of the unity and control came from an especially dominant enclosure of Gog and Magog; the depiction of this fierce people whom God would defeat could provide reassurance in the wake of the Mongols.

Chapter 4 analyses *Hereford*, arguing that this *mappamundi* displays the influence of a century of challenges in the shape of the Mongol invasions, continued anxieties about them, and final losses in the Holy Land. It goes furthest in its apocalyptic imagery and in constructing Scythia as savage, reflecting tensions and trauma but nevertheless indicating the future victory of God in the Apocalypse. With its larger,

closer and uncontained Scythia, *Hereford* also likely reflects the influence of the Mongols on the cartographer's idea of the size and relevance of North-East Asia.

Chapter 5 concerns Prester John, a legendary Christian king thought to reside in Asia who is absent from each map. The chapter argues that Prester John was a known presence who could conceivably have aligned with the maps' agendas of displaying marvels and Christian powers. His absence instead supports the maps' construction of Asia as inferior and unsophisticated, and moreover reinforces the neoclassical strategies of omitting contemporary information from Asia. The absence of Prester John reflects in microcosm the themes presented in this thesis.

The conclusion draws the analysis together, reflecting on themes and differences across the *mappaemundi* and showing continuity and contingency. Asia was always constructed and received in ways which privileged Christianity, but how this occurred shifted across the century as Latin attitudes to North-East Asia, the Holy Land and the Mongols changed. The savagery became more intense, but so did the sense of God's protective role and ultimate victory. Each map presented a savage Asia, constructed through fierce imagery but also from omitted features such as cities and Prester John, contrasted against a divinely ordered, sophisticated, urban Christian Europe. The conclusion also reflects on changes in fourteenth-century cartography, when mapmakers introduced new names and landforms. While this represents an important development in the ways in which world maps were drawn, this thesis argues that processes of innovation and change are evident earlier, in the thirteenth century, as cartographers worked out how to accommodate the challenges of marauding Mongols and Levantine losses within maps designed to glorify God.

Introduction Figures



Figure I.1: Twentieth-century reproduction of the c.1220s *Ebstorf mappamundi*. Image from EbsKart project, Leuphana University of Lüneburg. Available at <https://warnke.web.leuphana.de/hyperimage/EbsKart/index.html#O9999/>.



Figure I.2: The *Psalter mappamundi*, c.1260s. British Library, London. Add MS 28681, f.9v.



Figure I.3: The *Hereford mappamundi*, c.1300. Hereford Cathedral, New Library Building.

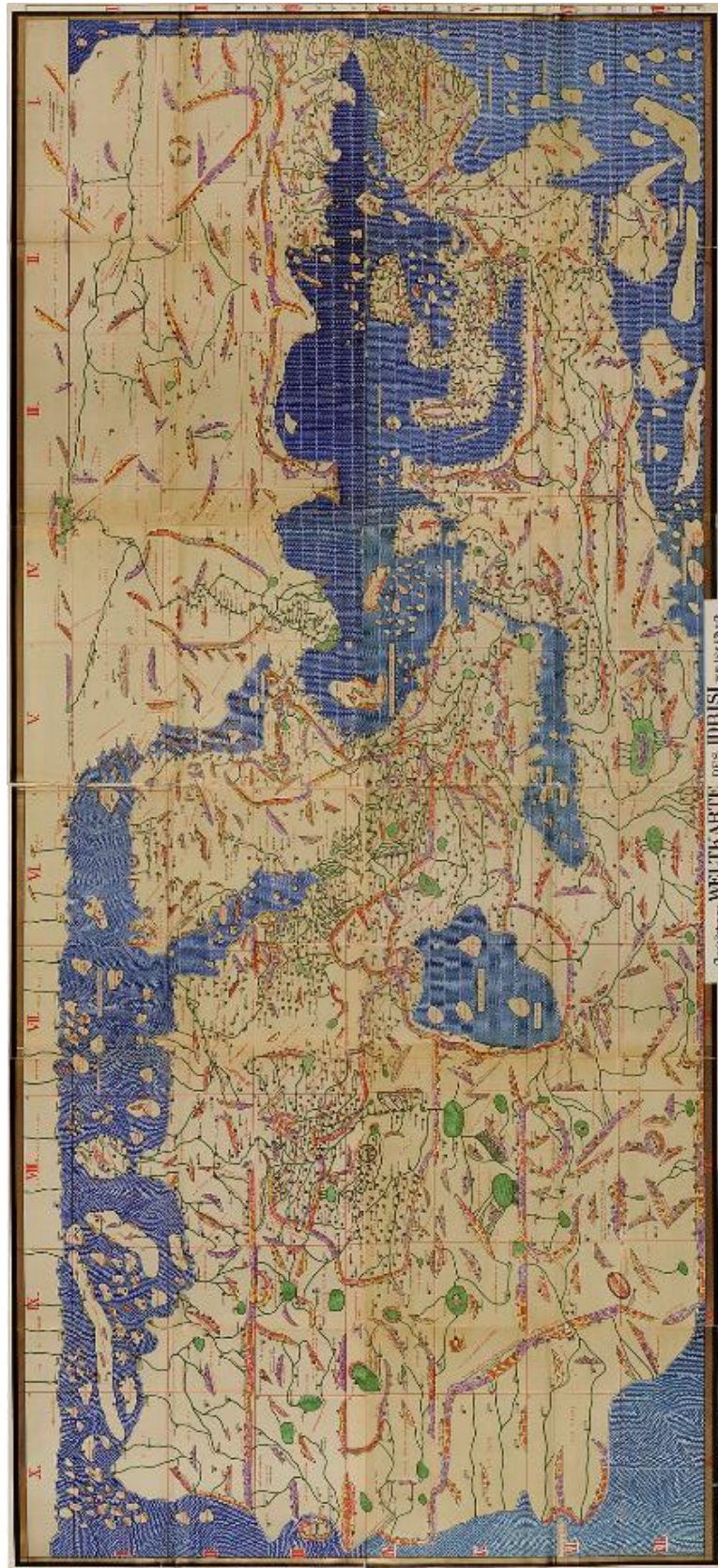


Figure I.4: 1929 reproduction and aggregation of Muhammad al-Idrisi's *Tabula Rogeriana* (1154), originally comprising seventy double-spread sheets. This modern edition has Latin names transliterated by the original Latin script. South is at the top.



Figure I.5: Detail from the medieval Peutinger Map showing Italy, with Rome towards the left. Available online in a digital edition by Richard Talbert in association with the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, with further bibliographic information at <https://peutinger.atlantides.org/map-a/>.



Figure I.6: A zonal map in the style of Macrobius from a mid-twelfth-century French manuscript. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen. MS NKS 218 4°, f.34r.



Figure I.7: Example of a schematic T-O map from an early-eleventh-century copy of Isidore's *Etymologies*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. MS Latin 7586, f.45r.



Figure I.8: The North-East Asia of *Ebstorf*.



Figure I.9: The North-East Asia of *Psalter*.



Figure I.10: The North-East Asia of *Hereford*.

Chapter 1 – Crisis and Creativity: Framing the Mappaemundi

In March 1241, the Mongols invaded eastern Europe, and the world and worldviews of Latin Christians changed forever.¹ The impacts of the Mongols represent one important factor of several which shaped thirteenth-century Latin Christianity's responses to and interactions with the wider world, alongside phenomena including the Crusades and uses of history. This chapter situates the *mappaemundi* in this context; they can only be fully understood as documents from a period when Latin Europeans were re-evaluating their relationship with their world and past.

The chapter frames the *mappaemundi* in two trends to show how the cartographers built their maps to suit their circumstances: the formation and consequences of Mongol Eurasia, and the neoclassical moment.² The former catalysed reinterpretations of the proximity and dangers of North-East Asians. The latter contextualises how the cartographers built North-East Asia from existing knowledge. Combining these themes, the Mongols can be understood as a stimulus for how the cartographers selected, rejected and emphasised different geographical material.

The Mongols demonstrate why it is important to study *Ebstorf*, *Psalter* and *Hereford* together in relation to their contexts. In analysing each map's North-East Asia, an essential starting point is its contemporary role and prominence of North-East Asia. How did the cartographers' historical circumstances affect the imagined geographies of North-East Asia? The Mongol invasions of Eastern Europe spanned the 1240s and 1250s, and the Mongol Golden Horde bordering Europe caused prolonged anxiety for Christians.³ *Ebstorf* dates from c.1220; *Psalter*, the 1250s; *Hereford*, c.1300; the maps are interspersed throughout this century, providing examples from before, during and after the invasions of Europe. By demonstrating the Mongols' political and emotional impacts on Latin Europe, the chapter prepares for the analysis of the *mappaemundi* by locating them in a context of Latin Christian

¹ See 'The Mongol Invasions: Consequences and Responses' below for more.

² See the Introduction, pp.1-3, 5-6 for the neoclassical moment as well as further discussions below, pp.60-81.

³ See below pp.50-55 as well as discussions of each map's historical background in Chapters 2-4.

awareness and fear of North-East Asia and its peoples, providing a factor in accounting for differences between the maps.

Each cartographer also used, in different ways, neoclassical methods in constructing these historically contingent documents, using existing materials to create maps suiting their historical and receptive circumstances. Consequently, this chapter establishes the diachronic and synchronic parameters of this thesis. Synchronically, each *mappamundi* shows neoclassical strategies, demonstrating creative uses of classical materials; archaicising concepts such as Scythian barbarianism; and important notions such as urbanism. Diachronically, each map reflects its political, ideological and institutional context. The *mappaemundi* demonstrate continuity and change across the thirteenth century – the cartographers used similar techniques and information to produce different ideas of North-East Asia.

The chapter, in establishing the *mappaemundi*'s historical and intellectual contexts, also presents the main aims of this thesis. I challenge arguments by scholars such as Edson and Scafi that Asia in *mappaemundi* was static, a product of conservative, rigid and unimaginative cartographers.⁴ Such arguments consider *only* labels and landforms, not how the cartographers reorganised available information. Such approaches overlook the cartographers' creativity in mapping North-East Asia during a century when this region became increasingly prominent in Latin consciousness. In asserting the creative use of classical ideas, this chapter draws on Binski's demonstration of the imaginative medieval re-use of classical motifs in Gothic culture.⁵ The use of old material should not necessarily be deemed conservative or lazy, but should be read against its context to assess *how* and *why* cartographers transmitted antique information. By presenting neoclassical cartography and its

⁴ For instance, Edson, *The World Map*, 95 (Edson mentions *Hereford's* 'conservatism in Asia'); Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 128 ("no attempt was made to represent Asia in contemporary terms" in medieval world maps).

⁵ For instance, Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Paul Binski, 'The Heroic Age of Gothic and the Metaphors of Modernism', *Gesta* 52, no. 1 (2013): 3–19; Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Paul Binski, 'Notes on Artistic Invention in Gothic Europe', *Intellectual History Review* 24, no. 3 (2014): 287–300; Paul Binski, 'The Rhetorical Occasions of Gothic Sculpture: Sophus Bugge Annual Lecture 2017', *Collegium Medievale* 30 (2017): 7–31. See 'Looking Back, Looking Forward – Defining the Neoclassical Moment' below for more.

palette, deployed against the backdrop of the Mongols, this chapter revisits thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* in a context of contingency and creativity.

This focus on context can be situated in the cultural turn's emphasis on understanding a map's performative, institutional, ideological and historical circumstances.⁶ Different contexts necessarily produce different maps. As seen previously, for instance, only about 140 of *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*'s European captions correspond, owing to different sources of local knowledge. *Ebstorf*'s Saxony is better represented, as is *Hereford*'s Britain.⁷ Regarding historical context, *mappaemundi* only regularly made Jerusalem exactly central from the end of the twelfth century, an ideological response to its 1187 fall.⁸ Scholarship has shown, then, that *mappaemundi* were contingent on their circumstances. However, studies of pre-fourteenth-century cartography do not discuss the Mongols' impact on the content or forms of *mappaemundi*, apart from in dismissing any influence. Edson, for instance, argues that thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* "were unaffected by the Tartar assault", an event which maps did not register until the 1320s.⁹ Morse's state-of-the-field essay about medieval European maps mentions the Crusades ten times, but not the Mongols.¹⁰ While the cartographers did not include the Mongols by name, instead using classical nomenclature, their influence can be felt by reading between the lines. The traumatic Mongol invasions are vital context for the maps' depictions of Christianity asserting itself against crisis, evident in their apocalypticism, barbarians and urbanism. By demonstrating the emotive impact of the invasions on Latin Europe, and by presenting the cartographers' resources, this chapter establishes why the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* share common trends and sources while nonetheless including versions of North-East Asia with very different forms and functions.

⁶ For the importance of viewing maps in specific historical contexts, and the changing trend in scholarship to apply this logic to medieval cartography, see Morse, 'Role of Maps', 26; J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 35–37. See also 'Thinking About Maps, Thinking With Maps' in the thesis Introduction for a broader exposition on the cultural turn in the history of cartography and the importance of context.

⁷ See above p.20, esp. Westrem, 'Lessons from Legends', 200–201. For discussions of local place names on these maps, see also Pischke, 'Ebstorf Map', 160; Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, 47.

⁸ Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 340–42; Morse, 'Role of Maps', 26; Edson, *The World Map*, 20; Albu, *Peutinger Map*, 38.

⁹ Edson, *The World Map*, 95–96.

¹⁰ Morse, 'Role of Maps'.

To argue for the importance of situating the *mappaemundi* in their contexts to explain consistencies and differences, this chapter proceeds in three parts. The first sets the historical scene; the second, the intellectual context which could respond to events of this backdrop; the third, the tools at the cartographers' disposal which drew on these contextual aspects. Because the chapter covers many historical, cultural and intellectual areas, it is primarily a synthesis of scholarship, bringing together existing research to argue for analysing the *mappaemundi* against the context of the Mongols, Crusades and medieval approaches to history and authority. The remaining chapters comprise primary source-based analysis, but this first requires framing the *mappaemundi* through historiography.

The first part establishes the historical background against which these maps must be read, including the Mongol invasions, the Crusades and European exploration in and interaction with Asia. By discussing these processes and themes, the chapter locates the maps in their contexts of a Latin Christianity trying to assert itself in an increasingly large and dangerous world. These trends provided the impetus for the cartographers to map Asia as they did, which this chapter argues for by presenting the emotive impacts of the events of the thirteenth century.

The second part explores the neoclassical moment by outlining thirteenth-century Latin Christians' creative use of classical material for medieval ends. As well as this historical material, the *mappaemundi* include apocalyptic imagery: neoclassical strategies involved looking back *and* forward as part of a Christian effort to proclaim Christianity's importance against traumas. This part outlines areas such as the 'twelfth-century renaissance' and Binski's interpretation of Gothic culture, demonstrating how the cartographers' use of classical sources can be located within a wider intellectual trend. Finally, apocalypticism is also key to reading the maps' temporal structure and arguments. The *mappaemundi* were products of their time, and must be considered as such in their handling of past and future material.

The third part introduces the maps' neoclassical repertoires for North-East Asia: the interrelated areas of urbanism, nomadism, barbarianism and Gog and Magog. Chapters 2-4 explore each *mappamundi*'s depiction of these themes; for now, this

part outlines their background and importance, relating them to thirteenth-century neoclassical ideas. The chapter argues that each theme could be used to simultaneously demonise North-East Asia while reminding viewers of Latin Christianity's superiority and ultimate triumph. The cartographers' tools in mapping North-East Asia were necessarily ones which privileged Latin Christianity, and can be understood as part of a period-specific neoclassical moment which responded to thirteenth-century crises.

Contact and Crisis – The Maps' Historical Backgrounds

The Mongol Invasions – Consequences and Responses

The Mongols' thirteenth-century conquests reshaped Eurasia. While Mongol armies advanced no further west than Austria, their impact was felt across Latin Europe.¹¹ This section outlines the chronology and political and emotional consequences of the Mongols' western warfare.¹² Doing so provides the background for the maps' North-East Asia, helping explain its form and function at different times. Chapters 2-4 discuss Latin views of the Mongols at different points across the thirteenth century to localise each map in its historical and intellectual circumstances.¹³ This section's priority is to sketch the broad trends of the thirteenth century to establish the Mongol presence as a key factor in Latin European thought.

¹¹ The Mongols entered Austria while pursuing a Hungarian army in February 1242, but turned back in March for reasons discussed presently. See Marie Favereau, *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2021), 89; Peter Jackson, 'The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42, no. 1 (1991): 3.

¹² The literature on the Mongols, their rise, their conquests, their empire, the four successor khanates, and their legacy is voluminous. For good surveys, see for instance Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Timothy May, *The Mongol Conquests in World History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012); George Lane, *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006); Favereau, *The Horde*.

¹³ The dating of *Ebstorf* is contested but it was likely drawn prior to the Mongol invasions and has a remote, contained North-East Asia; *Psalter* was drawn in the most fraught time in the wake of the Mongol invasions of the 1240s and in an atmosphere of consistent concern; *Hereford* was drawn at the end of the thirteenth century, following five decades of concern over Mongols and Muslims, as well as frustrated efforts at forming an alliance with the former against the latter. See Chapters 2-4.

Over the 1210s, 1220s and 1230s, Mongol armies spread westwards, conquering steppe tribes and Georgia.¹⁴ In December 1237, they invaded the Russian city of Ryazan; by the end of 1240 they had razed Kyiv and conquered the Russian principalities.¹⁵ Then, in the spring of 1241, they invaded Hungary and Poland, defeating German, Polish and Hungarian armies and damaging cities and surrounding countryside.¹⁶ Having entered Austria in early 1242, the Mongols retreated, due to factors including the death of Ogodei Khan and the resulting succession dispute; a cold winter which strained supplies; and marshy terrain ill-suited for cavalry.¹⁷ Despite this respite, the Mongols remained a dangerous presence. The khanate of the Golden Horde, in the west of present-day Russia, invaded Poland in 1259, and over the 1270s, 1280s and 1290s attacked Poland again as well as Hungary and Bulgaria.¹⁸ In 1260, its khan Berke sent envoys to France demanding Louis IX's submission.¹⁹ Since attacking Europe in the early 1240s, the Mongols remained a constant threatening presence. The *mappaemundi* provide snapshots of different points in this Mongol century. *Ebstorf* predates any Mongol impact on Europe; *Psalter* dates from the period of the first destructive conquests; *Hereford* dates from after the main invasions but while the Mongols were still feared. Between them, the *mappaemundi* provide a sample where North-East Asia had more or less impact on Latin consciousness.

The Mongols had many impacts on not just the invaded lands but also western Europe, which emerged militarily if not emotionally unscathed. I return to English responses to the Mongols at the time of *Psalter* and *Hereford*, but it is worth briefly noting several episodes which indicate the Mongols' psychological impact.²⁰ Information about them spread far and quickly over Europe; reading the *mappaemundi* against the backdrop of the Mongols first requires establishing that they were known to the maps' makers and viewers.

¹⁴ Favereau, *The Horde*, 65; Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 58–60; Charles Burnett and Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'Attitudes Towards the Mongols in Medieval Literature: The XXII Kings of Gog and Magog from the Court of Frederick II to Jean de Mandeville', *Viator* 22 (1991): 159.

¹⁵ Favereau, *The Horde*, 83.

¹⁶ Favereau, 88–89; Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 68–73.

¹⁷ Favereau, *The Horde*, 89–92.

¹⁸ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 123–24, 198–206.

¹⁹ Jackson, 124.

²⁰ See Chapters 3 (pp.178-182) and 4 for *Psalter* and *Hereford* (pp.220-225) respectively.

Two important early European sources for the Mongols were barely read by contemporaries in their original form. The Franciscan William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium* (1250s) survives in only four medieval manuscripts and there is little evidence of its dissemination, likely a consequence of it being written specifically for King Louis IX, not a wider audience.²¹ John of Plano Carpini was another Franciscan who travelled among the Mongols in the 1240s. His *Ystoria Mongalorum*, written for the pope, had slightly wider circulation but this was still low: just seven thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts survive.²² However, while these texts had little direct impact in disseminating knowledge of the Mongols, they informed more popular works. For his widely-read *Opus Majus*, Roger Bacon consulted his fellow Franciscan Rubruck, using his report to describe the Mongols.²³ *Opus Majus* includes, for instance, information from Rubruck about Mongol history, 'idolatry' (Buddhism and shamanism) and East Asian scripts, and Bacon cites "Franciscans, whom the Lord King of France Louis [IX] who now rules sent".²⁴ *Opus Majus* was widely circulated and used as an authority, existing in many English libraries like Oxford and quoted in medieval texts including treatises on mathematics and geography.²⁵ Likewise, Carpini's historical information was more widely read in Vincent of Beauvais' popular thirteenth-century *Speculum Historiale*. This circulated over Europe in many languages; versions survive in 250 medieval manuscripts, indicating a widespread knowledge of the Mongols.²⁶ Similarly, Matthew Paris' 1250s chronicle *Chronica Majora*, which itself disseminated tales of the Mongol conquests,

²¹ Peter Jackson, 'Introduction', in William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009), 51–52; William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', in *Sinica Franciscana Volumen I: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert (Florence: Quaracchi-Firenze, 1929), 164.

²² John of Plano Carpini, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', in *Sinica Franciscana Volumen I: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert (Florence: Quaracchi-Firenze, 1929), 12–13; J.R.S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 193.

²³ Roger Bacon, *The 'Opus Majus' of Roger Bacon*, ed. John Henry Bridges (London: Williams and Norgate, 1900), 358–361 for a chapter on tribes including the Tartars; 364–367 for the Caspian Gates and more on the Tartars; 367–371 for the 'Land of the Huns' (the steppes); 371–376 for Cathay.

²⁴ Jarl Charpentier, 'William of Rubruck and Roger Bacon', *Geografiska Annaler* 17, no. Supplement: Hyllningsskrift Tillagnad Sven Hedin (1935): passim, esp 255–56, 265–66; Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 268. "*fratres minores, quos dominus rex Franciae Ludovicus qui nunc regnat misit*".

²⁵ Amanda Power, 'A Mirror for Every Age: The Reputation of Roger Bacon', *The English Historical Review* 121, no. 392 (2006): 657–59.

²⁶ Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 126–27; Gregory G. Guzman, 'The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and His Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin', *Speculum* 49, no. 2 (1974): passim, esp. 287–89.

used the account of Peter, “Archbishop of the Russians” and contemporary letters written by many people who had witnessed or heard of the invasion and its impact.²⁷ These documents indicate networks of information about this threat; direct or indirect news of the Mongols circulated in many texts across thirteenth-century Europe.

It should be noted that such news about, attitudes towards and interactions with the Mongols were not always or entirely characterised by Latin passivity, defensiveness and utter hostility; there was some nuance in Latin-Mongol relations. As discussed throughout this thesis, missionary activity by the Franciscan travellers; commercial ventures such as that of Marco Polo; and diplomatic efforts including those of Edward I of England demonstrate attempts by Europeans to engage with the Mongols religiously, economically and politically. Similarly, as will be seen, depictions by first-hand witnesses such as the Franciscan William of Rubruck and Polo did not resort exclusively to tropes of savage barbarians, but were more rounded sketches of – albeit, to Latin observers, very exotic – people. By the end of the thirteenth century, as argued in Chapter 4, English sources described the Mongols as just another force on the world stage and even as a potential ally against Muslims in the Holy Land. It is important to recognise, therefore, that Latin ideas about the Mongols varied based on the observer, circumstances and time, with attitudes broadly becoming mellower as the thirteenth century progressed and never starting from an entirely, uniformly hostile perspective.

Nevertheless, most information about the Mongols was negative and indicates a widespread fear of them over the later thirteenth century, with the Mongol threat even felt in England. The common Latin European term for the Mongols, ‘Tartar’, indicates their evil image in Christian eyes. The name of a tribe absorbed by the Mongols, Tartar sounded like a Greek word for Hell, Tartarus; western observers adopted it as a label which evoked the threat the Mongols posed, and the two terms

²⁷ Björn Weiler, ‘Matthew Paris on the Writing of History’, *Journal of Medieval History* 35, no. 3 (2009): 268–69; Nathan Greasley, ‘Revisiting the Compilation of Matthew Paris’s *Chronica Majora*: New Textual and Manuscript Evidence’, *Journal of Medieval History* 47, no. 2 (2021): 235–37, 247–48. The circulating letters include those from the bishop of Beirut to the leaders of Lyon; from Ivo of Narbonne to the archbishop of Bordeaux; from the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II to King Henry III of England; and the correspondence of a Hungarian abbot. I return to Matthew Paris and his treatment of the Mongols below and in Chapter 3.

are synonymous in Latin Christian accounts.²⁸ The negativity of ‘Tartar’ indicates the Mongols’ severe impact on Latin Europe. As well as the loss of human life, livelihoods and homes in Eastern Europe, the military defeats which Christians suffered caused ideological reverberations, shattering ideas of urban security and Christian chivalry.²⁹ There was also persistent insecurity, even before the Mongols reached Hungary. In the 1250s, Matthew Paris recorded a herring glut in Yarmouth in 1238. Traders from Gotland and Friesland did not cross the North Sea to England to buy fish for fear of the Mongols, who had recently invaded Russia and “are believed to have burst out as a plague on humanity”.³⁰ This demonstrates knowledge and fear of the Mongols spreading over Europe as early as 1238.³¹ Enough merchants to cause a fish glut would not have been reading Russian chronicles; information must have spread in ways not measurable by manuscript dissemination.

Later attacks on eastern Europe were also felt in the west, further indicating the long-term spread of fearsome information. The people of Utrecht, for instance, believed a peasant uprising in 1274 to be an attack by the Mongols.³² The Mongols were an actual presence and a spectre, expected to be a threat even when they were not. By 1308, the Spanish theologian Ramon Llull still feared the Mongols, writing in a didactic dialogue that they owned over twice the land of Christians and Muslims, and that “all of Christendom is in great peril”.³³ As Chapter 4 discusses, English diplomatic efforts with the Mongols failed, making this people a source of frustration and dashed hopes in the emotionally charged sphere of the Holy Land. The constantly looming Mongol presence was essential background to the production and reception of *Psalter* and *Hereford*, as it associated North-East Asia with a

²⁸ Charles W. Connell, ‘Western Views of the Origin of the “Tartars”’: An Example of the Influence of Myth in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century’, *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1973): 116–18.

²⁹ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 68–73.

³⁰ Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora Vol. III: A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (London: Longman, 1872), 488. “in pestem hominum creduntur ebulire”.

³¹ Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation: On The Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 11.

³² Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 198–206.

³³ Jackson, 346; Ramon Llull, *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina 130-133: In Monte Pessulano et Pisis Anno 1308 Composita*, ed. Aloisius Madre (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 263. “These three emperors possess twice the land – and more – as all the kingdoms of the Christians and the Saracens” [*isti tres imperatores possident majores terras in duplos et plus, quam omnes reges christianorum et Saracenorum*]; “tota christianitas est in magno periculo”.

destructive, feared people. *Ebstorf's* production *before* the invasions helps explain why its North-East Asia is a safely removed spectacle, more to be marvelled at than feared.³⁴ The hostile prominence of Mongols in Latin thought makes it reasonable to assume that they would have influenced how the maps' makers and viewers understood North-East Asia, the origin of this people. Their impact was felt keenly enough that it seems fair to extend this impact to cartography. Despite not appearing on these maps, the Mongols provide important context for interpreting their functions and arguments.

On a wider political stage, the Mongol conquests of much of Eurasia – from China in the east to Hungary in the west and Iran in the south – caused great connectivity, facilitating long-range movements of peoples, goods and ideas.³⁵ Di Cosmo and Favereau challenge the old notion of a 'Pax Mongolica'; instead of one single political entity of the 'Mongol Empire', from the 1260s there were four khanates who co-operated but also warred with one another.³⁶ While the Persian Ilkhanate had a good relationship with the Yuan dynasty in China, for instance, it often clashed with the Golden Horde.³⁷ Nevertheless, the conquests produced a huge expanse of land with a common cultural heritage and dynastic ties, fostering extensive connectivity and integration over Eurasia which Favereau terms the "Mongol exchange".³⁸ This had no impact on the contents of the *mappaemundi*.³⁹ However, the conquests did facilitate an aspect of the maps' intellectual context: the greater peaceful interaction of Latin Christian travellers with the Mongols and their lands.

Movement, Mission and Merchants

The increasing Latin-Mongol interactions resulted in two different kinds of idea of North-East Asia: the experience-based, more empirical travellers' accounts; and the neoclassical *mappaemundi* derived from ancient texts. Interaction between Latin

³⁴ See Chapter 2 *passim*.

³⁵ On this theme generally, see in particular Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*.

³⁶ Nicola Di Cosmo, 'Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): *passim*, esp. 91; Favereau, *The Horde*, *passim*, esp. 2–3, 6, 164.

³⁷ Jacques Paviot, 'England and the Mongols (c. 1260-1330)', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10, no. 3 (2000): 318.

³⁸ Di Cosmo, 'Black Sea Emporia'; Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*; Favereau, *The Horde*, 2–9.

³⁹ See throughout this thesis.

Christians and North-East Asians was not simply a one-way case of the latter invading the lands of the former. Instead, the connected Eurasia enabled Latin travellers to enter Mongol territories, compelled by motives including learning about this people, converting them, or accessing their goods and wealth through trade. Such interactions did not influence the *mappaemundi* directly; for instance, they lack the Mongols, and no cartographer used Marco Polo until 1375.⁴⁰ Instead, the *mappaemundi* existed in a context where thirteenth-century Latin Christians became aware of two ways of understanding Asia, the archaicised Scythia of *mappaemundi* becoming distinct from the Mongol lands revealed by travellers.

Of these travellers, Franciscan missionaries provided early knowledge. The Franciscans had an extensive missionary tradition; St Francis had gone with the forces of the Fifth Crusade in 1219 to try to convert the Egyptian sultan, and in 1253 the order received a papal privilege to despatch preachers eastwards.⁴¹ Following the Mongol invasions of Europe, popes sent Franciscans to the Mongols, hoping to learn about, negotiate with and possibly convert them. In 1245, Innocent IV sent the first such mission under Lawrence of Portugal, whose report is not extant. Over the rest of the thirteenth century, there were further Franciscan travellers including Carpini, Rubruck, and John of Montecorvino.⁴² Carpini and Rubruck's reports were transmitted in more popular works, so accounts provided by the Mongols' victims began to be supplemented by information from people who had seen more inside Mongol society, and who had not suffered at their hands.⁴³ Readers could learn more about Mongol history, leaders, and aspects of domestic life such as accommodation, diet and the gendered division of labour.⁴⁴ At the end of the thirteenth century, Polo's account of his travels across Mongol lands (1271-1295) described Asian geography, history, religion, economics, technology and more, his

⁴⁰ Edson, *The World Map*, 85–86.

⁴¹ Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and Its Influence on the Art of the West 1250-1350* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999), 17; E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), xii–xiii, 5–6.

⁴² Jana Valtrová, 'Beyond the Horizons of Legends: Traditional Imagery and Direct Experience in Medieval Accounts of Asia', *Numen*, 2010, 155; Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), passim, esp. 84-88 for the background to the missions.

⁴³ See above p.52 for the transmission of Carpini and Rubruck in Beauvais and Bacon.

⁴⁴ I return to these Franciscans' texts in future sections on Latin ideas about the Mongols, Gog and Magog and the Apocalypse.

work becoming widely translated and disseminated across Europe.⁴⁵ Polo was one of many Italian merchants who traded in Mongol lands during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, making use of improved security and infrastructure.⁴⁶ Such travellers provided commonly translated and transmitted first-hand accounts of Asia, enabled by the order imposed by the Mongols, and their texts indicate a Latin desire to learn about the 'real' Mongols and North-East Asia. Not long after the Mongols first invaded Hungary in 1241, and subsequently for the rest of the century, Latin Christians were disseminating different kinds of information about this people, made possible by the conquests' subsequent connectivity.

These travellers, their texts, and the impetus behind their journeys are important not for their impact on the *mappaemundi*, but for what they indicate about the contemporary intellectual climate. They establish a tension between two kinds of imagined geography of North-East Asia: the security and reassurances provided by neoclassical cartography and its dated, second-hand information, versus the curiosity and discovery of the contemporary, first-hand travel accounts. In contrast to the cartographers' antique sources, travellers used different kinds of information about the world. It would be inaccurate to posit these travellers as entirely precise, all-encompassing and open empirical observers; their descriptions are characterised as much by what they leave out – details of Chinese urban architecture; Buddhist temple furnishings; frescos and ornamentation at the palace in Karakorum – as what they include.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the travellers' accounts were two-way, stemming from

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Alvise Andreose, 'Marco Polo's *Devisement Dou Monde* and Franco-Italian Tradition', *Francigena* 1 (2015): 261–62; John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), *passim*, esp. 105–11, 132, 148.

⁴⁶ Luciano Petech, 'Italian Merchants in the Mongol Empire', in *The Spiritual Expansion of Medieval Latin Christendom: The Asian Missions*, ed. James D. Ryan, trans. Susan Edgington (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2013), *passim*, esp. 165–67, 171–74, 178–82; Roxann Prazniak, 'Siena on the Silk Roads: Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the Mongol Global Century, 1250-1350', *Journal of World History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 177–79; Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, 96–102.

⁴⁷ On the theme of urban architecture, Marco Polo mentions the beautiful architecture of Kenjanfu [Chang'an/Xi'an] (Volume 2, 24–31) and provides a long, rhapsodic description of Kinsay [Hangzhou] (Volume 2, 185–218), for instance, but such descriptions omit aspects like a predominantly wooden urban landscape or a shared architectural style for offices, palaces, grand houses and temples. Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition in Two Volumes. Volume II*, ed. Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (New York: Dover Publications, 1993). For Rubruck's omissions, see Rubruck, 276–277; Richard Fox Young, '*Deus Unus or Dei Plures Sunt?* The Function of Inclusivism in the Buddhist Defense of Mongol Folk Religion Against William of Rubruck', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 26, no. 1 (1989): 106; Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, 'Imperial Architecture along the Mongolian Road to Dadu', *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1988): 61; Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 149–51.

observations and interpretations of Mongol existence, as opposed to relying on dated European notions of Asia. The writers referenced Asian ideas, material culture and practices, so are the result of two-way processes of observation and understanding.⁴⁸ The texts are, for all their biases and omissions, closer pictures of a 'real' contemporary North-East Asia. Conversely, due to their sources and design, the maps are one-way, framed by ideas not underpinned by contemporary observation. *Mappaemundi* proposed one way of thinking about Asia; texts, another. By recognising the different ways in which thirteenth-century North-East Asia was imagined and understood, fostered by the connectivity and travel which followed the Mongol conquests, how and why the cartographers constructed their imagined landscapes can be more sharply discerned.

The Crusades – Loss, Hope, New Connections

More context for the making and reception of the *mappaemundi* came from the ebbs and flows of the thirteenth-century Crusades. As with Christian attitudes to the Mongols, I return to certain periods of the Crusades in subsequent chapters. This section sketches the chronology of thirteenth-century crusading to demonstrate that Christian losses and successes in the Levant were a persistent concern throughout the 1200s. The section then returns to the beginning of the thirteenth century to discuss the consequences of the Fourth Crusade, arguing that its aftermath further situated the *mappaemundi* in a context of growing Latin engagement with Asia.

Thirteenth-century Latin presence in the Levant was characterised by failures, some success, and ultimately complete loss. In 1187, Saladin captured Jerusalem, but the Crusader states retained land in the Levant. In response, there were renewed efforts to claim the Holy Land as part of a campaign of Christian revitalisation, including the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), missionary activity and the Fifth Crusade.⁴⁹ Having

⁴⁸ For example, frequently strong hostile opinions on the use of 'idols' among the Mongols and Buddhists; see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), passim.

⁴⁹ John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 158–61; Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, 78; Björn Weiler, 'The "Negotium Terrae Sanctae" in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215-1311', *The International History Review* 25, no. 1 (2003): 4–5; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), 216–21, 236. This missionary activity included that of the Franciscans mentioned above.

been regained through the negotiations of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II in 1229 (likely after *Ebstorf's* early 1220s production date), Jerusalem fell again in 1244. The Kingdom of Jerusalem lost most of its territories in the 1260s, including Antioch in 1268. Acre and the last Crusader cities fell in 1291, never to be recovered.⁵⁰ Christian presence in the Holy Land was greater at the beginning of the thirteenth century than at the end, and persistently lacked the important Jerusalem.

However, only hindsight determines the thirteenth-century losses as definitive; the ultimately lost Crusader land should not be equated with a lost Crusader ethos. Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Crusades contextualise maps which were made and viewed while Latin Christians continued to strive for the Holy Land. Edward I of England launched a Crusade, for instance, in 1271, which despite its lack of success indicates some persistent crusading fervour in England.⁵¹ Moreover, the main Islamic power at the time, the Mamluks, suffered political instability and defeat by the Ilkhanate in a battle of 1299, and Pope Boniface (1294-1303) encouraged new military excursions.⁵² *Hereford* can therefore be situated in a context of loss but also hope; similar waves of crusading existed at the time of *Ebstorf* and *Psalter*.⁵³ The *mappaemundi's* assertions of a supreme Christianity must be read against the challenges it was facing in the Holy Land. Again, as with the Mongols, the impact of the Crusades should not be sought in the maps' nomenclature, which included no contemporary Levantine or Egyptian cities.⁵⁴ Instead, the impact can be felt in the maps' structuring and production, such as the central Jerusalem or underdeveloped Arabia.⁵⁵ The Crusades frame the *mappaemundi* in terms of contemporary Christian struggles, hopes and crisis, a longing and trauma to which the *mappaemundi* could respond.

The Crusades also caused another consequence with a different impact on Latin Christianity's relationship with Asia and non-Christians. The Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) produced opportunities for trade and travel between Europe and Mongol Asia,

⁵⁰ Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 220–24, 236; Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, 39–40, 50–51; Weiler, 'Negotium Terrae Sanctae', 3.

⁵¹ Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, 40.

⁵² See for instance, France, *The Crusades*, 214–15, 247.

⁵³ See Chapters 2 (pp.116-118) and 3 (pp.182-183).

⁵⁴ Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 304; Hamilton, 'Impact of the Crusades', 29.

⁵⁵ See Chapters 2-4 *passim*.

providing another element of interconnectivity which contextualises the *mappaemundi* and their one-way idea of North-East Asia. Innocent III initiated the Fourth Crusade, aiming to facilitate the recapture of Jerusalem by defeating the Ayyubid Sultanate in Egypt but, due to various factors, the campaign instead first targeted Zara in Croatia before capturing Constantinople in 1204.⁵⁶ Innocent denounced the affair, arguing it diverted Latin forces from the vulnerable Levant and made reconciliation with the Greek Church unlikely.⁵⁷ However, Italian traders benefitted by acquiring trading posts in former Byzantine lands and from access to the Black Sea trade routes. This consolidated Italian presence in this area and facilitated connections with the steppes and Middle East which endured even when the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople in 1261; Mongol rulers were keen to foster the trade which provided them with goods and markets.⁵⁸ Again, this connectivity did not stimulate new cartographic content. However, the *mappaemundi*'s neoclassical North-East Asia must be assessed against the contemporary opening of Asia to Latin Europe. Over the thirteenth century, two different forms of Asia existed alongside each other. There was the real, observed, contemporary Asia experienced through trade, warfare and travelling. Then there was the Asia of *mappaemundi*, built through creative uses of antique and scriptural information, constructed to privilege Latin Europe. This is the North-East Asia of the neoclassical moment.

Looking Back, Looking Forward – Defining Neoclassical Cartography

This section outlines neoclassical cartography. I favour 'neoclassical' over 'archaicising' or 'classical' because 'neoclassical' captures the creative, adaptive, historically contingent nature of this phenomenon. As seen throughout this thesis, neoclassical cartography used archaicising themes (for instance, showing Scythia and the Seres rather than the Mongols and Cathay) but cannot be reduced to them;

⁵⁶ Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, 101; Christopher Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 57; Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2003), 75, 93–101. The factors included a Byzantine pretender, competing Crusader interests and difficult negotiations with the Venetians who were to provide naval transport.

⁵⁷ Angold, *Fourth Crusade*, 113–14.

⁵⁸ Angold, 152, 161; Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, 101–2; Nicola Di Cosmo, 'Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts', in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 395–97, 418; Di Cosmo, 'Black Sea Emporia', *passim*, esp. 83–84, 91–95.

there was more going on, including invention, stereotyping and Christian themes. Similarly, this was 'neoclassical' rather than 'classical' because the mapmakers creatively and selectively adapted their antique source material, moulding information to preach a Christian message for medieval circumstances.

The cartographers – like many contemporary writers – used old authorities in new ways to control the narrative of the thirteenth century and support Christian concepts of world history. Through neoclassical techniques, the maps accommodated threats like the Mongols in an ordered, Christianised view of the world's geography, past, present and future. In this, the cartographers can be situated in a tradition of thirteenth-century attitudes towards history; thirteenth-century thinkers creatively used classical material to suit contemporary demands. I outline the beginnings of this process in the 'twelfth-century renaissance', before drawing on Binski to show how this engagement with antique sources continued into the period of Gothic culture. I then turn to the maps, arguing that their classical sources situate them within this neoclassicism. Moreover, by demonstrating how the maps present an east-west flow of history, from antiquity to modernity, I argue the *mappaemundi* place North-East Asia in an archaicised region of the world, drawing on and reinforcing neoclassical ideas. The end of this world chronology, the Apocalypse ultimately frames God's creation in a context where Christianity will necessarily emerge triumphant.

The 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance'

In the twelfth century, thinkers engaged in an especially vigorous use of classical material, spurring developments in book production, art, literature, theology, science and historiography.⁵⁹ This process continued into the thirteenth century, establishing intellectual context for the *mappaemundi*. Labelling this trend a 'renaissance', as Haskins did in 1927, is contentious. Earlier writers also used Roman and Greek texts, including in the ninth-century 'Carolingian renaissance'; describing a rebirth of

⁵⁹ Discussed presently. For surveys, see, for instance Charles Burnett, 'The Twelfth-Century Renaissance', in *The Cambridge History of Science Volume 2: Medieval Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Michael H. Shank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); R.N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

classical thinking is problematic if this thinking never really went away.⁶⁰ However, what distinguishes the twelfth century is a large increase in extant manuscripts, indicating greater book production.⁶¹ This suggests, if not novelty, then at least intensified classical learning in the twelfth century, facilitated by new, faster methods of book production.⁶² While 'renaissance' overstates the novelty of twelfth-century uses of classical texts, there was nevertheless innovation which allowed an especially large engagement with antique ideas, distinguishing the twelfth century in degree if not in kind. This section will refer to twelfth-century classicism as this does not overstate novelty, and relates twelfth-century intellectual trends to neoclassical thirteenth-century cartography. Twelfth-century classicism encompassed textual, legal, religious and social developments which are too extensive and broad in scope to address in detail in a thesis on thirteenth-century maps. However, they are important background to how the cartographers worked, so are sketched here.

One development concerns canon and civil law, which resulted in increased standardisation across Latin Europe centred around Roman ideas and papal authority. Scholars, lawyers and rulers, in rediscovering Roman law codes and legal treatises such as Justinian's law codes, spread the ideals of Roman law and institutions across Europe, with Roman law taken as an ideal form. While Roman law rarely became enacted in full, it supplemented local laws, provided the basis for appeals and was taught in universities in France, Italy and England.⁶³ Meanwhile, ecclesiastical thinkers such as Ivo of Chartres and Hugh of St Victor sought to regularise, consolidate and increase Church power through legal reform, spreading canon law as a standard, systematic legal presence across Latin Europe as the papacy aspired to universal authority and gained new powers such as granting privileges.⁶⁴ Texts like the *Concordance of Discordant Canons*, by the twelfth-century jurist Gratian, and the *Decretals* circulated by Pope Gregory IX in 1234, revised the complex, often contradictory web of canon law, promulgating an international papal

⁶⁰ Irene O'Daly, 'The Classical Revival', in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 240.

⁶¹ O'Daly, 240.

⁶² Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 126–27. Of particular importance here was the *pecia* system, a twelfth-century invention in which scribes copied different sections of a disassembled book, meaning that more people could work on a manuscript at any one time.

⁶³ Burnett, 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance', 366–67; Swanson, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 71–73.

⁶⁴ Swanson, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 73–80; Burnett, 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance', 367–68.

authority with the pope as a key legal force, supported by papal courts over Latin Europe.⁶⁵ Across twelfth-century Latin Europe, the idea and practice of Roman legalism spread as the ideal in civil and Church law. This is important for the maps; it provided an idea of top-down uniformity across Europe and asserted the importance of the Roman Church, trends visible in the *mappaemundi* and their prominent Rome.⁶⁶ Twelfth-century classicism provided important context for the maps' view of a world in which Rome was a driving influence.

Twelfth-century classicism also encompassed intellectual trends such as more translations of classical texts; more texts written in established genres such as history; and texts produced in new forms such as encyclopaedias. Authors translated and adapted many classical texts including those by Plato, Aristotle and Macrobius, using them to spread ideas in history, science and language and to propagate antique forms of education such as the quadrivium and trivium, espoused by the fifth-century Martianus Capella.⁶⁷ Similarly, Romanesque architecture, including early parts of Canterbury Cathedral, replicated antique styles and aimed to evoke Roman forms, ideals and symbolism, such as that of Rome's apostolic churches, recalling early Christian communities and spaces.⁶⁸ Drawing on this wealth of classical information, the twelfth century also saw the emergence of medieval encyclopaedias, aggregations of all kinds of knowledge.⁶⁹ The thirteenth-century neoclassical moment can hence partly be defined by the intellectual activities of the twelfth century, in which classical material became widely available and a common feature of Latin medieval thought, culture and ways of understanding the world.

These trends occurred in England and Germany, meaning the *mappaemundi* can be located in these intellectual developments. In England, historians including Orderic Vitalis and Henry of Huntingdon contributed to a surge of historiography; there were also developments in scholasticism, the idea of exploring God's creation through

⁶⁵ Swanson, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 73–75.

⁶⁶ See *passim* throughout this thesis.

⁶⁷ Swanson, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 40–41; Burnett, 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance', 368–70, 375–77; O'Daly, 'Classical Revival', 240.

⁶⁸ Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 22; Burnett, 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance', 369.

⁶⁹ Le Goff, *Birth of Europe*, 126–28.

logical enquiry, as demonstrated by Peter Abelard.⁷⁰ In the German lands, there was much scholarly activity and manuscript production across different genres: romantic, such as Gottfried von Strassburg; historiographical, such as Otto of Freising; scholastic, such as Manegold of Lautenbach, and theological, such as Rupert of Deutz.⁷¹ The cartographers worked in lands which participated in twelfth-century classicism, which provided foundations in the availability, use and symbolic importance of classical material.

Central to this use, and significantly for neoclassical cartography, were the importance of authority and how writers creatively used old authorities; twelfth-century intellectual trends led to thirteenth-century attitudes to history and authority. In citing an authority, a writer increased their own credence and respectability by employing ideas which had long been accepted and valued, often having been validated by observation and logic.⁷² However, authorities were not simply valued for being old, but for how they could prove useful for present concerns.⁷³ Medieval thinkers treated antique authoritative texts not as inviolable, but as resources to be used selectively or reinterpreted to serve contemporary ends; for instance, the philosopher Bernard Silvestris interpreted the *Aeneid* through a Christian framework as a reflection on “the progress of a human life”.⁷⁴ The use of classical texts resulted in new questions, interpretations and applications.⁷⁵ This facet of twelfth-century

⁷⁰ For discussions of such English historians and other scholars, see C. Warren Hollister, ‘Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance’, in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History, 1995*, ed. C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 1, 5–6, 9.

⁷¹ Rodney Thomson, ‘The Place of Germany in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance’, in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany.*, ed. Alison I. Beach (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 19–22, 24–25.

⁷² Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 234–36; Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 10–12; Albrecht Classen, ‘Marco Polo and John Mandeville: The Traveler as Authority Figure, the Real and the Imaginary’, in *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy and Power in Medieval Society*, ed. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Ainonen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 229, 248; Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Ainonen, ‘Foreword’, in *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy and Power in Medieval Society*, ed. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Ainonen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), vii–ix; Martin Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 297–98.

⁷³ Swanson, *Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 46–47.

⁷⁴ Swanson, 47–49.

⁷⁵ Burnett, ‘Twelfth-Century Renaissance’, 384.

classicism is important for thirteenth-century neoclassical cartography and assessing how and why the *mappaemundi* were constructed from their sources.

The Gothic Use of Tradition

As the discussion of authority suggests, medieval uses of antique texts were not purely reproductive, but productive and imaginative. Similarly, compilation from old sources was an interpretative process; in drawing on older traditions and authorities, medieval authors were selective and creative in what they compiled, choosing material to suit their own ends.⁷⁶ This is essential to consider when analysing *mappaemundi*, which are compilations. Reading the antique information on these maps requires asking “why this fact, and not that one? What was the cartographer arguing?” This is why calling the maps’ North-East Asia static or conservative is unsatisfactory; it overlooks the creative authorial agency implicit in selecting one piece of classical information over another. *Hereford*, for instance, compiled its Asia from classical authors, particularly Pliny and Solinus. Rather than relegate this to the purely conservative or unimaginative regurgitation of antique material, the cartographers’ selective strategies must be considered in light of the medieval tradition of using authorities selectively, creatively and to medieval ends.

The work of Binski has made this point repeatedly and effectively, and it is from Binski that I draw my main understanding of the thirteenth-century neoclassical moment, an intellectual and cultural phenomenon that can extend to analysing cartography. In arguing for a creative, adaptive medieval attitude to invention and copying, Binski cites Krautheimer’s influential 1942 analysis of replication and reinvention in medieval ecclesiastical architecture.⁷⁷ Krautheimer argued for a medieval approach to classical exemplars and copying where architects imaginatively broke down classical models into component parts or themes – measurements, proportion, shapes, fittings, internal structure – then recreated them

⁷⁶ On this theme of compilation, see O’Daly, ‘Classical Revival’, 240–41, 246.

⁷⁷ Binski, ‘Heroic Age’, 4; Richard Krautheimer, ‘Introduction to an “Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture”’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33.

in new forms in different locales in a process of “selective transfer”.⁷⁸ For instance, contemporary texts describe a tenth-century church in Germigny-des Prés in France and a twelfth-century chapel in Hereford as being modelled after the palatine chapel in Charlemagne’s capital Aachen, despite resembling neither each other nor the original; they shared some common features, which was enough to understand each building as a copy.⁷⁹ The most frequently ‘copied’ building was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, copies of which were built in sites including ninth-century Fulda, eleventh-century Lanleff (near Caen), and twelfth-century Cambridge and Pisa. Again, such constructions differed from one another and the original, but the presence of features such as a round shape, an arrangement of eight supports, or the pattern of columns was enough for each building to have been a ‘copy’ with some of the ideological force of the original.⁸⁰ In each instance, the original was mentally deconstructed, with new buildings assembled from a selective rearrangement of those parts in a way which suited the new environment – a common medieval approach to interpreting and applying authoritative models was selective, imaginative and context-specific, resulting in innovative reinventions of old material to suit medieval purposes.⁸¹ While Krautheimer addressed architecture rather than art or text, and his analysis ended in the twelfth century, his arguments are helpful for assessing thirteenth-century cartography. Medieval attitudes to exemplars and copies demonstrate creative energy and willingness to break down authoritative sources and assemble them to meet medieval ends, with such creations carrying the authority of the original. Such a process was visible across northern Europe, including Germany and Hereford, reiterating that the loci of the maps’ creation and reception were part of this creative activity. This brief examination of copying in medieval architecture illustrates the decisions and dynamics visible in the *mappaemundi*, especially the selective, creative use of old material.

⁷⁸ Krautheimer, ‘Iconography’, 2–8, 13–14, 20. I use “architect” here in the broadest sense as shorthand to refer to those who designed buildings, rather than implying the existence of ‘architect’ as a distinct profession.

⁷⁹ Krautheimer, 2–3.

⁸⁰ Krautheimer, 2–5, 7–8, 13–14, 31–32.

⁸¹ Krautheimer, 31–32.

In his own work on Gothic culture, Binski makes the same arguments as scholarship on twelfth-century classicism. Thirteenth-century attitudes to the past represented a “constantly refreshed understanding”, comprising cumulative tradition, dialogues between past and present, and intertwinements of historical and contemporary ideas; thinkers constantly formed new arguments and interpretations which supplemented old ones, rather than there being a simple conservatism or supplanting of old with new.⁸² Rather than placing ‘tradition’ and ‘invention’ in opposition to each other, Binski shows how related they were; invention *derived* from tradition, a theory going back to Cicero.⁸³ Gothic culture was “rooted in the *auctoritas* of older building styles” and “accepted the continuing depth and value of older work”; it did not discard but reinvented classical ideas.⁸⁴ For example, in architecture, Gothic churches and cathedrals such as Lincoln did not replace Romanesque designs but built on them, maintaining but adapting themes including scale, grandeur and the evocation of Roman triumphal arches and early churches.⁸⁵ A mid thirteenth-century choir extension in Ely followed the dimensions of the earlier Romanesque features, but in style matched newer designs such as those at Lincoln. In many cathedrals, including Norwich, old and new architectural styles existed side-by-side, without Gothic entirely supplanting Romanesque.⁸⁶ Amiens cathedral, in its rich, densely decorated façade, evoked the notion popularised by St Augustine of Heaven as a city, the design blending antique and medieval themes and priorities.⁸⁷ In texts, Binski cites the great amount of biblical commentary as evidence for a dynamic understanding of tradition and invention, in which both scriptural texts and interpretations of them became authoritative, each drawing on the other’s understanding and clarity. Commentary was inventive for being new, but its inventiveness was linked with the tradition of the Bible and its antique commentators, providing a stream of authority aiming at understanding how the past could elucidate and help the present.⁸⁸ Similarly, Matthew Paris circulated manuscripts of his hagiographies of English saints to noble and royal patrons, including a work on Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket to Isabel, Countess of Arundel. Paris

⁸² Binski, ‘Artistic Invention’, 291.

⁸³ Binski, 287–90.

⁸⁴ Binski, ‘Heroic Age’, 14.

⁸⁵ Binski, ‘Rhetorical Occasions’, 9–11; Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 22, 33, 67.

⁸⁶ Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 67–69.

⁸⁷ Binski, ‘Rhetorical Occasions’, 11.

⁸⁸ Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 67.

encouraged these patrons to follow the examples of the saints, doing so as part of a tradition which “had long been developed allegorically by reformist churchmen”; his texts synthesised old approaches and exemplars to suit contemporary circumstances.⁸⁹ Binski repeatedly argues that Gothic culture was cumulative, imaginative, dynamic, multi-layered and inventive. It neither slavishly reproduced traditional forms nor entirely cast out old styles in favour of novel ones.⁹⁰ This is central to neoclassical strategies: the invocation of archaic resources and themes, selected, re-interpreted and deployed in medieval contexts to medieval ends.

This argument about the relationships between tradition and invention, antique authority and medieval authorship, classical materials and Gothic applications, applies to literature, architecture and art. Jaeger also links neoclassicism to broader cultural trends, arguing that chivalric ideas which were taking root by the early thirteenth century were based on “ideals revived from classical antiquity”, positing chivalry “as a neo-classical institution”.⁹¹ The argument about reinvention has not, however, been applied to thirteenth-century cartography. This seems an oversight; why detach maps, often drawn in the same institutional contexts as texts and art, from this creative intellectual trend?⁹² Why assume the cartographers’ use of antique authoritative material was different from their contemporaries? Scholarship on twelfth-century classicism, and Binski’s arguments, suggest innovation need not be sought just within the nomenclature and images used to map the world, but in the forms the world takes and in the inventive processes behind its construction. This is why the Mongols and Crusades cannot be dismissed as uninfluential just because the maps show no contemporary nomenclature. Why assume that their psychological impact went unfelt by the cartographers? Their influence must be read between the lines of the cartographers’ decisions. By locating the maps in their intellectual context of the imaginative use of past authorities, it is possible to understand with more clarity how and why the cartographers imagined North-East

⁸⁹ Binski, *Becket’s Crown*, 123.

⁹⁰ In addition to earlier notes, see Binski, xii–xiii, 287–88; Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 79.

⁹¹ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), xii. The observation of Jaeger’s use of “neo-classical” comes from Binski, *Becket’s Crown*, xiii.

⁹² See sections on background in Chapters 2-4 for the maps’ backgrounds in more detail. *Ebstorf* was probably produced by a scholar immersed in ecclesiastical and secular learning and culture, while *Hereford* was made by someone from a monastic context.

Asia. This provides the synchronic element to this thesis. Despite the maps' different historical contexts and forms of North-East Asia, they can be analysed as works produced in the thirteenth-century neoclassical moment as each cartographer combined tradition with invention.

The Maps' Classical Sources

To begin addressing issues of tradition and invention, it is necessary to examine the maps' sources for North-East Asia. In constructing the world, the cartographers depicted cities, rivers, seas, monsters, animals, legends, mountains, landforms and biblical content, using a range of sources including classical authors such as Pliny the Elder, Solinus and Orosius; early medieval writers like Isidore of Seville; bestiaries; itineraries; contemporary knowledge; the Bible; and literature such as the Romances of Alexander the Great.⁹³ This section does not aim to offer a detailed overview of the complete range of sources, a well-rehearsed topic in scholarship. I instead briefly introduce the cartographers' main sources for North-East Asia: Pliny, Solinus, Orosius and Isidore.⁹⁴ Future chapters discuss specific sources in more detail when they relate directly to certain aspects of this thesis.⁹⁵ The present aim is to establish key themes with their consequences for the depiction of North-East Asia. I introduce the authors, establish their credentials as authorities, note the flow of knowledge, and argue that using this corpus archaicised North-East Asia.

The root of the maps' information on Scythia was the fifth-century BC Greek historian, geographer and ethnographer Herodotus, although the mapmakers did not access him directly.⁹⁶ Rather, information from Herodotus appears on the maps via intermediaries who interpreted and rewrote what came before. The cartographers

⁹³ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xxviii–xxxv; Edson, *The World Map*, 11.

⁹⁴ Outlined in, for instance, Westrem and Edson (fn. 37). See also Margriet Hoogvliet, 'Animals in Context: Beasts on the Hereford Map and Medieval Natural History', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 153–65; Naomi Reed Kline, 'Alexander Interpreted on the Hereford Mappamundi', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 167–83; Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, 41–53; Westrem, 'Making a Mappamundi', 21–24; Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', 286–90, 326–30.

⁹⁵ For instance, I discuss Solinus when assessing the maps' depictions of barbarians, and Pliny and Orosius in the cartographers' decisions in selecting cities.

⁹⁶ Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', 330. See discussions of Scythia in Chapters 2 and 4 for more on Herodotus and the flow of information about the Scythians. See 'Defining North-East Asia' in the Introduction for how I understand North-East Asia to comprise Scythia and the Seres.

used information which had been rewritten a differing number of times, resulting in a hard-to-unpick web of influence and transmission.⁹⁷ Figure 1.1 aims to clarify this situation. It is simplified and concerns only Asia, but provides a general indication of how the cartographers gathered their information.⁹⁸ Between each source and the map could exist a potential cartographic or textual intermediary, but Figure 1.1 shows the essence of the transmission.

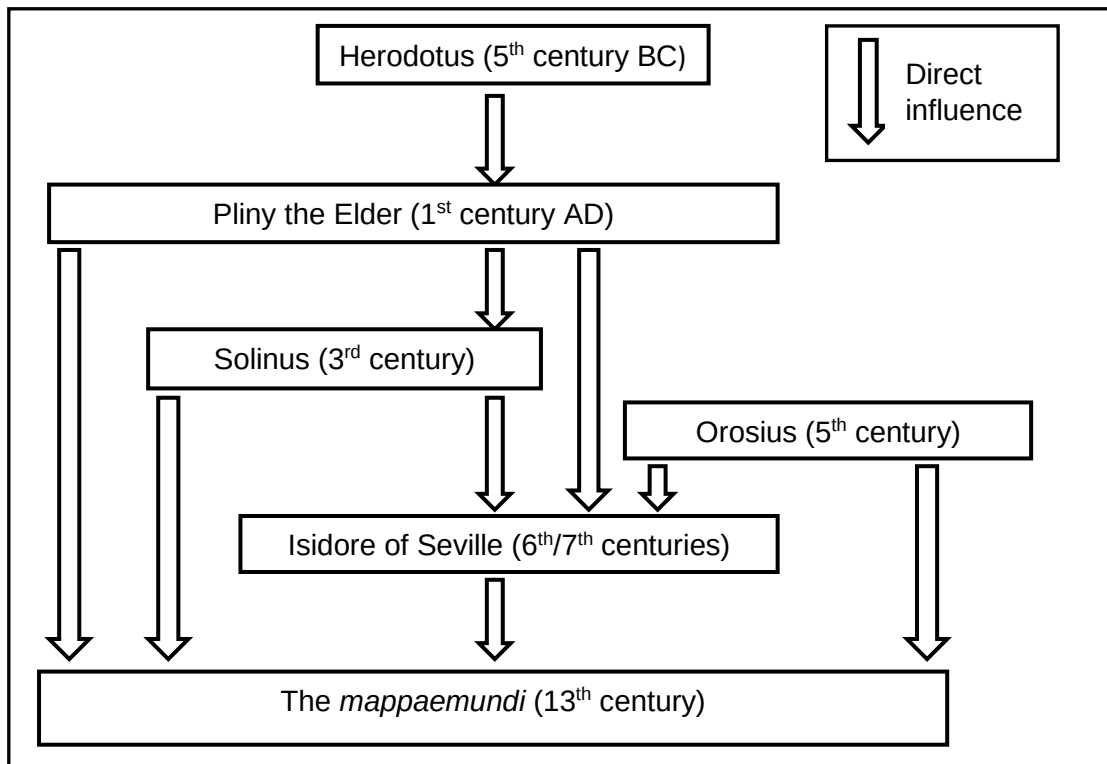


Figure 1.1: Transmissions of ancient and medieval geographical information.

Pliny the Elder's first-century *Natural History* was a huge work encompassing many areas, including cities, regions, physical geography, ethnography and natural history.⁹⁹ It aimed to amass information, categorise it, and relay this knowledge gathered by the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁰ This accumulation of knowledge was far from value-free; it was bound in contemporary power, politics and culture, and intended to demonstrate Rome's superiority over other peoples and places, imposing intellectual

⁹⁷ Westrem, 'Making a Mappamundi', 22.

⁹⁸ For the flowchart, see the below discussions of each author. See also Stephen A. Barney et al., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11–16.

⁹⁹ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Vol. I*; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII Vol. II: Libri VII–XV*, ed. Karl Mayhoff (Leipzig: Teubner, 1875). See chapter headings for an indication of the scope of Pliny's work.

¹⁰⁰ Trevor Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2–6, 14–20, 49–50.

order as the Romans aimed to spread imperial power.¹⁰¹ This source began from a position of knowledge as a means of demonstrating supremacy and control, and of denigrating others, shaping the kind of information available for the maps. The *Natural History* was important throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages, used directly by authors and cartographers and by their own sources.¹⁰² Pliny was a source for many cities and monsters, and provided Solinus with information for his descriptions of Scythians which the cartographers used.¹⁰³

Solinus was also concerned with championing Rome by describing the world; his third-century *Collection of Memorable Things* begins with the history and importance of Rome.¹⁰⁴ Solinus used a large corpus of at least 70 discernible authors, particularly Pliny, whose massive work he condensed to 33,000 words.¹⁰⁵ As will be seen, this was not passive absorption but comprised adaptation and innovation. Like Pliny, Solinus was highly influential throughout the antique and medieval periods, used directly for historical and geographical texts by many authors including Augustine, Isidore and Bede.¹⁰⁶ He was also a crucial source for cartographers, providing the shape and content of much of the world and especially Scythia; he is, for instance, *Hereford's* most quoted author.¹⁰⁷

Unlike Pliny and Solinus, the final significant Roman author for this thesis was Christian: Orosius, writer of the fifth-century *History Against the Pagans*.¹⁰⁸ This was a moralising world history, charting divine providence and the flow of power through various historical global empires and ultimately to Rome and its missionary efforts. A key theme is the folly and suffering of earthly life and power, remedied only by the

¹⁰¹ Murphy, 14, 17–18, 79–86, 94–95; Mary Beagon, 'Situating Nature's Wonders in Pliny's *Natural History*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 50, no. S100 (2014): 20–23, 29–30.

¹⁰² L.D. Reynolds, 'The Elder Pliny', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 308–9, 313. See, for instance, Figure 1.1.

¹⁰³ Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 330. See passim throughout this thesis for Pliny's influence.

¹⁰⁴ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*; Kai Brodersen, 'Mapping Pliny's World: The Achievement of Solinus', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 54, no. 1 (2011): 64.

¹⁰⁵ Brodersen, 'Mapping Pliny's World', 70–72. See Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁶ R.H. Rouse, 'Solinus', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 391, 393.

¹⁰⁷ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 99, 104; Jon R. Stone, 'The Medieval *Mappaemundi*: Toward an Archaeology of Sacred Cartography', *Religion* 23, no. 3 (1993): 201–3; Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xxx. See throughout this thesis, and especially passim Chapter 4 for the importance of Solinus.

¹⁰⁸ Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*.

Kingdom of Heaven.¹⁰⁹ Orosius opened with a geographical chapter, contextualising the flow of time in the arrangement of space; this information became influential as a source for texts and maps.¹¹⁰ His importance for maps is exemplified by *Hereford* citing him in the framing outside the world: “Orosius’ description, *De Ornesta Mundi*, as is revealed within”.¹¹¹ For Asia, Orosius provided some city names and a description of Scythia and its peoples, as well as details like the Caspian Sea flowing northwards into the World Ocean.¹¹² He is more important for the maps’ ideology and framing in a Christianised model of space and time.¹¹³

The final main authority was the sixth/seventh-century Isidore of Seville, author of the encyclopaedic *Etymologies*.¹¹⁴ Isidore’s great importance throughout the Middle Ages as an authority on many subjects, such as history, geography, monsters and words, is well established.¹¹⁵ He was respected and frequently quoted, and used authorities including Pliny, Solinus and Orosius.¹¹⁶ As well as providing facts, Isidore was important for theories of structure in the universe. He was a significant authority, for instance, on the medieval, Christianised Platonic microcosm-macrocosm relationship, a structuring principle outlining how God, humans and the world related to one another which Wolf argues shaped *Ebstorf*, where the world becomes Christ’s

¹⁰⁹ Andy Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 47–41, 44, 52–53, 61–63, 69; Evelyn Edson, ‘Maps in Context: Isidore, Orosius, and the Medieval Image of the World’, in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, ed. Richard J.A. Talbert and Richard Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 229; Scully, ‘Imperium and Salvation’, 107, 109, 118.

¹¹⁰ Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, 53–54; Merrills, *History and Geography*, 1–3, 35, 99; Edson, ‘Maps in Context’, 229; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 31–35. Orosius 1.2.1–106

¹¹¹ “*Descriptio Orosii, De Ornesta mundi, sicut interius ostenditur*”. ‘Ornesta’ is an unusual word. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, 45 suggests that it is a scribal corruption of ‘Ormista’, an abbreviated form of *Orosii mundi istoria*, Orosius’ history of the world.

¹¹² Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 32. See passim throughout this thesis, especially discussions of cities in Chapters 2–4 such as the enclosed Hyrcanian cities on *Psalter* (p.192).

¹¹³ See below pp.74–81.

¹¹⁴ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX Tomus I: Libros I–X Continens*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Tomus II*.

¹¹⁵ See for instance, Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, ‘Introduction’, in *Isidore of Seville and His Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, ed. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 11–18; Barney et al., *Isidore of Seville*; John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5; Stone, ‘Medieval Mappaemundi’, 203, 206; Merrills, *History and Geography*, 179.

¹¹⁶ Stone, ‘Medieval Mappaemundi’, 203–5; Barney et al., *Isidore of Seville*, 11–16.

body.¹¹⁷ Like Orosius, Isidore provided details and ideas which influenced the construction and reception of the *mappaemundi*.

The transmission of knowledge from these authorities comprised active reworkings of information, practiced by each author and the mapmakers. Just as the maps further “Christianize[d] the classical inheritance”, each authority reworked their own information.¹¹⁸ For example, von Martels detects a moralising, possibly Christianising aspect in Solinus’ treatment of cannibalism, the information for which he found in Pliny; Solinus abridged Pliny’s geographical material but added information about Italy; Orosius developed ideas of sacred Christian places from earlier works; and medieval ideas about monsters represented Christianised Plinian thought, marvels of nature becoming demonstrations of God’s power and the diversity of Creation.¹¹⁹ As seen above, a writer being an authority did not make their work sacrosanct. This reaffirms the themes presented in this section so far: medieval authors’ use of earlier texts was not passive or static, but interpretative, selective, imaginative. Understanding this authorial relationship to previous knowledge helps explain the maps’ construction and function.

The classical sources also influenced the kind of Asia which the cartographers could or chose to produce. Using this classical corpus necessarily made North-East Asia archaicised, represented in an externalised, one-way manner full of intellectual authority and Christian morality. Using classical material began out of necessity with *Ebstorf*, due to the lack of contemporary information about North-East Asia. However, the neoclassical marshalling of antique information proved expedient, and the *Psalter* and *Hereford* cartographers continued to use the classical corpus. The maps provide a fundamentally imagined landscape of North-East Asia, based on

¹¹⁷ Wolf, ‘Ebstorf “Mappamundi”’, 15; Nigel Hiscock, ‘Mapping the Microcosm: Christian Platonist Thought Behind Medieval Maps and Plans’, in *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel*, ed. Robert Bork and Andrea Kann (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 115–18, 120–21, 126. See also below.

¹¹⁸ Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 37.

¹¹⁹ Zweder von Martels, ‘Between Tertullian and Vincentius Lirinensis: On the Concept *Constantia Veritatis* and Other “Christian” Influences on Solinus’, in *Learned Antiquity: Scholarship and Society in the Near-East, the Greco-Roman World, and the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael W. Twomey, and Gerrit J. Reinink (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 75; Brodersen, ‘Mapping Pliny’s World’, passim, esp. 72–74, 77, 79–83; Merrills, *History and Geography*, 27, 50; Hiatt, *Terra Incognita*, 4–6, 9; Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 146–47. I discuss cannibalism further in Chapters 2 and 4 in relation to the scenes of the Scythians.

European ideas and non-Asian information rather than Asian reality. Neoclassical cartography did not map North-East Asia out of a commitment to up-to-date, 'accurate' Asian geography.

Consequently, the cartographers' continued use of the classical corpus was not a drawback but an advantage, allowing them to present the world and especially North-East Asia in favourable, controllable terms.¹²⁰ Scafi's assertion that "no attempt was made to represent Asia in contemporary terms" hence seems somewhat unfairly dismissive of the cartographers' means, methods and motives, implying cartographic laziness in resorting to Pliny because he was easier to find than contemporary information.¹²¹ By considering the creative authorial agency within medieval authorship, and by situating cartographers in this trend because there is no compelling reason to exclude them, the continued use of a classical corpus can be understood as a neoclassical strategy not of laziness or a lack of imagination, but of power and control.

Mapping Time

A source of this power and control was in how *mappaemundi* mapped both space and time, illustrating the world's geography, history and future. North-East Asia's location on these maps locates it in the past, which the cartographers presented as culturally and morally inferior.¹²² The structure and temporal aspects of *mappaemundi* contributed to how and why the cartographers archaicised North-East Asia, reinforcing the themes of the maps' antique source base and the neoclassical moment's creative use of the past.

North-East Asia can only be fully assessed with consideration of the maps' articulation of world time and how this relegated North-East Asia to a regressive past. Scholars have repeatedly established *mappaemundi*'s temporality. As well as containing content from different periods including the times of the Old Testament, Greek myth and the present, these maps are structured around the progression of

¹²⁰ See passim throughout this thesis.

¹²¹ Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 128.

¹²² Evident in, for instance, the presence of barbarians and Gog and Magog, and a deflated degree of urbanism. See below pp.81-98 and Chapters 2-4, passim.

divinely guided history.¹²³ The cartographers arranged key locations in time, framed by apocalyptic imagery. Certain biblical and urban sites were not just static markers of place, but were consecutive, vertically aligned east-west points within a narrative illustrating God's power.

This structuring drew on spatial interpretations of Salvation History, the Christian idea that time was a teleological movement, shaped by God's will, towards the Apocalypse and Kingdom of Heaven. Time was fundamentally on Christians' side, earthly traumas compensated for by the knowledge that spiritual victory would be theirs.¹²⁴ Christian thinkers, including the twelfth-century historians Otto of Freising and Hugh of St Victor, invested this temporality with spatial elements. They argued that time and historical greatness flowed from east to west, with successive polities assuming imperial power and theological significance. Time and space began with Creation and Paradise in the furthest east, before history passed westwards through empires and sites such as Babylon, Assyria, Persia, Jerusalem and, ultimately, Rome.¹²⁵ Otto cited the Book of Daniel and its prophecy of successive empires to posit Rome as the final empire before the Apocalypse, following the sequence of Babylon, the Medes and the Greeks.¹²⁶

The cartographers archaicised Asia while presenting Christian Europe as the modern, spiritual victor by replicating this timeline, plotting key ecumenical and political sites on a vertical axis. Figure 1.2 shows Eden, Babylon, Jerusalem and Rome on the same line. The cartographers organised them chronologically from

¹²³ For instance, see Morse, 'Role of Maps', 30–31; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, passim, esp. viii, 14–16, 34–35, 99, 135–42, 163–65; Scafi, 'Image of Persia', 221; Scafi, 'Defining Mappaemundi', 348; Scully, 'Imperium and Salvation', 118, 125, 133; Richard Raiswell, 'Geography Is Better than Divinity: The Bible and Medieval Geographical Thought', *Canadian Journal of History* 45, no. 2 (2010): 230; Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism', 513–15, 519; Pischke, 'Ebster Map', 157.

¹²⁴ Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 15; Anne Higgins, 'Medieval Notions of the Structure of Time', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 2 (1989): 232; Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 127–29; Gow, 'Gog and Magog', 61, 87; Scafi, 'Mapping the End', 401, 408–11.

¹²⁵ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xxxii; Edson, *The World Map*, 22–23, 31; Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 127–29; Scafi, 'Image of Persia', 221, 226; Raiswell, 'Medieval Geographical Thought', 231; Merrills, *History and Geography*, 102–5.

¹²⁶ Merrills, *History and Geography*, 50–52; Otto of Freising, *Otonis Episcopi Frisingensis Chronica, Sive Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, ed. Adolfus Hofmeister (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912), 80–82. Otto, for instance, wrote of the last days of the Assyrians that "and so that most strong and flourishing empire passed to the Medes" [*et sic fortissimum illud ac florentissimum ad Medos derivatur imperium*] (66), and later about Rome that "the kingdom of the Romans succeeded the kingdom of Babylon like the son succeeds the father" [*regnum Romanorum regno Babyloniorum tanquam patri succedit filius*] (99), implying a natural, ordered movement from east to west.

Creation to present-day Latin Christianity, symbolised by Rome, via Jerusalem and Asia's historical empires. The lack of contemporary evidence about the cartographers' exact methods and sources means it cannot be proven that they consulted, for instance, Otto or Hugh to decide upon this arrangement. Nevertheless, these historians' works indicate that there existed medieval notions of the spatial flow of world history, and each map's vertical alignment of key sites seems too coincidental to have occurred independently. The sequence also corresponds with another popular medieval Christian conceptualisation of the passage of time. Advanced especially by Augustine and Bede, the "Ages of Man" theory held that human history mirrored the seven days of Creation, with days and ages sharing parallel themes.¹²⁷ Jerusalem was associated with the ending of the Fifth Age and the beginning of the Sixth; following the east-to-west historical timeline, everything on the maps west of Jerusalem is by extension part of the Christianised space and time of the Sixth Age.¹²⁸ Jerusalem marked space and time, denoting the future Heavenly Kingdom, the end of the Old Testament narrative and the beginning of the time of the New Testament. The west of the maps, including Europe, represents the Christian present. By extension, Asia in the east is a historically and morally regressive space. This reinforced the archaicising tendency of neoclassical cartography, with its dated nomenclature and arguments about the places and peoples of North-East Asia.

The cartographers further constructed Asia as dated, and Latin Europe as powerful, through a prominent, commanding Rome. Rome is not the focus of this thesis and I address it only briefly, but it requires examination as its significance governs the symbolism of North-East Asia. As seen above, Latin European thinkers idealised Rome and its legal and political institutions, and the religious culture in western Europe was that of Roman Christianity. In grand historical narratives by authors including Otto and Hugh, Rome was the key Christian and imperial force which

¹²⁷ For instance, the second day – on which water was made – prefigured the Second Age, that which included Noah. The sixth day, on which God created Adam and Eve, prefigured the Sixth Age, the Age of Christ. The seventh day, of rest, marked the Apocalypse and Kingdom of Heaven. R.A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 17–18; Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 126–27.

¹²⁸ McKenzie, 'Westward Progression of History', 342–43.

would usher in God's triumph.¹²⁹ Rome's appearance on the *mappaemundi* reflects this importance. *Ebstorf's* Rome (Figure 1.3) is large with mighty walls, given regal, Christological imagery by the adjacent lion and caption "Rome is laid out according to the shape of a lion".¹³⁰ On the tiny, 3.5 inch diameter *Psalter*, where room allows little elaboration, Rome (Figure 1.4) is still distinguished with a different, grander shape than the other city markers; in such a small space, the cartographer still worked to present Rome as impressive. On *Hereford*, Augustus wears a papal tiara (Figure 1.5), fusing the earthly and spiritual authority of Rome, while the city (Figure 1.6) is large and grand, with a caption proclaiming that "Rome, head of the world, holds the reins of the spherical earth".¹³¹ This was a well-known adage used to describe Rome, found in sources like Gervase of Tilbury, an author closely linked with *Ebstorf*.¹³² *Hereford's* contrast of spatial language is interesting; Jerusalem may be spatially central, but Rome is currently the figurative head as the centre of Latin Christianity. Rome becomes the leading political, cultural and theological force in the world, driving the present away from Asia and towards Jerusalem, Christian Europe and the future Kingdom of Heaven. Consequently, all of Asia emerges as a historical and spiritual foil to the Christian space-time of the west. The cartographers necessarily posited North-East Asia as a morally and historically regressive region, a consequence of the very structuring principles of *mappaemundi*.

The Apocalypse, a notion with resonance in the thirteenth century, provided the all-important coda to Salvation History. By reminding viewers of Christianity's ultimate victory, it was key in governing the construction and reception of the *mappaemundi*. Apocalypticism supplemented neoclassical themes by providing another way of controlling the narrative of world time; in evoking the idea of God's inevitable triumph, the cartographers built the geography and temporality of their maps around Christian superiority. Extending other neoclassical themes of controlling North-East Asia through antique sources and ideas, apocalypticism provided a way of structuring the thirteenth-century world and its challenges in a reassuring manner.

¹²⁹ Scafi, 'Image of Persia', 222–23; McKenzie, 'Westward Progression of History', 342–43; Edson, *The World Map*, 22–23; Raiswell, 'Medieval Geographical Thought', 231. See also discussions above.

¹³⁰ "secundum formam leonis inchoata est Roma". The lion was a symbol of Christ

¹³¹ "Roma caput mundi tenet orbis frena rotundi".

¹³² Edson, *The World Map*, 23; Edson, 'Mapping the Middle Ages', 17; Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 270–271. See Chapter 2 passim for Gervase, especially the discussion of *Ebstorf's* background.

For all its death and destruction, the Apocalypse was nevertheless a narrative of hope, triumph and the vindication of the faithful in the face of adversity.¹³³ The destructive events were preludes to God's ultimate victory and the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven, after which all good Christians would live in peace and happiness.¹³⁴ As a narrative in which a Christian triumph would emerge from difficult, destructive circumstances, the Apocalypse had political utility in times of crisis, providing hope that traumas would end and that God would act, at some time, to save his faithful. For instance, McGinn notes increases in apocalyptic imagery directed at Muslims during difficult periods in the Crusades, and Christian writers over time associated threatening enemies with Gog and Magog, a fierce people who existed to be defeated.¹³⁵ Apocalypticism was useful rhetoric for hard times.

The Apocalypse was, moreover, a concept with thirteenth-century resonance. Whalen ascribes an "intensified interest in apocalypticism" to the surge in historiography and exegesis which spurred interest in the past and future of the world; fluctuations in the Holy Land; new religious orders; and the struggles for influence between popes and Holy Roman Emperors, which evoked a clash of important figures emblematic of the last days.¹³⁶ While Whalen describes the twelfth century, many of these themes continued into the thirteenth, which also provided new apocalyptic imagery. Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202) was an influential, radical apocalyptic thinker who argued for "concordance" between events of the Old and New Testaments, and counted generations from Christ to date the end of the world to the mid-thirteenth century.¹³⁷ His writings were influential and popularly

¹³³ I return to the details of the Apocalypse in the Bible below in the discussion about Gog and Magog, the fierce peoples associated with the end of days.

¹³⁴ Higgins, 'Structure of Time', 232; R.A. Markus, 'Living Within Sight of the End', in *Time in the Medieval World*, ed. Chris Humphrey and W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2001), 23–25; Paula Fredriksen, 'Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity. From John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo', *Vigiliae Christianae* 45, no. 2 (1991): 151–53, 156.

¹³⁵ Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 30–36; Westrem, 'Gog and Magog', 56–57. See below and Chapters 2-4 for more on Gog and Magog.

¹³⁶ Brett Edward Whalen, 'Joachim of Fiore and the Apocalyptic Revival of the Twelfth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Apocalyptic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 194–96.

¹³⁷ Joachim of Fiore, 'Selection C: The Book of Concordance, Book 2, Part 1, Chapters 2-12', in *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-En-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola*, by Bernard McGinn, trans. E. Randolph Daniel (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 120–24, 134; Joachim of Fiore, 'Selection D: Book of Figures, The Fourteenth Table, The Seven-Headed Dragon', in *Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-En-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola*, by

transmitted; they were deemed influential enough that the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and a papal commission in 1255-56 tried to stem his ideas, unnecessary actions were he obscure.¹³⁸ Several thirteenth-century English chronicles mention Joachim, demonstrating how his influence spread this far, while the many thirteenth-century pseudo-Joachite texts illustrate the longevity of his ideas and desire to associate works with his name.¹³⁹ Joachim's popularity suggests receptiveness to apocalypticism during the time of the *mappaemundi*.

Joachim was also significant for his influence on the creation of the Franciscans and Dominicans, orders rooted in eschatology.¹⁴⁰ The Franciscans interpreted the imminent Apocalypse as a need to convert as many people as possible, envisaging themselves as important in ushering in the Kingdom of Heaven.¹⁴¹ The prominence of the Franciscans and Dominicans demonstrate the relevance of apocalypticism in thirteenth-century religious thought. One important Franciscan was Roger Bacon (1220-1292), who wrote "against a backdrop of apocalyptic expectation".¹⁴² In the 1250s, not long before *Psalter*, Bacon interpreted the Mongols' devastating impact as indicative of the Apocalypse, deeming them evidence that Gog and Magog had escaped from their enclosure and that Antichrist and his armies loomed large.¹⁴³ Bacon's writings on the Mongols drew heavily on Rubruck, Carpini, and letters and

Bernard McGinn, trans. Bernard McGinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 136–40. On Joachim, see for instance Whalen, 'Joachim of Fiore'; Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983); Marjorie Reeves, 'Joachim of Fiore and the Images of the Apocalypse According to St John', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 64 (2001): 281–95.

¹³⁸ West and Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore*, 4–6, 100.

¹³⁹ Christoph Egger, 'A Pope Without Successor: Ralph of Coggeshall, Ralph Niger, Robert of Auxerre, and the Early Reception of Joachim of Fiore's Ideas in England', in *Joachim of Fiore and the Influence of Inspiration: Essays in Memory of Marjorie E. Reeves (1905-2003)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), passim, esp. 145–50; West and Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore*, 100; Whalen, 'Joachim of Fiore', 210.

¹⁴⁰ West and Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore*, 104–5.

¹⁴¹ Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*, 12–22, 27–28, 37–38; Amanda Power, 'In the Last Days at the End of the World: Roger Bacon and the Reform of Christendom', in *Canterbury Studies in Franciscan History Vol. 1: Acts of the Franciscan History Conference Held at the Franciscan International Study Centre on 9th September 2006*, ed. J. Rohrkasten and M. Robson (Canterbury: Franciscan International Study Centre, 2008), 135.

¹⁴² Power, 'Mirror for Every Age', 692.

¹⁴³ Amanda Power, 'The Cosmographical Imagination of Roger Bacon', in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 93; Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 266–69. See Chapter 3 pp.187-188 for more.

chronicles from western and eastern Europe.¹⁴⁴ With material coming from either fellow eschatologically-minded Franciscans, or from those who had witnessed the devastation of the Mongols, it is not surprising that Bacon's thoughts tended to the apocalyptic. These circumstances necessitate caution in assessing thirteenth-century apocalypticism; it is difficult to extrapolate too far from the texts of a few already apocalyptically-inclined individuals whose ideas circulated among scholars and monks. The mentalities of a comparatively small number of religious individuals cannot be taken as representative of a popular worldview. Moreover, there is no evidence that Joachim, Franciscan belief or Bacon influenced the cartographers. However, these mentalities indicate a thirteenth-century atmosphere in which apocalypticism had the *potential* to be fertile; there would not have been all these instances of apocalyptic thought if people entirely rejected or were ignorant of it.

The maps, then, can be situated in a context where apocalypticism was a known phenomenon with relevant symbolism, even if it cannot be known that every viewer of each map would have equally engaged with the ideology of the end. From the imagery and historical context of the *mappaemundi*, it is fair to assume that apocalypticism was a potent, familiar tool with contemporary importance, recognisable to the maps' makers and viewers. As subsequent chapters argue, the maps' scenes of Gog and Magog provided clear apocalyptic imagery within North-East Asia itself, reinforced by *Hereford's* framing and performative context.¹⁴⁵ Apocalypticism is essential to reading these maps and their North-East Asia, especially against the backdrop of contemporary crises.

In sum, neoclassical cartography was bound in how past and future could be marshalled for the present. Ancient authorities were potent resources to be creatively used for contemporary ends, their venerability providing respectability and veracity. The classical corpus gave the cartographers the material for constructing their worldviews, including a regressive, dated North-East Asia. The maps' structuring of

¹⁴⁴ Amanda Power, *Roger Bacon and the Defence of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 62, 223; Power, 'Cosmographical Imagination', 88; Charpentier, 'Rubruck and Bacon', *passim*, esp. 255, 262–63, 266.

¹⁴⁵ *Hereford* was probably experienced near the end of a pilgrimage, an experience with apocalyptic parallels; Christ in Judgment oversees the world; the letters MORS, death, surround the world. See Chapter 4 *passim* for more.

world history further located North-East Asia in the past, positing it as an archaicised space by dint of its location away from Latin Christian modernity. This provided additional internal logic for using classical sources. These neoclassical *mappaemundi* contrasted the past with future Christian victories; North-East Asia and the threats it represented were presented and considered in light of the apocalyptic message of God's triumph over evil. This notion provided the structure for the cartographers' arguments about the world, consolidated through themes and symbols cultivated to Christian ends.

Themes and Symbols – The Maps' Neoclassical Palettes

This section introduces three key themes of the maps' North-East Asia and shows how they relate to neoclassicism: urbanism; barbarianism; and Gog and Magog. Chapters 2-4 explore these themes on each map in more detail. Here, I outline their background and symbolism to argue they were important concepts in how the cartographers imagined North-East Asia as inferior and archaicised for the benefit of Latin Christianity.

Through the neoclassical palette, the cartographers constructed Asia as a symbol of savagery in contrast to Latin Europe. Before turning to these themes, it is therefore necessary to establish the symbolic potential of space in medieval thought and situate the *mappaemundi* in a tradition of reading meaning into physical phenomena, a concept which scholars have demonstrated. Authorities including Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon argued that earthly facets of God's creation could be symbols through which people accessed higher divine truths about Scripture, the world and God. Spaces and places could be charged with didactic meaning, denoting physical and theological information.¹⁴⁶ Aquinas argued that "God is in all things: not indeed as part of their essence or as an accident, but as an agent he is present in that in which its action occurs", that God exists everywhere,

¹⁴⁶ Stone, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', 197–99; Raiswell, 'Medieval Geographical Thought', passim, esp. 209–12, 216–18, 220–21; Saint Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. Joseph Martin (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 32–34; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries Volume 2: Existence and Nature of God (1a. 2-11)*, ed. and trans. Timothy McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 110–12, 116; Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 138.

and that “just as God is the origin of all things through his power, so too is he so through his knowledge and will”.¹⁴⁷ For Aquinas, the omnipotent, omnipresent God could be interpreted in his creations; to read space was to read God’s action and will. Bacon similarly argued that “it is necessary that the theologian knows the things of this world, if the sacred texts are to be known” because God had created everything according to his plan, “the literal sense remains in knowledge of nature”, and “truth is either in the universal or in the particular”.¹⁴⁸ For Bacon, Christians could interpret God and the Bible by examining details of the world; geography could unpack the nature of God and Christianity. Foundational to the neoclassical mapping of North-East Asia, therefore, was how spaces and ideas of space could have significance which transcended location and physical features; the symbolism of cartographic North-East Asia falls within a medieval tradition of space having didactic potential.

This potential extended to maps; the *mappaemundi* can be treated as documents which revealed meaning through physical phenomena. Harley described maps as “inherently rhetorical images” tied to the intentions and ideas of their makers and users.¹⁴⁹ In *mappaemundi*, this was rhetoric of Christian morality and superiority. These maps oriented viewers by describing the shape and features of the world and by establishing its relationship to God, history, and the future.¹⁵⁰ A crucial source for this was the Bible, although the cartographers rarely quoted it directly. For instance, *Hereford* cites Scripture only once, in a legend outside the body of the world which establishes the map’s geographical authority by relating it to the surveys of Augustus Caesar.¹⁵¹ This quotation affirms the map’s legitimacy but does not contribute to its content. Instead, Scripture underpins the maps’ ideology, noticeable in scenes such as the Fall and Noah’s Ark; the apocalyptic framing; and, from Ezekiel 5.5, the

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Vol 2, 110, 112, 116. “*Deus est in omnibus rebus non quidem sicut pars essentiae vel sicut accidens sed sicut agens adest ei in quod agit*”; “*sicut Deus est principium omnium rerum per suam potentiam, ita per scientiam et voluntatem*”.

¹⁴⁸ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 175. “*necesse est theologum scire res hujus mundi, si textum sacrum debet scire*”; “*sensus literalis stat in cognitione naturarum*”; “*verum est vel in universali vel in particulari*”.

¹⁴⁹ Harley, *New Nature of Maps*, 37.

¹⁵⁰ Woodward, ‘Medieval *Mappaemundi*’, 334; Gautier Dalché, ‘Maps, Travel and Exploration’, 148–49; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 14.

¹⁵¹ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xxviii. “Luke in [his] Gospel: from Augustus Caesar there went out an edict that all of the world be described” [“*Lucas in Evvangelio: Exiit edictum ab Augusto Cesare ut describeretur huniversus orb*”], from Luke 2:1. The observation that this is *Hereford*’s only biblical quotation is Westrem’s; the translation is my own.

central Jerusalem.¹⁵² The Bible can be understood as a guiding principle to the maps' organisation and symbolism rather than as a geographical textbook; for the cartographers it provided not toponyms but an ethos for how everything coexisted and related to God's plan. While Scripture did not directly inform North-East Asia, it dictated how this region should be understood in a global vision of time, geography and theology. The maps' very form made their Christian symbolism explicit; as Figures I.1-3 show, the *mappaemundi*'s T-O structure was broadly symmetrical and cruciform, the bodies of water evoking the Greek *tau* cross. This form proclaimed divine order in a world given shape by Christian symbolism.¹⁵³ Across this world were sacred places including Rome, Santiago and the Holy Land, further inscribing sanctity into the earth.¹⁵⁴ North-East Asia was mapped within a visibly sacred landscape, prompting viewers to search for meaning in the rest of the world.¹⁵⁵ Establishing the maps' didactic potential enables a discussion of the background and impact of the imagery most relevant for North-East Asia.

Urbanism and Nomadism

One methodological aspect in examining how and why the cartographers constructed North-East Asia involves tracking urbanism, comparing the numbers of mapped cities with the potential cities which the cartographers could have included but deliberately omitted.¹⁵⁶ This analysis stems from the significance of urbanism in medieval Latin thought. From the late tenth century, as part of what Moore termed "the first European Revolution", cities in Latin Europe grew in size, number, and cultural, political, social and economic importance, becoming more ideologically significant in urban societies' understandings of their and others' ways of life.¹⁵⁷ Cities became increasingly common, with more natural landscape turned into urban space from the twelfth century onwards, particularly in Italy, France, Germany and

¹⁵² Westrem, xxviii; Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, 41; Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 32; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 9. Ezekiel 5:5: "Thus saith the Lord GOD; This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her".

¹⁵³ Birkholz, *King's Two Maps*, xxiii–xxiv; Kupfer, 'Reflections', 103.

¹⁵⁴ Kupfer, 'Reflections', 116, 122; Brott, 'Geography of Devotion', 219–20; Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 330.

¹⁵⁵ The surrounding textual apparatus for *Ebstorf* even tells its readers to search; see Chapter 2 p.113.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix 1 for a discussion of this methodology.

¹⁵⁷ Moore, *The First European Revolution*, c. 970-1215.

Britain.¹⁵⁸ While cities were smaller in size and number when compared with the present day, there were nevertheless trends towards more, larger cities.¹⁵⁹ The development of the city had wide-reaching social, political and cultural ramifications. Drawing on and enabling a large population growth in Europe (estimated to have risen from 38.5 million in the eleventh century to 73.5 million in the fourteenth), the city complexified economics, culture and society. More non-urban land was committed to cereal production, while urban populations who benefitted from food surpluses turned more to non-productive work such as law, trade, art and scholarship.¹⁶⁰ Urbanism restructured and diversified societies. Even for those who did not live in them, cities had clear political and economic significance. They represented the organisation of social and political power, and demonstrated law, security, affluence and culture.¹⁶¹ Cities were also important symbols of order and control over nature and society. Their symbolism in Europe evoked Greek and Roman notions of the *polis*, *urbs* and *civitas*, ideas which became pronounced during the twelfth century when classical texts, such as Plato's *Timaeus* and Aristotle's treatise on political organisation, were translated into Latin. Aristotle had argued that humans were naturally inclined to form communal political societies, of which cities represented an ideal form of organisation conducive to good politics and people.¹⁶² Even without Christian symbolism, cities were signs of social and political order, providing potent imagery for the neoclassical palette.

This importance grew as Christian ideas invested cities with religious capital, and urbanism became related to morality.¹⁶³ Early medieval textual descriptions of Heaven as a garden gave way to urban imagery, while cities started emulating this

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London: Longman, 1997); Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, 90–93, 104–8.

¹⁵⁹ The largest European ones, found in northern Italy – such as Genoa, Milan and Venice – had populations of only approximately 100,000 by 1300. Nicholas, *Medieval City*, 178–79.

¹⁶⁰ Moore, *The First European Revolution*, c. 970–1215, 1–3, 30–36.

¹⁶¹ Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, 76–78; Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 78–79; Le Goff, *Birth of Europe*, 99–101, 109.

¹⁶² Lavezzo, *Angels*, 63; Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, 81; Kline, 'Strange Races', 35–37; Cary J. Nederman, 'Social and Political Thought', in *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity: 1050–1500*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 91–92; Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 7, 10–12, 28–29, 142–150; Jeannine Quillet, 'Community, Counsel and Representation', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 520–22.

¹⁶³ Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 10–12, 36–40, 185–86.

urban Heaven with soaring, light-filled Gothic architecture.¹⁶⁴ City and Heaven came to resemble each other, supplemented by doctrine in which the universal Church was associated with a city.¹⁶⁵ In particular, Augustine's *City of God* underpinned medieval religious imagery around urbanism; this important text framed the history and nature of the human condition around two cities, metaphors for communities over the world which divided humanity into the pious City of God, concerned with spiritual matters, and the corrupt, greedy City of Man, concerned with earthly matters.¹⁶⁶ The Heavenly Jerusalem was central to this view and to understanding the Apocalypse; as described in Revelation 21, a core component of eschatological thought was that the arrival of the Heavenly Jerusalem would mark God's triumph and the Kingdom of Heaven.¹⁶⁷ Christian urbanism, exemplified by the maps' central Jerusalem, was the device through which Salvation History would be realised. Reinforcing Binski's arguments about cumulative tradition and layers of symbolism, medieval ideas about urbanism synthesised old and new thought. As symbols, cities encompassed politics and religion, present-day sophistication and future Christian triumph.

¹⁶⁴ Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 72–82, 108; Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, 83; Le Goff, *Birth of Europe*, 144–55.

¹⁶⁵ Binski, 'Rhetorical Occasions', 9–11.

¹⁶⁶ John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 30; Nederman, 'Social and Political Thought', 91–92; R.A. Markus, 'The Latin Fathers', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 106–10; Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 37. For Augustine's arguments about the two cities, see in *City of God* the Preface ("hence concerning the earthly city, which desires domination, which has peoples serve it, which is itself dominated by the desire for domination, it is not to be passed over in silence" [*de terrena civitate, quae cum dominari appetit, etsi populi servant, ipsa ei dominandi libido dominatur, non est praetereundum silentio*]), XI.I ("Citizens of the earthly city prefer their own gods to the creator of this Holy City [God and Jerusalem], being ignorant that he is the God of gods, not of false – that is, impious and arrogant – gods" [*Huic conditori sanctae civitatis cives terrenae civitatis deos suos praeferunt ignorantes eum esse Deum deorum, non deorum falsorum, hoc est impiorum et superbiorum*]), XIV.I (in which Augustine defines the two cities [*civitates duas*] thus "One, in fact, choose to live according to the flesh; the other according to the spirit" [*Una quippe est hominum secundum carnem, altera secundum spiritum vivere in sui cuiusque generis pace volentium*]) and XV.I ("One of which [the two cities] is predestined to reign with God for eternity, the other to suffer punishment with the Devil for eternity" [*quarum est una quae praedestinata est in aeternum regnare cum Deo, altera aeternum supplicium subire cum diabolo*])).

¹⁶⁷ On the role of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Apocalypse, see for instance Scafi, 'Mapping the End', 400–405; Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 127, 149; Von den Brincken, 'Jerusalem', 355, 374. See Augustine, *City of God* XX.XVII for his discussion of the arrival of the Heavenly Jerusalem as the beginning of a time of immortal life in grace and piety. See Revelation 21, especially 21:2 "And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."

Further demonstrating the medieval Christian importance of urbanism is Latin hostility to its antithesis, nomadism. Carpini and Rubruck illustrate a mindset which was deeply critical of a city-free society. Carpini preceded chapters on the Mongols' use of 'idols' and their sinful character with lengthy discussions of their yurts and lack of cities.¹⁶⁸ His reference to nomadism introduces other immoral or crude habits, the lack of cities providing an important part of Carpini's critical appraisal. Similarly, in a chapter on Mongol dwellings, Rubruck claimed "nowhere do they have any lasting city, and they are ignorant of the one to come [the Heavenly Jerusalem]", linking the Mongols' ignorance of cities with their exclusion from Christianity's future victory.¹⁶⁹ In the Mongols' lack of urbanism, Rubruck saw them as culturally and religiously distant. This was despite Rubruck visiting the Mongol capital Karakorum. He derided it, but in recording walls, gates, quarters and places of worship, he was unmistakably discussing a city, which he even called "*civitate*".¹⁷⁰ Rubruck elided Mongol urbanism into nomadism without a "lasting city". He reduced a mixed socio-economic system into a purely nomadic one, showing a desire to categorise people as 'settled' or 'not', using nomadism as part of a package of barbarian tropes and typifying steppe Asians as nomadic regardless of contradictory evidence. For the maps, this shows a desire, present in the thirteenth century, to link moral and cultural flaws with a lack of cities.¹⁷¹ The absence of urbanism denoted an absence of order and morality.

For Rubruck, the lack of cities also indicated a lack of modernity. He twice described coming among the Mongols as entering "another *seculum*". The first time was on his initial encounter with the Mongols.¹⁷² The second time re-iterated the sense of transition into otherness while criticising the people. Just before describing the rudeness, jealousy, greed and arrogance of his Mongol guides, Rubruck wrote: "so when we first came among these barbarians, it appeared to me, as I said above, that

¹⁶⁸ John of Plano Carpini, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', 29-36 (for yurts and the lack of cities); 36-45 (for 'idols'); 45-51 (for sinful character).

¹⁶⁹ William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', 172. "*Nusquam habent manentem civitatem sed futuram ignorant*". This paraphrases Hebrews XIII:14. 172-176 for whole chapter.

¹⁷⁰ William of Rubruck, 285-286.

¹⁷¹ See passim throughout this thesis for Latin ideas of the Mongols as barbarian.

¹⁷² William of Rubruck, 171. "So after we left Soldaia, on the third day we came across the Mongols; when I came among them it truly seemed to me that I were entering another *seculum*. I will describe their life and habits to you as much as I am able" [*Postquam ergo recessimus de Soldaia, tertia die invenimus Tartaros, inter quos cum intravi, visum fuit michi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud seculum, quorum vitam et morem vobis describo prout possum*]. See below for "*seculum*".

I was entering another *seculum*.”¹⁷³ Jackson translates *seculum* as “world”, a translation scholars including Khanmohamadi follow.¹⁷⁴ However, *seculum* denotes not just geography, but society, culture and time. Rubruck suggested he was entering a different age, tied to the Mongols’ customs and lack of cities. Rubruck’s attitude indicates contemporary ideas about urbanism and its relation to the neoclassical mapping of North-East Asia. For Latin Christians, urbanism was tied with ideas of their contemporary, sophisticated way of living; to live without cities was to live regressively. This mindset aligns with the maps’ other archaïcising tendencies such as the flow of time away from Asia and the antique nomenclature in North-East Asia. The maps’ temporal structure and sources presented North-East Asia as regressive, a view supported by thirteenth-century ideas of nomadism and urbanism.

Carpini and Rubruck’s hostile attitudes thus also illustrate how engrained urbanism is among citted societies as a necessary way of life. Rubruck was so shocked by the lack of urbanism that he felt thrust into another era entirely, before the rise of the city which he deemed superior. However, as the dissonance between Rubruck’s description of Karakorum and claim that the Mongols lacked a “lasting city” demonstrates, the situation was more complex than this dichotomy of urban/non-urban. Steppe ‘nomads’ were not always on the move with no fixed abode, as settlements like Karakorum demonstrate. Excavations have shown that steppe cultures including the Liao and the Mongols, dismissed as non-urban by citted neighbours, had productive, permanent urban centres.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ William of Rubruck, 188. “*Quando ergo ingressi sumus inter istos barbaros, visum fuit michi, ut dixi superius, quod ingrederer aliud seculum*”.

¹⁷⁴ William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009), 71, 97; Shirin Khanmohamadi, ‘The Look of Medieval Ethnography: William of Rubruck’s Mission to Mongolia’, *New Medieval Literatures* 10 (2018): 91.

¹⁷⁵ See for instance J. Daniel Rogers, ‘Ancient Cities of the Steppe’, in *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Empire*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh, Morris Rossabi, and William Honeychurch (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 127–28; Ernst Pohl et al., ‘Production Sites in Karakorum and Its Environment: A New Archaeological Project in the Orkhon Valley, Mongolia’, *The Silk Road* 10 (2012): passim, esp. 49–50, 63; Jan Bemann and Susanne Reichert, ‘Karakorum, the First Capital of the Mongol World Empire: An Imperial City in a Non-Urban Society’, *Asian Archaeology*, 2020, 1–4, 18, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41826-020-00039-x>; Joshua Wright, William Honeychurch, and Chunag Amartuvshin, ‘The Xiongnu Settlements of Egiin Gol, Mongolia’, *Antiquity* 83 (2009): 372–74, 377, 385–86; Naomi Standen, ‘Colouring Outside the Lines: Methods For a Global History of Eastern Eurasia’, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: Sixth Series* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 36, 38–39, 61–62.

However, as Leyser et al argue, the existence of such cities is masked by more literate societies which presented idealised versions of an urbanism into which steppe peoples did not fit. Urban writers presented the city as inevitable and ideal, integral to their progression into modern, sophisticated societies. 'Urbanism' is as much a narrative development as a socio-economic one, part of certain societies' campaigns to promote their way of life over others.¹⁷⁶ Taken this way, urbanism – evident in Augustine and the Franciscan travellers – is not just a way of living but a way of thinking, of structuring the world and its peoples into different categories of sophistication, culture and order. While steppe cities indicate that there was no clean settled/nomadic polarity, a one-sided proliferation of texts simplified the matter into a binary of urban civilisation and nomadic barbarianism, as Rubruck illustrated. The permanent city differentiated between cultures and lifestyles, making it a loaded source of symbolism for inclusion on the maps, and demonstrating how the presence or absence of cities could visually crystallise a complex reality into a simple dichotomy of urban or not. For the maps, this translates into a simple relationship – a picture of a city indicates the presence of a city; no picture, no city, with no alternative. The absence of urbanism on maps painted a given area as flawed.

The city was hence a potent metaphor for structuring humanity, evoking organisation and morality. Augustine's metaphor of the two cities also reaffirms an important facet of urbanism: just because cities *could* indicate potential moral order and cultural sophistication, it did not follow that they were always good. For instance, Sodom, Gomorrah and Babylon on the maps show parts of Asia as urban, but this urbanism was marked by immorality. This illustrates a subtlety around ideas of cities: the distinction between *urbs* and *civitas*. Both were built, structured environments, but in Latin Europe the latter conveyed culture, sophistication, moral and political order and ideas of Roman identity, as well as institutions like Latin, universities, art, and law. Cities were a necessary but not sufficient constituent of a broader cultural-religious package of a proper, ordered Latin Christian way of life.¹⁷⁷ Despite urbanism's

¹⁷⁶ Conrad Leyser, Naomi Standen, and Stephanie Wynne-Jones, 'Settlement, Landscape and Narrative: What Really Happened in History', ed. Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen, *The Global Middle Ages, Past & Present* 238, no. Supplement 13 (2018): passim, esp. 232–34, 243–50, 254, 259.

¹⁷⁷ See for instance Giuliana B. Prato, 'European Urban Traditions: An Anthropologist's View on *Polis*, *Urbs*, and *Civitas*', *Diogenes* Special Issue, 3-4, no. 251–252 (2015): 5–6. Prato discusses the historical differences in the connotations of the *urbs* and *polis*, noting the ideological, cultural order

capacity to signify sin, cities remained a recognisable, deeply important cultural, political and religious concept. They indicated control, order, moral and social structure, and access to the Kingdom of Heaven; their absence denoted the opposite. A city was not necessarily good, but the lack of a city was necessarily bad. Urbanism was powerful and recognisable shorthand for not just the physical but the *moral* landscape. This shows how the maps' inclusion and exclusion of cities can be a means of assessing perceived levels of sophistication and urban modernity across the world, with fewer cities showing a cartographical argument that a given area was culturally, morally and politically backward and inferior. The relative spread of urbanism was an important strategy for the neoclassical mapping of North-East Asia.

Scythia and Barbarianism

Nomadism was one facet of another way in which antique and medieval thinkers interpreted North-East Asia: barbarianism, a collection of backward, savage tropes which presented the 'barbarian' as the fierce, uncultured antithesis of an observer society, a means of imposing control on the world and its otherwise uncontrollable inhabitants. Chapters 2 and 4 return to examples of these tropes, such as violence and cannibalism, when they pertain to specific scenes on the maps.¹⁷⁸ This section introduces the concept of barbarianism as an intellectual form of order, a way of thinking about 'Them' as flawed to privilege 'Us' as sophisticated.

and sense of community inherent in the latter. Much literature has explored other parts of this package. For the importance of the Church, see for instance Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* Revised Edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968), passim, esp. 22–29, 33–37, 41–42, 51–56; Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), 220, 243, 250–60; Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization: 400–1500*, trans. Julia Barrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 151–64; O'Doherty, *The Indies*, 160–62. For cities, see further below and also, for a study of the city in Latin Europe which explores urbanism from material, religious, economic, political and social perspectives, Lilley, *City and Cosmos*. For shared institutions like universities and law codes, see B.B. Price, *Medieval Thought: An Introduction* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 70–76, 81, 98, 119–20; Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, 204, 288–91. For ideas like architecture, saints, *romanitas* and liturgy, see for instance Le Goff, *Birth of Europe*, 98–101, 133, 144–48; Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, 330–39; Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Power, *Defence of Christendom*, 1–2, 28–30.

¹⁷⁸ These chapters also explain the genealogy of barbarianism in Scythia, tracing the transmission of fifth-century BC information from Herodotus to argue there was a concerted effort over time to stereotype the Scythians into savage, one-dimensional characters for the benefit of Latin Christianity.

The idea of barbarianism is consistent with neoclassicism in the cartographers' use of antique ideas of Scythians and in the *mappaemundi* depicting North-East Asia as archaic and unsophisticated. 'Barbarian' is an externally applied term which aims to condemn an external group's nature and habits, thereby lauding the observing society, and is a concept inextricably linked with efforts at intellectual and political control. The barbarian is a social construct designed to vilify a different set of norms, ideas and practices in areas including technology, society, economics, appearance and diet. Throughout history, observers of a foreign culture which they dislike or fear have defined barbarianism through the absence of institutions, norms, technology and practice found in the observer's culture.¹⁷⁹ The notion of barbarianism endeavours to show progress and superiority between two cultures, so that the 'barbarian' is not just crude and inferior but backward, underdeveloped.¹⁸⁰ This aligns with the themes of neoclassical cartography.

Classical and medieval thinkers defined barbarianism through customs, building a package of tropes which negatively categorised the 'barbarian'. Throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Greek, Roman and Christian authors used barbarianism as a means of explaining and demonising certain peoples. The Greeks – particularly Herodotus – applied the term to non-Greeks, then so did the Romans to neighbouring Celts and Germans. Categorising these people as inferior justified harsh treatment like conquest or repressive policies, or could bolster the identity of the observer's society through comparison.¹⁸¹ For example, Pliny listed Scythians including the Massagetae and Essedones, mentioning their lack of towns and implying socio-cultural inferiority.¹⁸² He showed these people as different in a key area of socio-economic organisation, with the contemporary ideology of urbanism turning this difference into a hierarchy with barbarians below city-dwellers. Barbarianism hence relates to power and politics. By defining those outside an empire like Rome's as barbarians, and by defining barbarians as violent and flawed,

¹⁷⁹ David A. Boruchoff, 'Indians, Cannibals, and Barbarians: Hernán Cortés and Early Modern Cultural Relativism', *Ethnohistory* 62, no. 1 (2015): 18.

¹⁸⁰ Jones, 'Image of the Barbarian', 376–77; Boruchoff, 'Indians, Cannibals, and Barbarians', 19.

¹⁸¹ Jones, 'Image of the Barbarian', 378; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 39–40; Murphy, *Empire in the Encyclopedia*, 2–3, 14–15, 18, 94–96, 165. Herodotus, for instance, wrote in Book 1.4 that Asia was inhabited by barbarians, and in Book 1.6 that Croesus, a Lydian (from central Anatolia) was also a barbarian. Herodotus, *The Histories*, ed. Walter Blanco and Jennifer T. Roberts, trans. Walter Blanco (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013), 6.

¹⁸² Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Vol. I*, 220, 226.

ethnographers privileged the identity of that empire and justified its expansion.¹⁸³ Medieval authors built on classical ideas of barbarianism, investing them with Christian beliefs such as opposition to so-called idolatry and paganism, as seen with the Mongols above.¹⁸⁴ The historians Gerald of Wales, Adam of Bremen and Otto of Freising recorded among the Irish, Welsh, Slavs and steppe dwellers common barbarian traits which had been noted by Romans of their neighbours. These authors denounced improper religion, the absence of agriculture, simple clothes, 'unclean' diet, arbitrary law, internecine strife and bellicosity with the intent of glorifying their own societies and attempting to legitimate war.¹⁸⁵

Barbarianism is therefore intertwined with notions of cultural superiority. It could console, justify expansion, and present intellectual control, especially for areas where political power could not extend. Murphy links Pliny's *Natural History* to imperial Roman ideology, arguing the work's descriptions represent desires to exert intellectual control over the world by systematically describing different regions, presenting Rome as a centre of knowledge, culture, power.¹⁸⁶ Geographic texts could demonstrate an ordered sense of intellectual mastery over even distant, unknown spaces. Ethnographic sections fitted into this model, subjecting peoples outside the empire to the same intellectual order. Classical ideas of barbarianism and categorisation provided precedence for the cartographers and their neoclassical North-East Asia. By depicting Scythian barbarians and their customs in antique, hostile terms, the cartographers drew on an established tradition in presenting boundaries between cultures and imposed intellectual order while doing so.

Environmental determinism, the idea that inferiority derived from location, underpinned these cultural aspects of barbarianism. Medieval writers drew on older ideas in assuming that climate and landscape shaped temperament and physiology. Classical writers including Pliny, Galen and Hippocrates argued that climate affected the balance of humours, in turn influencing character, so that hard weather bred hard

¹⁸³ Murphy, *Empire in the Encyclopedia*, 94, 165.

¹⁸⁴ Murphy, 80–82; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, 143; Jones, 'Image of the Barbarian', 391–92.

¹⁸⁵ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, 132–33, 135–40; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 42–45; Kominko, "'Ugly as Sin'", 373–74; Jackson, 'Christians, Barbarians and Monsters', 93–95.

¹⁸⁶ Murphy, *Empire in the Encyclopedia*, 1–2, 14–16, 17–20, 49–51, 82–83.

people. This thought continued into the Middle Ages, advanced by authorities like Isidore and Albertus Magnus. The idea of the steppes as harsh contributed to notions of its inhabitants being similarly harsh, civilisation being incompatible with the Scythian wasteland.¹⁸⁷ Successive invasions from the steppes by peoples like the Huns, Magyars and Mongols reinforced the idea of Scythia as a brutal land full of bellicose peoples, history demonstrating what geography prescribed.¹⁸⁸ This aligns with the maps' savage, non-urban Scythia.¹⁸⁹ Again, in neoclassical cartography, multiple ideas proved complementary, with antique notions of regressive people complementing medieval ideas about history, culture and society.

Barbarians were, moreover, not subject to the civilising forces of *romanitas* or Christianity. In medieval Latin theories of barbarianism, the extent of the post-Roman world closely matched the extent of sophisticated, well-ordered life. This continued as Christianity expanded and became linked with *romanitas*, so that 'barbarian' – as applied to, for instance, Vikings, Magyars and Mongols – signified non-Roman and non-Christian.¹⁹⁰ Writers like the Franciscan travellers frequently linked 'idolatry' or paganism with barbarism; to be barbarian was to worship foolish or evil things.¹⁹¹ An important aspect of barbarianism was hence being *not* Latin Christian. The result was to privilege Latin Christianity as superior, responsible for expunging moral flaws, lawlessness, and savage habits. This shows the 'barbarian' as a political tool, damning Them while praising Us. By presenting North-East Asian barbarians as external, different and inferior, Latin Christians could imagine them within a controllable narrative of world history and culture. Even in the face of the Mongol invasions, the Latin cartographers could present North-East Asia in a way which placed boundaries between urban Christians and non-urban barbarians while

¹⁸⁷ On environmental determinism see discussions in Chapter 2 about Africa (pp.120-121) and, for instance, Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, 50–51; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 34–39; Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), passim, esp. 80–87, 258–67.

¹⁸⁸ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 17–18; Jackson, 'Encounter with the Alien', 31–32.

¹⁸⁹ See sections on Scythia in Chapters 2-4.

¹⁹⁰ Jones, 'Image of the Barbarian', 378, 380, 388–91.

¹⁹¹ Kominko, "'Ugly as Sin'", 375; Jones, 'Image of the Barbarian', 388–90; Sara Lipton, 'Christianity and Its Others: Jews, Muslims, and Pagans', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 424–27; Camille, *Gothic Idol*, passim. Rubruck and Carpini describe Mongol 'idolatry' in sections on their customs, including ritual and worship. See for instance Rubruck 175, 237; Carpini, 36-45.

privileging the former. As a neoclassical device, barbarianism helped favourably represent the world by combining classical and medieval ideas, including a backward Asia juxtaposed against a modern, urban, sophisticated Latin Europe. For *Psalter* and *Hereford*, barbarianism as a neoclassical motif allowed the cartographers to frame new threats in old, familiar, useful terms and ideas.

Gog and Magog

The final theme which this thesis examines is Gog and Magog, an apocalyptic people drawn from Scripture, literature and geographic thought. As with the rest of the neoclassical palette, this section introduces the basic elements of Gog and Magog, with future chapters discussing this people in more detail as they pertained to each map.¹⁹² This section presents Gog and Magog's biblical origins, literary evolution and symbolism. While not drawn from the classical corpus, they nevertheless align with the main themes of neoclassical cartography by representing the cumulation of tradition and complementary material from different periods.

The root of Gog and Magog comprises two key sources: Scripture and the multi-textual antique and medieval literary tradition of the Romances of Alexander the Great. The Bible provided Gog and Magog's origins, names and basic nature, but did not directly influence the maps' versions. The Gog and Magog of the Alexander tradition, however, did. It is this tradition's set of ideas of Gog and Magog which the cartographers used, but the Bible remains an important starting point in understanding what Gog and Magog were meant to be.

They first appeared in Genesis, Ezekiel and Revelation, each providing different descriptions. The account in Genesis 10 is the briefest, detailing only their ancestry and rough location. A genealogical table cites Magog (without Gog) as one of the seven sons of Noah's son Japheth.¹⁹³ While Japheth was the progenitor of Europe, Gog and Magog were nonetheless separated from the peoples of Europe, linked to them only by this distant ancestor. Van Donzel and Schmidt argue that Magog's

¹⁹² For instance, I discuss how different writers associated contemporary enemies with Gog and Magog, and assess how visible and likely such associations are on the *mappaemundi*.

¹⁹³ Genesis 10:2. "The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras".

appearance in this list between Gomer (linked with the Cimmerians of the steppes) and Madai (linked with the Medes) placed Magog in the far north-east, imagined in antiquity as a harsh, uncivilised landscape with fierce peoples, distinct from Europe and its nations.¹⁹⁴ This view persisted into the thirteenth century. Gervase of Tilbury noted that Japheth's sons inherited northern Asia and Europe, and that the Scythians descended from Magog. Gervase contextualised Scythian savagery by linking them with an ancient evil force, explaining the Scythians' past while tying Magog to human history.¹⁹⁵ While Genesis described Magog briefly and did not mention Gog, it provided pertinent information about Magog's nature and relationship to the peoples of Asia and Europe.

Ezekiel 38-39 describes Gog and Magog in more detail, emphasising their savagery and apocalyptic role. Ezekiel 38:2-6 mentions "Gog [from] the land of Magog", who at the Apocalypse would lead a great cavalry army alongside other north-eastern nations.¹⁹⁶ Magog appears here to be a land named after its founder. 'Gog' is possibly a biblical backformation from Magog; 'ma' was an Assyrian prefix denoting 'the place of', so the Ezekiel writer perhaps assumed Magog to mean 'the place of Gog'.¹⁹⁷ Gog led an army which would be unleashed at the Apocalypse, causing destruction only to be defeated by God.¹⁹⁸ The account reflects an essential part of the legend of Gog and Magog; for all their mighty cavalry, God would defeat them.

Revelation 20 breaks with the consistency between Genesis and Ezekiel about who or what Gog and Magog were, but maintains their savagery and apocalyptic role:

"And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of

¹⁹⁴ Emeri van Donzel and Andrea Schmidt, eds., *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–4.

¹⁹⁵ Gervase, *Otia Imperialia*, 530.

¹⁹⁶ Ezekiel 38:2-6. 38:2 for quotation.

¹⁹⁷ Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, 'Gog and Magog Crossing Borders: Biblical, Christian and Islamic Imaginings', in *Cultures of Eschatology Volume 1: Empires and Scriptural Authorities in Medieval Christian, Islamic and Buddhist Communities*, ed. Veronika Wieser, Vincent Eltschinger, and Johann Heiss (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 392.

¹⁹⁸ Ezekiel 38:18-22, Ezekiel 39:1-6.

the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea.”¹⁹⁹

As in Ezekiel, God would destroy this army after it had marched across the world and threatened Jerusalem.²⁰⁰ While their fierce nature and involvement in the Apocalypse remained constant, Revelation altered Gog and Magog’s location, nature and motivation. Rather than being specifically North-East Asians, they come from “the four corners of the earth”, reminding readers how evil could appear anywhere. Gog was no longer a distinct individual and Magog no longer a land; they became ambiguous, perhaps a pair of races, perhaps places, perhaps progenitors, but certainly numerous and warlike. Crucially, again, God would defeat them.

Despite their differences, these accounts provide three key themes underpinning the discussions in this thesis: Gog and Magog’s (usually) Asian location and savage nature; their role in the Apocalypse; and their ambiguity which allowed writers to associate them with contemporary enemies. Scriptural descriptions of Gog and Magog made them potent, adaptable symbols, useful as labels to demonise present enemies while affirming God’s future triumph.

None of these scriptural versions of Gog and Magog, however, appear on the *mappaemundi*. *Psalter* is too small to describe Gog and Magog in any detail, showing only a gated enclosure. *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* show Gog and Magog as two peoples in North-East Asia.²⁰¹ In contrast, the Bible never presents Gog and Magog as a dual people found exclusively in Asia: Genesis has Magog in Asia but no Gog; Ezekiel has Gog the man and Magog the land; Revelation has Gog and Magog the worldwide nations. The Bible was an important starting point for the legend, but scriptural notions of Gog and Magog had little direct impact on the maps’ ideas of an enclosed dual-race in north-eastern Asia.

Instead, what was important as a source for the maps’ Gog and Magog was the later popular multi-textual tradition of the Alexander Romances, a diverse set of prose and

¹⁹⁹ Revelation 20:7-8.

²⁰⁰ Revelation 20:7-10.

²⁰¹ See sections on Gog and Magog in Chapters 2-4.

poetic narratives which Christianised the legendary king. The biblical themes around Gog and Magog persisted as these sources adapted and propagated their legend, and the cartographers used these later traditions. The Alexander Romances added further detail to the legend and disseminated it across Europe over time in many versions and languages. From the seventh century, texts – originally in Syriac – linked Gog and Magog with Alexander.²⁰² For Latin Europe, the Alexander Romance circulated in translations and adaptations of the tenth-century Latin version by Leo, Archpriest of Naples. This spread widely over Europe in most vernaculars between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, disseminating the Alexander legend and knowledge of Gog and Magog.²⁰³ Across this literary tradition, Alexander enclosed a race behind a great wall near the Caspian Sea, to be contained there until the Apocalypse. Crucially, he imprisoned them with the help of God, who instructed Alexander to act and moved mountains to help.²⁰⁴ These texts' authors Christianised the pagan Alexander as God's agent, incorporated within the divine plan.

Writers equated this enclosed nation with the biblical Gog and Magog and their apocalyptic function early on, which allowed the maps to present Gog and Magog as a symbol of God's power. A seventh-century Syriac Alexander Romance, a source for later translations, named the enclosed people as Gog and Magog, explained their role in the Apocalypse, and described Alexander and God sealing them away.²⁰⁵

²⁰² Doufikaer-Aerts, 'Crossing Borders', 392–93; Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932), 20–24.

²⁰³ Charles Russell Stone, 'Proud Kings, Polyglot Scribes, and the *I³ Historia de Preliis*: The Origins of Latin Alexander Romance in Norman and Staufan Italy', *Speculum* 91, no. 3 (2016): 724–26; Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 19–20, 202–3, 237; Archpriest Leo, *Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexander-Roman Nach Der Berliner Bilderhandschrift, Nebst Dem Lateinischen Original Der Historia de Preliis (Rezension J²)*, ed. Alfons Hilka (Halle: S.M. Niemeyer, 1920); Archpriest Leo, *Die Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni: Rezension J³*, ed. Karl Steffens (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1975).

²⁰⁴ Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 3, 24–25, 75–76; Victor I. Scherb, 'Assimilating Giants: The Appropriation of Gog and Magog in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 62; Edson, 'Mapping the Middle Ages', 23. See, for instance, Jacob of Sêrûgh, 'A Metrical Discourse upon Alexander by Jacob of Sêrûgh', in *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, trans. E.A. Wallis Budge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), 167.

²⁰⁵ Jacob of Sêrûgh, 'Metrical Discourse', 167, 176–78, 182–84, 185–95. The Syriac text was adapted from Pseudo-Methodius' original Greek legend. Budge incorrectly attributes this poem to the fourth/fifth-century Syrian writer Jacob of Serugh. The present footnote cites Jacob only for citation consistency within Budge's book from which the translation comes. For the later date, see J.A. Boyle, 'The Alexander Romance in the East and West', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 60, no. 1 (2007): 19–20.

This association between Alexander, Gog and Magog and the enclosed peoples was persistent, resurfacing in, for instance, a popular eighth-century travel text, the *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*.²⁰⁶ Likewise, in the thirteenth century, Gervase of Tilbury mentioned a nation of savage cannibals described in Ezekiel, named Gog and Magog, whom Alexander sealed away in the Caspian-Caucasus region and who would serve Antichrist at the Apocalypse.²⁰⁷ There was hence a medieval tradition of equating people enclosed by Alexander with the Biblical, apocalyptic Gog and Magog, propagated by frequent translations into Latin of the Alexander legend, including seventy-two extant witnesses from the ninth to fifteenth centuries.²⁰⁸ The Romances, widely read over Europe in different languages, were taken as ‘real’ history, as the *Aethicus* author and Gervase indicate.²⁰⁹ Gog and Magog were imagined as real peoples who interacted with historical figures and had future significance. Biblical and literary ideas around Gog and Magog presented them as powerful people who were and will be defeated by God’s power; their role as an enemy demonstrated his strength, and was necessary for effecting his plan.²¹⁰

This function of Gog and Magog, who represent a break from the otherwise classical paradigm of North-East Asia, explains their neoclassical purpose. It is important to consider the significance of Gog and Magog’s inclusion at all; the presence of an originally biblical and then medieval literary people cannot be taken for granted in North-East Asia, a region reliant on non-Christian classical authors. Solinus did not mention Gog and Magog in his discussions of the Caspian and Caucasus, describing only physical geography.²¹¹ A significant source for the maps’ Asia omitted this legendary people. Why, then, include Gog and Magog instead of more cities, different animals and monsters, or another non-classical phenomenon like Prester

²⁰⁶ Jerome, ‘Mémoire Sur Éthicus et Sur Les Ouvrages Cosmographiques Intitulés de Ce Nom’, ed. Armand d’Avezac, *Mémoires Présentés Par Divers Savants Étrangers à l’Académie* 2 (1852): 482–83, 496. On the early medieval and medieval persistence of Gog and Magog in the Alexander legends, including in *Aethicus Ister*, see Richard Stoneman, ‘Primary Sources from the Classical and Early Medieval Periods’, in *A Companion to Alexander Literature In the Middle Ages*, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13–15.

²⁰⁷ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 184.

²⁰⁸ Stoneman, ‘Primary Sources’, 15.

²⁰⁹ Rudolf Wittkower, ‘Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 180.

²¹⁰ Scafi, ‘Mapping the End’, 409.

²¹¹ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 92–93, 192–93.

John?²¹² Starting from the assumption that every cartographic feature was a choice colouring the intended interpretation of the world, it can be inferred that including Gog and Magog meant they were important for the maps' meanings. Their inclusion helped structure interpretations of the world in a way which benefitted Latin Christianity. This illustrates Binski's arguments of Gothic intellectual culture representing cumulative, complementary traditions. Despite coming from medieval literature and originating in the Bible, Gog and Magog were a nominally classical presence from their association with Alexander; their inclusion archaicised North-East Asia like the classical sources' nomenclature did. Moreover, the medieval, scriptural-literary people of Gog and Magog extended neoclassical themes – they presented a savage, non-urban North-East Asia situated in an essentially controllable narrative of apocalypticism. New ideas did not replace old; the two strands worked together in times of crisis.

Conclusion

The Mongol invasions and worsening situation in the Holy Land had profound negative impacts on Latin Europe, including physical losses and psychological trauma. Lands and lives were lost, while fear, insecurity and yearning for Jerusalem rose. Given these severe consequences on the Latin world and worldviews, Asia on the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* must be examined in light of their historical, cultural and intellectual contexts. Rather than discounting these maps as conservative for failing to include contemporary features, sensitivity to historical circumstances should be sought in the cartographers' decisions. If the *mappaemundi* did not register the seismic impact of the Mongol invasions, the cartographers were at odds with their contemporaries, and more scholarly attention should be devoted to explaining this blinkered or stoic mapping, oblivious to the ways in which Eurasia and the Latin world were being reshaped during the thirteenth century.

Instead, this chapter has presented two interlinked ways of framing the *mappaemundi* and interpreting their makers' creative decisions, which shape subsequent chapters' analysis. One is the maps' historical context, including crises

²¹² See Chapter 5 for Prester John's absent kingdom.

which set the cartographers against a backdrop of difficulty and the need for moral consolation as new threats emerged and the Holy Land fell. Another aspect of historical context is the increasing connectivity over Eurasia. While this connectivity exhibits no direct influence on the *mappaemundi*'s content, these maps must be read as one way of thinking about and with North-East Asia while it was increasingly experienced directly, rather than through old texts. The cartographers created a one-way, externally conceived idea of North-East Asia, an imagined landscape that could be moulded to control the narrative of thirteenth-century difficulties.

This moulding and control occurred in, and were made possible by, the confluence of historical, intellectual and cultural trends which this thesis has termed the neoclassical moment. An extension of the developments of twelfth-century classicism, neoclassical cartography involved the sophisticated interrelationship of tradition and invention, old and new, reproduction and production. It was a period of creativity, different layers of thought coming together to produce art, architecture and texts rich with contemporary symbolism and relevance. Thirteenth-century artists and writers used antique authorities for thirteenth-century ends, not out of reverence of antiquity alone. This facet of thirteenth-century thinking about the past requires interrogating how and why the cartographers used the classical corpus. For the pre-Mongol *Ebstorf*, it was necessary, but for the *Psalter* and *Hereford* cartographers – who could have accessed newer materials – these old sources must have proved expedient. They allowed a deliberate, ordered, controllable archaicising of North-East Asia, framing thirteenth-century history and geography in a beneficial way. The artificially archaic Asia contrasted against modern Latin Europe, presented in the maps' temporal structure, and against the future Christian triumph of the Apocalypse. Different sources and themes of the maps' constructions harmonised to similar ends.

Within this neoclassical strategy, the cartographers used three main devices to construct Asia: urbanism, barbarianism and Gog and Magog, resulting in a savage, unsophisticated Asia further detached from Christianity and its future triumph. Each map did so differently, according to historical circumstances.²¹³ The *mappaemundi* display both consistency and contingency, the synchronicity of the neoclassical

²¹³ See Chapters 2-4.

moment interacting with the diachronicity of each map's circumstances. How far each cartographer used, emphasised and omitted the tools at their disposal varied according to how threateningly North-East Asia and Asians loomed in their minds.

Chapter 1 Figures

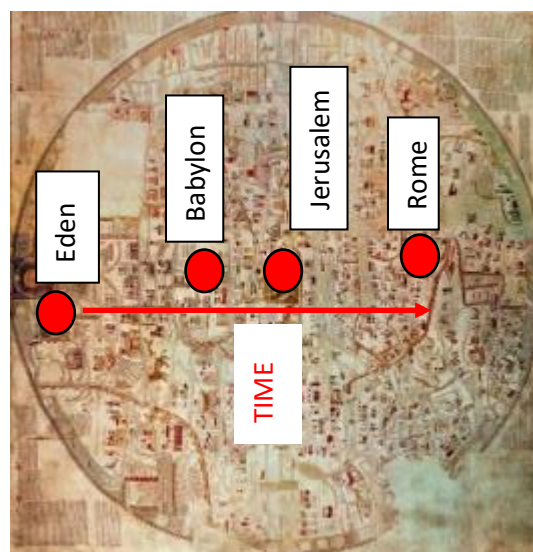
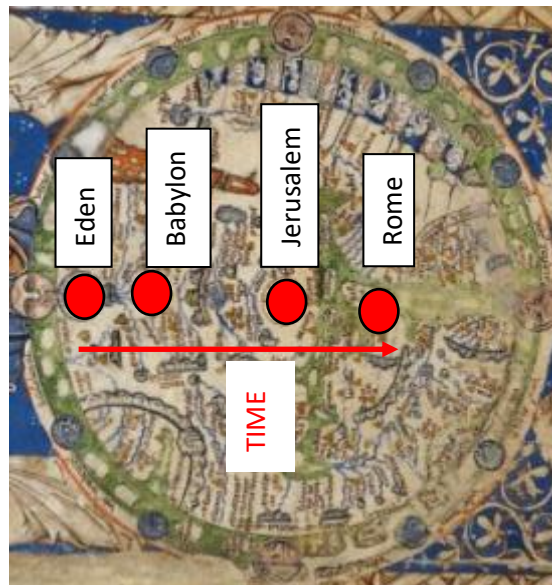
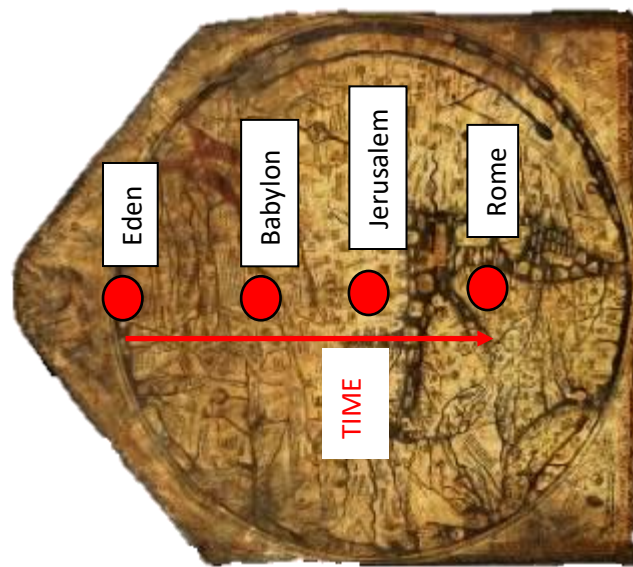


Figure 1.2: The east-to-west flow of Salvation History on *Ebston*, *Psalter* and *Hereford*.



Figure 1.3: Rome on *Ebstorf*.



Figure 1.4: Rome on *Psalter*.

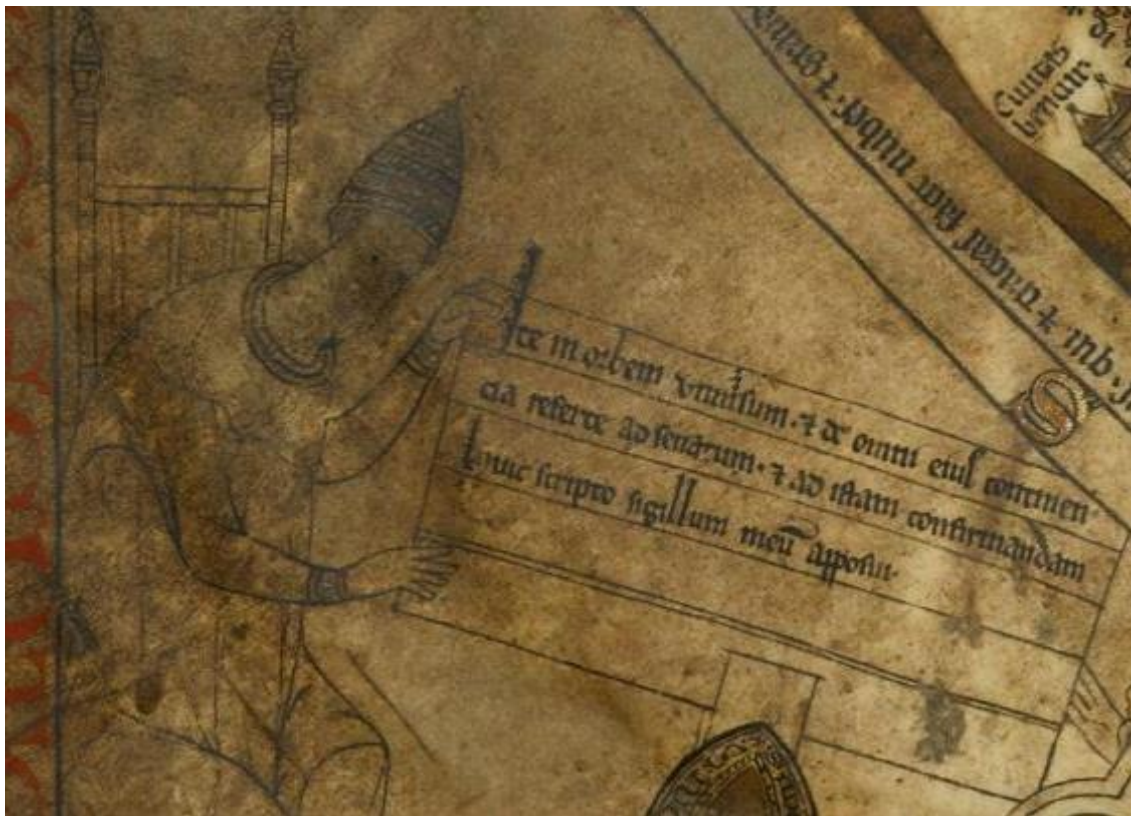


Figure 1.5: Augustus with papal tiara on Hereford.



Figure 1.6: Rome on Hereford.

Chapter 2 – Ebstorf: North-East Asia as Spectacle

Through neoclassical strategies, *Ebstorf* (probably dating from the 1220s) presents North-East Asia as a savage but safe spectacle; it is antiquated, fierce and unsophisticated, but also remote and contained. Before the Mongol invasions of the 1240s brought North-East Asians into contact with Latin Europe, this part of Asia remained distant, a region of interest, not fear. The map, a teaching object and pilgrimage focus, exhorts viewers to explore the world and find marvels; peripheral North-East Asia with its unusual inhabitants and non-urban landscape provided an edifying, fascinating spectacle. Meanwhile, while Latin Christianity bolstered itself internally through efforts such as the 1215 Lateran Council; expanded in the Baltic; and was in the midst of a challenging Crusade campaign in which Germans took part, *Ebstorf* provided bombastic, polemical propaganda about the superiority of Latin Christendom, expressed partly by constructing all of Asia as inferior. Through levels of urbanism; selecting and amplifying Scythian savagery; and Gog and Magog, the cartographer presented North-East Asia as flawed, bolstering Latin Europe by comparison.

Ebstorf is a didactic argument about the world, structured to allow readers to find interest in God's creation and to articulate the worth of different regions and religions. In this worldview, while North-East Asia was fierce it was relatively small, distant, and contained, reflecting how it pressed far less on contemporary thought than the Holy Land. To present these arguments about *Ebstorf*'s functions and the role of North-East Asia, this chapter explores three interrelated strands: imagery, construction, context. It analyses the visible evidence of the map, assessing what viewers would have seen and presenting the symbolism of, for instance, the lack of cities in Asia. I explore the map's production, comparing what the cartographer chose to depict from the available source material; how, for example, the cartographer did not lift the present Scythians from an existing source, but selectively curated the depiction. How, why and when *Ebstorf* was received underpins these strands of imagery and construction; no map exists in a historical vacuum. It was shown in a religious institution for religious audiences, and was made while there were Christian efforts, including in Germany, to conquer Jerusalem from a non-Christian enemy.

To explore how and why *Ebstorf* was made in relation to its contexts, the chapter proceeds in four parts, the first contextual and the following three analytical, exploring the neoclassical themes presented in Chapter 1. The chapter also introduces areas which Chapters 3 and 4 revisit, such as aspects of worldwide urbanism and the origins of information about the Scythians and the Seres.

The first part presents *Ebstorf*'s context, establishing its production and reception as a document made before 1240 for a convent, used as a teaching device and for pilgrims to view. *Ebstorf* – every map – is a map of the world as seen at a moment in time from a specific vantage point; context is key in understanding *why* North-East Asia appears as it does. Accordingly, I discuss aspects of the map's historical background, particularly German interests in the Crusades and the Holy Land, and the comparatively minor relevance of North-East Asia, arguing that this background primed the map's viewers for a message of Christian superiority while explaining the small, peripheral Scythia.

The second part further contextualises North-East Asia by examining urbanism over the world and in different Asian regions. The cartographer deliberately omitted cities in Asia, replacing them with features to marvel at or revile. This made Asia into a spectacle rather than a citied, sophisticated presence, presenting the disproportionately more urban Europe as superior. This section also discusses the Seres, an ostensibly urban people relegated to a group in a mountain.

The cartographer's selectivity in mapping cities over Asia provided precedence for making North-East Asia savage and morally flawed, evident in the map's Scythians. The third part establishes the fifth-century BC Herodotus as the origin of information on the Scythians, although the mapmakers did not consult him directly, accessing his information through Roman authors including Solinus. Consequently, I note the selective transmission of this information which over time stereotyped the Scythians into fierce caricatures. I also discuss Scythia's shape, size and contained nature,

arguing its peripheral nature relates to contemporary attitudes to North-East Asia.¹ *Ebstorf* shows Scythia as a place of grisly interest, but not one to be concerned about.

The fourth part discusses Gog and Magog in their enclosure within the already enclosed Scythia. The map presents them as utmost barbarians who, nevertheless, are contained and will be defeated. Gog and Magog present a message of hope for the ongoing situation in the Holy Land, prompted by their past and future roles and by the unique visual similarities between their enclosure and Jerusalem. However, like the Scythians they were not an immediate concern.

While North-East Asia is peripheral and contained, it remains relevant to *Ebstorf's* arguments. Before the Mongol invasions, this region did not loom large. Nevertheless, it provided messages of wonder, optimism and superiority for the urban Christians who would triumph over their enemies.

Ebstorf in Context

Production and Reception – Teaching the World

Ebstorf exists only as reproductions based on photographs of the original, destroyed in the Second World War. The reproductions are, moreover, partial.² The loss of this original is unfortunate for heritage and analysis that demands a material approach, but for this thesis the reproductions are sufficiently detailed to analyse. The original measured 3.58m x 3.56m, comprising thirty sheets of parchment. It was made in Saxony for the Ebstorf Benedictine nunnery, as illustrated by the map's medieval presence there and by that region being detailed and carefully drawn.³

¹ The process of stereotyping the Scythians is even more prominent on *Hereford*, as I discuss in Chapter 4, pp.230-240. Chapter 4, pp.240-243, also returns to the size and location of North-East Asia on *Ebstorf*, showing how this region is both much larger and much closer on the later map. I relate both these factors to the impact of the Mongols.

² At some point during its post-medieval time in storage, the map was damaged by mice and by someone excising some of India. Wolf, 'Ebstorf "Mappamundi"', 1–2; Leonid S. Chekin, 'Cities of Rus' on the Ebstorf Map', *Scando-Slavica* 38, no. 1 (1992): 98; Pischke, 'Ebstorf Map', 155.

³ Wolf, 'Ebstorf "Mappamundi"', 2; Kupfer, 'Reflections', 100–102; Pischke, 'Ebstorf Map', 155, 160.

Ebstorf's authorship and date are contested and intertwined, with little internal or contemporary documentary evidence.⁴ Chekin observes this contested nature, noting that the presence of Riga (founded in 1201) provides a *post quem* date for the map, but this is the only concrete undisputed internal evidence regarding when it was made.⁵ Pischke volunteers only a date of “the 13th century”, while Kupfer argues for as late as 1300 based on art historical and palaeographical analysis.⁶

Wolf, however, offers a persuasive case for the early thirteenth century. He presents convincing historical, art historical, palaeographic, geographic and textual evidence tying *Ebstorf* to the first half of the thirteenth century, perhaps as early as 1215, with a potential revised version in the 1230s.⁷ Wolf rejects the art historical association between *Ebstorf's* Christ and German art c.1300, linking it instead to depictions of God on glass in nearby Magdeburg (c.1210 x c.1230). He argues that many of the map's textual themes, itineraries and aspects of microcosm and macrocosm tie the cartographer to Gervase of Tilbury (born c.1150). This argument rests on the presence of a provost named Gervase at Ebstorf in the 1220s and 1230s. Gervase of Tilbury was an English scholar who wrote the *Otia Imperialia*, a broad work designed to entertain his employer, emperor Otto IV (r.1209-1214), containing discussions of marvels, histories of the world and the Holy Roman Empire, and beginning with a world geography.⁸ This work was probably also originally accompanied by a *mappamundi*, not necessarily *Ebstorf* but at least illustrating Tilbury as a cartographer.⁹ *Ebstorf's* content aligns with the life, travels, and work of Gervase, which was an uncommon name in Germany and hence likely to represent a travelling scholar such as Tilbury. The *Otia* is the latest identifiable source used on *Ebstorf*, indicating access to this text if not necessarily the same author. Finally, many of the present and absent place names relate to the politics of the 1210s and

⁴ Hamburger relates this paucity not only to loss during periods such as the Reformation, but to the very nature of religious houses as enclosed spaces, with such enclosure extending to institutions not recording their own history in detail Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 37.

⁵ Chekin, ‘Cities of Rus’, 98, 103.

⁶ Pischke, ‘Ebstorf Map’, 155; Kupfer, ‘Reflections’, 1012–1102.

⁷ Wolf, ‘Ebstorf “Mappamundi”’, 19.

⁸ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*.

⁹ After summarising regions of the world, Gervase commented that being systematic allowed him to create a “more accurate picture” [*emendatiore pictura*], and that such picture is “commonly called a *mappamundi*” [*mappamundi vulgus nominat*]. *Pictura* implies a physical piece of art, rather than a textual ‘picture’. Gervase of Tilbury, 526. See also Wolf, ‘Ebstorf “Mappamundi”’, 4.

1220s with which Tilbury was involved – included are cities linked with the emperor's nephew, Duke Otto of Lüneburg, (b.1204, ruled from 1213) such as Orlamünde. Cities like Munich and Frankfurt which were not linked with this family, or only became prominent later, are absent. If the historical artefact of *Ebstorf* is a later thirteenth-century production, as some palaeographic evidence suggests, then it is nonetheless probably a copy of an earlier map.¹⁰

Another piece of evidence linking Gervase of Tilbury, provost Gervase of Ebstorf, and *Ebstorf* concerns St Maurice. Maurice was the commander of a third-century Roman legion from Thebes which was martyred near Valais for refusing to obey imperial orders to massacre a group of Christians. The German Ottonian dynasty adopted the Maurice cult as an aid in battle and as a symbol in their conversion efforts among the Slavs, with the cult spreading to Magdeburg in northern Germany and becoming revered in Ebstorf by 1225; Maurice appears, for instance, on Ebstorf's monastic seal.¹¹ Maurice was also venerated by nobles associated with Ebstorf's foundation and the provost Gervase.¹² Tilbury's *Otia* mentions Maurice and the Theban legion five times across different sections, including in describing Egypt and in presenting the merits of secular and spiritual obedience.¹³ Both Gervases, therefore, had some interest in Maurice, as did the institution of Ebstorf. So too did the cartographer, who mapped the Burgundian abbey where Maurice was buried as well as Thebes, linking the latter with the saint.¹⁴ This shared interest is far from conclusive proof in linking author with provost with map, but at least indicates one intellectual consistency across the three which could reinforce such a connection.

Wolf's argument, however, is not without its flaws or critics. Banks and Binn, editors of the most recent edition of the *Otia*, reject equating Gervase of Tilbury and Gervase of Ebstorf. They accept that Gervase was an unusual name to appear in northern Germany; that the *Otia* is the most recent source for the map; and that

¹⁰ For the content of this paragraph, see Wolf, 'Ebstorf "Mappamundi"', passim, esp. 3–5, 8–10, 18–20.

¹¹ Bernd Ulrich Hucker, 'Der »schwarze Heilige« - Mauritiusverehrung Im Kloster Ebstorf [The "Black Saint" - Maurice Worship in the Ebstorf Convent]', in *Kloster Und Bildung Im Mittelalter*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 198–99, 208–9.

¹² Hucker, 208.

¹³ Hucker, 211–12; Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 208, 632.

¹⁴ Kupfer, 'Reflections', 116; Wolf, 'News on Ebstorf', 64; Hucker, 'Der »schwarze Heilige«', 225. The caption for Thebes notes that "here Maurice was in command" [*In hac Mauritius principabatur*].

there are shared features between the *Otia* and *Ebstorf* including a “y-shaped” world with Christ as the body and the unusual attestation of Rome being lion-shaped.¹⁵ However, none of these represent definitive evidence. The point about Gervase being an unusual name is circumstantial; two Gervases working in Germany would have been unlikely but not impossible. That the *Otia* is the latest source proves only access to that text, not shared authorship; access is likely if the cartographer were circulating in the appropriate scholarly, religious and political circles of northern Germany. Similarly, the leonine Rome, while unusual, again only points to the use of the *Otia* or the twelfth-century scholar Honorius Augustodunensis’ *Imago Mundi*, this idea’s source.¹⁶ As well as rebutting these points in favour of equating the Gervases, Banks and Binn advance arguments actively rejecting this link. They note that Tilbury referred to himself as ‘magister’, as did contemporaries; this was not the case for the provost. Moreover, Tilbury was active in Arles for much of the 1210s and early 1220s, leaving little time to research and draw a document as large and rich as *Ebstorf*.¹⁷ Banks and Binn therefore conclude that the two Gervases being the same figure is unlikely, although the cartographer’s use of the *Otia* is almost certain.

In all, there is insufficient evidence to conclusively state that Gervase of Tilbury drew *Ebstorf*, but also insufficient evidence to categorically reject this association; the precise authorship and hence date of the map can never fully be proven. There are enough parallels and coincidences that Tilbury’s authorship seems possible, but this is far from certain. This thesis works on the assumption that Tilbury definitely had an influence, either as cartographer or as the author of the *Otia*, although there is simply not enough information to prove this irrefutably either way. Regardless of authorship, however, it seems fair to state that the cartographer had access to a wide range of material, including the *Otia*, to draw *Ebstorf*. Extrapolating from this suggests access to a cathedral or monastic library, and hence possibly a religious background. This

¹⁵ Banks and Binns, ‘Introduction’, xxxiv–xxxv; Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 260. Gervase: “*ad formam leonis*”; compare the map’s “*Secundum formam leonis inchoata est Roma*”.

¹⁶ Flint, ‘Honorius Augustodunensis’, 61. Flint is Honorius’s editor here, providing the Latin text after an introductory section of her article. Honorius noted that “ancient communities fashioned [cities] after particular wild beasts on account of their signification. Whence, Rome has the shape of a lion, which presides over the other beasts as a king” [*Antiqui civitates secundum praecipuas feras ob significationem formabant. Unde Roma formam leonis habet, qui ceteris bestiis quasi rex praeest*]. Flint states that she cannot find a source for this idea, suggesting that Honorius is the possible origin of this notion.

¹⁷ Banks and Binns, ‘Introduction’, xxxiv–xxxv.

access to material becomes important for considering the negative evidence of omission in the maps; silences were likely due to design, not ignorance.

Moreover, even without assuming that Tilbury was the cartographer, much evidence suggests a pre-1240 date, including Wolf's art historical analysis and the present German cities. While the *Otia*'s use as the latest dateable source only provides a *post quem* date of the 1210s, that no later source or information is identifiable suggests the map was drawn not long after the text's composition. Finally, there is the evidence of the impact of the Mongol invasions and the small, remote Scythia.¹⁸ Before the Mongol invasions, I argue, North-East Asia was less of a relevant concern for Latin Christians. Unlike *Hereford* in which Scythia looms large, the *Ebstorf* cartographer could relegate it to a far corner. This argument admittedly risks becoming circular: *Ebstorf* is earlier because it has a different Scythia; it has a different Scythia because it is earlier. Nevertheless, as even a cursory comparison of the form of Scythia on the two *mappaemundi* illustrates (Figures 2.1-2.2), there is a clear difference in this part of Asia, and the Mongol invasions of the 1240s and their continued presence had a profound impact on Latin thought.¹⁹ *Ebstorf*'s Scythia has more in common with earlier maps such as the Sawley or Cotton *mappaemundi* (Figures 2.3-2.4, discussed further in Chapter 4) than it does with the post-Mongol *Hereford* or *Psalter*. While recognising that this argument cannot be definitively proven, this thesis proceeds on the grounds that, due to different kinds of evidence, *Ebstorf* can be dated to before 1240, and cautiously to around the 1220s.

Ebstorf was almost certainly an object of public awe, designed to amaze and educate audiences. As with details about authorship, direct contemporary evidence for the intended function and audience is sparse. There are no records documenting why the map was commissioned. However, it is possible to posit *Ebstorf*'s likely uses and reception based on its contents and known context, as well as through some comparison with *Hereford*, its only extant parallel in size. Given *Ebstorf*'s great size and cost – from the mass of parchment, pigments, gold and labour – it is unlikely to have been reserved solely for one religious community; it is fair to assume a public-

¹⁸ See below p.136 and Chapter 4 pp.240-243.

¹⁹ See Chapter 1 pp.50-55.

facing function. Ebstorf was a wealthy institution in an affluent part of Germany; this favourable economy would have fostered an institution which could support impressive decoration and the conditions needed to teach pupils and host pilgrims, discussed presently.²⁰ The map was possibly a gift from Ebstorf's benefactor, the duke of Saxony, to be held in perpetuity there, and Ebstorf had many tapestries which indicate its wealth and provide a context for large-scale art; contemporary northern German tapestries are known to have been used in devotional and liturgical contexts, supporting the idea that *Ebstorf* had some kind of religious function.²¹ German convents were rich in art as a means of engaging with God, while nuns used images and texts to practise and interpret liturgy.²² *Ebstorf*, an opulent map dense with text, can be situated in this strand of visual functionality and understood as part of a convent's religious and sensory experiences.

As well as housing its permanent residents, Ebstorf was also a pilgrimage site; its community had overseen and propagated a local saints' cult centred around local martyrs killed by pagan Norse in a battle of 880, whose graves appear next to the map's picture of Ebstorf.²³ *Ebstorf* centres on a scene of Christ's resurrection from his tomb, making grave veneration crucial imagery for the map's maker and viewers, relating to the veneration of saints' memories and corporeal remains.²⁴ Those who fostered this cult made connections between the martyrs and Maurice's legion; both were Christian soldiers slain by pagans, and provost Gervase preached a sermon drawing parallels between the two groups while promoting Ebstorf as a pilgrimage centre.²⁵ Viewers interpreting Europe and Asia did so through the visible spiritual framework of a world created by a God who triumphed over death, this power also being manifest in the intercessory capabilities of local saints on earth. The pilgrimage function would have primed viewers for a triumphant view of a muscular, morally pure Christianity and provided a large audience of religiously minded individuals, with the map accessed directly or mediated by the nuns. Chapter 4 discusses the

²⁰ Kugler, Glauch, and Willing, *Ebstorfer Weltkarte II*, 62–63.

²¹ Kugler, Glauch, and Willing, 65–66.

²² Hamburger, *The Visual*, 80, 96–97, 112.

²³ Kupfer, 'Reflections', 117; Kugler, Glauch, and Willing, *Ebstorfer Weltkarte II*, 62. The cartographer captioned the martyrs' graves, in a heavily abbreviated form, "Here rest blessed martyrs" [*hic quiescunt beati martyres*].

²⁴ Kugler, Glauch, and Willing, *Ebstorfer Weltkarte II*, 62–64.

²⁵ Kugler, Glauch, and Willing, 62; Hucker, 'Der »schwarze Heilige«', 217, 225.

likely role of intermediaries who would have explained *Hereford* to viewers, and it is possible that Ebstorf's nuns carried out a similar role.²⁶ Fifteenth-century evidence perhaps indicates this point and suggests the active role that Ebstorf's nuns took in discussing their map, either to pilgrims or to pupils as seen below. Architectural, liturgical and disciplinary reform in the 1460s introduced, "despite stiff resistance from the nuns", many changes, including destroying old books, enforcing separation between the nuns and everyone else, and building new structures to enforce this segregation.²⁷ For such social and physical remodelling to be necessary implies that previously the nuns and laity were *not* segregated; it would be unusual to act so firmly against non-existent behaviour. Accordingly, this reform can indicate what was going on in the earlier Middle Ages, implying by its prohibitions and actions that nuns interacted with a broader range of social groups. This situation does not *de facto* support the hypothesis of the map as a teaching and devotional object with nuns as intermediaries, but implies a context in which this could have been possible.

As well as pilgrim viewers, *Ebstorf* could have catered to pupils and teachers. The convent had a school at this period, and the map was possibly a teaching aid there; because *Ebstorf* was originally attached to rollers which made it movable, it could have been a pedagogic tool as well as a propagandistic devotional focus for pilgrims and nuns.²⁸ While schools were not a main concern for religious houses like Ebstorf, such houses would take lay and monastic students of different ages and teach them theology and skills such as Latin, reading and writing; Frenz suggests that *Ebstorf* could have been used as a source of geographical, historical and theological content and as an exemplar text to read from.²⁹ The huge amount of text within and around the body of *Ebstorf* indicates a pedagogic function, as well as contributing to the overawing wonder provided by the map's scale. While accessing

²⁶ For this argument, see Terkla, 'Informal Catechesis'.

²⁷ Hamburger, *The Visual*, 54–57. The destruction of old books perhaps explains the lack of documentary evidence for *Ebstorf*, but given the similar lack of evidence for other *mappaemundi*, it is equally possible that none existed in the first place.

²⁸ Pischke, 'Ebstorf Map', 155; Kupfer, 'Reflections', 117–20.

²⁹ Thomas Frenz, 'Eine Klosterschule von Innen [A Convent School from Inside]', in *Kloster Und Bildung Im Mittelalter*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 50–53, 57; Eva Schlotheuber, 'Sprachkompetenz Und Lateinvermittlung. Die Intellektuelle Ausbildung Der Nonnen Im Spätmittelalter [Language Skills and Latin Teaching. The Intellectual Education of Nuns in the Late Middle Ages]', in *Kloster Und Bildung Im Mittelalter*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 65–671.

the meaning of this text would require Latin literacy or an intermediary, the sheer mass of visible textual information provided a visible learned authority. Much of this text describes Paradise, the continents, Creation and animals, integrating the world into a body of knowledge about its history, form and contents on which the map elaborates. Portions of the surrounding text outline *Ebstorf's* aims in amusing and educating viewers, partially through engagement with the map. A section on elephants and dogs instructs readers to seek out the information on the body of the world: "if you search, you can discover".³⁰ Elsewhere, the map tells the reader that if they want to learn more about the world's contents, they should read Isidore; this also shows the map proclaiming its authority through its sources.³¹ A longer section states:

"*Mappa* means form; therefore, *mappamundi* is the form of the world. This was first established by Julius Caesar with the help of envoys he sent all over the world: regions, provinces, islands, cities, coasts, swamps, oceans, mountains, rivers – he amassed everything, as it were, into an overview on one page. This is of no small utility to the reader; to travellers, direction and the *delectation of the most pleasing sight* of things on the way."³²

This explicitly states *Ebstorf's* aim and nature – displaying the world – while developing its earthly authority by linking it to Caesar's great surveys. The passage also establishes that the map should be educational and entertaining. *Ebstorf* is moralising and pedagogic but also a spectacle, providing a complete, awe-inspiring picture of the world in a way which would otherwise be unthinkable and unreachable for most contemporary people. The entertaining function of maps should not be forgotten amidst their didactic and apocalyptic themes and is relevant for later discussions of the surreal sensationalism of the Scythians and Seres.

³⁰ "*Si inquiris, poteris invenire*".

³¹ "If you want to know more about the animals, beasts, birds, fish, snakes, stones, trees and spices, read Isidore". [*Si quis plus nosse desiderat de animalibus, bestiis, volucris, piscibus, serpentibus, lapidibus, arboribus, et aromatibus, Ysidorum legat*].

³² "*Mappa dicitur forma. Inde mappa mundi id est forma mundi. Quam Julius Cesar missis legatis per totius orbis amplitudinem primus instituit; regiones, provincias, insulas, civitates, syrtes, paludes, equora, montes, flumina quasi sub unius pagine visione coadunavit; que scilicet non parvam prestat legentibus utilitatem, viantibus directionem rerumque viarum gratissime speculationis dilectionem.*" Emphasis mine.

Ebstorf, a spectacle in a nunnery with pilgrim visitors, is multifaceted; it would be unhelpful and inaccurate to reduce it to one function.³³ It is educational, devotional and moralising, aiming to instruct the faithful on the past, present and future of Creation but also to amaze and amuse. The map invites engagement with its themes, on a large scale to a large audience. It is Christian polemic and propaganda. North-East Asia is part of a picture of the world which was meant to entertain, teach and overawe through grandeur. This contextualises the hyperbolic elements seen below, such as the barbarianism and lack of urbanism. In *Ebstorf*'s size and the amount of content within and without the world, nothing was meant to be subtle; it is a blunt instrument of aggrandisement. North-East Asia must be assessed as part of this scheme, existing as a component of a map which demonstrated God's power and the extensive knowledge about his marvellous Creation.

Historical Context – Europe and Asia

Further to the background established in Chapter 1, three aspects of historical context frame *Ebstorf*: the minimal contemporary relevance of North-East Asia; the Crusades; and elite efforts to expand the presence and authority of Latin Christianity within and without Christian Europe.

Arguing that North-East Asia in the decades before the Mongol invasions was not relevant for Latin Europe relies on negative evidence, and therefore contains methodological problems; absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. However, by considering early thirteenth-century geopolitics and by gauging the concerns of contemporary German chronicles, this section argues that North-East Asian peoples were neither a threat nor close to Latin Europe. While reading between the lines is no substitute for clear medieval statements of indifference towards North-East Asia, the lack of imminent military danger from, or texts about, North-East Asian peoples suggests that this region was not yet of pressing importance. For instance, Eastern European lands which the Golden Horde later conquered still belonged to the Christian Rus'.³⁴ Barbarians were not yet at the gates, so there was little reason for early thirteenth-century Latin Europeans to

³³ For this point, see Kugler, Glauch, and Willing, *Ebstorfer Weltkarte II*, 67.

³⁴ Chekin, 'Cities of Rus', 98–101. See Chapter 1 pp.50-51 for the narrative of the Mongol conquests.

consider North-East Asian peoples to be relevant or nearby. Scythia, for instance, often went unmentioned in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century German histories, including the chronicles of Magnus of Reichersberg and Otto of St Blasien and the *Kaiserchronik*, a work spanning the history of the Roman and Holy Roman empires.³⁵ Tilbury's *Otia* did discuss the Scythians, but only briefly as distant people in a section of geographical description; he in no way suggested they were relevant for Latin Christendom.³⁶ That historians passed over Scythia suggests its peoples were of little relevance to Latin life. The closest (in time and space) equivalent nomadic, horseback, destructive pagan armies were the Hungarians, widely considered by Latin thinkers to be descendants of the Huns.³⁷ Even then, this people appeared in texts just to be defeated by Roman or Holy Roman forces. The 1160s *Kaiserchronik*, for instance, repeatedly mentions invasions by the Huns and Hungarians, the author conflating these historically disparate but nominally similar groups, only to describe great Roman victories over them in the second and fourth centuries, then later Christian triumphs by rulers including Conrad, Henry I and Otto I. While the Huns and Hungarians were pitched as threats, they were always defeated, often with the will or help of God.³⁸ For this period, the Huns and Hungarians represented the closest approximation of the nomadic barbarian, which by the early thirteenth century had long been a spent force. The absence of contemporary discussions of Scythia cannot prove conclusively that North-East Asia was unimportant or ignored for *Ebstorf's* contemporaries. However, there is also little evidence that contemporary texts or politics *did* find North-East Asia relevant. It seems fair to associate this lack of immediate concern with *Ebstorf's* peripheral, contained Scythia, especially when compared with *Hereford's* larger Scythia which borders Europe.

³⁵ Magnus of Reichersberg, 'The Chronicle of Magnus of Reichersberg', in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G.A. Loud (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 149–67; Otto of St Blasien, 'The Chronicle of Otto of St Blasien 1187–1197', in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G.A. Loud (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 173–91; Henry A. Myers, ed., *The Book of Emperors: A Translation of the Middle High German Kaiserchronik*, trans. Henry A. Myers (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2013).

³⁶ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 190–92. See Chapter 1 for Tilbury relating the Scythians to Gog and Magog, and below for discussions of the Scythians.

³⁷ Myers, *Kaiserchronik*, 308.

³⁸ Myers, 193, 311, 343, 346, 348, 351, 354–55.

What did matter in contemporary Germany was crusading, certainly in religious and elite circles and likely in the broader population. Noble and non-noble Germans participated in every Crusade of the twelfth century, including under Frederick Barbarossa during the Third Crusade (1189-1192) and in a German expedition of 1197.³⁹ Similarly, Loud observes the emotional impact which the 1187 fall of Jerusalem had on contemporary Germans; letters and chronicles from the Levant circulated in Europe, forming the basis for historical texts such as a chronicle composed in Cologne.⁴⁰ Unlike the situation for North-East Asia, many late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century German works detailed the efforts to regain the Holy Land.⁴¹ The composite *History of the Expedition of Emperor Frederick*, compiled in the 1190s, decried the miserable state of the lost Jerusalem, citing letters written by nobles in the Latin East to the master of the Knights Hospitaller and to Leopold, Duke of Austria, describing hardships and military defeats at the hands of Saladin.⁴² The text described the great army assembled by Emperor Frederick, led by nobles and bishops from all over Germany including bishops Gottfried of Würzburg and Conrad of Regensburg, and counts and dukes across the kingdom including, importantly for *Ebstorf*, Saxon elites such as Counts Liudolf of Hallemund and Adolf of Schaumburg.⁴³ This fervent, ecclesiastical text can be expected to be partisan in its emphatic support for crusading, but it illustrates a broader interest in this war. The chronicle of Magnus of Reichersburg (1190s) also described the large army mustered by Frederick and his nobles, noting their frequent visits to saints' tombs in the years before the Crusade.⁴⁴ The chronicle of Otto of St Blasien (c.1209-1210) described at length the evils of Saladin and his army which ravaged Christian lands, following which Frederick and many Germans took the cross.⁴⁵ Saladin's textual

³⁹ Rudolf Hiestand, 'Kingship and Crusade in Twelfth-Century Germany', in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 240. The rest of Hiestand's chapter examines German participation in the Crusades in more detail. See also Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany 1056-1273* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 238–40.

⁴⁰ G.A. Loud, 'Introduction', in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, by G.A. Loud (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 12.

⁴¹ For the details of each text cited below, see Loud, 1–9.

⁴² G.A. Loud, ed., 'The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick', in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, trans. G.A. Loud (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 33–36. The Latin title is *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*.

⁴³ *History of the Expedition*, 47–55.

⁴⁴ Magnus of Reichersberg, 'Chronicle', 149, 165–66.

⁴⁵ Otto of St Blasien, 'Chronicle', 173–76.

presence shows that information about him and his conquest of Jerusalem was soon circulating in Germany, and was apparently a rallying cry for Christian armies. A strong crusading ethos can be expected in these ecclesiastical writers, but their chronicles also suggest a wider spread of this crusading ethos across Germany. It is likely that *Ebstorf's* religious audiences shared this concern; the situation in the Holy Land was hence an important backdrop for the map. Moreover, St Maurice and the Ebstorf martyrs, as Christian soldiers fighting pagans, became linked with crusading propaganda, demonstrating that *Ebstorf* itself presented imagery relevant to these wars.⁴⁶ This crusading interest also emphasises that within Asia, it was the west, not north-east, which concerned Latin audiences.

Two final, related factors which likely conditioned *Ebstorf's* impact were the internal and external consolidation of Latin Christianity. From the mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries, Latin Christianity expanded into the Baltic through mission and force, facilitated by papal action such as Innocent III granting in 1215 indulgences to those fighting for Christianity there. Over the first decades of the thirteenth century, the pope authorised the forced baptism of Baltic locals, such as the Livs, and the establishment of bishoprics, among them Reval in 1219.⁴⁷ Much of this Christianisation came from Germany, including Saxony; Saxon lords organised armies for these northern Crusades, and many of the Teutonic Order which operated in the Baltic were German nobles.⁴⁸ *Ebstorf* can hence be situated in a context during which there was fervour for spreading Latin Christianity, suggesting its audiences would be receptive to messages of Christian power.

Similarly, as seen in Chapter 1, papal authority rose during the early thirteenth century, such as in the spread of canon law and in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). This council, as part of the effort to increase missionary and crusader activity as well as papal control, raised clerical taxes over Europe; espoused Christian unity under the papacy; enforced orthodoxy while condemning heretical views like those of Joachim of Fiore; and reinforced the role of the parish priest in spreading Christian

⁴⁶ Hucker, 'Der »schwarze Heilige«', 211–12, 215–17, 225.

⁴⁷ Tiina Kala, 'The Incorporation of the Northern Baltic Lands into the Western Christian World', in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, ed. Alan. V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), passim, esp. 3, 7–12, 14.

⁴⁸ Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany*, 17–20; France, *The Crusades*, 189.

norms among communities.⁴⁹ *Ebstorf* should hence also be read against a context in which Latin Christian elites strove to exert influence within Europe. There is no evidence directly linking *Ebstorf* with these papal efforts, and the map cannot readily be interpreted as a piece of papal propaganda. However, the papacy's reforms and attempts to assert itself nonetheless provide important context for the significance of Latin Christianity on the map, which mapped Rome prominently while the papacy flexed its muscles at home and abroad.⁵⁰ This is not to call the Latin Church a malevolent, omnipresent authoritarian force overseeing every aspect of Christian life, but it is nevertheless a reminder that the hierarchies and will of the Church could be felt at many levels, emphasising the importance of a specifically Roman Christianity to the map's production and reception. *Ebstorf's* didactic, moralising and propagandistic aims directed at pilgrim audiences, and the function of North-East Asia within these aims, must be considered in light of this background. North-East Asia was not a prime concern at this point but was nonetheless part of a broader argument about the world which proclaimed Christian might and importance at a time when Latin Christian elites tried to expand their influence in Christian Europe, pagan Europe and the Holy Land. The condition, opportunities and crises of the Latin Church were recognisable for *Ebstorf's* audiences as they interpreted the world presented to them.

Urbanism

The *Ebstorf* cartographer consistently reduced urbanism all over Asia, replacing cities with features such as monsters, biblical scenes and barbarians, with two main consequences. Europe appears more urban by comparison, emphasising its cultural superiority at Asia's expense. Additionally, the cartographer turned Asia into a canvas for interesting or moralising content, using it to articulate a Christian worldview rather than mapping Asia as an urban space in its own right. From the mid-twelfth century to the early thirteenth centuries, there was a large urban expansion in Germany, entailing population growth and many new towns and

⁴⁹ Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom*, 60; Weiler, 'Negotium Terrae Sanctae', 2–4; France, *The Crusades*, 160; Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 150, 180; West and Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore*, 5–6; Power, *Defence of Christendom*, 53.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 1 pp.76–77, and also the above discussion of *Ebstorf's* authorship, for the depiction of Rome.

cities.⁵¹ At the time of *Ebstorf's* construction and reception, then, the presence of cities was associated with local cultural, economic and political expansion, making urbanism a visible, relevant symbol of growth and sophistication.

This section presents the evidence for and arguments around cities on the map by first discussing worldwide trends, establishing the relative urbanism of each continent. This requires addressing the urban Europe and also Africa, presented as less urban but in ways which aligned with contemporary ideas about its environment. This discussion of Europe and Africa also applies for *Psalter* and *Hereford*. The section then discusses regional trends and evidence of deliberate omission, before analysing the Seres.

Table 2.1 shows the distribution of cities across the world on each map.⁵² While *Ebstorf* is the focus of this chapter, I present data for the other *mappaemundi* to explain the trends for each continent's urbanism.

	Asia	Europe	Africa	Total
<i>Ebstorf</i>	164 (36.36%)	250 (55.43%)	37 (8.20%)	451
<i>Psalter</i>	42 (50.60%)	29 (34.94%)	12 (14.46%)	83
<i>Hereford</i>	135 (33.01%)	226 (55.26%)	48 (11.74%)	409

Table 2.1: Numbers and of cities on the maps by continent, noted as percentages of the world's cities.

A crucial element of cartography is the choice to exclude information; maps' arguments stem from what can and *cannot* be seen.⁵³ Considering this, and the ideological importance of urbanism, the substantially lower number of cities found in Asia than in Europe on *Hereford* and *Ebstorf* is striking. Before discussing Asia,

⁵¹ Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany*, 298–300.

⁵² See Appendix 1 for the method used to count and categorise cities employed in this thesis.

⁵³ On the theme of maps' representation of space stemming from careful selectivity and ordering, and on the rhetorical construction of space through maps, see Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 1, 8–11, 28–29, 87; Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (London: Routledge, 1993), 1–2; Dan Terkla, 'Introduction: Where to Fix Cadiz?', in *A Critical Companion to English Mappae Mundi of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Dan Terkla and Nick Millea (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), 6; Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 11–12; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 84.

however, it is necessary to address Europe and Africa. The continents are qualitatively different, and arguments about Asian (non)urbanism do not apply to Africa.

Three major themes characterise Europe. Firstly, as indicated by the westward flow of history, Europe is in the Sixth – and present – Age of Christian time.⁵⁴ Secondly, Europe is the most densely urban of all the continents, accounting for just under a quarter of the maps' land but for a third of cities on *Psalter* and over half on *Hereford* and *Ebstorf*. Cities were necessarily omitted from Europe, because it would be difficult to fit more on, but such omissions – unlike in Asia – have not reduced its urbanism: almost all Europe's features are cities (Figures 2.5-2.6). This urbanism includes grand examples like Paris and Rome and many others of varying size – the priority was a range of European cities. It is impossible know certainly whether Europe's dense urban landscape stemmed from more available information or an aim to present Europe as more urban. However, reception theory indicates that a source's impact can function independently of any authorial intent.⁵⁵ Without knowing *why* Europe is substantially more urban, its visual impact is still significant and signals a high degree of urban culture. Thirdly, the maps present Europe's urbanism and Christianity as Latin, indicated by the prevalence of Rome, even on the tiny *Psalter*.⁵⁶ Europe represents the urban, Latin Christian ideal against which viewers could compare the rest of the world.

Africa, conversely, is the least urban continent. However, Africa's minimal urbanism stems from medieval environmental thought, while Asia exhibits drastic reductions in urbanism between the sources and the maps. The cartographers omitted cities from regions described as urban, while much of Africa's empty space reflects notions of the uninhabitable torrid zone, a swathe of unbearable, settlement-precluding heat.⁵⁷ The maps reflect, for instance, Pliny's Africa of inhospitable deserts.⁵⁸ This view of

⁵⁴ On the notion that all time to the west – i.e., below – Jerusalem is part of the current Sixth Age, see Chapter 1 p.76 and also McKenzie, 'Westward Progression of History', 342–43.

⁵⁵ See discussions of reception theory in the Introduction to this thesis, pp.11-12, especially Iser, *Act of Reading*.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 1 pp.76-77 for a discussion of Rome and Chapter 3 p.195 for *Psalter*'s Rome.

⁵⁷ See, for instance, Irina Metzler, 'Perceptions of Hot Climate in Medieval Cosmography and Travel Literature', *Reading Medieval Studies* 23 (1997): 72–76, 80, 88–90; Glacken, *Rhodian Shore*, 256–60, 267–70, 279, 287, 293.

⁵⁸ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Vol. I*, 189–91.

Africa's environment continued into the thirteenth century. South of Ethiopia, Tilbury remarked in the *Otia*, are "coastal desert lands, which because of the heat of the sun and the diverse kinds of serpents go unexplored by humans", the lack of exploration implying a lack of settlement.⁵⁹ Figures 2.7-2.9, which show Africa, demonstrate these differences in the distribution of African cities. Most of Africa's cities are coastal, representing the former sphere of Roman influence; the Roman Empire extended over north Africa, meaning cities were founded across this coast which would have become known to classical sources such as Pliny. The urban African coast therefore represents a medieval notion of Roman urban civilisation and the kinds of information available to the cartographers. The coast also suggests a more temperate, hospitable climate. The maps' Africa is hence consistent with contemporary belief; it lacks cities because it lacks the correct climate. In contrast, much of northern Asia occupies a similar latitude and climatic zone to Europe. Asia's reduced urban profile is therefore striking; environmental thought posited that this zone, unlike Africa, could include many cities, as Europe illustrated. To viewers, Asia's diminished cartographic urbanism therefore had to stem not from natural environmental factors, but from other aspects which determined the existence of cities – culture, order and organisation.

While Africa is therefore less urban than Asia, the reduced urbanism functions differently. The principles underpinning *mappaemundi* distance Asia ideologically from Europe, and Asia's lesser urbanism stems from the medieval reduction of classical knowledge rather from environmental thought. The mapping of Africa in relation to available sources merits further investigation, but the depth of analysis required to do so meaningfully is not within the scope of this thesis.

Lacking Africa's environmental explanations for the absence of cities, Asia on *Ebstorf* is markedly non-urban.⁶⁰ Asia has 160 cities, compared with the 574 toponyms available in the classical sources.⁶¹ Despite forming over half of the world's mass, it includes only a third of its cities. As Figure I.1 shows, it is

⁵⁹ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 322. "*maritima loca deserta, ob solis ardorem et diuersa serpentum genera hominibus incognita*".

⁶⁰ See the tables in the present chapter, and also Figure I.1.

⁶¹ See Appendix 1.

prominently less urban, presenting a less cultured and well-organised landscape, the smaller number of cities contributing to a geography of cultural inferiority. Even before considering specific regions and the map's relationships with the cartographer's sources, the visual impact is of Asia as less sophisticated than Europe, reaffirming European cultural superiority in a period when Islamic forces challenged Latin Christians. The map morally recompensed military losses in the Holy Land by portraying Europe as rich in cities, symbols linked with the future Heavenly Jerusalem.⁶²

	Asia Minor	Levant	<i>Egypt</i>	Total
<i>Ebstorf's</i> Asian cities	28 (17.07%)	56 (34.15%)	21 (12.80%)	105/164 (64.02%)
<i>Hereford's</i> Asian cities	24 (17.78%)	32 (23.70%)	28 (20.74%)	84/135 (62.22%)

Table 2.2: Numbers of cities in densely urban regions, shown as absolute figures and as percentages of Asia's cities.

Examining the regions of Asia makes this general trend even more pronounced, with specific discernible instances of the cartographer choosing to minimise urbanism. This minimisation of urbanism in most of Asia is highlighted by considering how the cartographers presented some regions with more cities. Table 2.2 shows the number of cities in *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* in three densely urban Asian regions: the Levant, Asia Minor, and Egypt, part of Asia on the maps and in the classical texts.⁶³ I discuss *Hereford* here because it shows a similar trend to *Ebstorf* and follows a similar logic. *Psalter* has a different pattern, explored in Chapter 3. Table 2.2 shows a high percentage of Asian cities in three relatively small portions of the maps. Figures 2.10-2.11 illustrate this urban density; compare Figures I.1 and I.3 to see these regions relative to the world.

These regions were Roman, so had political and cultural import as well as once being part of an imperial administration with records available to authors; Pliny listed

⁶² See Chapter 1 pp.83-89.

⁶³ See Appendix 2 for a full list of each region's cities, by map, and see below for discussions of relevant groups of regions.

262 cities in Asia Minor, fifty-two in the Levant and thirty-six in Egypt.⁶⁴ Even with recourse only to these texts, the cartographers had much available information. Furthermore, the maps intentionally inflate the Holy Land to allow a prominent Jerusalem and to reflect this region's importance, providing more room for cities.⁶⁵ These factors allowed these regions to be mapped more thoroughly with more urban information. In turn, these culturally important parts of Asia – linked with Rome and Christianity – appear more conspicuously urban and become greater reflections of organised politics, culture and economics.

By considering the high proportion of cities in these regions, the already low numbers in Table 2.1 decrease substantially for the rest of Asia. Not only is Asia less urban, but its cities are concentrated in the better known and ideologically significant west; the rest of Asia has even fewer cities. Table 2.3 quantifies this visual impact by showing how each region has few cities absolutely and in relation to available toponyms. While reality and knowledge meant that it could be expected that some areas like the east of Scythia lacked cities, Table 2.3 demonstrates that in other regions there are regularly fewer cities than was possible from available knowledge and space. The cartographers had access to texts which provided many toponyms, and Asia, the largest continent, had much room in which cities could have been plotted.

Region	<i>Ebstorf's</i> Asian cities	Possible cities from the cartographers' classical sources (Appendix 1)
Arabia	2	46
Armenia	6	10
Asia Minor	28	265
Egypt	21	38
Hyrkania ⁶⁶	5	11
India	8	33

⁶⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁶⁵ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xxxix; Edson, *The World Map*, 15; Robinson, *Thematic Mapping*, 10.

⁶⁶ See below p.128 for definition; essentially, the area around the Caspian Sea as interpreted in medieval geography.

Levant	56	57
Mesopotamia	16	32
Parthia/Persia/Media ⁶⁷	14	27
Scythia	1	13 (all in the Pontic, westerly part)
Seres ⁶⁸	0	1+ (one specified; more implied)
Syria	7	41
Total	164	574

Table 2.3: Numbers of cities by region with possible toponyms for each region from the classical sources.

Across the world, Asia's reduced urbanism cannot be attributed to ignorance.⁶⁹ In Persia/Parthia/Media, Aracusa and the specific description of Media as a city suggest the use of Isidore. *Ebstorf* omits places like Carrhae, listed by each author except Orosius. The area includes an antelope, a tree, a dominant Babel and its caption, and some empty space. India includes Poliboca, an alternate spelling of Palibothra, suggesting the use of Pliny or Solinus, but lacks Alexandria or Arachosia, described by these authors. India's exact form and contents are hard to gauge due to the lacuna there, but what remains includes animals, Eden, and the Tree of Life. In Hyrcania, which on *Ebstorf* borders Scythia behind the Caucasus, the presence of Alexandria suggests the use of Pliny, the only classical author to note the presence of a city of that name there; similarly, *Ebstorf*'s Carras matches the Carris of Orosius, again the only source which describes this city. However, the map lacks the Heraclea described by Pliny, the Cathippus and Saphri named by Orosius, and the notable cities of Bactrum (Balkh) and Panda, recorded by Pliny, Solinus and Isidore. In place of cities are barbarians, savage dogs, Gog and Magog, and empty space.⁷⁰ The cartographer did not prioritise including as many cities as possible, opting instead to include other features of Christian interest, which could entertain, moralise or illustrate the world's past, present and future.

⁶⁷ Grouped due to overlapping nature and space in the texts and maps.

⁶⁸ See below pp.130-134 for more on the Seres.

⁶⁹ For the discussion in this paragraph, see Appendices 1 and 2 and Figure I.1.

⁷⁰ See below pp.135-145 for further discussions of these features.

While some of the regions in Table 2.3, such as Mesopotamia and Parthia, are comparatively urban, they still do not match Europe, particularly its west. The higher level of urbanism in some of these Asian regions, moreover, is a reminder that Asia was diverse; these instances of urbanism, however reduced, emphasise the starker lack of cities in regions like Hyrcania, Arabia and Pontic Scythia.⁷¹ It would be unfeasible for a cartographer to include every city listed in the classical texts, but Figure 2.12 shows how more cities could have been included in the large gaps between features, or instead of content such as animals. The high urban density of Europe (half the size of Asia with substantially more cities; see the bottom half of Figure 2.5) demonstrates that it was possible to include many cities in an area if they were relatively small, closely packed and sharing space with little non-urban content. A cartographic urban aesthetic was possible, visible in Europe where the smaller cities lack grandeur but exist in an impressive urban density and highlight important cities like Rome by comparison. The cartographer opted not to repeat this aesthetic, presenting Asia as heterogeneous in a way which advanced a Christianised worldview.

The cartographer, then, chose not to fully replicate the former imperial power of places like Mesopotamia or Persia, or the urban splendour of India; Asia became more exotic and less urban *despite*, not *because of*, available information. Instead of the potential known cities, Asia was a canvas in which Asian cities were of secondary importance.⁷² The cartographer did not include animals and monsters to fill spaces left empty from ignorance of cities. These non-urban features were a priority, with cities populating the spaces in-between, rather than the cartographers resorting to animals because they had run out of cities. Asia was not meant to be interpreted as an urban landscape on par with Europe. Asian urbanism and ideas of ordered civilisation were visibly secondary to filling Asia with didactic or exotic features. Some features, such as Babylon and the barbarians discussed below, paint Asia as deeply flawed. Other features helped constitute the Christian worldview of these maps, such as the Exodus, Christ and Noah's Ark. These are far from negative features, but it is notable that positive features were included to advance these

⁷¹ See below pp.126-127 for Arabia and 128-130 for Hyrcania and Scythia.

⁷² On Persia, see Scafi, 'Image of Persia'.

maps' Christian intentions and arguments, co-opting Asian space to present a Christian worldview at the expense of Asian cities; such features also further present Asia as historical, removing any contemporary positive agency. These regions reiterate an important trend for the rest of Asia: it was not ignorance that made it less urban. It had fewer cities out of the choice to represent Asia not with concern for full verisimilitude about the Asia of classical knowledge, but as peripheral and inferior to an urban Latin Christendom. This choice was favourable and interesting for Latin European viewers. This illustrates why the *mappaemundi* can be considered as neoclassical cartography; rather than simply replicating antique repertoires, the cartographers adapted these classical sources, selecting from them and combining this information with other interesting or morally useful Christianised knowledge.

Arabia illustrates this moralising, anti-civilising strategy of adapting the classical source material, which named many possible Arabian cities.⁷³ Pliny listed forty-five, including Sapphar, Gerra and Ocelis.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the texts describe the peninsula's wealth and fecundity.⁷⁵ While Solinus named only one Arabian city, the port of Oceli, he described Arabia's great riches, including spices, timber and precious metal.⁷⁶ Solinus established Arabia as wealthy, while Pliny established it as urban, providing many potential toponyms and a sense of richness.

The *Ebstorf* cartographer did not reproduce this Arabian urbanism or visible wealth.⁷⁷ There are two cities identified as Arabian: Madian (possibly Medina) and Occelia, noted by Pliny and Solinus. A third, Cadesbarne, is technically Kadesh, mentioned in the Bible as part of Palestine, but appearing here in Arabia.⁷⁸ Even counting Cadesbarne, three cities is low compared with the potential toponyms and does not capture the wealthy urbanism of the texts. Nor is there lack of space for cities. Much of *Ebstorf's* Arabia (Figure 2.13) is occupied with a large mountain and non-urban imagery; the legend around the rubric describes myrrh and the phoenix, the picture of which occupies more room. While there is insufficient space to fit any more cities

⁷³ See Table 4 and Appendix 1.

⁷⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 1.

⁷⁶ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 147–50.

⁷⁷ The *Psalter* and *Hereford* cartographers also minimised Arabia, as I discuss in Chapters 3 (pp.198–199) and 4 (p.227).

⁷⁸ See entry for Cadesbarne on the digitised edition of *Ebstorf*: <http://www2.leuphana.de/ebskart/>.

on *Ebstorf's* Arabia, much of the space was used for different information, the myrrh and phoenix suiting *Ebstorf's* aims of providing interesting lessons in world geography. The non-urban Arabia lacks cities by choice.

This minimisation of textual Arabian urbanism found in the texts makes a bold ideological, cultural statement about this peninsula, the origin of Islam. With the city an important concept in Latin and also Islamic thought, *Ebstorf* and the other maps' severe reduction of actual Islamic/Arabian urbanism presents that region and culture as less sophisticated than urban Europe. Particularly noticeable absences include Mecca and Medina across the maps, unless *Ebstorf's* Madian is a corruption of Medina. These are striking omissions of two central cities in Islam, further reducing the presence of a non-Christian religion on Christianised polemics about the world. The inclusion of other notable Asian cities, including Babylon, Persepolis and Samarkand, makes the Arabian absences striking, highlighting the silence over Mecca and Medina whose inclusion could likewise be expected. As Table 2.3 shows, Arabia appears barely more urban than the barbarian-filled Scythia.⁷⁹ By presenting visual parallels between Arabia and Scythia, the maps also contrasted the urbanism of Latin Europe and Islamic Arabia, an essential cultural difference which transcended any political or military difficulty Christians faced against Muslims. Moreover, while Islamic powers had reconquered much of the Levant, *Ebstorf's* prominent, central Christ posited the now lost Holy Land as rightfully, eternally Christian, a message central to the ongoing Crusades in which Germans participated. Omission turned a wealthy, urban region into a muted area subordinated to Christian ends, complementing the map's priorities and contexts.

North-East Asia can hence be situated in a trend where the maps actively reduced Asia's urban landscape, replacing cities with scenes of interest or moral utility. Scythia further demonstrates this process. The diminished urbanism reinforces its nature as uncivilised; as argued below and in Chapter 4, the *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* cartographers turned Scythia into a stereotype rather than a true reflection of the texts or reality. Appendix 1 and Table 2.3 illustrate the texts' recording of Scythian

⁷⁹ This is also the case for *Psalter* and *Hereford*, as Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate.

cities found in the west, affirmed by excavations of the Pontic steppe.⁸⁰ The texts do not mention steppe cities further east, due to a lack of knowledge of steppe settlements. Instead, until the Seres, there are apparently only deserts and nomads.⁸¹ While the maps' city-free Scythia can partly be attributed to antique and early medieval ignorance of steppe cities, the cartographer still omitted the cities of Pontic Scythia, of which Pliny named eight.⁸² *Ebstorf* includes just one unnamed Scythian city, reducing the urbanism in a way which aligns with the sense of violence and savagery projected by the Scythians and Gog and Magog.

This trend of creating Asia as savage continued with Hyrcania. Hyrcania was a medieval name of ancient Greek origin for the Caspian region, encompassing areas such as Bactria and cities like Samarkand.⁸³ While actually landlocked, in antique and medieval geographical thought Hyrcania shifted far to the north-east and became coastal to correspond with Pliny's statement and Isidore's reassertion that the Caspian was a gulf feeding into the north-eastern ocean.⁸⁴ This illustrates the nature of Asian space as poorly known and accordingly fluid. This thesis is not concerned with 'accuracy' insofar as it entails geographical realism. However, it is important that the *mappaemundi*'s views of Asia east of the Levant stemmed from poor, partial knowledge, based on old ideas, not contemporary observation. This made Asia mutable, allowing cartographic license in adapting its contents for various ends.

Ebstorf illustrates the fluidity and diversity in medieval European understandings of Asia. Figure 2.14 shows *Ebstorf*'s North-East Asia; Scythia is labelled within the mountainous enclosure which also contains Gog and Magog. However, the adjacent cities correspond with cities named elsewhere as Hyrcanian, including Alexandria in

⁸⁰ Barry Cunliffe, *The Scythians: Nomad Warriors of the Steppe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 46, 127–29.

⁸¹ See 'Defining North-East Asia' in the Introduction, esp.28-31.

⁸² See Appendix 1. These include Tanais (at the mouth of the river of the same name, the present-day Don); Cimmerium (sharing a name with a nearby steppe people) and Theodosia (Caffa).

⁸³ Bactria was a region spanning present-day Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Samarkand is in present-day Uzbekistan. On the roots and nature of 'Hyrcania' as a region, see Richárd Szántó, 'Central Asia in the Cosmography of Anonymous of Ravenna', in *Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and Their Sedentary Neighbours: Papers of the 7th International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe*, ed. Hao Chen (Szeged: Studia Uralo-Altaica 53, 2019), 311.

⁸⁴ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Vol. I*, 223–24; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Tomus II*, XIII.XVII.1.

Bactria, recorded by Pliny, or Samarkand, marked as Hyrcanian on *Hereford*.⁸⁵ I have recorded these cities as Hyrcanian for ease of comparison and through analogy with other sources. However, *Ebstorf's* labelling shows there was no single tradition of representing Asia in texts and maps, but instead different place names and notions of location. Asia was an unstable category and these *mappaemundi* confronted the problem of how to map an area whose location, name and content had little consensus or firm information. This demonstrates the mutability of Asia and its utility as a canvas: it could shift to accommodate different needs, foregrounding the role of authorial agency. The cartographers did not passively replicate a classical view of Asia, because there was no single classical view of Asia. The classical texts provided a collection of toponyms, peoples, features of physical geography, and rough relative directions.⁸⁶ These features had to be moulded together somehow, accounting for a heterogeneous Asia.

Despite this mutability, common trends across this diverse nomenclature suggest common ways of representing these Asian spaces, whatever they were meant to be called. These common ways presented North-East Asia as culturally inferior, the lack of urbanism magnified by the presence of monsters and barbarians. Hence, regardless of where *Ebstorf's* Scythian/Hyrcanian cities were 'meant' to be, they nevertheless correspond with a general trend about North-East Asian space where the lack of cities and inclusion of savage presences reduced the sense of urban sophistication and order in Asia. *Ebstorf's* five cities across Hyrcania and Scythia offer a striking contrast when compared with the highly urban Europe and Levant. These North-East Asian cities are also large with pronounced, imposing crenelated walls and other fortifications of the kind not found in most other cities, particularly in Europe (Figure 2.15). This reinforces the bellicosity presented by the armed Scythians, discussed below; Asian urbanism is quantitatively *and* qualitatively different. North-East Asia lacks the positive symbolism of urbanism due to the alteration of classical material, an alteration which facilitated the inclusion of other rhetorically potent material such as barbarians.

⁸⁵ See Appendices 1 and 4 for Pliny and *Hereford* respectively.

⁸⁶ See, for example, 'Defining North-East Asia' pp.28-31 in the Introduction to this thesis.

In selectively using available sources and representing certain urban areas as violent, immoral or just less cited, the *Ebstorf* cartographer constructed Asia as flawed, affirming the cultural supremacy of urban Latin Christianity as it attempted to expand its influence at home and abroad. This is a facet of neoclassical cartography: partially, selectively transmitting classical information to suit medieval Christian ends. Within this strategy, silence and omission were powerful tools in muting the urbanism of the classical texts and building a mindscape of Asia as culturally and morally inferior to Europe. In *Ebstorf*'s role as a teaching aid and devotional object, urbanism provided a clear means of interpreting the world, showing immediate contrasts between Europe and elsewhere. Cities helped constitute a moral geography showing how far important principles and cultural differences extended; readers could search independently or directed by intermediaries to explore different degrees of urbanism over the world and draw conclusions about the relative sophistication of Christian and non-Christian lands.

The Seres

The Seres present a helpful case study in assessing urbanism, combining several themes of this thesis: the adaptation of classical ideas over time; differences between the maps and contemporary geographical thought; the reduction of the urbanism and significance of an Asian region and people. The Seres demonstrate the contrast between *mappaemundi*'s idealised, Christianised, frozen antique understanding of the world, and the new notions of Asia opening up in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century travel texts. The maps' Seres, presented as lacking agency and cities, would, in a different guise, emerge as urban and powerful in Latin thought from the thirteenth century. This section outlines the background of the Seres, before discussing their meek, exoticised, non-urban appearance on *Ebstorf*.

To travellers such as Marco Polo, Odoric of Pordenone and John of Montecorvino, the China of the Mongol Yuan dynasty was the domain of the Great Khan: Cathay in the north, Manzi in the south. The travellers marvelled at and related the grandeur and wealth of its many cities.⁸⁷ It is significant that such different individuals as Polo

⁸⁷ This sense of wonder is a recurrent theme in scholarship. See, for instance, Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 56, 150–53, 162–66, 170; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European*

the merchant and the Franciscan missionaries all seemed impressed and eager to describe the wealth of this land and its cities.⁸⁸ The writers singled out specific cities such as the former Song capital Kinsay, noting its great size, beauty and wealth.⁸⁹ The travellers relayed a world in which urbanism played important material, economic and ideological roles, with more and larger cities than contemporary Europe.⁹⁰ However, on the maps this impressive urban society became one city and a caption on *Hereford*; a mountain on *Ebstorf*; and nothing on *Psalter*. The *mappaemundi*, made before texts like Polo's were available, could not accommodate the grandeur of the Sinitic world which was becoming apparent in the periods in which the later cartographers worked. The maps could *only* present a muted entity, which complemented the aims and strategies of neoclassical cartography.

Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 52; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'Alexander in the Orient: Bodies and Boundaries in the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105–6; Hiatt, 'Maps and Margins', 664; Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 106–12; Antonio Garcia Espada, 'Marco Polo, Odorico of Pordenone, the Crusades, and the Role of the Vernacular in the First Descriptions of the Indies', *Viator* 1 (2009): 208; Paul Freedman, 'Locating the Exotic', in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Places and Spaces of Medieval Culture* (Kings College London Medieval Studies): *The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2012), 29–32.

⁸⁸ See Marco Polo *passim*, for example Volume II, 140-144 for the "beautiful districts" of the commercial cities of Linju, Piju, Siju and Caramoran, and 154-158 for the noble and productive cities of Tiju, Tinju and Yanju; and Odoric, 317 for the robust salt-and-shipping economy of Yangzhou. Even Montecorvino, who was less concerned with the particulars of regions and cities than with his own mission, wrote in his letter to the Franciscans that "Regarding the regions of the East – and especially the empire of the Lord Khan – I show to you that there is no greater in the world" [*De regionibus Orientalibus vobis significo, et praecipue de Imperio Domini Chamis, quod non sit eo majus in mundo*] (72). John of Montecorvino, '1305 - First Letter of Ioannes de Monte Corvino', in *Annales Minorum Seu Trium Ordinum*, ed. Luke Wadding (Rome: Rochi Bernabo, 1733), 69–72. Odoric of Pordenone, 'The Eastern Parts of the World Described', in *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China Vol. II: Odoric of Pordenone*, by Henry Yule, trans. Henry Yule (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1913), 97–277. Odoric, c.1286-1331 was a Franciscan traveller in East Asia. See below, p.273, for Montecorvino.

⁸⁹ Kinsay is Hangzhou. Marco dedicated a whole, lengthy chapter to it, which he noted as the former capital of Manzi (the Song), in which he described its history, "magnificence", and nature as "beyond dispute the finest and noblest in the world". (Volume II, 185-200). Odoric recorded its name as meaning "city of Heaven" [*civitas coeli*] and also lauded its beautiful architecture, great size and bustling economy (312-314).

⁹⁰ Nicholas, *Medieval City*, 178; Glenn T. Trewartha, 'Chinese Cities: Origins and Functions', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 42, no. 1 (1952): 73, 81–84; Steinhardt, *City Planning*, *passim*, esp. 4–8; Chye Kiang Heng, *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 3, 132–33, 141–42, 149–52, 167–70.

In Latin thought, before Cathay and Manzi, there was the Seres, believed to lie east of Scythia, as described by Pliny, Solinus and Isidore.⁹¹ Of the maps' sources for Asia, Pliny provided the foundation for ideas about the Seres; beyond the Scythians, deserts and mountains, "the first people who are known are the Seres, famous for the wool of their forests; after steeping it in water, they comb out white deposits from the leaves", from which threads are spun.⁹² Having established their position far away from Rome and over hostile terrain, Pliny introduced the Seres with an approximation of the production of their most famous export: silk. The rest of Pliny's short section on the Seres describes the production and trade of silk, noting "so complex is the labour, so distant are the regions which are used so that [Roman] ladies may show off in public".⁹³ Pliny related the character of the Seres to trade and their interaction with outsiders, claiming "the Seres are indeed mild, but resembling the other wild peoples they shun contact, waiting for commerce."⁹⁴ He exoticised the Seres through their meekness; their prized produce made in intricate, laborious and unusual ways; and their distance from Europe, made more remote by hostile terrain.

Solinus repeated much of Pliny's information, including the Seres' remote location, the adjacent harsh landscape, and the combing of wool from trees.⁹⁵ He expanded Pliny's description of the Seres' commercial yet timid nature:

"The Seres are very meek and peaceful amongst themselves, otherwise shying away from the rest of mortal society, so much that they decline other peoples' commerce ... Their merchants travel along their main river, on the banks of which – with no spoken exchange between the parties – the Seres judge with their eyes the value of the deposited things, but do not buy ours."⁹⁶

⁹¹ See 'Defining North-East Asia' p.31.

⁹² Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae* Vol. I, 227. "*primi sunt hominum qui noscantur Seres, Ianicio silvarum nobiles, perfusam aqua depectentes frondium canitiem*".

⁹³ Pliny the Elder, 227. "*tam multiplici opere, tam longinquo orbe petitur ut in publico matrona traluceat*".

⁹⁴ Pliny the Elder, 227. "*Seres mites quidem, sed et ipsi feris similes coetum reliquorum mortalium fugiunt, commercia expectant*".

⁹⁵ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 182. The Seres "flood leaves with sprinklings of water and comb out the wool from trees with the liquid" [*aquarum aspergine inundatis frondibus vellera arborum adminiculo depectunt liquoris*].

⁹⁶ Gaius Julius Solinus, 182–83. "*Seres ipsi quidem mites et inter se quietissimi, alias vero reliquorum mortalium coetus refugiunt, adeo ut ceterarum gentium commercia abnuant ... Primum eorum fluvium mercatores ipsi transeunt, in cuius ripis nullo inter partes linguae commercio, sed depositarum rerum pretia oculis aestimantibus sua tradunt, nostra non emunt*".

Here, Solinus revealed why there could only be limited information about the Seres; there is no hint of western merchants in Han territory, nor was there opportunity to engage in conversation and learn about the Seres. The Seric parochialism compounds the remote exoticism established by the landscape: while silk can come out of the Seres, people and things do not go in. The Seres became mysterious through custom and terrain; little information was available beyond commerce.

Isidore also described the Seres largely through their commercial interest, noting that the Seres export silk for clothing and adding that it comes from worms. Moreover, he explained that the people, land and silk take their name from the city of Seres, adding some urban detail to earlier accounts.⁹⁷ This is the only toponym offered for the Seres by any of the maps' sources, limiting how far the cartographers could map this territory. The available textual information centred around the Seres as distant, exotic and meek with a desirable product, with little further detail.

The classical and early medieval understanding of the Seres as commodified, reduced to the value and interest of earthly goods and wealth, persisted to the thirteenth century. Tilbury reproduced Isidore's information, noting that the north-eastern Seres took their name from a town, Seres, after which a region, an ocean and a fabric (silk) were also named. That there is a region of Seres and that Gervase linked them with "a" or "the" town of Seres, not specifying that this is their only city, implies the existence of further urbanism.⁹⁸ Carpini, in his 1240s account, commercialised the Khitai (his term for these people), noting their excellent craftsmen; the great wealth of their land in corn, wine and gold; and their production of silk.⁹⁹ The Sinitic world remained legendary for its riches. In the 1250s, Rubruck became the first Latin writer to explicitly link the Seres and the Cathayans.¹⁰⁰ He had

⁹⁷ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Tomus II*, XIV.III.29, XIX.XVII.6, XIX.XXVII.5.

⁹⁸ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 228. "The Seres are also in that area [bordering various Scythian tribes such as the Massagetes, whom Tilbury had just described], so-called after the eastern town Seres, from which the region of Serica, the Seres Ocean, the people and the fabric took their name" [*Seres quoque e vicino sunt, sic dicti a Seres oppido orientis, a quo regio Serica et mare Sericum et gens et vestis nomen accepit*].

⁹⁹ John of Plano Carpini, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', 58.

¹⁰⁰ Jackson, 'Introduction', 50.

read Isidore, naming him while rebutting his assertion that the Caspian is a gulf.¹⁰¹ Isidore's influence is evident in Rubruck's notion of the Seres and Cathay:

"Beyond [Tibet] is Great Cathay whose people in antiquity, so I believe, were called the Seres. Indeed, from this very place come the finest silk cloths, which are called *seric* after the people, and that people are called 'Seres' after a certain town of theirs. I am well informed that in that region is a town which has walls of silver and ramparts of gold."¹⁰²

Like Gervase, Rubruck reproduced Isidore's interlinked etymology of product, people, region and city, and showed continuity in depicting the Seres as wealthy. The friars illustrate the persistence of old ideas, indicating that the Seres were still known and associated with wealth by the thirteenth century. The Franciscans postdate *Ebstorf*, but their awareness of the Seres after the map's construction suggests the cartographer would also have known about this old concept.

Ebstorf presents its version of the Seres in a minimalist form which removes a possible source of urban wealth and grandeur from North-East Asia, also removing a potential rival for Latin Europe. Near the north-eastern periphery is a mountain with a group of elegantly clothed figures (Figure 2.16). Their flowing vestments, graceful contrapposto stances and conversation in a social gathering contrast against the naked figures around them: one wrestles with large birds; a pair scabble in the dirt; a fourth figure brandishes fish.¹⁰³ Most of the text has been lost from this region, including from the digital reproduction used in this thesis. However, an edition of *Ebstorf* has reconstructed the caption from records; these are the Seres, who, "enclosed within mountains, withdraw from the gaze of men".¹⁰⁴ This does not stem

¹⁰¹ William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', 210–11.

¹⁰² William of Rubruck, 236. "*Ultra est magna Cataia qui antiquitus, ut credo, dicebantur Seres. Ab ipsis enim veniunt optimi panni serici, qui dicuntur serici ab illo populo, et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam opido eorum. Bene intellexi quod in illa regione est opidum habens muros argenteos et propugnacula aurea*".

¹⁰³ The bird wrestler and fish wielder stem from references in Pliny to peoples found beyond India: pygmies who are frequently attacked by cranes, and a society with a diet exclusively comprising fish. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Vol. I*, 7, 236.

¹⁰⁴ Hartmut Kugler, Sonja Glauch, and Antje Willing, eds., *Die Ebсторfer Weltkarte: Kommentierte Neuausgabe in Zwei Bänden. Band I: Atlas* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), 34. "*visus hominum fugiunt montibus inclusi*"; translation is my own.

directly from any text, instead combining attestations of the Seres' meekness with knowledge about mountains in that area. The Seres' refined appearance contrasts with the barbarians of the rest of North-East Asia, emphasising the respective sophistication and savagery of the different groups and presenting a lone apparent pocket of cultured, non-violent life, far removed from Europe. However, this refined people, in rich clothing evoking the silk with which the Seres were associated, contrasts with their passive, seemingly xenophobic nature. The social scene shows a veneer of sophistication, but closer inspections of the text and mountainous enclosure reveal a flawed nature. Much of the Seres' apparent sophistication emerges only by contrast with nearby barbarians. The mountain is a crude imitator of a city. Classical and medieval ideas of the Seres' great wealth were not reproduced. That they live in a mountain and lack cities is made more striking by one of *Ebstorf's* sources, the *Otia*, explicitly recording a Seric city and implying the existence of more; the cartographer actively decided not to grant the Seres a city. These people are better than their neighbours, *Ebstorf* says, but cannot construct and manage a sophisticated city. Instead, they hide away in a natural fortress. If shown with any grandeur, these wealthy, ingenious non-Christian craftspeople could have undermined the message of Latin superiority presented by *Ebstorf's* urbanism. By having them hiding in a mountain, the cartographer undercut any majesty. This was neoclassical cartography; the idea of the Seres was antique, but the cartographer adapted inherited wisdom to present the Seres as a reclusive, unproductive curiosity, part of the map's aim of encouraging delight and curiosity in the world's content, while being consistent with its other aim of promoting Latin Christianity.

Scythia and the Scythians

The worldwide patterns of urbanism demonstrate that the *Ebstorf* cartographer worked to produce all of Asia as culturally inferior to Europe, achieved by strategically selecting and altering classical material. Similar patterns are evident in Scythia, presented as savage and barbarian but safely distant and contained. It is a fierce foil to urban, Christian Europe, but rather than portraying fear of or proximity to these barbarians, *Ebstorf* maps the Scythians as a securely enclosed and remote source of grotesque interest. These facets are consistent with the map's aims of propagandising and teaching about the world, encouraging exploration while

espousing Christianity. The Scythians also further demonstrate the neoclassical selective reinterpretation of antique material to present an archaicised, culturally inferior North-East Asia for the benefit of Latin Europe.

In contrast to the open Scythia of *Hereford*, *Ebstorf's* Scythia (Figure 2.14) is sealed off, defined and demarcated by text and physical geography.¹⁰⁵ The land, labelled “Scythia”, is surrounded by an interpretation of the Caucasus mountains which swing northwards at the Caspian, enclosing the sea and regions to its east in a peripheral enclave. In reality, the steppe is an open expanse, with mountain ranges including the Caucasus and Urals punctuating but never compartmentalising the landscape.¹⁰⁶ As argued in ‘Defining North-East Asia’, the maps’ different forms stem from ambiguities and flexibilities within the classical sources for Scythia. These texts do not describe the Caucasus mountains stretching north to seal off Scythia as they do on *Ebstorf*, but nor do they specify that they *do not* extend that way. Beyond their general statements about Scythia, the Caucasus, the oceans and the Caspian, the texts neither entirely prescribe nor proscribe how Asia should be understood.¹⁰⁷ Orosius, for instance, described the Caucasus arising near the Caspian in the west and Scythia extending from the eastern end of this range; beyond these termini, he provided no detailed account of their extent.¹⁰⁸ These ambiguities necessitated cartographic creative license, providing one explanation (alongside each map’s context) for the different size and shape of Scythia across the *mappaemundi*.

The *Ebstorf* cartographer constructed Scythia through potent violent imagery, augmented by consciously selecting and omitting certain information, turning North-East Asia into a grisly spectacle, albeit with no immediate bearing on Latin life. *Ebstorf* includes two scenes of barbarians (the Massagetae and Derbices together, and the Arimaspi); one of violent dogs; and Gog and Magog. I return to Gog and Magog later, but it is important to note their integration into *Ebstorf's* Scythia, contributing to the area’s savagery while contrasting the monstrosity of Gog and Magog with the more human Scythian barbarianism. While the presence of cities –

¹⁰⁵ See above, Figures I.1 and I.3, and Chapter 4 for *Hereford*.

¹⁰⁶ Cunliffe, *The Scythians*, 64–65.

¹⁰⁷ See Introduction pp.28-31 for a discussion of Scythia, the mountains and seas.

¹⁰⁸ Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, 1.2.36, 1.2.47.

albeit, fortified and bellicose – presents *Ebstorf's* Scythia as having some urban culture, unlike *Hereford's*, the Scythian vignettes still present a violent, dangerous space, befitting a harsh peripheral landscape.¹⁰⁹

Ebstorf's Scythia features barbarians but, nonetheless, is not solely typified or defined by them. To present the region as Scythia, the cartographer followed classical tradition in labelling and demarcating it with natural geography, unlike *Hereford's* Scythia which goes unlabelled and is defined by the barbarians there. This reflects *Ebstorf's* contemporary mentality where classical authorities and medieval commentators posited North-East Asia as savage but where events had not yet brought fierce Asian nomads to the forefront of geographic thought, mirrored in the lack of detail afforded to Scythia in contemporary German texts.¹¹⁰ Barbarians were present, but the cartographer did not entirely equate Scythia with them; the Scythians did not dominate this imagined landscape.

Instead of being immediately relevant for early thirteenth-century Germany, Scythia's features recognisably present it as a gruesome, distant marvel, a grisly wonder but not a threat. One such feature, the Arimaspi people, fight a griffon (Figure 2.17). There is no text; the map is not concerned with subtlety or details, relying on viewer knowledge or intermediaries to further gloss the scene if necessary. What matters is the ferocity of people fighting monsters, denoting a fierce space which could be understood without literacy. Similarly, in Figure 2.18, two dogs maul an unclothed man. This likely refers to information from Solinus, who described Scythian dogs' renowned ferocity.¹¹¹ Again, there is no caption – the message is all in the picture, which is sufficiently clear to articulate the salient themes, with no supplementary information deemed necessary. Communicating savagery as clearly as possible was key; all else was surplus. The victim's nudity denotes the local lack of social mores; the dogs further demonstrate that region's dangers. The imagery is base, its message clear – this is a violent space, presented in stark contrast to the densely urban Latin Europe which the map presents as free of such threats. Safe in their

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 4 pp.240-243 for further comparisons with *Hereford*, including the different shape of Scythia.

¹¹⁰ See above pp.114-115 for the medieval German texts, and passim throughout this thesis for ideas of Scythians as savage.

¹¹¹ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 83.

cities, German viewers could examine this distant region, finding macabre interest in its dangers.

Ebstorf further presents this region as evil through an image of cruel cannibalism; below the dogs in Figure 2.18, the central figure slits a man's throat, while the person on the right eats, or drinks blood from, the victim's foot. The blood gushing from the leg and foot suggest it was a recent severing, and there is no fire, implying the left-hand Scythian is consuming the foot raw; this is particularly uncivilised cannibalism where flesh is eaten without being cooked. Moreover, the central figure seems in the process of killing the man, suggesting the foot was severed and eaten before his death. This is a visceral and striking degree of cruelty: the victim was maimed and forced to watch his own foot being consumed, providing mapping Scythian savagery by portraying violence and cannibalism among its peoples.

Cannibalism provided potent imagery because foodways go beyond just sustenance or socio-economics; they relate to culture and identity. Eating the right or wrong foods can mark belonging and prestige, or immorality and barbarousness.¹¹² Accordingly, cannibalism is a long-established symbol of transgression often employed as a marker of inhumanity. Cannibalism signified not just crude diets but a structural lack of moral civilisation and human norms.¹¹³ For Christians, cannibalism had especial immoral symbolism due to its relationship with Eucharistic thought, a potent issue in the thirteenth century; transubstantiation was officially defined in 1216 as the transformation at Mass of bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ.¹¹⁴ The Eucharist made consuming humans even more sensitive, representing a corrupted imitation of this central, miraculous ritual, a reminder of Christ's

¹¹² For examples of the importance of foodways with a medieval focus, see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 20–21; Mirko Sardelić, 'John of Plano Carpini vs Simon of Saint-Quentin: 13th-Century Emotions in the Eurasian Steppe', *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie* 5, no. 3 (2017): 499; Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 73–74.

¹¹³ On the recurring decial of cannibalism, evident both before the Middle Ages in Antiquity and after them in the early modern voyages of discovery, see Margaret Small, *Framing the World: Classical Influences on Sixteenth-Century Geographical Thought* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020), 179, 196–97.

¹¹⁴ Merrall Llewelyn Price, *Consuming Passions: The Uses of Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 27–28, 40; Gregory G. Guzman, 'Reports of Mongol Cannibalism in the Thirteenth-Century Latin Sources: Oriental Fact or Western Fiction?', in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. Scott D. Westrem (New York: Garland, 1991), 51.

sacrifice.¹¹⁵ On *Ebstorf*, Christ's body forms the world in a pose echoing the stretched arms of the Crucifixion, recalling his sacrifice. As Kupfer argues, the presentation of the world and its Christian community as his body also evokes Eucharistic themes, as does the tripartite division of the world which resembled the traditional three-part division of the Eucharistic wafer.¹¹⁶ Cannibalism was a potent, recognisable image, presenting a twisted mockery of the Eucharist while detaching these Scythians from the future triumph of Christ's community, themes which *Ebstorf's* nuns could have explained for pilgrims.

The scene's caption heightens the savagery, and turns it from episode into custom, from an isolated incident into an evil facet of Scythian life: "the Massagetae and Derbices believe to be most unhappy those who die from sickness; when parents and friends approach old age, they are killed by having their throat slit and are devoured".¹¹⁷ This is an almost verbatim quotation from Saint Jerome's late fourth-century *Adversus Jovinianum*, a refutation of Jovinianus' views on theology and sin.¹¹⁸ It is interesting that the map quotes Jerome rather than a more common source for Scythia – such as Solinus – without even referencing the Church Father, an act which could have lent the map spiritual authority. It could simply be that the cartographer had access to Jerome and deemed this information useful. Jerome's information stems ultimately from Herodotus, who described the Massagetae's tradition of eating their elderly.¹¹⁹ This demonstrates Herodotus' importance in establishing a corpus of ideas about Scythia, with tropes surfacing in different antique texts which medieval cartographers used, such as Jerome and Solinus.¹²⁰ *Ebstorf* evoked ancient ideas, mapping what was known and expected of Asia while reinforcing these ideas through striking visual presentation. The caption introduces further immorality. The physical aspects do not change, but the ideological transgression intensifies. For example, the caption and Jerome do not show the

¹¹⁵ Price, *Consuming Passions*, 2–4, 26–43; Guzman, 'Reports of Mongol Cannibalism', 51.

¹¹⁶ Kupfer, 'Reflections', 110–12, 118.

¹¹⁷ "Massagete et Derbees miserrimos putant, qui egrotatione [medieval form of classical *aegrotatione*] moriuntur; parentes et amicos, cum ad senectutem venerint, iugulant et devorant".

¹¹⁸ Saint Jerome, 'Adversus Jovinianum Libri Duo.', in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Vol. 23: S. Eusebius Hieronymus*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris: Apud Garnier fratres et J.-P. Migne successores, 1883), 309. "Messagetæ et Derbices miserrimos putant, qui ægrotatione moriantur: et parentes, cognatos, propinquos, cum ad senectam venerint, jugulatos devorant".

¹¹⁹ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 68, Book 1.216.

¹²⁰ Solinus was especially important for *Hereford*. See below and Chapter 4, esp. pp.230-240.

elderly as willingly submitting to this tradition; the Scythians take into their own hands what should be left to nature. The text ingrains cannibalism into the tradition of the steppes, turning this single depicted episode into a regular habit, elevating the scene from an act into local practice. The caption alters not just these Scythians, but Scythia. Possessing literacy or an intermediary explainer would hence have added complexity to *Ebstorf's* savage Scythia. In a small scene, *Ebstorf* powerfully maps a cruel, violent people who are transgressive in religion, morality and food, demonising the region itself.

Significantly, these barbarians are depicted *in media res*, as is also true for *Hereford*. Each image is instantly recognisable as savage, violent and transgressive in some way. This was artistic choice. No Scythians are shown standing around, making camp, horse-riding, or doing any other less violent activity. Instead, they demonstrate their barbarity and Scythia's fierce, flawed nature – fighting, cannibalism, torture. This was not meant to be a nuanced space, nor to require sustained intellectual engagement. The artistry was a blunt instrument of presenting the Scythians as flawed, which the captions supplemented but did not substantially change. Communicating Scythian barbarianism to as many people as possible – regardless of literacy – was a key priority for the cartographer. Asia was *meant* to be constructed and received in this regressive, fearsome, inferior way, articulated as such by using old sources and the device of barbarianism. This reading was not to be left to chance, as further indicated by the captions providing supplementary but not formative information. Visual, legible barbarianism was an important constituent of North-East Asia; the barbarian was a tool for understanding this region, and the region helped shape readings of a worldview which pictorially and thematically juxtaposed urban Christian Europe against a fierce, transgressive land. *Ebstorf* depicted Scythia as a source of gruesome interest, a distant region which viewers could find repugnantly interesting while basking in their urban, Christian moral high ground.

This depiction of Scythia was part of the neoclassical selective reinterpretation of classical information; *Ebstorf's* Scythia was not a Roman or Greek Scythia despite the shared nomenclature, but a specially constructed medieval one. This process of construction was invisible to viewers, who could not see what information was

excluded. However, the process indicates the principles underpinning Asia's representation. By comparing the maps and classical texts, this section argues that the *Ebstorf* cartographer deliberately chose the most sensational, shocking information. This furthered a long historical process of selective intellectual transmission and reinforced the cartographer's selection of *in media res* pictures in caricaturing the Scythians. In the area of barbarians as with urbanism, the cartographer reduced Asian civilisation by selecting and omitting different facets of the classical sources.¹²¹

This process relates to an important aspect of barbarianism – it was not innate in the observed, but a discursive construct created by the observer. Authors formulated barbarianism based on tropes and partial, prejudiced observations or understandings of habits. It is hence possible to assume purposeful intent about these representations and question *why* these efforts were made. In the absence of contemporary texts outlining the principles behind the construction of *mappaemundi*, examining processes of intellectual transmission can indicate the intended functions of different regions. By comparing the mapped Scythians to the cartographers' available information, examining what did and did not get transmitted from text to map, it is possible to assess the rhetorical aims of the maps' Asia. The partial transmission of information which produced the cartographic Scythians further indicates a desire to present them and the region as barbarian. North-East Asia was constructed to Latin Christian standards and ideas, with the purposes of making this land a regressive foil which privileged the Christian world.

In assessing the process of stereotyping the Scythians, the starting point is Herodotus, who described these peoples in detail in Book 4 of his fifth-century BC *Histories*. Paroń argues that Herodotus' account of the Scythians is far from a hostile, uniformly critical 'othering' of barbarian nomads. Instead, Herodotus interpreted nomadism as a rational response to steppe geography, arguing that culture, economics and social structure stemmed from a nomadic lifestyle. He often attempted to understand the Scythians on their own terms, and although frequently critical he praised their warfare against the Persians, for example. While Herodotus

¹²¹ This process is even more pronounced on *Hereford*; see Chapter 4 pp.230-240.

still regarded nomadism as inferior, his using it to understand differences between Greek and Scythian society enabled descriptions of the Scythians with nuances, breadth and depth.¹²² For instance, Herodotus noted the Issedonian custom of eating a dead father and turning the skull into a gold-plated drinking cup, likening this ancestor veneration to Greek respect for the dead. He also praised these peoples' commitment to justice.¹²³ The cannibalism remains shocking, but Herodotus did not define the Issedonians solely by it, and seemed content to compare them favourably with Greek custom. Herodotus also described many other details about different Scythians, including the Argippaei eating fruit and guarding trees, and the Boudini's festivals and language.¹²⁴ The maps' ultimate source for Scythians, then, provided a range of information with positive and negative observations, differing starkly from the maps' fierce, one-note Scythians. This speaks to the different purposes of these sources. Herodotus attempted to document a potential enemy of the Greeks in as much detail as possible, for education and interest. The *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* cartographers, conversely, were less concerned with ethnographic range, favouring caricature to advance the maps' goals of making the Scythians as flawed as possible, championing Latin Christianity by contrast while providing a gory spectacle.

Archaeological, ethnographic and historical evidence from different steppe peoples make it reasonably certain that Herodotus used some genuine first- or second-hand observation and testimony, rather than just, as Hartog argued, inventing a wild Other drawn from Greek topoi and narrative conventions.¹²⁵ For instance, archaeological evidence verifies Herodotus' description of Scythian royal funerals, which incorporated horse burials and large mounds, suggesting he may have used a source familiar with such funerary practices.¹²⁶ Similarly, Kim challenges readings of

¹²² Aleksander Paroń, 'The Picture of the Scythians in *History* by Herodotus and the Xiongnu in *Shiji* by Sima Qian. An Attempt at Comparison', in *Serica – Da Qin: Studies in Archaeology, Philology and History of Sino-Western Relations (Selected Problems)*, ed. Gościwił Malinowski, Aleksander Paroń, and Bartłomiej Sz. Szmoniewski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo GAJT 1991, 2012), 71–76, 82–85, 93–94.

¹²³ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 180, Book 4.26.

¹²⁴ Herodotus, 179, Book 4.23 for the Argippaei; 198, Book 4.109 for the Boudini.

¹²⁵ François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), passim, esp. 3–6, 13–15, 28–29, 36–40, 132–44, 195–98, 310, 319, 371, 375. Hartog's influential but contentious thesis (challenged by, for instance, Kim below) is that Herodotus' Scythians are essentially fictional, a convenient narrative Other constructed from fundamentally Greek ideas.

¹²⁶ Askold I. Ivantchik, 'The Funeral of Scythian Kings: The Historical Reality and the Description of Herodotus (4.71-72)', in *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, ed. Larissa

Herodotus, such as by Hartog, which view the *Histories* exclusively as a literary narrative which says more about Greek ideology than Scythian reality. In arguing for the *Histories* as a viable historical source for non-Greek subjects, Kim examines Herodotus' work while considering Scythian language, ideology and mythology, as well as observations about later steppe peoples, concluding that Herodotus' text drew on Scythian reality.¹²⁷ For example, Herodotus' account of the Scythian founding myth includes the youngest of three brothers inheriting the largest part of the land, corresponding with the ultimogeniture common among steppe peoples; moreover, the names of the brothers tally with aspects of Scythian languages.¹²⁸ Herodotus' account of the Scythians hence likely had some grounding in reality. This makes the maps' one-note, savage Scythians imagined through a Latin Christian lens more striking; the mapped Scythians represent the reduction of original Scythian life until an imagined ethnography of violence and transgression remained.

This imagined ethnography was not entirely the consequence of the cartographers' decisions, however; the *mappaemundi* represent the culmination in a process where Scythian identity became narrower and more stereotyped over time. Successive authors selected and omitted different facets of information about Scythia, winnowing the breadth and depth of Herodotus. Many of the details he described were absent in Solinus' work. For instance, Solinus did not mention the justice or festivals of the Issedonians.¹²⁹ Similarly, Herodotus described the Sauromatae in several places, including their history, women who hunt and fight on horseback, and marriage laws.¹³⁰ Solinus included none of these, naming the Sauromatae only in passing.¹³¹ His description of Scythians is a small part of a large work with many topics, so his economy of detail is understandable. This, however, reduced the information available for his users, facilitating a stereotyped depiction of Scythians without their initial breadth.

Bonfante (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), passim, esp. 71–75, 82, 97; Cunliffe, *The Scythians*, 46.

¹²⁷ Hyun Jin Kim, 'Herodotus' Scythians Viewed from a Central Asian Perspective: Its Historicity and Significance', *Ancient West & East* 9 (2010): 115–35.

¹²⁸ Kim, 116–19.

¹²⁹ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 84.

¹³⁰ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 198–200, Book 4.110–117.

¹³¹ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 85–86.

Ebstorf's cannibals illustrate this partial transmission; the map omits logic which Jerome provided about cannibalism. This omission was not for reasons of space; Figure 2.18 shows room between the caption and the Scythians. Immediately after the section which the map took from *Adversus Jovinianum*, Jerome wrote “It is considered more proper that they [the corpses] be eaten up by those who knew them than by worms.”¹³² The information adds complexity to the Scythian tradition, which the cartographer removed. Jerome also displayed something approaching cultural relativism, outlining many different cultures’ dietary habits, such as Egyptian dislike of sheep’s milk and how a Red Sea people cooked fish on sun-heated stones.¹³³ In this account, Scythians were just one people of many. The cartographer removed, understandably, the wider context of this information, turning the Massagetae from one of Jerome’s examples into the map’s topic. Being singled out in this way highlighted their transgressions rather than eliding them into a long list as in Jerome. Jerome, or his own source, reduced – again understandably – the information from Herodotus, who included it in a chapter on ritual and pastoral diet. Jerome only cited the eating of friends and family.¹³⁴ The *Ebstorf* cartographer selectively used a source who had also cut down the Greek text to suit his work.

The result was a series of reductions which are natural in the transmission of information across sources with different priorities and purposes over a long period. Any source amassing previous knowledge does so on the author’s terms, recontextualising knowledge to suit new structures and aims.¹³⁵ Each author and then the mapmakers reduced and decontextualised knowledge about these Scythians, reducing broadly observed peoples to cannibalistic imagery. Jerome accessed Herodotus’ more extensive, centuries-old ethnographic information in some form and reduced it for his own ends, using the Massagetae as an example in a broader section rather than a subject in their own right. The cartographer reduced Jerome’s information, removing subtlety and context. Centuries of textual

¹³² Saint Jerome, ‘*Adversus Jovinianum*’, 309. “*rectius esse ducentes, ut a se potius, quam a vermibus comedantur*”.

¹³³ Saint Jerome, 308–9. Jerome aimed to defend fasting by proving, via different cultures’ foodways, that no animal exists solely to be eaten.

¹³⁴ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 68, Book 1.216.

¹³⁵ Jason König and Greg Woolf, ‘Encyclopaedism in the Roman Empire’, in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Jason König and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 42–43.

abridgement turned the original, contextualised ethnographic information into a shocking, violent, uncivilised form on the map. *Ebstorf* maps not just an antique view of Asia, but a greatly reduced, stereotyped one based on the deliberately incomplete transmission of information from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. This illustrates why *mappaemundi* can be understood as neoclassical. The base nomenclature and information come from antiquity, but this information is partial and removed from contextual factors and nuances. The *Ebstorf* cartographer continued in a tradition of selecting and reproducing only that which was useful for the map, combining antique material with Christian moralising and interest. Barbarians such as the Scythians were not a concern – the Hungarians were defeated, the Mongols yet to come – so viewers could wonder or baulk at the grotesque people of North-East Asia without any proximity or fear. Circumstances meant that Scythia could be peripheral; it had little reason not to be. The cartographer made the Scythians especially fierce, a remote, savage spectacle suitable for a map which exhorted its readers to imaginatively explore the world while seeing the superiority of home.

Gog and Magog

On *Ebstorf*, Gog and Magog appear as even more savage than their Scythian neighbours, further adding spectacle to North-East Asia. They also provided a reminder on this teaching map of the inevitable Apocalypse, a symbol of God's future triumph. Again, a feature of North-East Asia contributed to the cartographer's aims of mapping the world in a pedagogic, interesting manner. Gog and Magog are, in a way, the least neoclassical features of North-East Asia; unlike urbanism and Scythia, there was no extensive re-interpretation of Gog and Magog. However, they nonetheless reinforced the neoclassical function of medieval cartography, archaising Asia while promoting a Christian worldview.

In assessing Gog and Magog's depiction and purpose, it is helpful to consider what kind of material their legend provided as a source. The cartographers did not need to work to adapt the legend to suit their aims; Gog and Magog provided a package of existing, symbolically useful tropes. Gog and Magog, were never fleshed out, nuanced peoples. Instead, writers presented them as one-dimensional and uniformly savage, even compared to the Scythians. While authors like Herodotus, Pliny and

Solinus described the Scythians as barbarian nomads, their texts nonetheless included positive or neutral elements which lent depth to the Scythians and made them feel more realised and less one-note as observed humans. Herodotus, for instance, having based his account on his own observations or on a Scythian source, described the Issedonians' ritual cannibalism but also their upholding of justice.¹³⁶ Even Solinus, who presented the most caricatured account of Scythian peoples, described some groups in uncritical terms, such as Jason's descendants, the Albani.¹³⁷ While these accounts were far from positive, there were at least more facets to them than just 'savage'. Likewise, thirteenth-century writers who spent time among the Mongols described them with some depth and breadth, even if their overall tone remained critical. Carpini, for instance, recorded the Mongols' lack of Christianity, their 'idolatry' and that they did not consider it sinful to murder or otherwise "act against the prohibitions and precepts of God", but he also noted their patience, willingness to forgo luxury, and portable accommodation.¹³⁸ Rubruck also described numerous aspects of Mongol life and society, including the gendered division of domestic space with areas for men and women; their tying tunics on the right unlike Turks who did so on the left; and the gendered division of labour, such as the women's role in mending clothes and milking cows.¹³⁹ Rubruck's observation of the Mongols led to an ethnographical portrait of a group with depth and nuance, who were imaginable as a society with day-to-day patterns of life.

In contrast, authors never treated Gog and Magog in a similar way, depicting them not with breadth and details about different facets of their life, but as uniformly, straightforwardly savage, defined solely by their ferocity. The Bible had portrayed Gog and Magog only as savage warriors who would serve Antichrist. Scripture provided little other information, its description so vague and generic that there was not even a standard definition for Gog or Magog: were they individuals, progenitors, races, places? Such details were subsidiary to the main aim of communicating their savagery and apocalyptic role; they could remain thinly sketched as long as their

¹³⁶ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 180. Book 4.26.

¹³⁷ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 83. See Chapter 4 for more.

¹³⁸ John of Plano Carpini, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', 35 for the yurts, 36-37 for their religion, 40-41 for their laws, 45-46 for the positive qualities. "*facere contra prohibitiones et Dei precepta*" (41).

¹³⁹ William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', 174-175 for the gendered organisation of space and other domestic arrangements, 181 for the tunics, 183-184 for the division of labour.

fierceness and ultimate task were clear.¹⁴⁰ This trend continued through different depictions of Gog and Magog, who continued to be described simply as fearsome barbarians.¹⁴¹ The seventh-century Syriac *Alexander Romance*, for instance, described the enclosed races as savage, treacherous fighters who ate raw meat, drank animal and human blood, and sacrificed pregnant women before battle.¹⁴² The author offered no further description of, for example, Gog and Magog's domestic arrangements. This is almost certainly because such information was surplus to the Romance's needs of depicting Gog and Magog as fierce peoples who required containment. Gog and Magog existed as a topos, a symbol to be reviled, feared and ultimately defeated, rather than a society in their own right who could be observed and described like the Scythians or Mongols. Likewise, while the *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister* noted Gog and Magog's stunted nature, lack of washing and ignorance of wine, there is little sense of this as a people with a discernible set of institutions, social structures, laws, customs or gender norms.¹⁴³ The *Cosmography* author drew Gog and Magog thinly, describing them in as much detail as was necessary to communicate their savagery. Writers imagined and depicted Gog and Magog qualitatively differently from other North-East Asian peoples, even ones generally considered to be barbarians. The cartographers hence had a simplistic tradition to draw on in depicting Gog and Magog. They did not need to selectively edit their sources as they had done for urbanism and the Scythians; they could repeat an established set of ideas about the fierce, thinly described Gog and Magog. When thought around a people already matched the maps' arguments about Asia, the cartographers had to do little work in editing this information for inclusion, their worldviews aligning with existing ones.

The neoclassical aspects of the *mappaemundi*'s Gog and Magog hence did not lie in how the cartographers adapted their material, but in how they used already potent, archaicising ideas in service of their aims: in *Ebstorf*'s case, providing gory interest

¹⁴⁰ This ambiguity facilitated the application of Gog and Magog as symbols for different enemies over time, as explored in relevant sections in Chapters 3 and 4 with reference to the Mongols.

¹⁴¹ On this theme, see for instance Scherb, 'Assimilating Giants', 59–64; Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 7–8; Gow, 'Gog and Magog', 62; Doufikar-Aerts, 'Crossing Borders', 391–96.

¹⁴² Anonymous, 'A Christian Legend Concerning Alexander', in *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, trans. E.A. Wallis Budge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), 150–52. As seen in Chapter 1, this Syriac version was influential in forming medieval European ideas of Alexander and Gog and Magog.

¹⁴³ Jerome, 'Cosmography', 472–73.

while reminding viewers of God's past, present and future greatness. *Ebstorf's* Gog and Magog are the least prominent of the maps' versions and are the most contained and detached from the rest of the world. They are physically sealed twice-over; the left of Figure 2.14 shows their enclosure deep within the already surrounded Scythia. Scythia's barbarians establish an outer band of savagery, with a staggered descent into the monstrous evil within Gog and Magog's peripheral enclosure. Figure 2.19 shows this enclosure, comprising on two sides mountains and on two sides crenelated walls, one a bright bloody red. This recalls the recognisable Alexander legend, where he and God sealed Gog and Magog away behind walls and mountains. For instance, one recension of the tenth-century version of the legend by Archpriest Leo, popular over Europe, described how Alexander called on God to seal away a vile, unclean people behind mountains found beyond Scythia.¹⁴⁴ The *Otia* also described Gog and Magog, sealed in land around Mount Caspius in the Caucasus.¹⁴⁵ *Ebstorf's* enclosure is a square, roughly the same size as the central Jerusalem. There are no other equivalent, similarly sized crenelated enclosures, suggesting the cartographer intended comparisons to be drawn between the two. Figure 2.20 shows Jerusalem with the resurrected Christ; compare Figure I.1 to see the sites' relative sizes. Its crenelated walls face inwards, which combined with the burnished colour evokes a crown seen from above, reminding viewers of Christ's majesty and authority. The visual similarities present the enclosure as a kind of twisted counterpart to Jerusalem; while only two sides of the enclosure are walls, the

¹⁴⁴ Archpriest Leo, *Historia de Preliis J²*, 140–41. "And marching beyond Scythia into the Eastern regions, he [Alexander] discovered a nation that was unclean and horrible to look at, and contaminated by magic with all kinds of art and depraved works" [*Et ambulans ultra Scythiam in partibus Orientis invenit gentem immundam et aspectu horribilem et contaminatam omnibus magice artis et pravis operibus*]; "Alexander, seeing all these unclean and evil things done by them and fearing that when they came forth onto the world, the world would also be contaminated by them, immediately ordered that they all be assembled with their wives and children and all their affairs, and he drove them out of the eastern land and brought them to the regions of the north. Then Alexander immediately and eagerly beseeched God, and heard his invocation. And God commanded two mountains, which are called Promunturium and Boreum, and they were joined to each other as far as twelve cubits. And he [Alexander] immediately constructed there gates of brass and covered them with asinthicum [asbestos? a kind of earth?], because this is not broken by iron nor destroyed by fire" [*Videns autem Alexander hec omnia immunda et nefanda ab eis fieri, timens ne, quando egrederentur per orbem terrarum, etiam contaminaretur mundus ab eis, statim precepit congregari eos omnes cum uxoribus et filiis et cum omnibus ipsorum rebus et expulit eos de terra Orientis et adduxit eos in partibus aquilonis. Tunc continuo Alexander deprecatus est Deum impensius, et exaudivit eius deprecationem. Et precepit Deus duobus montibus quibus est vocabulum Promunturium et Boreum, et adiuncti sunt adinvicem usque ad cubitos duodecim; et statim construxit ibi portas ereas et circumfudit eas asinthico quod a ferro non rumpitur nee ab igne solvitur*].

¹⁴⁵ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 184. See also Chapter 1 p.94.

oscillating mountains on the eastern and northern sides resemble crenellations. One site marked goodness and the beginning of the Sixth Age, the other evil and the end. These parallels reminded viewers of how intrinsic Gog and Magog were to the realisation of God's plan.

The contents of Jerusalem and the enclosure further emphasise their moral contrast. To viewers familiar with the Bible, or to the religious community who explained the map to viewers, such a contrast could be found in Revelation, which juxtaposes in close proximity the apocalyptic role of the deceitful Gog and Magog (20:7-8) with the future Heavenly Jerusalem (21:2, 21:10).¹⁴⁶ While Revelation has Gog and Magog emerge from all over the world, rather than specifically Asia, the map's visual vocabulary for the two square scenes and scriptural precedent provide grounds for comparing these sites. In Jerusalem, Christ, with a halo and a flag, resplendent with gold, appears resurrected, a sign of glory and triumph over death and over evil. The Resurrection hence encapsulates the themes of the Apocalypse and the glories of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Gog and Magog, meanwhile, appear under a caption explaining their presence: "Here Alexander enclosed two evil, unclean peoples, Gog and Magog, who will accompany Antichrist. These people eat human flesh and drink blood".¹⁴⁷ This communicates Gog and Magog's past and future roles and their savagery. The text elevates this barbarous scene from just an interesting view of safely distant, contained evil people to a reflection on times past and times yet to come. Interestingly, the cartographer did not mention God; his presence required either prior knowledge, or inference through the fact that he literally embodies the earth on *Ebstorf*. The image of Gog and Magog eating an apparently still living person's hands and feet emphasises their savagery. While the middle of Figure 2.14 shows Scythian cannibalism, the barbarianism of Gog and Magog is even more

¹⁴⁶ Revelation 20:7-8: "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea." Revelation 21:2: "And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." Revelation 21:10: "And he [an angel] carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God".

¹⁴⁷ "*Hic inclusit Alexander duas gentes immundas Gog et Magog, quas comites habebit Antichristus. Hii humanis carnibus vescuntur et sanguinem bibunt*". 'Immundas' carries connotations of both 'evil' and 'unclean' meanings, so I have chosen to translate this single Latin word into two English words in order to communicate the deeper sense of the term.

prevalent in their nudity, compared with the Scythians who at least eat human flesh while clothed. Friedman has observed how the monstrous races on *mappaemundi* usually appear naked; clothes marked both culture and humanity.¹⁴⁸ The cartographer, in depicting Gog and Magog not just as cannibals but as nude, distanced them further from the rest of the world in manner and civility.

Gog and Magog hence contrast with two very different scenes – Jerusalem and Scythia – which highlight their barbarianism. The cartographer juxtaposed them with Jerusalem and the resurrected Christ, with whom they share a similar visual vocabulary. This contrast compares evil and good, of which the latter will triumph. They also contrast with their neighbours the Scythians, who despite their anthropophagy retain some mores. *Ebstorf* communicated many aspects of Gog and Magog through text and contrasting images, presenting them as important historical and future barbarians.

Of the maps' depictions of Gog and Magog, *Ebstorf's* is the least pronounced, perhaps reflecting the map's smaller need for moral consolation before difficulties such as Mongol invasions and further Levantine losses. They could provide some hope and optimism for the Crusading situation, but there was no immediate sense of barbarian horseman from the east. Gog and Magog are hence enclosed in a small, distant Scythia. Natural, human, and divine forces contain them twice, through the enclosure and Caucasus, indicating no apparent immediacy or urgency in their presence. Present on a teaching map in a religious institution, they were important for conveying the temporal element of *mappaemundi's* cosmography. Viewers, independently or guided by nuns, could search over the world as entreated by the map and find, in distant North-East Asia, a reminder of God's power and the savageness of non-Christian lands. To pilgrims viewing the map as a devotional object, this barbarian people provided a compelling reminder of God's protective powers, prompting reflection on his plan and the future Heavenly Jerusalem. Gog and Magog hence performed several different functions. They simultaneously conveyed the Christianised legend of Alexander; furthered the savage depiction of Scythia; and reminded viewers of the Apocalypse, illustrating the divine plan. They

¹⁴⁸ Friedman, 'Wonders and Discovery', 56.

therefore needed to appear in some form for the map's pedagogy. However, before the increasing challenges of the thirteenth century, there was less need to emphasise the presence of this apocalyptic people who could provide moral consolation. The Mongols were yet to arrive, and the efforts spurred by Lateran IV, as well as continued Christian presence in the Levant, suggest continued enthusiasm and hope about defeating Islam in the Holy Land. Gog and Magog were important to include as part of *Ebstorf's* propagandistic, didactic worldview and could reaffirm an ultimate Christian triumph over Islam. However, *Ebstorf* lacked the urgent need for moral consolation apparent in the later maps' more developed, prominent Gog and Magog. It is impossible to definitively state a causative relationship between *Ebstorf's* earlier date and smaller Gog and Magog, but the later maps' enclosed lands and historical contexts suggest that the cartographers' circumstances could have influenced the depiction of this fierce eastern people. For now, Gog and Magog could remain a distant curiosity, interesting and reassuring in their own savage way.

Conclusion

In its location, contents and size, *Ebstorf* was designed to educate, entertain and overawe its viewers. Its monumental scale and visible, structuring body of Christ invited viewers to wonder at the glory of God's creation, entreated by the map itself to explore the world and seek its marvels and lessons. Viewers were likely guided in this exploration by the nuns, making religious interpretations of the map more probable. *Ebstorf* centred and encircled the world with the presence of Christ, ensuring that God and the Christian faith were always at the forefront of viewers' minds as they perused the urban landscape of home and exotic regions of afar. The map affirmed above all the power and presence of God and his Church, emphasising divine power and order – visible in, for instance, the Resurrection and the balanced, cruciform division of the world – which underpinned imagined explorations of physical geography, cities, monsters and barbarians. This was divine geographic pedagogy, a bombastic lesson on the nature of the world.

Within this cartographic context, North-East Asia can be assessed as an extension of the mapmaker's aims of marvel, instruction and propaganda. Also highly relevant were the historical backdrops of a Crusading ethos and fervour over recovering the

Holy Land, and a comparative indifference towards North-East Asian peoples, a historical curiosity either distant or defeated. Hence, while the map is dominated by Jerusalem and the Holy Land, North-East Asia is peripheral and enclosed, its savage people contained. There was no pressing need to map Scythia or the Scythians in any detail beyond a few scenes of base and shocking savagery; this was a remote people, interesting but not pressing on the borders of Latin territories or mentalities.

Instead, the construction of North-East Asia reinforced the map's aims of championing a sophisticated Latin Christianity fated to succeed. Mapping Asia was subsidiary to this polemical desire. Hence, the cartographer consistently and deliberately minimised the degrees of urbanism over Asia, presenting a landscape which lacked cities in contrast to Latin Europe. In place of cities, the cartographer substituted features of interest or didacticism, such as animals, monsters or biblical scenes. This was an Asia mapped for ends not of Asian geography 'as it really was', but as the Latin cartographer wanted it to be: an exotic, often savage area lacking cities, those signs of culture and proximity to the Kingdom of Heaven. Scythia and the Seres were similarly adapted from their source material, lacking cities and specially constructed as savage barbarians or meek mountain-dwellers. This is the neoclassical element of *Ebstorf's* construction; the cartographer did not replicate their sources wholesale, but reinterpreted them to suit the map's aims. Gog and Magog did not need reinterpretation, but already matched the desire to present Scythia as a violent, archaic but nonetheless remote and contained region.

Ebstorf is hence consistent with *Psalter* and *Hereford* insofar as it specially constructed North-East Asia as savage through the selection and omission of different kinds of information. Doing so provided a scene of exotic, often gory interest, which championed the safe, monster-free, urban Christian Europe by comparison. However, before the mentality-shifting watershed of the Mongol invasions, this North-East Asia lacked proximity and urgency. *Ebstorf* presented the world as spectacle, a vision to amaze the viewer. In this vision, North-East Asia presented a horror which made Latin Europe shine brighter, but this horror was characterised by thrills rather than threats.

Chapter 2 Figures

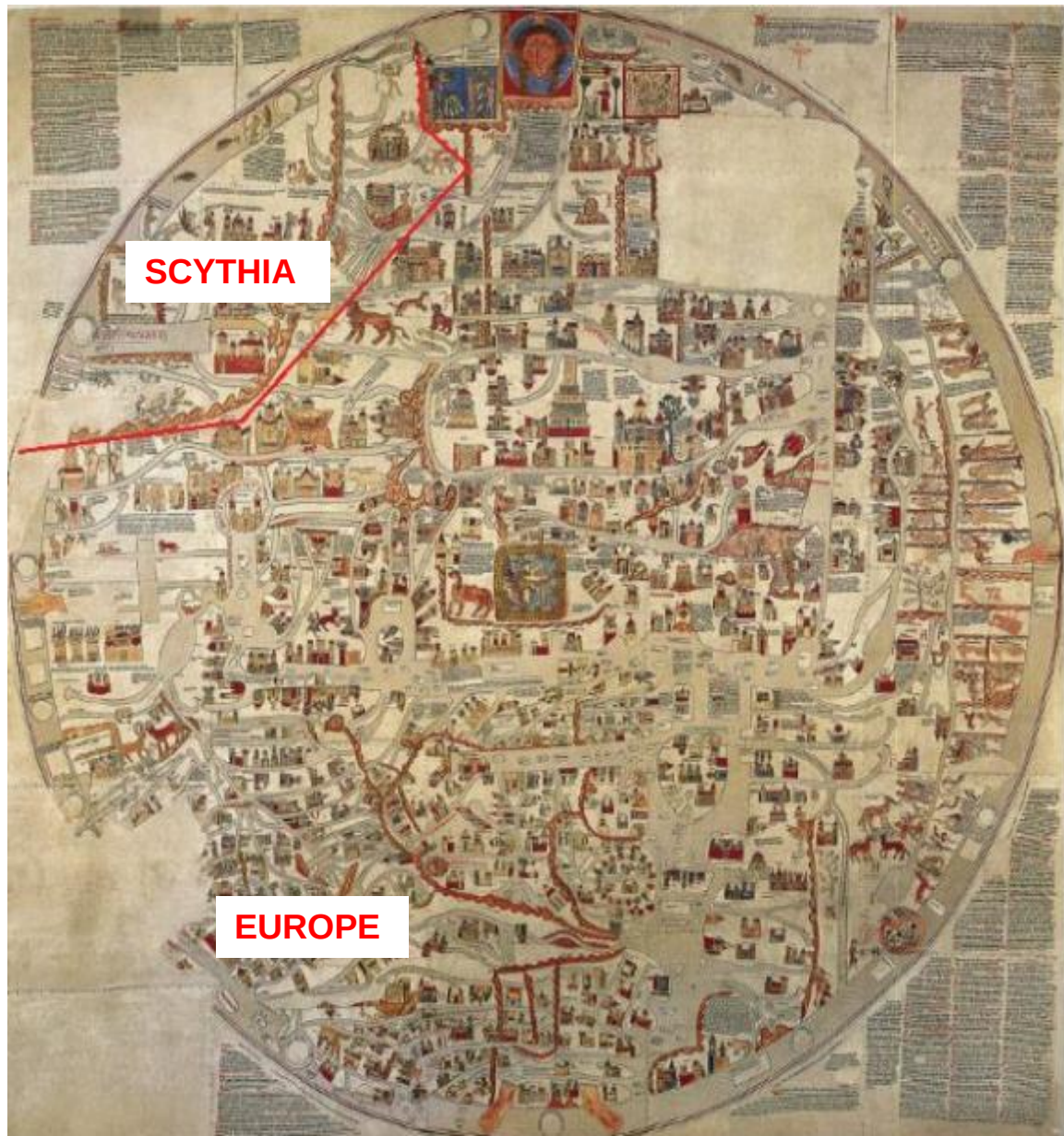


Figure 2.1: Europe, Scythia and the Seres on *Ebstorf*.



Figure 2.2: Europe, Scythia and the Seres on *Hereford*.

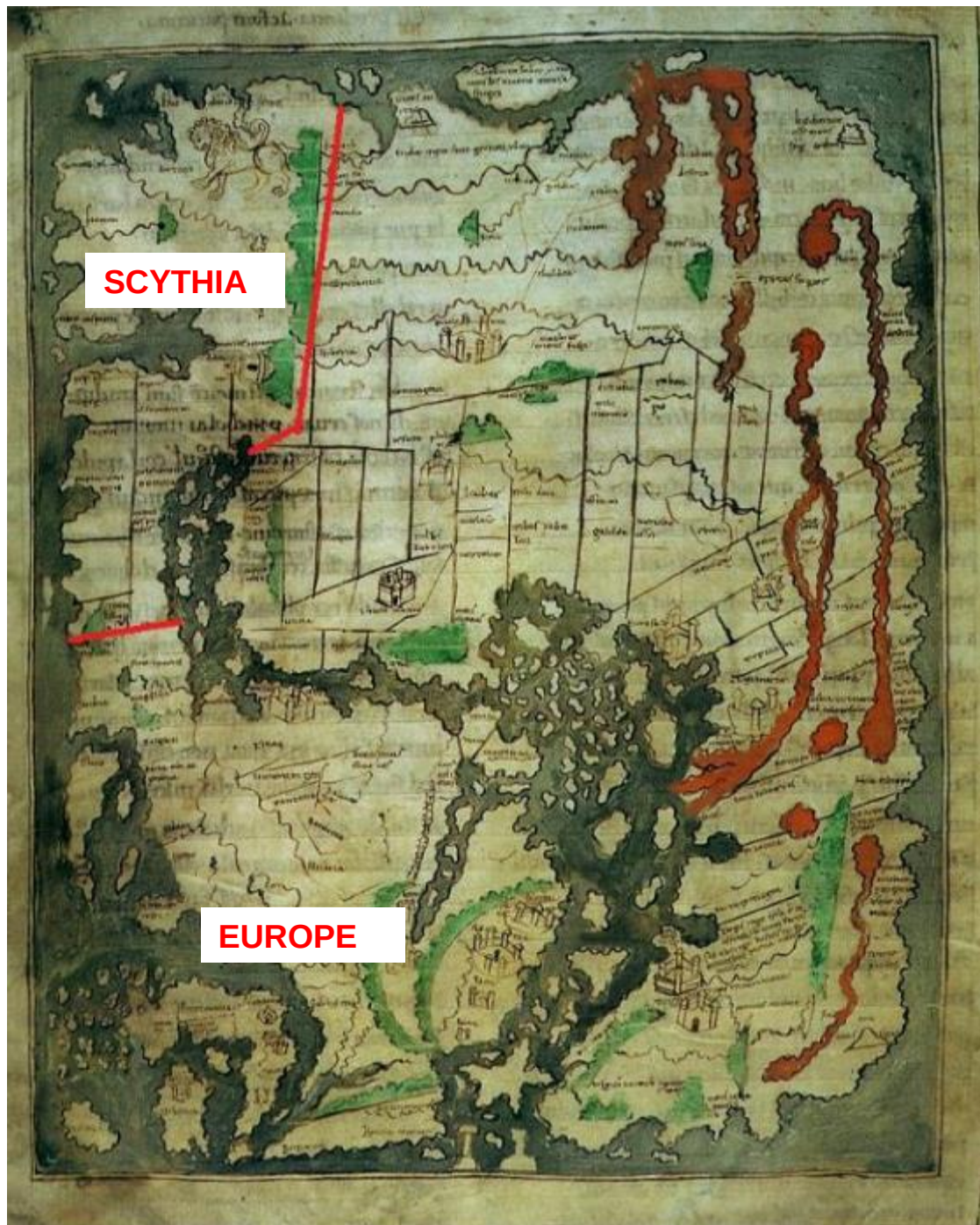


Figure 2.3: Europe and Scythia on the Cotton map, mid-11th century. British Library, London. Cotton MS Tiberius B V(1), f.56.

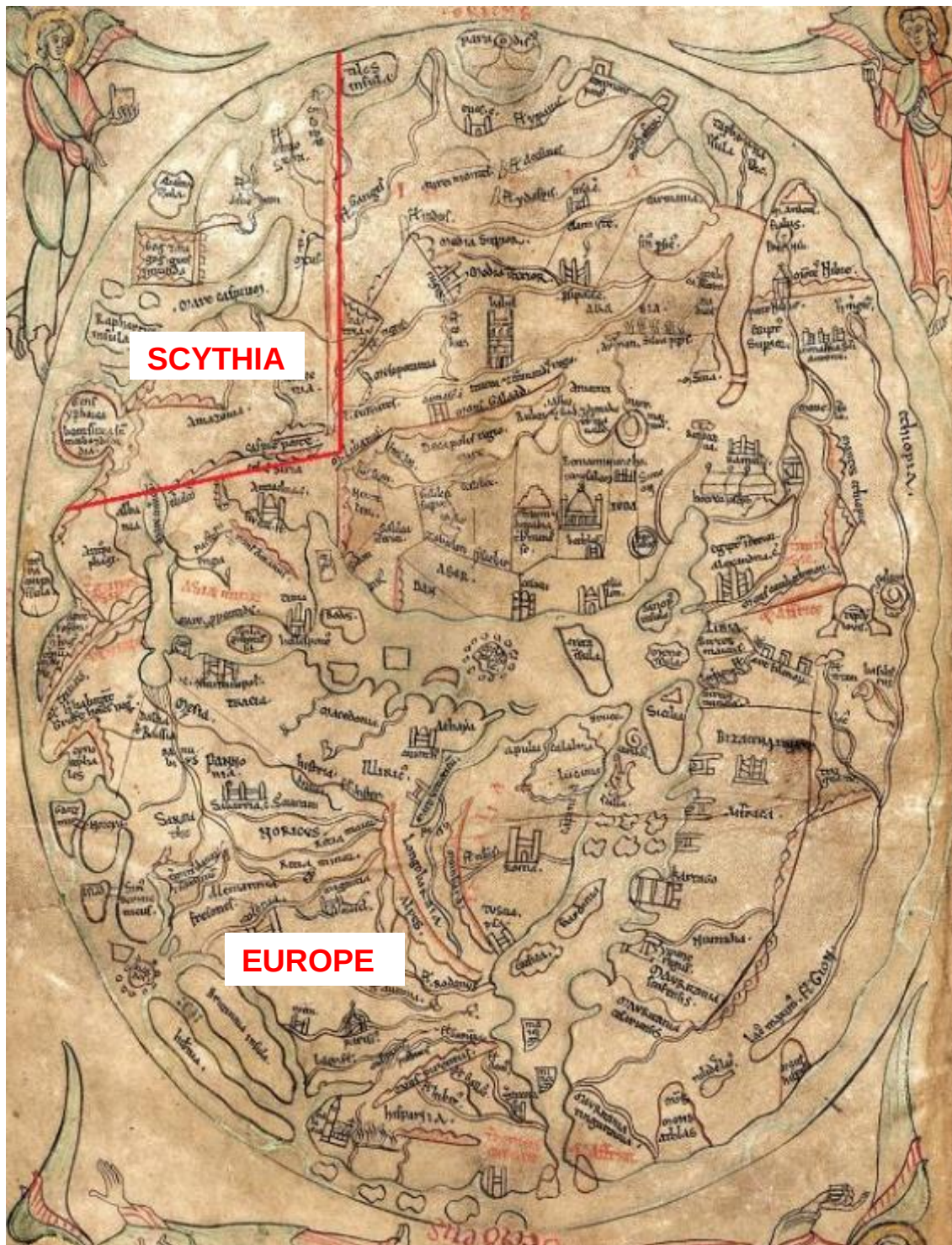


Figure 2.4: Europe and Scythia on the Sawley map, mid-12th century (image cropped to remove framing devices). Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. MS 66, p.2 (**nb**: this manuscript is paginated rather than foliated).



Figure 2.5: Part of Europe on *Ebstorf*, showing two densely urban spaces.



Figure 2.6: Part of Europe on *Hereford*, showing a densely urban space.



Figure 2.7: Africa on *Ebstorf*.



Figure 2.8: Africa on Psalter.

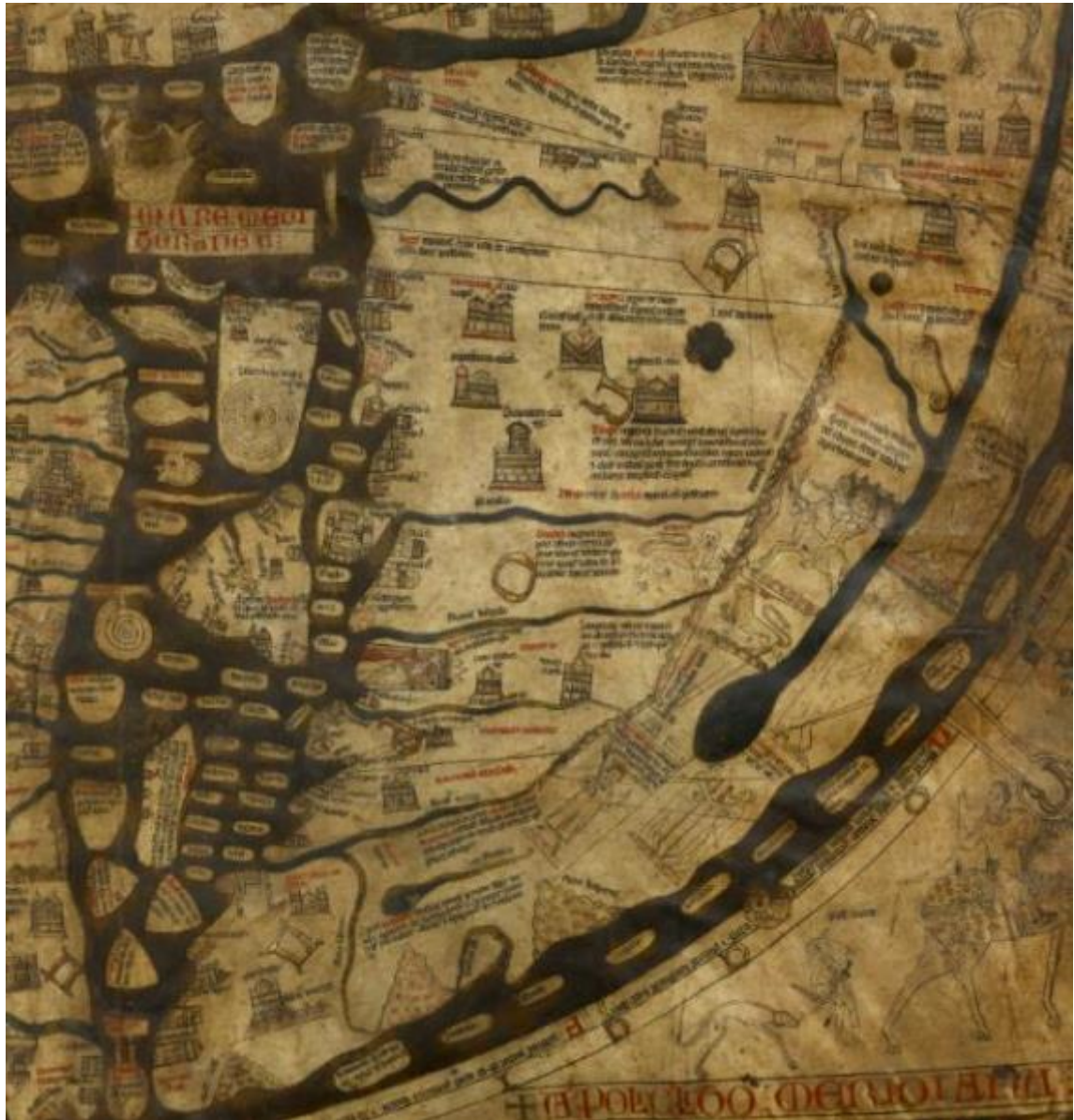


Figure 2.9: Africa on *Hereford*.



Figure 2.10: Part of Asia Minor (left) and the Levant (right) on *Ebstorf*.



Figure 2.11: The Levant (left) and part of Egypt (right) on *Hereford*.



Figure 2.12: Part of Mesopotamia and Parthia on *Ebstorf*; note the empty spaces, animals and other non-urban features.



Figure 2.14: Scythia/Hyrcania on *Ebstorf*.



Figure 2.15: Scythia's fortified cities and the cities of Europe.



Figure 2.16: The Seres on *Ebstorf*.



Figure 2.17: The Arimaspi on *Ebstorf*.



Figure 2.18: Dogs, Massagetae and Derbices on *Ebstorf*.

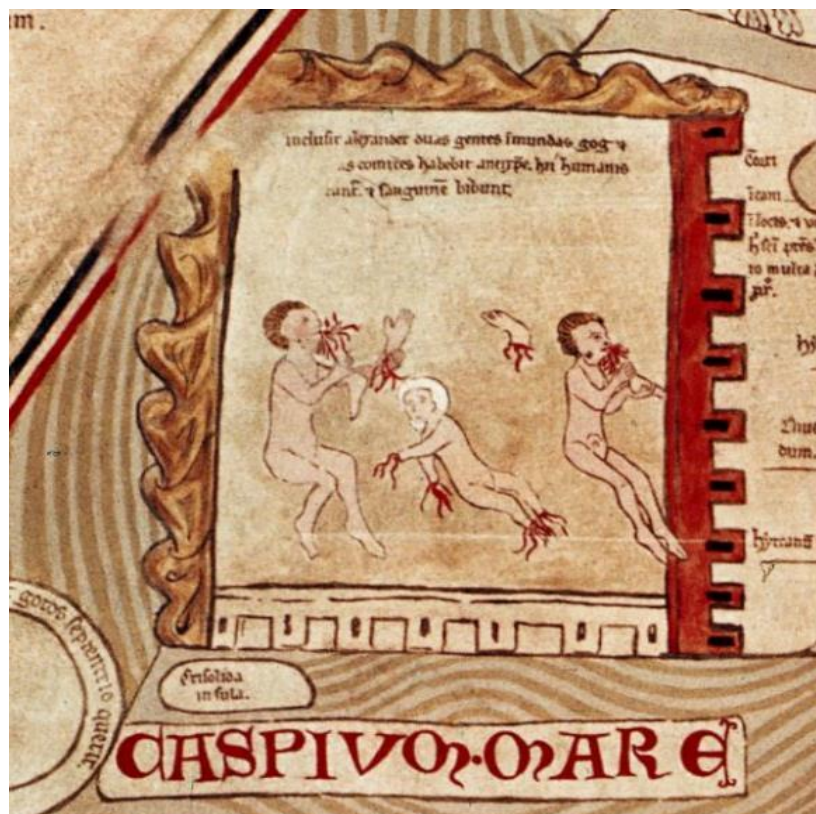


Figure 2.19: Gog and Magog on *Ebstorf*.

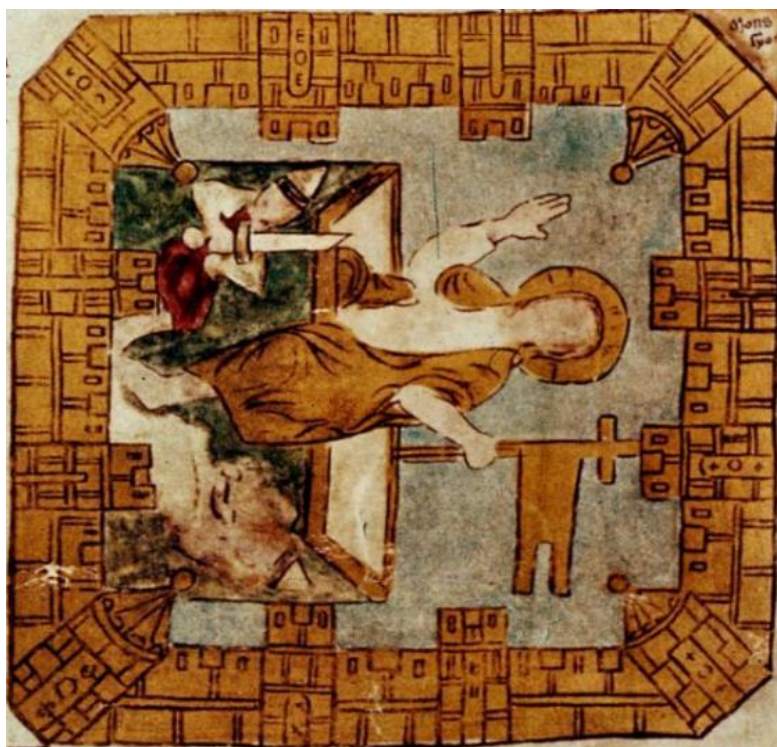


Figure 2.20: Jerusalem on *Ebstorf*.

Chapter 3 – Psalter: God's Unified World

Made in England and dating from the 1260s, in the wake of the Mongol invasions, *Psalter* presents a defiant image of the world under God's protection. Appearing in a book of psalms, *Psalter* had a more intimate liturgical context than *Ebstorf* or *Hereford*, its reception relating to its users' regular worship of God. Within this context, North-East Asia reinforced three key aims. The enclosure of Gog and Magog dominates North-East Asia, containing evil while reaffirming the presence and plan of the God who oversees the world.¹ This containment contrasted against but also facilitated an otherwise essentially uniform, luxurious urban iconography where cities were – mostly – evenly distributed over the inhabitable world, through which the cartographer affirmed the ideal of universal Christianity. Finally, within this ostensible unity, the cartographer omitted important non-Christian features which could have challenged this Latin worldview. The apparent universalism cloaked strategic absences – the omission of the Seres, Scythians and Arabia supported the map's projections of an ideally Latin Christian world. Each aim supported messages in the psalms which represent the map's manuscript context; *Psalter* worked as part of a multimedia religious experience concerned with spiritual, not earthly affairs, in which a protector God oversaw an ideally universally Christian world.

The neoclassical aspects of thirteenth-century cartography are least prominent in *Psalter*, for which size dictated a sparse economy of detail. There are no Scythians to have selectively depicted, nor is there as evident a reduction in urbanism as on the larger *mappaemundi*. Nevertheless, by omitting features such as the Seres and Mongols, including antiquated toponyms, and prominently depicting the historical, fated to be defeated Gog and Magog, *Psalter* still adhered to the neoclassical strategy of selecting from available antique and scriptural sources to present a world which subordinated a dated Asia to Christian priorities. The cartographer deliberately, selectively constructed North-East Asia as antiquated and dominated by evil; Asia was not mapped for verisimilitude, but to preach Christian triumphalism.

¹ See Figure I.2, and discussions throughout this chapter.

Psalter, a small, personal map, was less bombastic than *Ebstorf* or *Hereford* with their large, not necessarily literate or extensively educated audiences. Its use of North-East Asia was more subtle. Rather than explicitly couching Asia as morally flawed through a clearly reduced urban landscape or fierce barbarians, the cartographer subordinated this region to Christianity under a veneer of unity. *Psalter* advanced Christian ideas and aims as much as the other maps but did so more quietly, through silence and inference. It revealed its arguments about the world not through blunt instruments such as grisly Scythians or an explicitly monstrous Gog and Magog, but through devotional reflection. As the reader studied the world as part of their engagement with God, the priorities of Latin Christianity would emerge, articulated partly through North-East Asia.

To advance these arguments, this chapter comprises four parts. The first establishes *Psalter*'s contexts of production, reception and historical background. I present evidence supporting a production in the 1260s, probably in London and possibly for a Benedictine owner. This possible owner background, the luxury of the manuscript, and the map's existence in a psalter imply educated readers who were primed for the present – and omitted – features. The second section demonstrates that in England in the 1260s the Mongols were still perceived as a threat, providing important context for *Psalter*'s message of a protector God and for the role of North-East Asia.

The second part analyses the enclosure of Gog and Magog. This was key to the map's arguments, illustrating God's plan and future triumph. The enclosure may represent contemporary insecurities, but more generally affirms God's constant power over evil. The chapter assesses whether the cartographer intended to evoke the Mongols through this enclosure, as had contemporary writers like Matthew Paris and Roger Bacon who considered the Mongols to be the enclosed peoples. Such an equation was unlikely, but the enclosure nonetheless evokes reassuring themes of triumph over enemies. Consequently, *Psalter*'s proportionally larger enclosure than *Ebstorf*'s may relate to historical circumstances, demonstrating the historical specificity of *mappaemundi*. By strikingly sealing evil away in a physical space and within God's plan, the cartographer also paved the way for the map's other strategies, particularly the universal spread of urbanism.

The third part analyses this urbanism, arguing that *Psalter* has a relatively even spread of cities in Europe and Asia relative to their size. Asia as a whole and its north-east have a proportionate number of cities, and the continent does not display such drastic urban reduction as the larger *mappaemundi*. This was largely because of size: Europe had little room to become over-urban, and Asia lacked the space to include many non-urban features in any detail. Nevertheless, necessities of size led to a symbolically appropriate impact of uniformity and unity which aligned with contemporary ideas of Christian universalism.

The fourth part develops this apparently equitable treatment of the world by exploring what the cartographer omitted. The Scythians are absent, likely due to space. However, the Seres and Arabia are also missing, despite the opportunity to include them. Each omission supported a spiritual reading of the world, rising above earthly traumas such as barbarians, threats such as Islam, and distractions such as the wealthy Seres. Set against a context of Latin information gathering about the Mongols and 'real' Asian geography, *Psalter* presents a timeless biblical landscape. North-East Asia was mapped in as much detail as spiritual matters demanded.

In a manuscript designed to help readers worship God, *Psalter* and its North-East Asia present a spiritual landscape which aimed to reassure its users of his power. What mattered were not earthly particulars, but God's plan for creation. All aspects of North-East Asia supported this message.

Psalter in Context

Production and Reception – Mapping the Psalms

Psalter presents a world under divine authority and protection (Figure I.2). The 75mm diameter map probably dates from the 1260s and exists in a book of psalms measuring 170mmx125mm. It currently occupies f.9r but was originally nearer the start.² The verso includes another world map, a 'list map' naming each continent's

² Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 82–83; Van Duzer, 'Psalter', 179. See below for the date of the map and manuscript, and for the significance of a map appearing in a psalter.

regions and peoples (Figure 3.1). Asia, for instance, includes Media, Scythia and Persepolis. Christ, accompanied by angels, embraces the whole world, trampling dragons; this is God as divine protector, destroyer of evil. This map is not the focus of this chapter, but the presence of another map using antique nomenclature, materially and thematically bound with *Psalter*, is significant for pertinent themes such as universalism. *Psalter* has similar iconography to the verso map in presenting Christ. Flanked by angels, he presides over the world, holding an orb with a T-O pattern representing the world. In medieval art, Christ in Majesty often held a T-O orb, signifying him as “Creator, Redeemer and Judge”.³ The world map is inseparable from the authoritative Christ overseeing his creation. Moreover, he stands over dragons, signs of evil; this and the similar verso scene map reference Psalm 90.13, which describes Christ’s crushing of lions and dragons, denoting triumph over evil.⁴ This psalm is in the manuscript, indicating the interrelationship of the maps and psalms.⁵ As well as illustrating divine power, *Psalter*’s Christ evokes contemporary English images of kingship, indicating his role as lord of the earth and Kingdom of Heaven.⁶ North-East Asia and the world appear within a demonstration of Christian might and authority.

Scholars generally date *Psalter* and its manuscript to after 1262, probably within the 1260s and no later than 1280, although recent material analysis has cast doubts. The 1260s date comes partly from the inclusion of the Feast of St Richard de Wych (canonised 1262) in a calendar contemporary with the manuscript.⁷ The 1280 *ante*

³ Michelle P. Brown, ‘Making Manuscripts and *Mappae Mundi*’, in *A Critical Companion to English Mappae Mundi of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Dan Terkla and Nick Millea (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), 36.

⁴ Van Duzer, ‘Psalter’, 183–84; Brown, ‘Making Manuscripts’, 35–36; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 85. “Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon” [*Super aspidem et basiliscum calcabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem*]. Latin and translation quoted from Van Duzer, 184. Van Duzer numbers this as Psalm 91. Following Brott, however, I number the psalms according to the Douay-Rheims version of the Bible because this follows the numbering found in the psalter itself, providing clarity and consistency between the manuscript and the biblical source. Brott, ‘Geography of Devotion’, 222, fn.1.

⁵ British Library Add MS 28681, f.110v–111v. The reference to the asp and basilisk is on f.111v. See throughout the present chapter for the interrelationship between the map and the manuscript’s psalms.

⁶ Birkholz, *King’s Two Maps*, 15–16.

⁷ See, for instance, instance, Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 82, 85; Van Duzer, ‘Psalter’, 181–82; Sally Dormer, ‘The Virgin and Child in the Map Psalter (London, British Library Additional MS 28681)’, in *Illuminating the Middle Ages: Tributes to Prof. John Lowden from His Students, Friends and Colleagues*, ed. Laura Cleaver, Alixe Bovey, and Lucy Donkin (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 166. For a longer

quem date stems from the reference to the first translation of St Hugh of Lincoln in 1221, but not the second in 1280.⁸ Palaeographical evidence and art historical analysis of Christ and the angels on *Psalter*, and the historiated initials and penwork throughout the manuscript, also suggest a date of the 1260s.⁹

However, research by Wacha and Brott on the psalter's physical composition reveals that the map was inserted into the leaf itself, not just the quire as once assumed; the map and manuscript are not necessarily contemporary. This problematises the 1262 date, detaching evidence such as the Feast of St Richard from *Psalter*'s production.¹⁰ While Wacha and Brott admit their analysis raises more questions than answers, they do also argue that *Psalter* may have been made to replace a map, or pair of maps, which had been present but which became damaged.¹¹ This aligns with Brott's analysis of *Psalter* and its manuscript context. She finds a high correlation between the contents of the maps and the psalms; significant pilgrimage routes and destinations on *Psalter*; and a geographical flavour to the manuscript's contents.¹² For example, *Psalter* includes places like Jerusalem, Egypt, Lebanon and Mount Zion which this manuscript's psalms refer to, while the list map names Tharsis, Saba and Judea, among other places from the psalms or stories referenced in the psalter's historiated initials.¹³ The geographical elements make it likely that the 1260s manuscript originally had a map which *Psalter* replaced. If *Psalter* was a replacement for an earlier map in this manuscript, the 1262 *post quem* can be assumed after all, making the map postdate the Mongol invasions of the 1240s. While the map itself has fewer features which can independently provide a definite date, its fitting neatly into the manuscript suggests it was drawn to replace an existing map; it is unlikely that such an opulent map of the right size would happen to exist already. It can be fairly assumed that the map postdates the manuscript, which is dateable to the 1260s. Moreover, art historical and palaeographical evidence support a mid-to-late thirteenth-century date for the map, further suggesting that it

discussion of historiography around *Psalter*'s production, see Wacha and Brott, 'Reframing the World', 149.

⁸ Dormer, 'Virgin and Child', 166.

⁹ Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 83–84; Dormer, 'Virgin and Child', 165–66; Brown, 'Making Manuscripts', 35–36.

¹⁰ Wacha and Brott, 'Reframing the World', passim, esp. 149. 154–155, 159.

¹¹ Wacha and Brott, 159.

¹² Brott, 'Geography of Devotion', passim, esp. 211–13, 215, 220–22.

¹³ Brott, 215. For example, see the reference to Jonah and Tharsis below p.177.

was drawn after the Mongol invasions. Consequently, I proceed on the basis that *Psalter* dates to the second half of the thirteenth century, firmly in the wake of the Mongol invasions of Europe. While a precise date remains elusive, what matters for this analysis is the *post quem* relationship to these invasions and the associated reshaping of Europe's relationship with Asia.¹⁴

Psalter's authorship is similarly uncertain due to a lack of evidence; there are no names ascribed to the manuscript or the maps. Art historical evidence and references to a large wall map in a bedchamber of Henry III suggest it was produced in London, possibly Westminster, and that it was a copy of a larger lost map, perhaps Henry's.¹⁵ The uncertainty over the cartographer makes it difficult to gauge their knowledge or priorities. However, some details can be inferred. The prominence of Christ indicates an interest in and awareness of God as a protector. The presence of features such as cities found only in Orosius indicates some access to classical information, an assumption supported by a London provenance; working in that city could have provided ready access to texts.¹⁶ It is unhelpful to speculate too far on an unknowable variable, but producing a *mappamundi* suggests access to a range of information on the part of the *Psalter* cartographer, the maker of the initial map, or both. For *Psalter*, as for the other *mappaemundi*, the cartographer's intentions must be inferred through the map's contents and context.

While the authorship remains uncertain, *Psalter*'s size and nature as a copy foreground authorial choice; it is useful to consider what kind of information the cartographer deemed necessary to transmit. The cartographer did not have the luxury of size, necessitating thrift in using space. This could not be an eclectic mix of all kinds of information; every feature had to be carefully considered. This underlines the importance of the presence or absence of specific features. Why make the effort to include certain content? What was deemed less important? By considering what

¹⁴ Arguments presented below about the scale of Gog and Magog's enclosure also suggest this post-Mongol *post quem*. However, as with *Ebstorf* and its small Scythia, there exists the risk of a circular argument in trying to relate a more threatening Asia to a specific date, and vice versa. The material, art historical, palaeographical and historical kinds of evidence are therefore more convincing and helpful in supplying a rough date to *Psalter*, although the evidence of North-East Asia's depiction can also cautiously reinforce the map and manuscript's post-Mongol production.

¹⁵ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xvi; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 23; Barber and Harper, *Magnificent Maps*, 76–78; Birkholz, *King's Two Maps*, 13–15.

¹⁶ See the discussion of urbanism below pp.190–198.

was significant enough to be included, the rationale behind the mapping of the world and North-East Asia can be assessed. Asia looks as it does because that is precisely how the cartographer wished it to look: those features over all others.

Psalter's exact function and audience are also uncertain, partly because its presence in a book of psalms, a manuscript with the purpose of personal religious contemplation, is unique.¹⁷ However, it seems reasonable to assume that the map was meant to support the liturgical, devotional purposes of the psalter and to reinforce a message of God's greatness, especially as the map appeared near the manuscript's beginning, priming the reader for engaging with the psalms. Psalms provided and structured people's daily liturgy, so psalters were regularly consulted books closely related to their users' relationship with God.¹⁸ Psalters could be part of communal worship but were often used in private devotion as prayer books which could be tailored to personal interests.¹⁹ The presence of the maps and the liturgical content of many of the psalms suggests that whoever owned the *Psalter* manuscript was interested in geography. Psalters also contained calendars, canticles and litanies, and were often richly decorated; this is the case for *Psalter*'s book, which includes a calendar, the litany and many miniatures and decorated initials, including a miniature of the Virgin and Child, and David harping.²⁰

The manuscript's litany and illustrations offer evidence for its original commissioner and owner. The exact audience is harder to gauge. The manuscript's tiny size and the personal nature of a psalter make it likely that, at any one time, the book and map had one reader rather than a larger audience. While the psalms could be read aloud communally, it would be hard for more than one person to properly and simultaneously engage with the tiny map. However, this does not preclude that at

¹⁷ Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 13; Van Duzer, 'Psalter', 179.

¹⁸ Lesley Smith, 'Books of Theology and Bible Study', in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 194; Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 265.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Solopova, 'The Liturgical Psalter in Medieval Europe', in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. Susan Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 89–90; Nicolas Bell, 'Liturgical Books', in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 175–77.

²⁰ Solopova, 'Liturgical Psalter', 89–91, 94–96; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 82–83; Dormer, 'Virgin and Child'.

any given period, the map and manuscript had multiple users accessing it at different times. The exact number of people who consulted *Psalter* is unknowable and to an extent peripheral to the present analysis; what matters is that reading was a private, contemplative act, and that at any one moment the audience was likely singular. A more exact understanding of precisely who accessed *Psalter* could lend further nuance to its analysis. Nevertheless, there is sufficient known or inferable information that an examination of *Psalter*'s content, likely audience and likely reception can proceed, especially as regards the map's commissioner. The psalter's litany is Benedictine and St Benedict appears at the top of its list of confessors; furthermore, a donor figure accompanying Psalm 101 appears to be a Benedictine monk (Figure 3.2).²¹ These features imply a Benedictine owner, or someone with connections to or interest in the order. This suggests an educated audience primed to receive messages about God's protective power, who moreover would have familiarity with features such as Gog and Magog's enclosure. The map and manuscript are extensively decorated luxury objects, pointing to a desire to venerate God through art. *Psalter*'s city symbols, for instance, are gold, as is the Benedictine monk's background.²² The luxury aesthetics of the map and manuscript do not reveal *Psalter*'s purpose, but do situate it in a material context of venerating God's creation.

The maps were likely an extension of the manuscript's devotional purposes; *Psalter*, like the psalms, helped its users worship God as they reflected on his works. As noted above, scholars have found links between the *mappaemundi* and the geographically-weighted psalms.²³ This link indicates a synoptic relationship between maps and text, hinting at the intention of including a *mappamundi* in a psalter. The maps contextualise the places and ethos of the psalms, illustrating locations and themes in these texts and the nature of God's plan. For example, Psalm 68 opens with a historiated initial depicting Jonah being swallowed by the whale, echoing the psalm's water imagery. Jonah's tale includes the city of Tharsis,

²¹ Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 83; Dormer, 'Virgin and Child', 167.

²² Brott, 'Geography of Devotion', 214 remarks on the extensive use of gold.

²³ Brott, 211–12, 215–16, 220–23; Van Duzer, 'Psalter', 184; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 83. Van Duzer notes, for instance, the inclusion of Psalm 90.13, which describes God defeating evil; Psalm 64.6, which describes God as the hope for the whole world; and Psalm 21.28, which describes the ultimate conversion of all peoples of the earth to Christianity. As noted above, these psalm numbers refer to Douay-Rheims.

present on the list map.²⁴ Simultaneously, the psalms provide meaning and symbolic weight to the map, investing it with divine authority. The map's location in a small, personal book provided a customisable, intimate, active reading as the user could move between map and psalms in an order of their choosing.²⁵ The manuscript contains no historical or geographical texts which *Psalter* could have illustrated, suggesting the map was not meant to educate about geography for geography's sake alone.²⁶ Rather, the cartographic content is a didactic tool, its purpose bound with the psalms. North-East Asia was part of this spiritual programme, existing within two Christianising contexts: the moralising principles of a *mappamundi* and a broader devotional experience. *Psalter*'s Asia is hence just one facet of a large apparatus which aimed to explain the earthly and spiritual nature of existence in a way which reaffirmed the order and power of Christianity. These themes become more apparent when analysing North-East Asia, the map's didactic aims made pressing by ongoing concerns over the Mongols and Holy Land.

Historical Context – Fears of Mongols and Muslims

The military and psychological impact of the Mongol invasions of the 1240s echoed into the 1260s. Over the 1240s, 1250s and 1260s, information about the Mongols spread over Europe. Letters from the frontline of the invasions circulated in Latin Europe and were reproduced in chronicles such as the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, while Franciscan missions provided detailed, eyewitness accounts of these peoples. Chronicles of the 1260s continued to describe the terror and threat posed by the Mongols. *Psalter* and its North-East Asia, therefore, were produced in two important contexts. The cartographer used classical nomenclature when new information had been circulating for the previous two decades, leading to a contrast between the map's neoclassical worldview and the contemporary geographical knowledge of texts. Secondly, *Psalter* was drawn in an atmosphere of concern over a threat from North-East Asia. While the absence of firm information about the

²⁴ Brott, 'Geography of Devotion', 219. The initial is on f.82v.

²⁵ Brott, 222.

²⁶ See British Library Catalogue entry for the Map Psalter, Add MS 28681 for full collation and contents. Accessible online at: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=IAMS_VU2&docId=IAMS032-002020101&fn=permalink

cartographer's identity makes it difficult to prove that the map's maker had direct access to information about the Mongols (or the Crusades, discussed below), this section presents a range of the many texts which proclaimed concern about the Mongols and Holy Land, demonstrating common ideas about Asia in England in the 1260s. Rather than providing direct evidence for the circumstances of the map's production, this section aims to provide indirect evidence for its creation and reception by establishing the contemporary atmosphere and circumstances.

Latin information about the Mongols was characterised by shock, fear and images of barbarianism, evident in historical, ethnographic, documentary and epistolary sources which attacked the Mongols.²⁷ For example, the *Chronica Majora* preserves letters (1243) to the Bishop of Bordeaux from Ivo of Narbonne, a former envoy to Hungary, describing the Mongols using exaggerated tropes of the brutal barbarian: they ate human flesh; committed atrocities like mutilating prisoners of war; were lawless; seized young women; and were generally savage sub-humans.²⁸ Paris described the Mongols as cruel inhumans, comparing Hungary and Dacia in the aftermath of their destruction to deserts.²⁹ On a similar theme of destruction, a 1240 entry in the Tewkesbury Annals described "about thirty thousand or more" Tartars who "laid waste to all the provinces through which they made their passages".³⁰ A 1244 entry in the Burton Annals recorded how "the furious rage of the Tartars had

²⁷ Many scholars have analysed thirteenth-century European descriptions of the Mongols as barbarians. See, for instance, Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 78–79; Sardelić, 'Emotions in the Eurasian Steppe', 499–502; Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 11–13; Paviot, 'England and the Mongols', 307–8; Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 139, 206; Jones, 'Image of the Barbarian', 399; Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 285; Giffney, 'Monstrous Mongols', 232–35; Geraldine Heng, 'Jews, Saracens, "Black Men", Tartars: England in a World of Racial Difference', ed. Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 247–50, 261–64; Zsuzsanna Papp, 'Tartars on the Frontiers of Europe: The English Perspective', *Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University Budapest* 11 (2005): passim; Peter Jackson, 'The Testimony of the Russian "Archbishop" Peter Concerning the Mongols (1244/5): Precious Intelligence or Timely Disinformation?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26, no. 1–2 (2016): passim.

²⁸ Paviot, 'England and the Mongols', 305; Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 285–87; Sardelić, 'Emotions in the Eurasian Steppe', 503; Giffney, 'Monstrous Mongols', 234–35; Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora Vol. IV: A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (London: Longman, 1877), 272–77.

²⁹ Giffney, 'Monstrous Mongols', 233–34; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora Vol. III*, 639.

³⁰ Henry Richards Luard, ed., 'Annales Monasterii de Theokesberia', in *Annales Monastici Volume 1: Annales de Margan (AD 1066–1232), Annales de Theokesberia (AD 1066–1263), Annales de Burton (AD 1004–1263)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 118. "ad xxx milia milium et amplius; Vastaverunt omnes provincias per quas transitum faciebant".

struck the whole of the East with multiple scourges and terrors”.³¹ Another 1244 entry recorded Innocent IV organising the Council of Lyons, one aim of which was “finding a remedy against the Tartars and other despisers of the Christian faith”; the Mongols were quickly perceived as a threat which needed countering through spiritual, not just military, means.³² Letters and manuscripts produced over Europe soon after the Mongol invasions recorded and communicated the ferocity of the Tartars and the need to counter them.

Negative depictions of the Mongols continued into the 1250s when travellers began writing eyewitness accounts. Such accounts, while not directly influencing *Psalter*’s production, indicate contemporary attitudes to the Mongols, particularly persistent fear and dislike of an apparently savage people. Carpini recorded aspects of Mongol law: they did not see it as sinful to kill or steal, but punished touching fire with knives.³³ Moreover, he described a Russian duke being savagely beaten then beheaded for refusing to bow to Batu Khan.³⁴ Latin writers also denounced Mongol religion; ideas of ‘pagan’ and ‘barbarian’ were closely related.³⁵ The frequent observation of Mongol ‘idolatry’, seen as evil, foolish and hubristic, reinforced ideas of their barbarianism.³⁶ For instance, Carpini and Rubruck described Mongol ‘idols’. Carpini recorded, in his chapter on Mongol worship, that they made and worshipped silk or felt idols.³⁷ Rubruck wrote that in one steppe region “all are devoted to idolatry, and they tell fables of the many gods and some deified men”.³⁸ He recorded practices around these idols, including bowing towards and sprinkling drink near them.³⁹ The friars linked the Mongols with immorally worshipping false, artificial gods and daring to elevate humans to godhood, clear signs for Latins of barbarianism. While, as seen in Chapter 2, the friars’ accounts produced slightly more rounded

³¹ Henry Richards Luard, ed., ‘Annales Monasterii Burtonensis’, in *Annales Monastici Volume 1: Annales de Margan (AD 1066–1232), Annales de Theokesberia (AD 1066–1263), Annales de Burton (AD 1004–1263)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 258. “desaeviens rabies siquidem Tartarorum totam Orientalem plagam flagella multiplici et terrore concussit”.

³² Luard, 263. “inveniri remedium contra Tartaros et alios contemptores fidei Christianae”.

³³ John of Plano Carpini, ‘Ystoria Mongalorum’, 40–41.

³⁴ John of Plano Carpini, 38.

³⁵ See Chapter 1.

³⁶ Camille, *Gothic Idol*, passim; Lipton, ‘Christianity and Its Others’, 424–25.

³⁷ John of Plano Carpini, ‘Ystoria Mongalorum’, 36–45.

³⁸ William of Rubruck, ‘Itinerarium’, 237. “omnes ydolatrie dedite; et fabulantur multitudinem deorum et quosdam homines deificatos”.

³⁹ William of Rubruck, 175.

descriptions of the Mongols with details such as their domestic arrangements, such travellers' texts about "these barbarians" in the 1250s still centred around them as brutal and morally flawed, indicating continued Latin hostility.⁴⁰

English texts of the 1260s similarly portrayed the Mongols as a severe threat to Latin lands and Christianity. The *Flores Historiarum*, a continuation of a work started by Matthew Paris, described a Templar arriving in London from the Holy Land in 1260 bearing letters detailing the Mongol capture of Christian territory there.⁴¹ A clerk's letter (1261) to Henry III relayed news from the king of France who had sent messengers to the pope stating "that he will powerfully oppose the ferocity of the Tartars and other enemies of God and the Church".⁴² The Burton Annals reproduced a letter (1261) from the Grand Master of the Templars to the Master of the House of the Temple in England, describing "the unknown, terrible and awe-inspiring advent of the Tartars", relaying their savagery and explaining "hence it is that they are supported by such great numbers and by such great power, and with such ease submit provinces to their master with no distinction, because no-one can resist their strength."⁴³ The letter closed with a call for military and financial support, or "all of Christianity on this side of the ocean [Outremer] will be brought under their dominion".⁴⁴ Another letter from 1261 in the Burton Annals, from Pope Alexander IV to the Archbishop of Canterbury, described the invasions of Islamic lands, Hungary and Poland, arguing the Mongols "ascribe to themselves the monarchy of the whole world".⁴⁵ This references Mongol beliefs around the god Tengri, who enabled and willed the Mongols' world conquest.⁴⁶ The hint of Mongol imperial ideology indicates that even as Christians learned more about them, new knowledge was still couched

⁴⁰ William of Rubruck, 188. "*istos barbaros*".

⁴¹ Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Flores Historiarum Vol. II: A.D. 1067-A.D. 1264* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), 451–52.

⁴² Pierre Chaplais, ed., *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office Volume I: 1101-1272* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), 234. "*quod ferocitati Tartarorum et aliorum Dei et ecclesie inimicorum occurreret prepotenter*".

⁴³ Luard, 'Burtonensis', 491–92. "*incognitum Tartarorum adventum terribilem et tremendum*"; "*Hinc est quod idem tanta et tam incredibili numerositate atque potentia fulciuntur, et tanta facilitate domino suo subiciunt provincias indistincte, quod nullus eorundem resistere potest viribus*".

⁴⁴ Luard, 494. "*tota Christianitas cismarina ipsorum dominio subjugabitur*".

⁴⁵ Luard, 495–96.

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Paul D. Buell and Judith Kolbas, 'The Ethos of State and Society in the Early Mongol Empire: Chinggis Khan to Güyük', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26, no. 1 (2016): 49–50, 56; Herbert Franke, *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yüan Dynasty* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 15–16, 19–20.

in fear. Alexander believed the Mongols to be “a scourge of Heavenly wrath”, a punishment “against the sins of the human race”. He called for diligence, security and further councils to combat the Mongol threat.⁴⁷

The views of elites such as kings, popes and archbishops cannot be taken as entirely illustrative of a general popular understanding, but these historical works and letters demonstrate that the Mongols, news of whom circulated over the courts of Europe, were known and feared. It is likely that such information became known to other social strata, especially to someone literate and well-informed like *Psalter*’s owner. Moreover, English responses entered the religious fabric of day-to-day life. At a council in Lambeth in 1261, requested by Alexander IV, English bishops and archbishops ordered the population to engage in “processions and fasting and other works of piety of this kind” to appease the wrathful God; the council also had news circulated about Mongol violence.⁴⁸ In England, the Mongols were experienced as a political and religious crisis, and it is very likely that *Psalter*’s maker and owner of *Psalter* knew of the Mongol threat. The map’s North-East Asia was made and received against a backdrop of peril stemming from this part of the world, still providing insecurity two decades after the first invasions. The view of the Mongols as an instrument of God’s wrath, moreover, places tension at the heart of *Psalter*’s depiction of God the protector. On the map, he protects the whole world, could also send scourges to punish sin. The Mongols prompted fear while reminding people of the need to remain pious.

This need for piety was especially important in the 1260s considering the state of the Holy Land, with which the Mongols had become embroiled. The Holy Land remained a concern for England in the time of *Psalter*, on which North-East Asia supported Christian hopes of triumph and recovery. Several English texts recorded the Khwarazmian capture of Jerusalem (1244) as a consequence of Mongol warfare.⁴⁹ *Flores* entries for 1244 and 1245 noted that the Mongols had driven the Khwarazmians westwards, and that no-one could come from the Holy Land to the

⁴⁷ Luard, ‘Burtonensis’, 495–96. “*flagellum irae caelestis; adversus peccata humani generis*”.

⁴⁸ Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. II*, 471–72. “*processiones et jejunia ac alia hujusmodi pietatis opera*”. See also Paviot, ‘England and the Mongols’, 307–8; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 95.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 1 for a timeline of major thirteenth-century events in the Holy Land.

council of Lyons “because of the devastations of the Tartars and the Khwarazmians”.⁵⁰ A 1244 letter in the Burton Annals from the patriarch of Jerusalem to Innocent IV similarly described how the Tartars attacked the Khwarazmians, who then turned to Jerusalem.⁵¹ By the 1260s, crusading and the Holy Land were still an English concern. A 1261 letter from Florent, bishop of Acre, beseeched Henry III to resume the aid he had been sending; another letter to him, from 1263, described Mongol attacks: “the Christian population of Outremer was frequently struck with the thunder of fear and lightning of menaces”.⁵² Interest in defending and reconquering the Holy Land persisted throughout thirteenth-century England, including crusades led by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1240-1241 and William Longsword in 1247-1249, which included many nobles such as Simon de Montfort and Robert de Vere.⁵³ Henry III took the cross in the 1250s, although domestic and more local foreign policy in Gascony and Castille prevented his crusading.⁵⁴ Moreover, ideas and news about the Holy Land spread around thirteenth-century England, including in letters, literature and sermons; relics also arrived from the Levant.⁵⁵ The Holy Land was distant geographically but not emotionally from England during *Psalter*’s time.

The concern for maintaining existing Levantine lands and recovering lost ones provides important context for *Psalter*’s depictions of a protector God and universal Christianity. The relationship of the Mongols and the Holy Land also has ramifications for how the cartographer framed North-East Asia through Gog and Magog, a hostile people whom God would defeat; recent history had demonstrated to the Latins that a savage, nomadic people from North-East Asia had led to Christian setbacks and losses in the Holy Land. If a map could contain this kind of fierce Asian nomad, it could provide solace for the theological, geopolitical situation.

⁵⁰ Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. II*, 272, 292. “*propter Tartarorum et Chorosminorum vastationem*”.

⁵¹ Luard, ‘Burtonensis’, 258. Weiler notes several other letters, such as from Emperor Frederick II and the master of the Knights Hospitaller, detailing this event and noting a correlation between the Mongols attacking the Khwarazmians, and then the Khwarazmians attacking Jerusalem. Weiler, ‘Matthew Paris on the Writing of History’, 265.

⁵² Chaplais, *Diplomatic Documents*, 241, 264. “*christianum populum cismarinum pluries et timoris concussit tonitruis et comminationum fulguribus*”.

⁵³ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 87–88, 109.

⁵⁴ Tyerman, 111–17.

⁵⁵ Tyerman, 94; Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 2–3, 33–35, 64. One such relic included an imprint of Christ’s foot.

Gog and Magog

Gog and Magog's enclosure (Figure 3.3) reminded viewers about God's plan for the world and the Christian triumph at the Apocalypse, demonstrating this chapter's themes of *Psalter's* divine landscape overseen by a protecting God. It is also possible that Gog and Magog's presence provided solace for ongoing difficulties like the Mongol invasions and Islamic control of Jerusalem, and that the prominence of the enclosure reflects a change in principle about mapping Asia as historical circumstances developed.

Figures 1.2 and 3.3 show the enclosure occupying much of northern Asia. Its size immediately indicates the area's importance, which was clearly meant to be heeded. The cartographer could have chosen a smaller area or thinner walls, but opted for a developed, prominent enclosure, strongly suggesting it was meant to have a pronounced impact on the reader's ideas of North-East Asia. A large, rounded mountain range, with gates at the west, seals the land from the rest of the world and recalls the man-made and God-made fortifications of legend. Due to its size, *Psalter* provides the least textual information of the maps. The entirely visual depiction requires that the viewer knows that this wall indicates a wealth of biblical and literary content, something fair to assume of a wealthy, literate Benedictine owner. The unlabelled fortification, a unique presence on the map, probably provided adequate indication of the stories it represented. Awareness of the legend indicates that this land is one of evil peoples once contained by God; the gate, that at some point these peoples will escape; the prominent Christ, that they will be defeated.

The gate at the west of the mountains provides further associations with the Apocalypse and Alexander, and its contrast with Noah's Ark presents scenes of different points in time to illustrate God's will and humanity's salvation. The gate reminds viewers that the apocalyptic hordes would one day exit these fortifications and march towards Christian lands. Of the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*, *Psalter's* enclosure is unique in having a gate – a feature designed to be passed through – as opposed to unbroken mountains and solid walls. *Psalter's* enclosure, therefore, has a distinct liminality; the gate is closed but nonetheless exists, showing security now while hinting that forces will one day leave this land, establishing

tension between what *is* and what *will be*. Simultaneously, the proximity of one of Christ's attendant angels suggests that this future violence is nonetheless part of the divine plan, alleviating this tension by situating it in God's protective power.

The gate's western location also makes it face Noah's Ark, providing a complex temporality and mirroring of imagery. Both tales, of Noah's Ark and the Apocalypse, near the beginning and end of time, concern destruction followed by redemption, as willed by God, his plan manifesting similarly over time. The Ark prefigures the apocalypticism represented by Gog and Magog, an idea expressed in the Bible. Passages such as Matthew 24:37, Luke 17:26 and 2 Peter 3:5-7 linked Noah's time and the end times, presenting the Flood as a precursor to the Apocalypse; both were destructive but cleansing events followed by salvation.⁵⁶ The cartographer compressed these past and future parallels into a single space expressing multiple points of theologically significant time.

This demonstrates the complex layering and function of time in *mappaemundi*; the temporality goes beyond a simple linear timeline and contents from contemporary, historical and future periods. What is significant is not just the presence of individual features from past, present and future, a presence which scholarship emphasises in demonstrating the multi-temporal nature of *mappaemundi*. Such scholarship mentions these features and usually observes the chronological progression from east to west, but does not assess any further symbolic interdependence.⁵⁷ However, a consideration of the juxtaposition of the Ark with Gog and Magog reveals not atomised inclusions, but thematic interactions between temporally different features. The Ark and enclosure appear not as discrete features from different periods to be considered separately, but as interlinked phenomena prompting reflection on God's plans for and actions within worldly time. This scene demonstrates how North-East Asia acted as a canvas for Christian ideas about God's power now, then and forever,

⁵⁶ Matthew 24:37 – “But as the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.”; Luke 17:26 – “And as it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.”; 2 Peter 3:5-7 – “For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water: whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished: but the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.”

⁵⁷ See, for instance, Denisov, ‘Scythia’, 73; Scafi, ‘Defining Mappaemundi’, 347–48; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, passim, esp. 140–44; Woodward, ‘Reality, Symbolism’, 514–16.

a space where the cartographer could map important ideas and narratives which articulated the salvation of humanity. Asia, through Gog and Magog, became a site through which *Psalter* explained the divinely ordained space and time of the world.

While, as argued below, the cartographer did not visually depict North-East Asia as particularly different or inferior through urbanism or barbarianism, the enclosure nonetheless provided assurances of Christian victory over powerful forces from the east. Produced in the 1260s, shortly after the Mongol invasions of Europe and losses in the Holy Land, *Psalter* would have provided moral solace about spiritual Christian victories as the reader engaged in devotional practice in the wake of earthly Christian defeats. It is also possible that Gog and Magog evoked the Mongols; as destructive eastern horseback barbarians, Gog and Magog could have provided relevant imagery. Indeed, for some Latin Christians, the Tartars and Enclosed Nations were one and the same.

Each *mappamundi* can be situated in a long tradition of Gog and Magog's use as a recognisable, ideologically useful symbol, used to label contemporary foes and locate them in God's plan. This role was flexible: writers could compare foes to these people, conflate them, or provide some other link. Gog and Magog's apocalyptic savagery provided the basis for writers associating them with real, contemporary enemies, a well-established tradition by the thirteenth century. The Bible's ambiguity over Gog and Magog's exact nature, location, identification and number allowed different writers over history to label their contemporary foes as these people. This practice went back to the Old Testament. The biblical Gog and Magog could be equated with the enemies of Israel; Ezekiel's account of strong horseback armies bore similarities with Hebrew descriptions of Egyptians and Assyrians.⁵⁸ Using Gog and Magog to demonise enemies and champion the authors' own culture persisted because they were a helpful label for particularly challenging opponents, especially invading cavalry from the east. For Christian thinkers, Gog and Magog had useful ideological connotations as their existence was bound with God's victory over them, placing any enemies equated with them into the same scheme. Moreover, ambiguity

⁵⁸ Lydia Lee, 'The Enemies Within: Gog of Magog in Ezekiel 38–39', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 73, no. 3 (2017): passim, esp. 1–4.

about their nature made Gog and Magog multi-applicable, capable of being associated with different enemies over history; they were a reusable label.⁵⁹ Accordingly, writers over time like Josephus, Isidore and Pseudo-Methodius applied the term to different peoples from the east regarded as violent, such as the Goths, Scythians, Khazars and Arabs.⁶⁰ The early medieval *Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, for instance, argued that the Turks – a contemporary people considered barbarian – were descendants of Gog and Magog.⁶¹ There is no evidence that *Psalter*'s maker or audience had read texts such as these, but it is likely that a learned Benedictine could have been aware of the use of Gog and Magog as a smear for contemporary peoples. The long tradition of associating Gog and Magog with earthly enemies indicates that this association was an obvious possibility; for this trend to recur so much, it must have been a relatively clear step to take.

In thirteenth-century England, some writers including Matthew Paris and Roger Bacon (1250s and 1260s, respectively) associated Gog and Magog with the Mongols, indicating that at the time of *Psalter*'s production ecclesiastical thinkers were linking the two groups. Bacon and Paris, using accounts and letters from the Mongols' victims, presented the Mongols through fear, polemic and stereotyping, rather than offering the more rounded profile possible for someone such as Rubruck who had travelled among them. They also wrote from ecclesiastical backgrounds, Paris as a Benedictine and Bacon as a Franciscan, making a religious interpretation of the Mongol invasions more likely.⁶² Paris linked the Mongols with Gog and Magog in a map of the Holy Land and the *Chronica Majora*. The map (Figure 3.4), from the 1250s, includes in the north-east an enclosure in which Paris wrote: "This land is far away toward the northeast. Here remain the rows of ships where King Alexander enclosed Gog and Magog. From here came those people called Tartars".⁶³ Paris

⁵⁹ Doufikaar-Aerts, 'Crossing Borders', 390–92; van Donzel and Schmidt, *Early Syriac and Islamic Sources*, 12–16; Mirko Sardelić, 'Images of Eurasian Nomads in European Cultural Imaginary in the Middle Ages', in *Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and Their Sedentary Neighbours: Papers of the 7th International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe*, ed. Hao Chen (Szeged: Studia Uralo-Altaica 53, 2019), 270–71.

⁶⁰ Westrem, 'Gog and Magog', 57–59; Scherb, 'Assimilating Giants', 59–62; Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 8.

⁶¹ Shanzer, 'Cosmographia', 472–73.

⁶² Power, 'Last Days', 135, 138–39.

⁶³ "Ceste terre est loing vers bise. Ci mainnent les nefz lignees ke li rois Alisandre enclot Gog e Magot. De ci vindrent celes gentz kem apele Tartarins." Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 507, note 65 for Anglo-French; 349 for Lewis' English translation.

thus linked the biblical Gog and Magog with Alexander's enclosed nations with the Mongols. In the *Chronica Majora*, Paris reproduced, without challenging, Ivo of Narbonne's description of the Mongols as "satellites of Antichrist", giving the Mongols a similar role to that which Revelation attributed to Gog and Magog.⁶⁴ While Paris did not explicitly call the Mongols Gog and Magog, the *Chronica* implied a similarity in their roles and significances. Bacon interpreted the contemporary trauma of the Mongol invasion through the Apocalypse, linking the Mongols with Gog and Magog. He argued that a people would emerge from the Caspian gates to serve Antichrist at the Apocalypse, claiming "the Tartars were inside these gates and have moved forth. Indeed, the gates are already broken".⁶⁵ Gog and Magog provided an intellectual tool with which writers could interpret ongoing crises such as the Mongol invasions, especially given the concordant circumstances of fierce eastern cavalry. These writers combined accounts of the Mongol invasion with their background and apocalyptic thought, concluding that this horde was Antichrist's army. In *Psalter's* day, Gog and Magog had potent, recognisable, relevant symbolism.

Did the cartographer, however, intend a link to be made, or go as far as Paris and Bacon and suggest that the Mongols were Gog and Magog? With the available evidence, this is impossible to answer. However, *Psalter's* closed gate and intact enclosure make it less likely that the cartographer believed Gog and Magog to be free. It would be misleading to extrapolate too much from the views of Bacon and Paris, two apocalyptically minded writers immersed in eye-witness sources about Mongol atrocities. They indicate one extreme interpretation of the Mongols, but cannot be taken as representative of a uniform English response.

Nevertheless, it is possible that the enclosure's prominence was related to *Psalter's* Mongol-influenced historical context. The common symbolism of Gog and Magog was of their defeat, a reminder of God's power which could prove morally helpful during crises. *Psalter's* readers did not necessarily need to believe that Gog and Magog were free – or that the Mongols were affiliated with them – to find the legend

⁶⁴ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* Vol. IV, 273. "satellitum Antichristi". See Chapter 1 pp.94-95 for Revelation and Gog and Magog.

⁶⁵ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 268–69. "Tartari fuerunt infra portas illas et exiverunt. Jam enim fractae sunt portae".

of their defeat reassuring. Even if an equation between these two groups cannot be stated with any certainty, the prominence of the enclosure and of the Mongols in contemporary thought make it fair to assume that the reader would have recognised a symbolic association between the two destructive North-East Asian peoples. *Psalter*'s enclosure could have evoked the idea of the Mongols, but more importantly it reminded its audience of the presence of God and the nature of his plan. There were earthly traumas from the east and in the Holy Land, and whether Gog and Magog were involved or not, the contrast of the enclosure against God and his angels demonstrated that the world was in good hands. Gog and Magog, and God's necessary triumph over them and the evil they represent, reinforce the contents of psalms such as 90.13, cited above, in which God victoriously tramples snakes. *Psalter* uses its earthly space to illustrate key themes and lessons of the manuscript's contents, particularly that of God as protector.

Compared with *Ebstorf*'s proportionally tiny, peripheral enclosure, that of *Psalter* looms much larger, conditioning readings of North-East Asia and the world. In the absence of contemporary texts explaining this decision, any conclusions relating this difference to the historical context must remain tentative. However, combined with the evil-defeating protector God, it is possible that the prolonged, profound panic caused by the Mongols prompted the cartographer to draw North-East Asia in a way that illustrated God's plan and eventual triumph. Views of the Mongols as instruments of God's wrath, and attempts to appease him through fasting and processions, indicate contemporary views of God as an active agent in earthly affairs. The cartographer's decision to draw the enclosure so prominently could hence have been an effort to demonstrate God's influence through his apocalyptic plan as a way of providing reassurance against the Mongols, representing contemporary fears and an attempt to allay them. Such a decision would indicate the historical contingency of *mappaemundi*; each document, despite sharing trends, was drawn in specific circumstances in different ways. Gog and Magog's apocalyptic savagery could provide solace that as the Mongols caused destruction and anxiety, everything was nevertheless happening as God willed it. Moreover, by prominently demonstrating that while evil existed it was overseen and contained by God's past, present and future action, *Psalter* relegated immorality to, and safely accommodated

it within, one portion of the map. This, by extension, allowed the rest of the map to project a uniformity and order, expressed through a universal, luxurious urbanism.

Urban Unity

Unlike *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, where the cartographers deliberately and visibly reduced the number of Asian cities, *Psalter*'s urban landscape is more uniform and universal. This advances the map's arguments of one united world under God, and makes noteworthy those patterns which *Psalter* shares with the larger *mappaemundi*, such as the treatment of Arabia.⁶⁶

	Asia	Europe	Africa	Total
<i>Ebstorf</i>	164 (36.36%)	250 (55.43%)	37 (8.20%)	451
<i>Psalter</i>	42 (50.60%)	29 (34.94%)	12 (14.46%)	83
<i>Hereford</i>	135 (33.01%)	226 (55.26%)	48 (11.74%)	409

Table 3.1: Numbers and percentages of cities on the maps by continent.

Table 3.1 and Figure I.2 demonstrate a relatively even worldwide urban distribution. Europe, with about a third of the cities, is slightly more proportionally urban than its size; Africa, much less, due to environmental logic which precluded cities in its deserts.⁶⁷ Asia occupies half the world and contains half its cities spread over different regions; nowhere is visibly over- or under-urbanised. The world's cities are distributed evenly, with few packed or sparse areas. There is empty space in the Sahara (Figure I.2, bottom-right) and deserts south of the Red Sea (top-right), providing an environmental realism which lent authority to the map's urban visions. Some regions like France and Mesopotamia have clusters of cities, but essentially no area is disproportionately cited or not.

Table 3.2 illustrates this for Asia. Each region has several cities from classical sources or elsewhere. India has Pabibora and Nisapi, alternate forms of the Palibothra and Nysa in Pliny and Solinus. Mesopotamia has Babylon and Nineveh,

⁶⁶ The next section discusses Arabia, p.198.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 2 pp.120-121 for Africa.

named by Pliny and the Bible; Persia, Peliopolis and Pesiopolis, both perhaps variations of Persepolis, recorded by Pliny, Orosius and Isidore. Where there are omissions, in most regions spatial limitations are the likely cause; there is little room to include more, and any omissions do not make Asia disproportionately non-urban.⁶⁸

Region	Total Number of Cities
Arabia	0
Armenia	2
Asia Minor	3
Egypt	7
Hyrkania	5
India	5
Levant	10
Mesopotamia	5
Parthia, Persia and Media	3
Scythia	0
Seres	0
Syria	2
Total	42

Table 3.2: *Psalter's* Asian cities by region.

There are exceptions to this mostly uniform distribution. Arabia, Scythia and the Seres are entirely non-urban.⁶⁹ The Levant is the most densely urban region, reflecting how cities could indicate significant areas; it is also appropriate that, in a psalter, the biblical landscape should be shown in detail. Most surprising are the five Hyrcanian cities within the lands of Gog and Magog (Figure 3.3).⁷⁰ Universal

⁶⁸ See Appendices 1 and 3 for these mapped cities, the classical sources, and those which did not get included.

⁶⁹ See the next section, 'Mapping Absence', pp.198-203.

⁷⁰ Carnis, Ciropolis, Licia, Octogora, Saphri. Carnis (an amended form of Carris), Octogora (an amended form of Ottogorro) and Saphri are from Orosius. Ciropolis and Licia are from another source, perhaps the Bible: they are not specific enough to certainly narrow down to any particular text.

urbanism comprised not only mapping classically urban regions such as Persia and India with a proportionate number of cities to their size, but also extending urbanism to North-East Asia, a region not traditionally associated with cities.⁷¹

This dense Hyrcanian urbanism has two impacts. It suggests how urbanism – symbolically related to the Kingdom of Heaven – and hence the Church could extend all over the world. By mapping North-East Asia with cities, the cartographer subverted expectations to illustrate a point about God’s oversight of the whole world. However, these cities’ presence within the enclosure, associated with apocalyptic barbarians, taints them morally. The cities’ potentially civilising presence becomes subordinated to fierce forces, and the symbolism of Gog and Magog was so recognisably evil that anything within their land becomes sinful by association. Despite the ostensibly even spread of urbanism, therefore, *Psalter* argues that not all cities are created equal. Some, as engaged reflection on *Psalter*’s contents would reveal, are tainted by evil forces. The psalter itself reminds its audience of the need for close, considered inspection of the world; the historiated initial opening Psalm 26 has a man pointing at his eye, indicating the importance of sight in interpreting God’s creation.⁷² *Psalter*’s images are less explicit than *Ebstorf* or *Hereford*’s, where size allowed blunt depictions of Scythian savagery. Instead, *Psalter* more subtly presented a superior form of Latin urbanism by making its reader reflect on a given city’s context. The cartographer did so by altering available information. While *Psalter*’s North-East Asia stems largely from Orosius, who named several Hyrcanian cities, this urbanism is moderated by the theological significance of the space, an innovative development of Orosius’ text by the cartographer. The cartographer reinterpreted Orosius to associate his cities with Gog and Magog, while also innovatively presenting cities within the enclosure. Neither of these adaptations occur on *Ebstorf* or *Hereford*, illustrating how *Psalter*’s cartographer uniquely adapted information. This is one neoclassical element of *Psalter*: reworking available knowledge to produce an argument relevant for the map’s moralising.

⁷¹ See passim throughout this thesis, such as ‘Defining North-East Asia’, discussions of the Mongols, and *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*’s urbanism in North-East Asia, for perceptions of this region as non-urban.

⁷² Brott, ‘Geography of Devotion’, 216. This initial is on f.39v.

The enclosed cities reflect the ideology behind *Psalter's* universal urbanism; even as Asia was mapped with cities, these cities carried symbolic weight designed to champion Christianity. Asian urbanism did not simply reflect a desire to produce a fair-handed geographical work which faithfully reproduced classical notions of Asia's cities; this urbanism served Christian ends appropriate to the psalter's devotional function. *Psalter's* more even urbanism relates to different aspects of the map's production and reception; the size dictated a more proportionately uniform distribution of cities, and this distribution supported the cartographer's didactic aims. The impact of urbanism reflects the combination of necessity and useful symbolism.

In the area of necessity, Europe's tiny size – a quarter of a small map – provided insufficient space to include many more cities, meaning it could not become disproportionately more urban. The mass of slightly smaller cities crammed together on *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* was not possible. Asia appears more proportionately urban for its size relative to the overall number of cities, because Europe could not be made disproportionately citted. Furthermore, on this small map, there was little room for recognisably different features such as animals or barbarians. While *Psalter* includes monsters, these are in the southern rim of the world, beyond the uninhabitable lands with no real bearing on human existence. Consequently, unlike on the larger *mappaemundi*, the cartographer did not need to make room in Asia for these exotic or savage features by omitting known cities, allowing for more cities to fill *Psalter's* landscape. *Psalter's* cities are simple shapes which were easier than any more complex imagery to include on a small map. Cities were a straightforward way to map space and imbue it with meaning; on a map which demanded economy in its inclusions, it is not surprising that these simple symbols are one of the most common features. Cities were one of the few tools at the cartographer's disposal.

However, there was also an ideological consequence of and impetus behind this urban distribution: a universal, uniform world under God, suitable for a psalter's didactic, devotional purposes. There is less evidence of the cartographer systematically omitting cities to minimise Asia's urbanism and increase its exoticism, as on *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, and while size necessitated greater selectivity in choosing cities, there were ideological, context-specific factors behind this choice. Practicality can only explain so much; having room for cities was by itself not a

strong enough reason to actually include them. Desert areas like the Sahara and lands south of the Red Sea show that the cartographer was content to map empty space. The cartographer could also have potentially used other simple, recognisable symbols to occupy space; Noah's Ark, for instance, is straightforward and clear. The option to include cities and inability to include more complex or detailed imagery, such as Scythians, does not translate to an imperative to include as many cities as *Psalter* does. Instead, these practical aspects relate to the map's purpose and arguments. *Psalter*, in a manuscript centred around one's devotional relationship with God, is less concerned with showing difference and division across the world, and hence less concerned with explicitly demonising and distancing North-East Asia through urbanism. While the cartographer did make North-East Asia antiquated and morally flawed, they did so in a subtle way which required close engagement with the map, reflecting a psalter's private meditative themes.⁷³ This map was not the public, overt propaganda of the larger *mappaemundi* which prominently decried Asian savagery. It was a private, contemplative map which, through reflection on the psalms and the image of Christ overseeing an essentially universally urban landscape, reinforced the sense of Christ the protector of one world.

This image of even urbanism relates to a contemporary idea: Christian universalism, an ideally worldwide Church which *Psalter*'s urban landscape promotes. Latin concerns over unity and heresy were significant in the thirteenth century. Innocent III (1198-1216) had asserted the importance of the Church as a single institution requiring unity for salvation and condemned dissenters near and far including Cathars and Nestorians. This attitude underpinned his reforms and empowering of the papacy, such as in Lateran IV (1215).⁷⁴ Furthermore, a precondition of the Apocalypse was completing the Apostolic Mission, converting all peoples of the world.⁷⁵ A fundamental tenet of Christianity was that 'Christendom' would be synonymous with the world's population.⁷⁶ Realising the universal Church was a

⁷³ This was achieved by, for instance, the presence of Gog and Magog, analysed above, and in the omission of the Seres and Scythians, discussed below pp.198-203.

⁷⁴ Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 175.

⁷⁵ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 206–8.

⁷⁶ I return to universalism in Chapter 5 (pp.290-296) in reference to Latin attitudes to Nestorian Christianity. On the idea of Latin Christianity's universal aspirations, see Henry Chadwick, 'Christian Doctrine', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 11; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 158; Hay, *Europe*, 17–21, 23–27, 33–34, 41–42; Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*, 2–3; Price,

“sacred mission” for Christianity, encompassing conversion and warfare against those deemed heretics, pagans or infidels.⁷⁷ Latin Christianity also developed Roman notions of imperialism, taking the idea of universal rule and symbols such as the orb and adapting them to the ideal of a worldwide Church.⁷⁸ Elites promoted this idea of universal Christianity from the top down, often in response to external crisis. In addressing the Mongol threat, Pope Alexander IV’s letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury entreated “let the powers of the Christian people be forged into one”, demonstrating the perceived need for spiritual unity.⁷⁹ Both psalter maps reflect this universal ideal. On *Psalter*, Christ oversees an entire world with contiguous continents which lack political borders; there are signs of neither political nor religious division.⁸⁰ On the verso, Christ embraces the whole world and all its populations and regions. These are divided by continent, but there are no explicit statements of difference. This is one world held by Christ, a suitable image for a devotional book in which one would reflect on God’s presence and power.

Psalter’s city icons reaffirm the unity and beauty of God’s world. The simple symbols stem from necessities of size, with space usually precluding detailed pictures, but this necessity still projects a sense of uniformity across the world’s cities, removing a potential source of division. Their simple form also highlights by contrast important political or moral sites; Figure 3.5 shows a grand Rome and Babel accompanied by its tower. These significant cities stand out from others, reflecting their role as a leading Christian force and epitome of sin respectively. The icons being gold heightens the luxury, the appearance of gold all over the earth highlighting the glory and beauty of God’s world while emphasising its nature as a unified creation.⁸¹ This reinforces important themes of *Psalter*, such as demonstrating God’s power and the ideal of the universal Christian community.

Medieval Thought, 24; Antony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 14–15, 87.

⁷⁷ Stone, ‘Medieval Mappaemundi’, 210–11.

⁷⁸ J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion Volume 3: The First Decline and Fall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99; Albu, *Peutinger Map*, 32–33.

⁷⁹ Luard, ‘Burtonensis’, 497. “*conflentur in unum vires populi Christiani*”.

⁸⁰ See the discussion of Arabia below (pp.198-199) and of Nestorianism in Chapter 5 (pp.290-296) for this lack of religious division.

⁸¹ Brott, ‘Geography of Devotion’, 214; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 83.

This universalist ideal and *Psalter*'s depiction of uniformity are striking when considering the *lack* of unity in mid-thirteenth-century Christianity. There were many contemporary external threats such as Mongols and Muslims, and Christianity was also known to be divided. Travellers' texts spread hostile views of Nestorians in Asia, while in France there were campaigns against the Cathars in the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries; such so-called heresies threatened notions of unity and the security it provided, as argued by Innocent III.⁸² There was also discontent *within* the Latin Church. In the 1240s and 1250s, English clergy resisted papal attempts to raise church taxes and divert funds and manpower from the Holy Land to crusades in Sicily against the Holy Roman Emperor; Walter Cantelupe, bishop of Worcester, petitioned Innocent IV in 1247, while Lincoln's high-status clergy sent a letter to Rome in 1256 objecting to the pope's plans.⁸³ Describing 1244, the *Flores* narrated how Innocent IV tried to "impudently export revenue" and intervene in Welsh and English politics on behalf of a Welsh prince who had fled to Rome.⁸⁴ The nobles of England, "detesting Roman avarice" impelled King Henry to ignore the pope.⁸⁵ External threats, sectarianism, and disputes within the Latin Church demonstrate that the notion of universalism was not always realised.

Psalter therefore projects an idealised mindscape set against often hostile divisions in reality. Its worldview rises above contemporary conflicts and crises, depicting a harmonious cosmography, except for Gog and Magog, whose sealed-away presence facilitates the urban uniformity seen elsewhere. In the absence of contemporary information about the cartographer, there is no evidence that they deliberately used *Psalter* to call for unity, but this remains one impact of the distribution and depiction of its cities. The manuscript context, however, can support a conclusion of a purposeful depiction of unity. The psalter includes Psalm 64.6, naming God as the hope for the entire world, and Psalm 21.28, foretelling the conversion of all peoples of the earth. These psalms reflect Christianity's aspirations to encompass all the world. *Psalter*'s urban distribution evokes the lessons expressed in its manuscript's liturgical purpose and priorities. The text in the

⁸² Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, 175; Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, 89.

⁸³ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 121.

⁸⁴ Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. II*, 284–85. "*redditus impudenter extorquere*".

⁸⁵ Luard, 28. "*Romanam avaritiam detestantes*".

manuscript preached a universal Church, while the map illustrated a world overseen by God, with golden cities extending everywhere. Text and image worked in tandem to project divine unity, the map visually representing ideals in the psalms. The map's argument, and the cartographer's intention, can hence be clarified by considering the context of *Psalter*'s reception and paratextual function. Moreover, it is possible to separate the map's reception and original purpose, to imagine how its owner could interpret the image of unity without definitively knowing *why* the cartographer drew the world in this way.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, with no contemporary texts about *Psalter*, any conjecture about its reception must remain tentative. It is possible, at least, to state the known conditions and draw a possible conclusion: there existed an ideal of universal Christianity which contemporaries advocated and the psalms espoused; *Psalter* shows a relatively uniform urban world; there was a backdrop of insecurity and tension. Considering these, it is fair to state that the map offers a uniform world under God in which universalism aligned with the aims of *mappaemundi*, if not with the contemporary atmosphere in international and ecclesiastical politics. Whether the cartographer meant to or not, *Psalter*'s size and choices in design present an ideal of one undivided world under God, with cities extending all over his creation. Urbanism helped this map in a devotional manuscript project harmony in contrast to the discontent and division of the world around it.

In its urbanism, *Psalter* displays the interaction between necessity and choice. Its size necessitated uniformity through simple city icons. The choice was made, however, to illuminate these icons, beautify the map and glorify cities, the world and God. Asia is an extension of this choice. It still exists within a heavily Christianised space, context and set of ideas, but unlike on the larger *mappaemundi* it is less distanced from Latin Europe. This reaffirms the diversity in thirteenth-century cartographic representations of Asia – its impact differed based on each map's constraints and priorities. *Psalter*'s cities do not always distance Asia from Europe, but incorporate it into a worldwide Christian space; the exception are the enclosed cities, ostensibly the same as elsewhere but on reflection morally compromised. The distribution of cities on *Psalter* reveals a different underpinning ideology of unity and

⁸⁶ On this notion of intended purpose and actual reception of medieval images, see Caviness, 'Reception of Images', 66–67.

divine splendour over the world. Creating Asia in an explicitly hostile, distancing way would be inappropriate for this aim. By mapping the cities of Asia, Europe and inhabitable Africa with the same iconography and along the same patterns, the cartographer presented a harmonious vision of divinely ordained unity and order, a paean to uniformity in God's creation at a time when national and international challenges proclaimed otherwise.

Mapping Absence

Psalter's urbanism also hides deliberate, powerful omissions – Arabia, the Seres, Scythia – within its ostensible even-handed treatment. The more proportionately urban Asia with no strikingly noticeable patterns of omission obscures choices which removed contemporary North-East Asian features, enemies of Christianity or other inappropriate content. Such manipulations of available information indicate a more subtle neoclassical treatment of Asia, one teased out through comparing what is shown to what might have been.

Arabia is worth addressing because it demonstrates a pattern of the cartographer removing sites for moral impact; enough instances of this targeted absence suggest a deliberate strategy of omitting locations which did not align with the map's aims. *Psalter* has no Arabian cities and lacks any pronounced peninsula (Figure 3.6). There is a vague extension of land into the Red Sea which could be inferred as Arabia, but there are no markers or cities, despite there conceivably being the potential space to fit in a recognisable landform, an Arabian city, or both. Arabia lacks not just the urbanism and wealth seen in Pliny and Solinus, but any clear definition.⁸⁷ It is understated to the point of omission, removing the home of an opposing religion from this map in a holy book. Arabia's pointed under-urbanism is even more striking in the face of *Psalter's* policy of including cities over the world, suggesting a deliberate effort to minimise Islam. *Psalter* remained above all a Christian cosmography. While Jerusalem was under Islamic control and England retained an interest in crusading, *Psalter* projected a reassuring world view in which this foe is ignored and there is no sign of struggle for the Holy Land. This illustrates

⁸⁷ See Chapter 2 p.126 for classical descriptions of Arabia.

the Christianising element of neoclassical cartography. A truly classical map would have endeavoured to reproduce all this antique knowledge, including sites which presented uncomfortable truths to Christian readers. However, in this psalter, cartography was not meant to present uncomfortable truths, but to spur reflection on God. Rather than try to map Arabia and Islam or even depict them negatively, the cartographer found it most expedient to overlook them. Classical knowledge was useful only insofar as it served Christian ends; here, the Christian end found it more helpful to omit Arabia.

A similarly appropriate omission were the Seres, a people whose importance classical and medieval authors reduced to wealth and exports.⁸⁸ *Psalter* has no “Civitas Seres”, an omission which is also unlikely due to space alone; there is room near Indian cities like Iazaron (Figure 3.7). Ignorance is not a likely explanation either; the Seres were present in each of the main classical sources. In nearby Hyrcania, Carnis, Octogora and Saphri indicate the use of Orosius, who names the Seres while describing east Asia.⁸⁹ While the reasons for the omission can only be speculative, it is possible that the Seres were not a priority or suitable subject for a map in a book about personal theological practice and God’s splendour. The Seres, unmentioned in the psalms, would shift attention to worldly desires in a way at odds with the divine nature of the map and manuscript; Asian silk and riches had little to do with the psalms or religious contemplation. North-East Asia was not a static, uniformly reproduced idea, but varied to suit each map’s background, location and purposes. This illustrates a neoclassical aspect of *Psalter*: in order to present an appropriate, divinely-centred worldview, the cartographer chose not to include certain established aspects of the classical world.

The main conspicuous absence in North-East Asia is of antique or contemporary earthly barbarians: there are neither Scythians nor Mongols. The absence of the Mongols aligns with *Psalter*’s neoclassical aims and strategies. There is no “Civitas

⁸⁸ See Chapter 2 pp.130-134.

⁸⁹ See Appendices 1 and 3. *Psalter*’s toponyms demonstrate some orthographic change (compare the map’s Carnis and Octogora with Orosius’ Carris and Ottogorro) but the forms are similar enough that the use of Orosius can be reasonably assumed, especially when taking into account the similarities between ‘n’ and ‘r’, and ‘c’ and ‘t’, in Gothic script. Moreover, only Orosius offers any toponyms which bear any resemblance to these sites on the map. For the Seres in Orosius, see Orosius 3.23.11.

Tartarorum” or similar, despite ample evidence that a cartographer in London in the 1260s would know of the Mongols.⁹⁰ This is perhaps an instance of the mapmaker omitting a contemporary people who posed a pronounced threat to Latin Christians. North-East Asia was easier to control, rationalise and accommodate within a Christianised landscape if cast in antiquated terms; contemporary threats such as the Mongols and Islam would challenge the ideal notion of God’s protected world. The classical element of neoclassical cartography addressed a current threat by not using contemporary frames of reference in Asia; antique knowledge proved to be safer and more readily controllable than accepting ongoing traumas. This contrasts with contemporary authors such as Paris, the Burton Annalist and the Franciscan travellers, who in describing the ‘real’ contemporary Asia reproduced fear and loathing of the uncontrollable, unpredictable Mongols. The absent Mongols contribute to a divine stasis, the world forever unchallenged by earthly opposition, perpetually overseen by God. Neoclassical cartography reflected the selective use of knowledge, interpreted through Christian priorities.

Also absent are the Scythians, who could have been reminiscent of the Mongols; both peoples represented the trope of the horseback North-East Asian barbarian. Their absence removes a potential earthly concern from this essentially divine landscape. The cartographer omitted the Pontic Scythian cities described by Pliny, identifiable from discussions above as a source for the map. As Figure 1.2 shows, while much of Scythia (west of the enclosure) is filled with mountains, rivers and text about the Amazons, there is conceivably room for a city. While the cartographer subverted expectations by including cities within the enclosure, they nonetheless adhered to contemporary views by not affording the nomadic Scythians any cities. Nor is there any caption naming this land; it is left to the viewer to interpret this region as Scythia. This is another example of the geography in *Psalter* not appearing for geography’s sake alone. This is a divine landscape untroubled by borders or human agency; what matters is unity under God, and the presence of theologically significant sites such as Eden, Jerusalem, Babel, Noah’s Ark, Gog and Magog’s enclosure, and Rome. Such sites facilitate spiritual rather than spatial orientation,

⁹⁰ See, for instance, discussions in Chapter 1 and the present chapter of English references to the Mongols over the 1240s, 1250s and 1260s.

encouraging viewers to consider how the space and time of the world fit into a divine plan. What matters less is the definition of regions like Scythia. Consequently, this space becomes incorporated into an argument about the form of the world in which Asia is not mapped for its own sake with its own identity. Scythia is not defined because such definition is extraneous to the map's limitations and priorities. Sometimes an important part of mapping Asia was its being represented in very sparse terms, given as much – or as little – detail as context demanded. On a little map in a psalter which emphasised the glory of God, Scythia had neither the space nor ideological urgency to be mapped with clear definition.

Likewise, there are no barbarians, again representing the relationship between necessity and impact. There was simply no room to draw recognisable Scythians, except perhaps the smallest, most basic ones at the expense of all other potential features there. This, given the other choices and divine framework apparent throughout the map and manuscript, would have been an unlikely decision. The main indication of barbarianism comes from the enclosure, which still colours the space as savage and evil, but does so through a biblical concept within God's plan, rather than through earthly human barbarians. Worldly Asian barbarianism – any aspect of human agency beyond cities – is lessened on *Psalter* largely by necessity.

However, the obligations from *Psalter*'s size align with its ideological context and function. The map is framed by unity and a gloriously triumphant God, which savage earthly forces in the form of Scythians would contravene. Moreover, the map's non-urban features are biblical in origin, such as Noah's Ark, the Rivers of Paradise and Gog and Magog.⁹¹ While some immoral features, like Babel and Gog and Magog, match the moralising construction of Asia as flawed, antique barbarians fall outside this scriptural content. Again, there was no definitive cartographic Asia; it was drawn to match each map's priorities. While similar themes, such as immorality, recur across the maps, manifestations of this flawed nature differ. This arises from the inclusion and exclusion of certain features, themselves stemming from the context of production. In *Psalter*'s case, this comprises what would fit spatially and symbolically. In its ordered, scriptural geography, the defeated, biblical Gog and

⁹¹ Brott, 'Geography of Devotion', passim, esp. 211–16.

Magog fit; savages at large from pagan texts do not. The psalter was used on a personal level, structuring how one would reflect on their relationship with God. Worldly concerns mattered less than divine structure, order and beauty. The map, made while the Mongols were a powerful threat, deals with barbarianism by largely overlooking it, relying instead on affirming God's might. *Psalter* again demonstrates an intersection of necessity and choice in its biblical landscape, the demands of a small map in a psalter harmonising with the desire to present a divine world untroubled by human barbarians.

Neoclassical cartography is evident in these cases. The cartographer selected from information, accommodating possible features within a Christianised cosmography. The otherwise extensive urbanism obscures such omissions, with strategic silences embedded within other inclusions. *Psalter's* small size means that spatial limitations, rather than cartographic decision, must always be assessed as a possible factor in omission. However, there are two responses to this. Firstly, as reception theory suggests, regardless of whether the cartographer *chose* to omit features like Arabia or simply had to for reasons of room, the visual, symbolic impact is the same: the reader always saw a lack of Arabia and the Seres, a fact not altered by the cartographer's intention. Secondly, *Psalter's* size notwithstanding, a vaguely defined Arabian peninsula or some city icons would not have been inconceivable – there is just enough room that the cartographer could have included these features if they had so chosen. The cartographer omitting certain features and prioritising others indicates a cartographic agenda demonstrated by other facets of *Psalter* and its manuscript context, particularly the paramount concern of presenting God and his divine, harmonious creation. Spatial limitations undoubtedly caused a tight shortlist of included content, but it remains significant that certain features did not make the cut, especially when their absence supports the map's ethos of a spiritual, God-driven world. Arabia and the Seres did not matter to the map's vision, the manuscript's liturgical purpose or the nature of the psalms; the reader would not use the psalter to learn about earthly riches or Christianity's contemporary earthly foes, but to learn more about God and his divine creation. *Psalter*, befitting its devotional context, affirms that what matters above all is God. There are no earthly contemporary foes, no material distractions. By removing Islam, the Seres, the Scythians and the Mongols, the cartographer constructed Asia on Christian terms to

Christian ends, choosing from classical knowledge to do so. Any unhelpful features were removed to leave only the divinely structured world, leaving a North-East Asia and global landscape which supported not only the map's Christianising, triumphalist arguments, but the messages and purposes of its devotional manuscript context.

Conclusion

Through the limitations of size, the symbolic impact of necessary decisions, and the cartographer's choices, *Psalter* presents North-East Asia as a region integrated within God's uniform creation, a land designed to serve Christian ends. As with the other *mappaemundi*, the cartographer did not work to accurately and faithfully recreate an Asia which matched known antique or contemporary information. Instead, they worked within the limiting factor of size to create a world and Asia which advanced the idea of a protector God and a prominent Latin Christianity, inside a manuscript context designed to promote devotion of this God and his world.

Because of the small size, *Psalter*'s cities are more evenly distributed, with cities covering most of the inhabitable world; there are also no scenes of barbarians. However, decisions demanded by size nonetheless served useful ends, presenting a world in which God's influence could extend over a world which rose above earthly crises such as barbarians. As well as these fortunate side-effects of choices necessitated by space, the cartographer made active decisions to advance their aims, often resulting in a North-East Asia which was more subtly mapped to Christian ends than in *Ebstorf* or *Hereford*. It was not essential to depict the cities in gold, or to draw Gog and Magog's enclosure so prominently. It was an innovation to combine information from the Gog and Magog legend and Orosius to have cities within this enclosure. It was a decision to omit the Seres, Arabia, the Scythians and the Mongols. None of these aspects of *Psalter* were made entirely necessary by size, and each contributed to the message of a protective God, appropriate for a devotional manuscript, which could provide solace during a difficult period.

Psalter's manuscript context required a more subtle Asia than on *Hereford* and *Ebstorf*. This was not a map meant to quickly communicate savagery in North-East Asia as bluntly as possible. Instead, *Psalter*'s meanings unfolded through

consideration of its features as part of an engagement with God. Many of *Psalter*'s features reflected and reinforced the psalms, the map's unique liturgical context. In the concern for spiritual over earthly matters; the powerful God triumphing over evil; and a uniform, universal creation, the map and texts worked together. *Psalter* and its North-East Asia can be understood as an extension of the manuscript's devotional, liturgical aims, the map illustrating and grounding in space the psalter's contents.

Nevertheless, while each *mappamundi*'s exact methods differed – particularly in the different urbanisms – each pursued similar goals of constructing and championing a divine landscape: prominently depicting God; glorifying Rome and Jerusalem; including religious features such as Gog and Magog and Noah's Ark. Each cartographer also worked to build an Asia suitable for Christian ends; despite *Psalter*'s greater degree of urbanism in Asia, for instance, the omission of Arabia and the Seres removed known Asian material to support the map's aims and contexts.

This is where the neoclassical element of *Psalter* is apparent and how it was helpful for a mid-thirteenth-century context. The old information, absent Mongols, and antiquating forces of Gog and Magog and the flow of world time make this a classical North-East Asia. The reworked information, such as Orosius, and absent Seres and Arabia illustrate the 'neo' factor: the purposeful manipulation of available knowledge to Christianise the landscape. At a time when Latin Christians were learning more about Asian geography, when Muslims and Mongols caused political and emotional traumas for Latin Christians, when English clergy bristled at the overreaching papacy, *Psalter* uses North-East Asia to construct a harmonious, idealised world rising above earthly violence and division, guarded by an ultimately victorious God.

Chapter 3 Figures



Figure 3.1: The list map in the Map Psalter. British Library, London. Add MS 28681, f.9v.



Figure 3.2: Kneeling Benedictine in the Map Psalter, f.118v.



Figure 3.3: Gog and Magog's enclosure, with Hyrcanian cities.



Figure 3.4: Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land, 1250-1259. British Library, London. MS Royal 14 C VII, f.4v. Available online through the [British Library](https://www.britishlibrary.org/). Enclosure circled top-left.



Figure 3.5: Babylon (top, marked "turre") and Rome (bottom) on *Psalter*.



Figure 3.6: Arabia on *Psalter*?



Figure 3.7: The top, far east, of *Psalter*, where the Seres could potentially fit.

Chapter 4 – Hereford: Confronting Savagery

Where *Psalter's* Gog and Magog indicate a contemporary response to Asia and the immediate shock of the Mongols, *Hereford* illustrates how five decades of trauma and challenges from Asia further shaped Latin representations of this land. By the time *Hereford* was made in the 1290s, the Mongols had been a traumatic eruption, a malign presence, and a capricious, often threatening potential ally. Like the other *mappaemundi*, *Hereford* uses North-East Asia to project Christian supremacy and divine order over the world and its challenges, including the continued Mongol presence and Christian defeats in the Holy Land. However, *Hereford* also displays the legacy of prolonged awareness of the Mongols. It shares with *Ebstorf* a bombastic, Christianising argument about God and his world, including similar reductions of Asian urbanism. Unlike *Ebstorf*, *Hereford* reflects how the Latin mindscape of Asia shifted over the thirteenth century. *Hereford's* Scythia is larger, closer, fiercer. Gog and Magog have a more clearly articulated apocalyptic role; their enclosure reflects the map's apocalyptic framing and could provide consolation for the loss of the Holy Land. Part of a pilgrimage in Hereford Cathedral, centred on the growing cult of Thomas Cantilupe, *Hereford's* apocalyptic motifs supported this architectural and devotional context. North-East Asia reinforced a multi-layered argument about God's power to a large audience.

By showing how *Hereford* differs from earlier *mappaemundi* in North-East Asia's shape, location and features, and by reflecting on the impact of the Mongols over the thirteenth century, this chapter argues for historical sensitivity in the production and reception of *mappaemundi*. While the influence of the Mongols on the cartographer can never be firmly proven, there are undoubtable differences between North-East Asia in *Hereford* and in earlier *mappaemundi*. The Mongol invasions represent the largest change in European interactions with and understandings of North-East Asia in this period. It is fair, then, to posit a link between the Mongols and *Hereford's* different North-East Asia, even as it retained antique nomenclature. *Hereford* displays the most pronounced neoclassical strategies of the *mappaemundi*, continuing with old terminology in the face of new information for the sake of control. Despite knowledge of the Mongols, the map persisted in including Scythia and the Scythians, a more dated, detached form of Asian barbarian which indirectly

acknowledged the Mongol presence and impact. After a century of loss and upheaval, the cartographer selected from antique sources, omitted contemporary terminology, and structured the world around God's ultimate victory. The map is an assertion of moral supremacy in a context of challenges.

To advance these arguments, this chapter proceeds in four parts. The first establishes *Hereford's* context. I present evidence indicating a date of the 1290s, then demonstrate how the map likely functioned as part of the nascent Cantilupe cult for pilgrims, providing moral orientation during a spiritual journey. Part of this orientation comprised the map's apocalyptic imagery and a unique portrait of St Augustine, which primed viewers for arguments about God's power and the moral, cultural superiority of Christianity. Such arguments were important given *Hereford's* historical background; the last Christian lands in the Holy Land were lost, while England under Edward I maintained interest in crusading. Here, the Mongols and the Holy Land intersected, with Edward courting the Mongols as potential allies against Muslim powers. However, diplomatic efforts between England and the Mongols were frustrated, and the Mongols were still perceived as fickle and sometimes barbarian. *Hereford* could provide spiritual solace in this difficult earthly situation.

The second part discusses urbanism. The cartographer systematically omitted known Asian cities, filling space which could have been urban with exotic or moralising scenes. Asia's landscape was constructed for Christian ends, not to present an 'accurate' version of the Asia of classical texts. In this urbanism, *Hereford* maps the Seres as passive and commercialised. *Hereford* presents neoclassical urbanism, a selective interpretation of antique sources for medieval ends.

The third part argues that the Mongols left an impact on Latin ideas of Asian geography, evident in the shape and contents of Scythia. It is much larger than before, borders Europe and is full of stereotyped barbarians. These barbarians communicate non-urban fierceness, their arrangement presenting an eastwards moral descent from cities and Jerusalem to a non-urban monstrous evil. *Hereford's* Scythia looms larger and more fiercely than on earlier maps, likely a consequence of half a century of interactions between Latin Europe and the Mongols. The cartographer's neoclassical strategies allowed an Asia which more closely

represented contemporary reality than before, but also controlled a caricatured people through outdated nomenclature and the presence of God.

The fourth part analyses Gog and Magog, depicted as text explaining their savagery and apocalyptic role, behind an unbroken wall. Gog and Magog form an essential part of *Hereford's* apocalypticism. The enclosure illustrates an evil, barbarian people and God's ultimate power. Such a message would prove reassuring for Christians in the wake of the loss of Crusader territory; the cartographer used North-East Asia to express an argument about the whole world. As with Scythia and urbanism, the cartographer mapped North-East Asia as a Christian tool.

Hereford in Context

Production and Reception – A Journey to the World

Hereford (Figure 1.3) is a free-standing *mappamundi* containing some 1100 legends of varying length.¹ Made from high-quality vellum, it measures 1.59m from the base to the top of the gable and 1.34m in width.² Within the gable, Christ in Majesty presides over the Last Judgement (Figure 4.1). In the bottom-left is a scene of Augustus Caesar in a papal tiara (Figure 1.5); in the bottom-right, a huntsman (Figure 4.2). Each vignette contributes to *Hereford's* authority and apocalypticism.³

While documentary evidence of *Hereford's* date is lacking, palaeographical and art historical analysis of its contents place it in the 1290s.⁴ This corresponds with the presence in *Hereford's* Britain of the castles which Edward I had constructed in the 1280s.⁵ Moreover, a pinhole in a panel of *Hereford's* original frame corresponds with

¹ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xv.

² The vellum is a single piece from the back of the animal (a large cow or possibly a deer) accounting for the gabled shape. Westrem, xv, xviii.

³ See, for instance, Chapter 1 p.77 for the role of Augustus with regard to a Latin identity and sense of authority, and Chapter 1 pp.77-80 and below for the importance of the Apocalypse in medieval *mappaemundi*.

⁴ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 2; M.B. Parkes, 'The Hereford Map: The Handwriting and Copying of the Text', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), passim, esp. 107, 115; Nigel Morgan, 'The Hereford Map: Art-Historical Aspects', in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), passim, esp. 122–24.

⁵ These castles are Conway, Caernarfon and Berwick, and are contemporary with the rest of the map. Parkes, 'Handwriting and Copying', 112.

one in the centre of the map, indicating that it was drawn affixed to its frame. The document is hence contemporary with the wood, for which dendrochronological evidence indicates a date at the end of the thirteenth century.⁶

The authorship is less certain, despite the colophon naming “Richard of Holdingham and Sleaford”.⁷ Much scholarly effort has been exerted establishing who this was, impeded by the lack of documentary evidence and a preponderance of ecclesiastical Richards in late-thirteenth-century Herefordshire and Lincolnshire. While the precise identity is unlikely to ever be decided, Richard was likely an official at a cathedral in the English Midlands, a location indicated by scientific analysis of the origins of the frame’s wood.⁸ This demonstrates an author in an elite ecclesiastical position with access to intellectual resources, making ignorance an unlikely explanation for the map’s omissions.⁹ The author’s identity would be helpful but is not crucial for analysing *Hereford*’s themes. The general background is informative, indicating the kind of environment in which the cartographer worked, as well as their likely interests and priorities: espousing a strongly Christian worldview. This thesis will hence not explore the authorship debate over *Hereford* in any more detail; the ecclesiastical background provides sufficient context.

Hereford’s audience, context and function were related, and bound with the map’s apocalypticism. These issues of reception and purpose establish North-East Asia as a region situated within multiple layers of Christian context and intention; it was not mapped for its own sake, but to help advance Christian messages. *Hereford*’s original carved, painted triptych frame contributed to the map’s visual grandeur as a

⁶ The hole comes from the pair of compasses used to draw various concentric circles in the map, including Jerusalem and the perimeter of the world. Martin Bailey, ‘The Mappa Mundi Triptych: The Full Story of the Hereford Cathedral Panels’, *Apollo* 137, no. 376 (1993): 375; Martin Bailey, ‘The Discovery of the Lost Mappamundi Panel: Hereford’s Map in a Medieval Altarpiece?’, in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), 80; Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xix; Dan Terkla, ‘The Original Placement of the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*’, *Imago Mundi* 56, no. 2 (2004): 139.

⁷ “Richard de Haldingham o de Lafford”. These sites are in Lincolnshire.

⁸ For the debate, see, for instance, Woodward, ‘Medieval *Mappaemundi*’, 312; Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xxi–xxiii; Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 55; Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, 9; Valerie I. J. Flint, ‘The Hereford Map: Its Author(s), Two Scenes and a Border’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 20, 25–28; Bailey, ‘Lost Mappamundi Panel’, 80; Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, 18; Terkla, ‘Original Placement’, 133. A common if ultimately unprovable theory revolves around an elder or younger Richard of Battle, a canon and later treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral. Bailey, Kupfer and Terkla provide discussions of the analysis of the wood.

⁹ See passim below for what the cartographer left out, and also Chapter 5 for the absent Prester John.

striking display item.¹⁰ The triptych is no longer extant, but an eighteenth-century sketch shows Gabriel on the left wing and Mary on the right.¹¹ These flanking figures situate earthly existence in a context of spiritual prominence, emphasising *Hereford's* religious aspects.¹² Mary and Gabriel frame the world in the Annunciation and the Incarnation, situating the earth in the birth of Christ, while the central Jerusalem's crucifixion scene shows his death, and the Last Judgement denotes the Resurrection and ultimate Kingdom of Heaven.¹³ The whole map was, therefore, dominantly and unavoidably couched in ideas of Christianised time, in beginnings and endings, in the life, death and rebirth of Christ and the world. Between the triptych and the map's iconography, medieval viewers would have been faced with a necessarily transient world but also the constant presence of God, priming them for the map's Christianising messages. The Gothic carving of the triptych gable, moreover, would have reflected the stone and wood carving of the cathedral fabric, particularly the effigies in the north and south aisles.¹⁴ The framing of the mapped world echoed the church space around it, drawing on themes of divine artifice, microcosm and macrocosm which were prevalent in contemporary thought.¹⁵ North-East Asia was not an independent subject, but a component of a multi-layered Christian worldview.

Regarding *Hereford's* location and performative context, most scholarship rejects earlier arguments that it was an altarpiece, for which its fine details, size and earthly subject matter made it inappropriate.¹⁶ Instead, *Hereford* was likely linked with the nascent cult of Thomas Cantilupe and the associated influx of wealth and pilgrims from the late thirteenth century. It was probably installed as part of the campaign of enlargement and ornamentation which accommodated and accentuated this cult.¹⁷ Cantilupe was born c.1218 into Anglo-Norman nobility. He worked in academic positions such as chancellor of Oxford (appointed 1261) and ecclesiastical roles

¹⁰ Bailey, 'Mappa Mundi Triptych', passim, esp. 374–77.

¹¹ Bailey, 375.

¹² Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 76–77.

¹³ Thomas de Wesselow, 'Locating the Hereford Mappamundi', *Imago Mundi* 65, no. 2 (2013): 184.

¹⁴ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 200.

¹⁵ See Hiscock, 'Mapping the Microcosm', passim, for discussions of the micro/macrocosmic relationships, especially with regard to architecture and the body of Christ.

¹⁶ For instance, Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 56–57, 80, 91; Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xx–xxi; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 141; Edson, 'Mapping the Middle Ages', 15; Kupfer, 'Medieval World Maps', 273–76.

¹⁷ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 200–203.

such as bishop of Hereford (1275).¹⁸ Following disputes with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cantilupe departed for Rome 1282 to seek papal aid but died en route. His followers treated him as a martyr, reporting a sweet smell from his corpse and that, having boiled his body to separate the bones, the resulting water caused a spring to miraculously emerge.¹⁹ His bones were returned to a specially constructed shrine in Hereford Cathedral, and his followers began campaigning for his canonisation, attained in 1320.²⁰ Between 1287 and 1312, over 460 healing miracles were recorded. Hereford received many pilgrims, funding the cathedral's extension, rebuilding and extensive ornamentation.²¹ Several English texts recorded Cantilupe's death, translation and miracles; this was not an obscure provincial cult but one with some renown.²² Hereford was a wealthy, popular pilgrimage site with a well-known saint. Moreover, as Birkholz argues, the cathedral "enjoyed a distinguished reputation in scholarly geography", perhaps explaining why it obtained *Hereford*.²³ The map must be assessed as part of this pilgrimage complex.

While the map's location within the cathedral's pilgrimage complex is unknown, de Wesselow convincingly suggests the north wall south choir aisle, rejecting Terkla's proposed location in the north transept by Cantilupe's shrine.²⁴ This southern

¹⁸ Michael Tavinor and Ian Bass, *Thomas de Cantilupe: 700 Years a Saint* (Eardisley: Logastan Press, 2020), 1–2, 9, 13.

¹⁹ Tavinor and Bass, 17.

²⁰ Tavinor and Bass, 23, 32.

²¹ Tavinor and Bass, 23–24.

²² For instance, at the end of the thirteenth century, the Waverley (in Surrey) Annals recorded Cantilupe's death, noting that his translation occurred "with the greatest honour" [*cum maximo honore*] and that God deigned to work one hundred and sixty-three miracles through him. Henry Richards Luard, ed., 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia', in *Annales Monastici Volume 2: Annales Monasterii de Wintonia (A.D. 519-1277), Annales Monasterii de Waverlei (A.D. 1-1291)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 405. The Worcester Annals described Cantilupe's followers boiling his body and throwing away the water where "there emanated a fresh spring, and there many miracles occurred afterwards" [*fons vivus emanavit, ibique multa miracula postea evenerunt*]. Henry Richards Luard, ed., 'Annales Prioratus de Wigornia', in *Annales Monastici Volume 4: Annales Monasterii de Oseneia (A.D. 1016-1347), Chronicon Vulgo Dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes (A.D. 1066-1289), Annales Prioratus de Wigornia (A.D. 1-1377)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 483. The *Flores Historiarum* noted that Cantilupe died "for the cause of his church" [*pro causa ecclesiae suae*], his bones quickly becoming associated with miracles. Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Flores Historiarum Vol. III: A.D. 1265-A.D. 1326* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), 66. The *Flores* was, as noted in the previous chapter, written in Westminster.

²³ Daniel Birkholz, 'Hereford Maps, Hereford Lives', in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 233.

²⁴ De Wesselow, 'Locating', passim, esp. 187–88, 189, 190–93, 196; Terkla, 'Original Placement', passim, esp. 142–46. De Wesselow argues that the map would have been an unwelcome competition for space alongside the saint's shrine, and uses evidence of a sketch of the south choir aisle before it

location represented a point near the end of a pilgrimage to Hereford, and was roughly halfway through the journey within the cathedral itself; pilgrims would enter through the north porch, process from west to east along the south side, pass the holy east end, then arrive at Cantilupe's shrine.²⁵ In this location, the huntsman would have been travelling eastwards – symbolically towards Heaven – while looking back at the preceding earthly journey, the accompanying message of “go forward” encouraging pilgrims to finish and reflect on their own journey.²⁶ Within the pilgrimage, the map could have prompted pilgrims to reflect on the grander scheme of God's creation and plan for the world, providing spiritual and temporal – past, present and future – orientation for their earthly journey and that of Cantilupe. People would hence have experienced Asia within the context of a cathedral – a piece of Heaven on earth – and often in the context of a pilgrimage, a symbolic and emotionally loaded experience which was a metaphor for personal struggle and life and death.²⁷ The non-Christian space of North-East Asia was received in a Christianised image and idea of the world, itself situated in a powerfully Christian context. These contexts established a contrast between subject and location which juxtaposed the morally and culturally inferior construction of Asia against the divine grandeur of a pilgrimage within a cathedral. *Hereford's* audience would already be religiously minded and primed to receive messages of God's power; the map was an educational, propagandising vindication of this belief, reminding viewers of the glory of God and the wonders of his creation.

Arguing for *Hereford's* propagandistic nature requires establishing that viewers could understand its messages. *Hereford* includes much pictorial and textual content; its captions are predominantly Latin with some Anglo-Norman in the frame, such as in the colophon and around the Last Judgement.²⁸ It cannot be taken for granted that each viewer would be able to unpack all these texts and images. The directly received impact of Asia would have depended on how far each viewer could access

was renovated in the early twentieth century which shows iron brackets which would correspond with a plank on the reverse of the map's wooden frame.

²⁵ De Wesselow, 'Locating', 192. 194-196.

²⁶ De Wesselow, 196. “*passe avant*”.

²⁷ McDannell and Lang, *Heaven*, 78–79; Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 87–90.

²⁸ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 5, 56–57, 86–87.

Hereford's contents. However, it is likely that for many, the map was not received directly and entirely personally through reading alone. The colophon entreats:

“Let all who have this *estorie*/ Or who will hear or read or see it/ Pray to Jesus
in divinity/ To take pity on Richard of Holdingham and Sleaford/ Who made it
and composed it.”²⁹

“*Estorie*” denotes an active visual demonstration of content, not just a passive reading. The second line shows that the cartographer expected a range of means of engaging with the map. Some would read it; others only look at the pictures. Some material would be read aloud for audiences.³⁰ Terkla builds on this to propose the presence of intermediaries at *Hereford* who would interpret and explain the map for those who needed it.³¹ There is no direct documentary evidence for such an argument, though it is reasonable to assume due to *Hereford*'s nature as a wealthy, popular pilgrim destination, and due to the known nature of other pilgrimage locations as carefully managed and structured spaces.³² Such intermediaries would have opened *Hereford* up to large audiences. North-East Asia would have been articulated within and from a firmly Christian perspective.

Pilgrimage also reflected apocalyptic themes, offering further reminders of God's power and Christian triumph. A long but finite journey ending by becoming closer to God: this message reflects the transit of the world in time and the pilgrim in space.³³ The reception of Asia must be understood within this apocalyptic-pilgrimage context; Asia functioned as part of a map which offered an argument about the world's history. North-East Asia was subsumed into a scheme in which it was necessarily

²⁹ “*Tuz ki cest estorie ont/ Ou oyront ou lirront ou ueront,/ Prient a Ihesu en deyte/ De Richard de Haldingham o de Lafford eyt pite, Ki lat fet e compasse.*” Text from Westrem, *Hereford Map*, xxi–xxii, 10–11. Translation my own. I follow Westrem in using </> to denote the use of the punctus which divides these lines on the map. I have chosen to leave *estorie* untranslated; as Westrem notes, while having a broadly similar meaning to ‘history’, *estorie* indicates the importance of visually communicating information in a way which ‘history’ as a single word does not capture. *Estorie* also encapsulates the temporal aspect of *Hereford*.

³⁰ For the importance of orality and its likely role in the performance of maps, see Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 86–87.

³¹ Terkla, ‘Informal Catechesis’, passim, esp. 128–30, 134–36. Terkla situates the Mappa its explainers in the north transept; while I follow de Wesselow in rejecting this proposition, the exact position of the map does little to affect Terkla's broader thesis.

³² Terkla, 134, 137–39.

³³ De Wesselow, ‘Locating’, 195.

transient because of God's will. Several of *Hereford's* features reinforce these associations of death and ending: the huntsman was a medieval sign of worldly transience, and the letters MORS, death, encircle the world.³⁴ Most prominently, Christ in Majesty oversees the world, presiding over the Last Judgement, flanked by the saved ascending to Heaven and the damned descending to Hell. The theme is of Christ as ruler and eventual victor over evil. This image frames the world in apocalyptic Christian triumphalism; the resurrected Christ signifies rebirth and power, transient earthly traumas overcome by eternal spiritual victory. As well as pedagogic and overawing aims, Asia is situated within this context of Christian triumph – the soaring Gothic style of the cathedral, presence of a popular saint, and the pilgrimage-Apocalypse context demonstrated God's power and ultimate victory. This is especially important given the traumas of the thirteenth century. *Hereford's* performative context situates the world in a larger, more important divine scheme during a time of earthly difficulties. North-East Asia and the world moralised and propagandised, reaffirming for pilgrims God's superiority.³⁵

One final, highly important factor in *Hereford's* reception is the presence of Augustine, whose notion of the two cities – the spiritual, virtuous City of God and the earthly, corrupt City of Man – was highly influential.³⁶ *Hereford's* Augustinian ideology is overt. Augustine is one of only two humans given a framed portrait on the body of the world, the other being Abraham, both in an urban scene.³⁷ The latter prefigures the former, with Augustine implied to share Abraham's foundational significance for Christianity (Figures 4.3-4.5).³⁸ It is notable that *Hereford* locates two highly significant figures to Christianity in non-Christian spaces: Augustine in Africa and Abraham in Asia. Abraham, a hugely important figure in Christian thought who appears here in an urban frame, contrasts against the non-urban Arabia, home of an opposing religion to medieval Christianity. This emphasises the ideological importance of urbanism as a Christian symbol while further morally and culturally

³⁴ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 4, 47-48 61-65, 72-75; Strickland, 'Edward I', 447; Edson, *The World Map*, 21. See Figure I.3.

³⁵ For further arguments on the explicitly moralising intention of *Hereford*, see Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, passim, esp. 3-5, 8, 11, 15, 25. For *Hereford* and *Ebstorf's* common themes of large audiences with overawing intentions, see Gautier Dalché, 'Maps, Travel and Exploration', 146-48; Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', 334.

³⁶ See Chapter 1 p.85 for the importance of Augustine and urbanism to medieval Christian thought.

³⁷ Papal Augustus and the huntsman appear outside the mapped world itself.

³⁸ Scully, 'Imperium and Salvation', 107, 109.

distancing Arabia and Islam from Christian Europe. Abraham and Augustine co-opt these African and Asian spaces to Christian ends to project a message about the significance of Christianity, but also bring the whole world into the Christian fold, demonstrating the global extent of leading spiritual figures. Augustine being chosen from all possible figures to portray, and being depicted so prominently, suggests the mapmaker intended him to have an important role in the symbolism of the world. He is drawn perpendicular to Africa's northern coast so that he gazes over Europe towards Rome. He holds something small in his hand (Figure 4.4); beyond Westrem's description of it being "shaped like a tulip", there is no suggestion in scholarship of what it may be.³⁹ It appears too large and misplaced to be a ring. By iconographical parallel, it could be a small heart, a traditional symbol of Augustine (see Figure 4.6 for examples, albeit of different dates and media).⁴⁰ While this reading is tentative, the heart's symbolism as an indicator of God's love, placed between Augustine and Europe, implies Europe to be special in world history. Asia must be read in comparison – Augustine frames Europe as privileged and holy, unlike barbarian Asia. This further demonstrates *Hereford* as triumphalist Christian propaganda, reinforcing for pilgrims a view of their faith and region as special.

Historical Background – Muslim Menaces, Mongol Malaise and Latin Losses

By the end of the thirteenth century, Latin Europe had suffered further losses in the Holy Land, and had had frustrated diplomacy with the Mongols – still viewed with suspicion and fear – in which the hoped-for alliance to retake the Levant never materialised. *Hereford*'s production and reception must be read against this context of the loss of land and hope.

Describing the second Council of Lyons in 1274, the London Annals noted that "many were hoping for the conversion of the barbarian Tartars".⁴¹ This encapsulates the complexity of late-thirteenth-century English attitudes towards the Mongols. Latin

³⁹ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 358

⁴⁰ Fernando Lanzi and Gioia Lanzi, *Saints and Their Symbols: Recognizing Saints in Art and in Popular Images*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2004), 108–9.

⁴¹ William Stubbs, ed., 'Annales Londonienses', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 83. "*multi sperabant de conversione barbarorum Tartarorum*".

ideas about them became more nuanced, moving from one-note terror and outrage towards notions that they could be converts or allies. Nevertheless, perhaps as a legacy of the impact of the Mongol invasions, they remained “barbarians”, with all that term’s fierce, inferior connotations. *Hereford* was made in a century shaped by the Mongols, by now seen less as exclusively monstrous scourges and more as just another group on the world stage, one not necessarily to be liked or trusted but one which could potentially be used or religiously saved.

Late-thirteenth-century Latin attitudes to the Mongols were bound with the situation in the Holy Land; the Mongols and the Crusades were important backdrops for *Hereford*’s reception and arguments. By *Hereford*’s time, Latins had lost the Holy Land.⁴² The castle of Marqab fell to the Mamluks in 1285; Tripoli, in 1289. In May 1291, the Mamluks captured the last Christian settlement, Acre, a loss felt deeply in Latin Europe; Boniface VIII quickly began planning a new crusade.⁴³ In England, chroniclers recorded tragedy and desperation. The *Flores* described Tripoli’s fall as an “astonishing and lamentable misfortune”.⁴⁴ The author went further in describing the loss of Acre, claiming “a most terrible bitterness intoxicated each and every zealot in the Christian name”, sighing “oh sorrow, more lamentable than the groans of the prophet Jeremiah”.⁴⁵ The Waverley Annals similarly recorded the fall of Tripoli to “a multitude of oppressive pagans” which occurred “not without great shedding of Christian blood”, succinctly expressing the disgust surrounding brutal, morally flawed foes.⁴⁶ Its description of the fall of Acre drew heavily on that in the *Flores*, reproducing this polemic in a different part of England.⁴⁷ While this re-use of the *Flores* does not show originality, it does show a desire to disseminate tragic news.

⁴² See Chapter 1 pp.58-59 for a basic timeline of thirteenth-century Christian losses in the Holy Land.

⁴³ France, *The Crusades*, 214. See also Chapter 1.

⁴⁴ Luard, *Flores Historiarum* Vol. III, 69–70. “*mirabile et flebile infortunium*”.

⁴⁵ Luard, 74. “*amaritudo amarissima inebriavit omnes et singulos zelatores nominis Christiani*”; “*O dolor, lamentabilior gemitu Geremiae prophetae*”.

⁴⁶ Luard, ‘Waverleia’, 408–9. “*multitudine paganorum onerosa*”; “*non sine maxima effusione sanguinis Christiani*”.

⁴⁷ Luard, 410. The Waverley annalist, for instance, also used the comparison to Jeremiah and repeated, almost word for word, the *Flores* author’s statement that Acre “had been a singular protection for all nations who were subject to the laws of the orthodox faith, who came from far away to avenge the injury of the Creator” [*praesidium fuerat singulare omnium nationum, orthodoxae fidei legibus subjectorum, venientium de longinquis ad ulciscendam sui injuriam Creatoris*].

English concerns for the Holy Land were, moreover, not only textual. Edward I and many nobles campaigned in the Holy Land in the early 1270s, which despite achieving little demonstrates contemporary interest in crusading.⁴⁸ In its account of the 1274 Council of Lyons, the *Flores* claimed that Gregory X “commended Edward to everyone, saying that the Holy Land would have been completely lost had he not quickly gone to its aid”.⁴⁹ Whether this was true or just expedient reporting is uncertain, but demonstrates an English wish to record English importance in the Crusades. This interest persisted into the 1290s; a church council in 1292 debated what should be done in the Holy Land.⁵⁰ Edward took the cross again in 1287, but political and economic obstacles prevented his departure.⁵¹ While Edward’s crusades were elite initiatives, new crusade taxes and recruitment propaganda would have been felt across England. The *Flores*, for example, recorded Gregory X’s 1274 decree that one tenth of ecclesiastical revenue across Latin Europe should go towards aiding the Holy Land.⁵² While it cannot be proven that every pilgrim to Hereford Cathedral wanted to crusade, there is ample evidence suggesting that the Holy Land, its loss and recovery remained of tangible concern through the late thirteenth century. *Hereford*’s depiction of a non-urban, morally flawed Asia; its apocalypticism; and its championing of God and Latin Europe must be read against this backdrop of failure and hope. *Hereford* promotes the idea of a triumphant Christianity when its ideologically and cartographically central lands were lost.

Within this Holy Land context, the Mongols emerged as surprising potential allies and converts. From the 1270s, Latin rulers including Edward had engaged in diplomacy with the Mongol Ilkhanate to attempt a co-ordinated assault on Islamic powers in the Holy Land, with embassies and correspondence moving between England and the Ilkhanate. In the 1270s, 1280s and 1290s, Edward wrote to the Ilkhan Abaqa about a crusade, while Abaqa and other Ilkhans sent envoys to Latin Europe, including Rabban Sauma, a Nestorian monk from Beijing who met Edward

⁴⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 124–25; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London: Methuen, 1990), 66, 72, 75–78.

⁴⁹ Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. III*, 33.

⁵⁰ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 329.

⁵¹ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 229–36; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 328–33.

⁵² Prestwich, *Edward I*, 328; Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. III*, 33.

in Gascony in 1287.⁵³ Latins and Mongols sought mutual military assistance; the Mongols had failed to progress against the Mamluks, and engaged in diplomacy to secure support.⁵⁴ Part of this diplomacy involved Mongols promising to accept baptism, a theme mentioned in English historical texts. The *Flores*' account of the 1274 Council of Lyons includes a description of sixteen Mongol emissaries who proposed an alliance, following which the pope, "at their request, caused the non-baptised to be honourably baptised".⁵⁵ Similarly, the Worcester Annals recorded Mongol messengers to London in 1289 who promised military aid "against the pagans" and that in 1298 "the King and Queen of the Tartars were, with their subjects, baptised".⁵⁶ This willingness to be baptised was often a diplomatic ruse; Mongol envoys exaggerated their masters' enthusiasm for baptism to smoothen relations. King Alfonso X of Castile had even warned Jaime of Aragon of this possible duplicity.⁵⁷ Ultimately, diplomatic negotiations failed to achieve anything. The Ilkhanate frequently warred with the Golden Horde and Chaghataid khanates. Latin European kingdoms also fought one another: England against Scotland, Aragon against France. Logistical, financial and other political issues further impeded Latin action. In sum, neither party of the potential alliance was in a suitable position to launch a costly offensive in the Levant which increasingly lacked footholds, with none by 1291.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, despite the failed diplomacy and whatever the Mongols' motives for baptism, the fact that English texts recorded baptisms suggests their authors that the Mongols could convert, and that Latin Europeans believed they could be an ally. By the 1290s, English attitudes towards the Mongols had changed, becoming more open to them as allies or co-religionists. The one-note barbarians of Matthew Paris were gone. *Hereford*'s utterly barbarian landscape must be considered against these shifting mentalities.

However, within this changing attitude towards the Mongols, distrust remained; one last, important barrier to Latin-Mongol diplomacy was the continued hostility with

⁵³ Paviot, 'England and the Mongols', 310–11; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 329–31; Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

⁵⁴ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 167–71.

⁵⁵ Luard, *Flores Historiarum* Vol. III, 43. "*petitionem ipsorum, non baptizatos fecit honorifice baptizari*".

⁵⁶ Luard, 'Wigornia', 499, 507. "*contra paganos*"; "*Rex Tharsis et regina fuerunt cum sibi subditis baptizati*". "Tharsis" is the idiosyncratic spelling used in the Worcester Annals for "Tartar".

⁵⁷ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 174–76, 185–86.

⁵⁸ Jackson, 179–81; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 77–78, 82; Paviot, 'England and the Mongols', 315–18.

which the former viewed the latter. Despite there being four independent Mongol khanates, Latin texts continued to refer to one homogeneous polity of Tartars, which only decades previously had caused destruction and fear in Europe.⁵⁹ Latin texts did not distinguish between the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde or mention inter-khanate warfare.⁶⁰ While authors sometimes offered “Moalli” as a supplementary term, English texts continued to refer to Tartars, a term etymologically rooted in ideas of hell and given evil connotations by recent history.⁶¹ An English legal treatise noted that in 1272 there arrived in London a letter “which the King of the Tartars, named Abaqa, had sent to Lord Edward”, demonstrating the continued use of Tartar and perceptions of Mongol unity under one king.⁶² The consequence of this perceived homogeneity was that authors made little distinction between the potential allies of the Ilkhanate and the dangerous Golden Horde on the edge of Europe, a source of continued anxiety and threat.⁶³ The Golden Horde attacked Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria throughout the 1280s and 1290s, the *Flores* recording one large raid.⁶⁴ The *Flores* also noted that Edward, while waiting in Acre for Mongol and local allies, “was deceived by both”, and that Mongol envoys at Lyons spoke arrogantly, “making known in pompous language the power of the Moallians”.⁶⁵ Spanish rulers and Pope Nicholas in the 1290s were sceptical of Mongol claims of their imminent baptism.⁶⁶ The London Annalist still considered them “barbarian”.⁶⁷ The Mongol invasions left long-lasting concerns over these people, worsened by hostility with the Golden Horde and the lack of Latin distinction between khanates. European diplomacy with the Mongols reflects a thawing of relationships with and ideas about the Mongols, but there was no volte-face. The Mongols were still

⁵⁹ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 183.

⁶⁰ Jackson, 183–85.

⁶¹ Luard, ‘Waverleia’, 387. “Tartars, who are also called Moalli” [*Tartari, et qui Moalli dicuntur*] in an entry for 1277; Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. III*, 49. “Tartars, who are Moalli” [*Tartars, qui Moalli*].

⁶² Thomas Stapleton, ed., *Liber de Antiquis Legibus: Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum* (London: Camden Society, 1846), 143. “*quas Rex Tartarorum, nomine Albaga, transmisit Domino Edwardo*”. See also the Worcester Annals above in its claim that in 1298 “the King and Queen of the Tartars were, with their subjects, baptized”.

⁶³ See Chapter 1 pp.51-55.

⁶⁴ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, 206; Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. III*, 69. “The Tartars, who are Moalli, entered the duchy of Poland and from there carried off into captivity over sixty thousand people” [*Tartari, qui Moalli, Polloniae ducatum ingresi, ab eo in captivitatem abduxerunt plusquam sexcentum milia personarum*].

⁶⁵ Luard, *Flores Historiarum Vol. III*, 29 “*ab utrisque delusum*”; 43 “*publicantes verbis pomposis potentiam Moallorum*”.

⁶⁶ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 330–31.

⁶⁷ See above p.221.

distrusted, often feared, by *Hereford's* time. Its barbarian Scythia bordering Europe does not, therefore, completely represent more nuanced contemporary approaches to the Mongols. The cartographer opted for polemic rather than more subtly depicting the North-East Asians who exchanged embassies and letters with the courts of Europe. However, the barbarian landscape does represent a newer understanding of Asia, influenced by the Mongols' impact on Latin Europe.

Urbanism

Before examining Scythia and the Scythians, it is helpful to establish *Hereford's* urban context to show how Scythia was mapped into a world with an inferior Asia and superior Europe. Europe is almost exclusively, densely urban, projecting a sense of order and sophistication. Asia is significantly, deliberately less urban, many of its potential cities omitted for exotic or morally useful features. Through urbanism, the cartographer constructed a Christianised worldview which championed Latin Europe, set against an inferior, monstrous Asia used to entertain or teach, not reflect 'real' Asian geography. Scythia and its historical contexts can be situated in two trends: glorifying Europe and subordinating a flawed Asia to Christian ends.

	Asia	Europe	Africa	Total
<i>Ebstorf</i>	164 (36.36%)	250 (55.43%)	37 (8.20%)	451
<i>Psalter</i>	42 (50.60%)	29 (34.94%)	12 (14.46%)	83
<i>Hereford</i>	135 (33.01%)	226 (55.26%)	48 (11.74%)	409

Table 4.1: Numbers and percentages of cities on the maps by continent.

Table 4.1 shows the urban trends on *Hereford*, its figures resembling *Ebstorf's*. The low figures for Africa can again be explained by medieval environmental thought.⁶⁸ Figure 4.7 shows a relatively high number of cities on Africa's Mediterranean coast; further south are fewer cities, with large spaces and non-urban features including monsters. In contrast, *Hereford's* Europe is densely urban, especially France, Germany and Italy (Figure 4.8). Its sometimes-small cities allowed greater urbanism and highlight important sites such as Paris and Rome, and there are relatively few

⁶⁸ See Chapter 2 pp.120-121.

non-urban features. Consequently, Europe accounts for one quarter of the world's territory but one third of its cities. Where the cartographer wanted to communicate dense urbanism, they could do so. Moreover, the presence of new constructions like Caernarfon indicates a willingness to use new geographical information; antique information was not an iron-clad necessity. This makes the neoclassical use of old nomenclature in North-East Asia striking; Bacon, for instance, had mentioned Karakorum in the mid-thirteenth century, showing that contemporary information about Asia was available in England.⁶⁹ The decision suggests a difference in ideas around how distant, savage Asia and close, urban, Christian Europe should be mapped. One was modern; the other, regressive. The cartographer made Asia regressive not only through dated nomenclature, but by deliberately diminishing its urban profile through the selective use of classical sources, as Table 4.2 illustrates.

Region	Hereford's Asian cities	Possible cities from classical sources (Appendix 1)
Arabia	2	46
Armenia	3	10
Asia Minor	24	265
Egypt	28	38
Hyrkania	7	11
India	10	33
Levant	32	57
Mesopotamia	7	32
Parthia/Persia/Media ⁷⁰	7	27
Scythia	0	13 (all in the Pontic, westerly part)
Seres	1	1+ (one specified; more implied)
Syria	14	41
Total	135	573

Table 4.2: Numbers of cities by region with possible toponyms for each region from the classical sources.

⁶⁹ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, 370.

⁷⁰ Grouped due to overlapping nature and space in the texts and maps.

The cartographer repeatedly, deliberately omitted Asian cities. Cassica and Cristoas in India indicate the use of Pliny; only he named them.⁷¹ Most of the cities Pliny recorded in India, including Patala and Rhodapha, are absent. Instead, much of India is occupied by the Altars of Alexander and an elephant (Figure 4.9). In Persia/Parthia, Alexandria and Andropolis demonstrate the use of Pliny; Ycusia, Isidore.⁷² Susa, Cadrusima and Persepolis show the possible influence between them of any of the authorities.⁷³ Many cities are absent, notably Ctesiphon, described by Pliny, Solinus and Isidore. Much of this region is filled instead with the tower of Babel, its expository text, Abraham and empty space (Figure 4.10). Asian cities were subordinate to Christian features, immoral presences and sometimes nothing, a trend particularly noticeable in Arabia.⁷⁴ *Hereford* includes only two Arabian cities: Carax and Carcanus. Carax demonstrates the use of Pliny, who had named forty-five Arabian cities; only he cited its presence.⁷⁵ Some small cities could fit if they were as small as the Persian ones circled on Figure 4.11. However, the cartographer opted for deserts and non-urbanism, rather than replicating the wealthy Arabia of antiquity. When Islamic forces challenged Christians in the Holy Land, retaking the last crusader cities, this was a slight against the home of Islam, minimising and contrasting it against *Hereford's* triumphalist apocalyptic imagery. Earthly traumas are transient, says the map; ultimate victory will be God's. *Hereford's* urban distribution reinforces this message, illustrating the neoclassical strategy of selectively using classical information and combining it with Christian framing and arguments to present a message of Christian superiority.

North-East Asia further indicates a reduction of classical urbanism from the cartographer's use of sources. Pliny named Scythian cities in the western Pontic region; *Hereford* omits them all.⁷⁶ So too did Solinus, who mentioned the river Tanais

⁷¹ See Appendices 1 and 4 for city names in this section. They appear as Capisa and Chrysobora in Pliny. The observation about alternative spelling forms is from the *Hereford Map* page of *Digital Mappa* (see Languages and Sources in the frontmatter of this thesis).

⁷² Alexandropolis in Pliny and Aracusia in Isidore, respectively.

⁷³ Cadrusima appears more commonly as Cadrusi in the classical texts.

⁷⁴ See Chapter 2 pp.126-127 and Chapter 3 p.198 for the similar treatment of Arabia on *Ebstorf* and *Psalter*.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 1.

⁷⁶ See Chapter 2, Appendix 1 and Table 4.2.

and Cimmerian people, but described no cities there.⁷⁷ Solinus adapted Pliny's information to create a starker barbarian steppe, and the *Hereford* cartographer replicated this information.⁷⁸ The cartographer constructed Asia in a certain, non-urban way by choosing one particular source over another: Solinus' cruder Scythia rather than Pliny's urban one. The mapping of Asia as barbarian and non-urban hence stemmed partly from selecting between different sources. By following one with no cities, the cartographer provided room for barbarians, indicating a desire to portray Asia as different from and inferior to Europe. This perhaps reflects the impact of prolonged awareness of the Mongols. Asian nomadism had been entrenched in Latin thought for five decades; *Hereford* mapped North-East Asia accordingly.

Hereford's Seres, moreover, understate any urban sophistication in Asia; this land, known through Antiquity and the Middle Ages as wealthy and ingenious, became passive. They appear twice (Figure 4.12). Once is as *Civitas Seres*, one of four named Hyrcanian cities near Gog and Magog. The second is as a caption near Samarkand, the information deriving from classical sources: "The Seres are the first people to occur beyond the desert, from whom silk garments are sent".⁷⁹ The caption commercialises the Seres, defining them by their exports. The cartographer transmitted none of the descriptions of character from the classical texts, despite room beneath the caption, and the sense of wonder around the production of silk, seen in Chapter 2, is lost.⁸⁰ The caption, moreover, frames the space and agency of the Seres from a European perspective. The passive "*a quibus serica vestimenta mittuntur*", rather than "*serica vestimenta mittunt*", shifts the agency and significance away from the producing, exporting Seres and towards the goods and their recipients. *Hereford* emphasises the land's usefulness to outsiders, not its inhabitants' industriousness or ingenuity, presenting it as a source of wonder while minimising the role of its people. *Hereford* commodifies the Seres, defining them by a desirable good, while positing them as unattainable, far away beyond a desert. By

⁷⁷ See Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 166 (for Tanais), 90 (for the Cimmerians), 80-92 (for a description of the Pontic and Scythian landscape generally).

⁷⁸ See Chapter 1 pp.70-71 for the relationship between Pliny and Solinus, and Chapter 2 pp.140-145 and below for how Solinus created the Scythians as barbarian.

⁷⁹ "*Seres primi homines post deserta occurrunt, a quibus serica vestimenta mittuntur*". See Chapter 2 pp.130-134 for the background of the Seres.

⁸⁰ *Hereford's* text was the last main component to be added, so this caption was not abridged in anticipation of images, either. Morgan, 'Art-Historical Aspects', 119-21.

doing so, *Hereford* heightens their exoticism and adds interest to a version of Asia represented through Latin perspectives.

Spatial language in the caption further reduces Seric agency. The classical texts position the Seres as being beyond, “*post*”, Scythia and a desert, descriptions of which precede the sections on the Seres themselves.⁸¹ The reader moves with the flow of the text eastwards; “*post*” makes sense in a linear description. The map, however, technically has no fixed order in which to read information. Its use of “*post*” to locate the Seres relative to the desert, and not a word meaning “adjacent to” or similar, frames the Seres from the perspective of Christian Europe. *Hereford* also distances and separates this Asian territory from the ideologically and spatially central Jerusalem, framing a reading of the world which understands space relative to this site. *Hereford* could be read in different ways which consistently privileged Europe and distanced Asia from it in some way, presenting it as culturally and morally inferior. The vertical east-west temporal narrative casts Asia as regressive and sinful, a time-space to be moved away from towards Rome and Jerusalem.⁸² Reading from Jerusalem to the north-eastern periphery reveals decreasing urbanism with intensifying barbarianism from the centre to the east. *Hereford*’s contents could be consumed in different ways with similar conclusions; Asia is consistently less urban, less cultured, more savage. The editorial process behind *Hereford*’s Seres reinforce this reading; what is important and interesting here is not just the visible depiction, but the decisions behind the scenes in which the cartographer diminished the significance and available classical and medieval information about the Seres and Cathay to reinforce the notion of North-East Asia as less urban and important. The Seres indicate a neoclassical alteration of classical information, framing it through medieval ideas, and supporting Christian arguments about the world.

For a large map with much information and not necessarily literate audiences, *Hereford*’s urbanism clearly, effectively confirmed its viewers’ ideas of Christian superiority. Without needing to read the information, pilgrims who had come to participate in a ritual which celebrated divine power, in a building which glorified God,

⁸¹ The ‘desert’ could refer to the barren nature of the steppes or to the Gobi and Taklamakan deserts. See ‘Defining North-East Asia’ p.31 for the texts’ account of the Seres.

⁸² See Chapter 1 pp.74-81.

would see an urban Europe next to the papally-adorned Augustus, couching Europe in the authority of the Church and Rome. By contrast, Asia was deliberately made less urban. Instead of cities, there are the monsters and barbarians which further construct Asia as savage and morally flawed.⁸³ Augustine and Abraham in their prominent urban frames reinforce this contrast between urban, sophisticated Latin Christian Europe and the savage Asia lacking in cities, with a passive Seres. Demonstrating *Hereford's* neoclassical nature, the cartographer selected sources and information, conveying only that which supported the map's agenda of glorifying God and Europe. Asian cities were out; monsters, barbarians and signs of sin were in. Pilgrims came to a cathedral expecting to have Christian power demonstrated. *Hereford's* urbanism did so clearly.

Scythia and the Scythians

Stereotyping the Scythians

Hereford's Scythia and the Scythians reinforced the worldview of an urban Europe and a non-urban, flawed Asia. This region, moreover, represents the impact of the Mongols on Latin thought, half a century of anxiety translating into a large, nearby, barbarian Scythia. This section shows how the cartographer constructed Scythia as a land full of savage peoples stereotyped from available information. By comparing this dangerous land with earlier *mappaemundi*, with reference to the prolonged consequences of the Mongols, this chapter argues that *Hereford* represents its historical circumstances, reflecting and attempting to contain a fearsome reality. The cartographer built a neoclassical, caricatured, antiquated Scythia, influenced in its shape, location and content by the Mongols, accommodating uncomfortable truths within a comfortable framework.

It is helpful to note the cartographer's reliance on Solinus for Scythia, resulting in the map's combination of antique origins with medieval reinterpretations. Observing this reliance makes the map's omissions more significant; they stemmed from choice, not ignorance. Scholars have observed that *Hereford's* Scythian captions come directly

⁸³ See passim below.

from Solinus, but not that their layout also comes from him.⁸⁴ Figure 4.13 numbers them in accordance with their west-to-east order in Solinus' chapter on Scythia. While the mapmaker apparently transposed the Essedones (2) and Scythians (3), this is perhaps explained by the proximity in Solinus' text between these peoples. The sections about them appear concurrently, while there are larger gaps between this pair and the Griste/Geloni and the C/arimaspi. The cartographer perhaps understood this textually contiguous pair of barbarians as a single unit for the purposes of mapping Solinus' information. This use of Solinus reinforces the idea of *Hereford* as neoclassical; the construction of Asia as flawed to privilege Christianity did not stem from directly representing new information, but began with older knowledge which the cartographer reinterpreted for Christian ends. As the copying from Solinus shows, the cartographer relied on previous sources. The innovation lay in how the makers of this and the other *mappaemundi* adapted their sources with an eye for reception and historical circumstances; these were contingent medieval documents, not acontextual reproductions of Roman geography.

The textual hierarchy of *Hereford*'s barbarianism aligns with a pictorial hierarchy of increasing savagery away from the central Jerusalem, suggesting a causal link between proximity to the fundamentally significant Christian city and moral civilisation. The scenes become fiercer and more transgressive towards the periphery, aligning with spatial ideas of barbarianism – in harsh lands further from Christendom, humans devolve into savagery.⁸⁵ I explore these scenes now, noting their origin in the third-century AD Solinus (and ultimately from Herodotus, fifth-century BC) to establish their antiquity. The cartographer used old material and applied it with Christian impact, investing dated information with present ideological concerns. Instead of directly naming the Mongols, the cartographer consciously archaicised North-East Asia, making it regressive in its barbarianism and nomenclature, evoking the idea of the Mongols while adhering to cartographic convention. The desire to create Scythia and the Scythians as flawed is evident in the cartographer's choices in turning Solinus' information into savage caricatures.

⁸⁴ Edson, 'Mapping the Middle Ages', 19–21; Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 94–100, 139. See Chapter 2 for Herodotus.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 1 pp.91-93.

Figure 4.14 shows the most westerly barbarians, the Griste, “a most wicked people, for – among other crimes – they make coverings for themselves and their horses from the skins of their enemies”.⁸⁶ The picture evocatively displays this gruesome custom – the man has a hat with teeth; the horse, a saddle made of human skin – and is vivid enough that butchery has evidently occurred; the text is not necessary but provides elaboration. Of prime importance is the image. This was barbarianism intended to be ‘read’ without literacy, indicating the cartographer’s aim to depict Asia as unambiguously savage to a wide, often illiterate audience. The information comes from Solinus on the Geloni people.⁸⁷ The name differs but the trope and language correspond; Westrem believes the cartographer simply applied a different name to the Geloni.⁸⁸ This is not unusual; when discussing this custom, Solinus used a different name from Herodotus, the origin of this information. Herodotus, in his section on Scythian history and customs, recorded the habit of making cloaks, quivers and other goods out of enemies’ skins as a general Scythian practice without specifying a people. He named the Geloni elsewhere but did not attribute this habit to them specifically.⁸⁹ Solinus, however, applied the name of one people to this general custom. The cartographer also changed the name, showing readiness to alter classical material.

As part of such alterations, the Griste demonstrate the reduction of people into stereotypes via selective transmission from Herodotus to Solinus to the cartographer. The detail of human-skin garments comes from Herodotus’ longer exposition of Scythian customs, including politics, funerary practices, economics, myth and warfare.⁹⁰ By Solinus’ time these were brief summaries which the cartographer condensed further.⁹¹ This demonstrates the selective transmission of

⁸⁶ “*homines nequissimi, nam inter cetera facinora, etiam de cutibus hostium suorum tegumenta sibi et equis suis faciunt*”.

⁸⁷ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 82. “They make garments for themselves and coverings for their horses from the skins of their enemies” [*De hostium cutibus et sibi indumenta faciunt et equis suis tegmina*].

⁸⁸ Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 186.

⁸⁹ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 188, Book 4.64-65 for the treatment of dead bodies and use of enemies’ skins; 197, Book 4.102 for the passing mention of the Geloni.

⁹⁰ Herodotus, Book 4 passim for broader discussions of Scythians, for instance 175-177, Book 4.1-13 (history and myths), 188, Book 4.65-68 (kings, governors and soothsayers) and 189-190, Book 4.71-73 (royal burials). For the Scythian habit of making quivers, cloaks and drinking vessels out of killed enemies, see 188, Book 4.65.

⁹¹ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 82.

gory barbarian details over time, societies and texts, and fluidity in affixing traits to names and names to groups of steppe peoples; North-East Asia existed as a collection of often lurid ideas. The notion of enemy-skin goods proved persistent over centuries and European ideas about Asia were uncertain enough that names and traits were unfixed and applicable in different contexts. The notion of Scythian savagery persisted while successive writers reduced Herodotus' more extensive observations.⁹² Eventually, *Hereford* stripped away other details and wholly typified the Gristle through their savage practices, demonstrating to pilgrim audiences that culture and civility began degrading outside urban Christendom. The cartographer deliberately emphasised this savagery by continuing a selective, sensationalised transmission of antique knowledge. In this savagery, the Gristle divide Scythia from urban Europe, denoting the beginning of the descent into barbarianism.

The next scene is of a pair of "Scythians", referring to a specific group, fighting each other (Figure 4.15). The scene is not particularly exotic; there are no unusual practices, just clear violence. The shorter caption, quoting Solinus, says they "offer foreign visitors as sacrifices".⁹³ Solinus perhaps used Herodotus' description of Scythian sacrificial practices and his assertion that they hate foreigners.⁹⁴ *Hereford* maps antique ideas of steppe barbarian savagery which, because of the fierce Mongols, had thirteenth-century currency. *Hereford* combines ancient information with contemporary significance, making Scythia both dated and timeless, antique in nomenclature but relevant in themes. The longer caption elaborates:

"The customs of the Scythian people, living in the interior [of the steppe], are more violent.⁹⁵ They dwell in caves. Their drinking cups are not like the Essedones', but [are made] from taking the heads of their enemies. They love battle; they drink the blood from the wounds of the people they kill. The number

⁹² See Chapter 2 pp.141-145 for Herodotus' broader descriptions.

⁹³ The map: "*pro hostiis cedunt advenas*"; Gaius Julius Solinus, 85: "*pro hostiis caedunt advenas*". The only difference is a small orthographic change from the "*caedunt*" of Solinus to the "*cedunt*" of the map.

⁹⁴ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 191, Book 4.76.

⁹⁵ That is, more violent than the Essedones, whom Solinus described immediately previously.

of victims increases [Scythians'] honour, among whom their expertise is to be wicked.”⁹⁶

This is from Solinus, truncated to fit into the space, with a judgemental statement:

“The customs of the Scythians living in the [steppe] interior, are more violent. They dwell in caves. Their drinking cups are not like the Essedones’ but are fashioned from the heads of their enemies. They love battle; they drink the blood from the wounds of the people they kill; the number of victims increases honour.”⁹⁷

Solinus used Herodotus’ observations about Scythian drinking vessels and honour from warfare.⁹⁸ Again, the map reproduces gory information first recorded in the fifth century BC. This medieval depiction of Asia is rooted in antique concepts of people outside Graeco-Roman concepts of urban civilisation, though here the map provides extra moralisation, turning classical subtext into medieval text by describing the people as “wicked”. Unlike the other barbarians, the Scythian vignette reveals the least about its subject matter through image alone, showing violence but nothing about caves or cups. A scene of fighters is enough to present a sense of savage force, with the men’s identical clothing hinting at the internecine strife considered typical of barbarianism.⁹⁹ Engaging with the caption provides deeper levels of savagery. *Hereford* was to be interpreted on different levels, constructing steppe peoples as barbarian through multiple layers. Imagery communicated the base violence, given depth through text.

⁹⁶ “*Scitharum gens interius habitantium, asperior ritus. Specus incolunt. Pocula, non ut Essedones de amicis, sed de inimicorum capitibus sumentes. Amant prelia, occisorum cruorem ex vulneribus ipsis bibunt. Numero tedium* [Medieval form of classical ‘*caedium*’ (gen. pl. of *caedes*, ‘victim’), seen in Solinus below] *honor crescit, quarum expertum esse apud eos prophanum est*”.

⁹⁷ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 85. “*Scytharum interius habitantium asperior ritus est: specus incolunt; pocula non ut Essedones, sed de inimicorum capitibus moliuntur; amant proelia; interemptorum cruorem e vulneribus ipsis bibunt; numero caedium honor crescit*”.

⁹⁸ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 188, Book 4.65.

⁹⁹ See discussions of barbarianism as a trope in Chapter 1 pp.89-93. On the idea of internecine conflict as a barbarian trait, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, 134–35; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 42.

The Scythians' blood-drinking becomes more shocking and explicit in the Essedones' cannibalism; Figure 4.16 shows a head, arms and legs. The text, using Solinus, describes how at their parents' funerals, the Essedones eat the flesh of the deceased rather than leave it to the worms:

*Hereford: "Essedones of Scythia live here, of whom a custom is to accompany parents' funerals with singing, and, having made a gathering of nearby friends, tear the corpses with teeth and, mixing it with sheep meat, make a feast of the flesh, believing it to be more noble to be consumed by them than by worms."*¹⁰⁰

Solinus: "Among the Anthropophagi in this part of Asia are numbered the Essedones, who also pollute themselves by murder through their nefarious food. An Essedonian *custom is to accompany parents' funerals with singing, and, having made a gathering of nearby people, tear the corpses with teeth and, mixing it with sheep meat, make a feast of the flesh.* Moreover, the parents' skulls are wrapped tightly with gold."¹⁰¹

The abridged form omits the ghoulish opulence of the gold cups in favour of the shock of eating the corpse of one's parent; the emphasis is on savagery rather than any kind of luxury. Three factors are noteworthy. Firstly, the map again reproduces an old idea of Asian steppe savagery; what is significant is the choice to include this material. Secondly, the picture viscerally depicts barbarian cannibalism in action, painting this space as transgressive and evil.¹⁰² At Hereford, cannibalism also contrasted against the martyrdom and bodily suffering of Thomas Cantilupe. Cannibalism involved the destruction of a body for sustenance; martyrdom, the sacrifice of one's own body for divine good. Thirdly, the cannibalistic logic of eating one's parents is a barbarian subversion of eucharistic themes; it is evil not just for the act of eating humans, but for the considered, ritualistic rationale behind it. These

¹⁰⁰ "Essedones Sithe hic habitant, quorum mos est parentum funera cantibus prosequi et, congregatis amicorum cetibus, corpora ipsa dentibus laniare ac pecudum mixtis carnibus dapes facere, pulcrius a se quam a tineis hec absumi credentes". Emphases mine.

¹⁰¹ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 84. "Inter Anthropophagos in Asiatica parte numerantur Essedones qui et ipsi nefandis funestantur inter se cibis. Essedonum mos est parentum funera prosequi cantibus et proximorum corrogatis coetibus corpora ipsa dentibus lancinare ac pecudum mixta carnibus dapes facere; capitum etiam ossa auro incincta". Emphases mine.

¹⁰² Cannibalism, as seen in Chapter 2 (pp.138-140), was a deeply loaded concept in Latin thought, subverting cultural and Christological ideas of moral practice.

people are not eating flesh from necessity, but because they deem it noble. This is a more profound and shocking demonisation, further separating the barbarian Scythians from cultured Latin Europe. As in *Ebstorf's* cannibal scene, the text lifts the image from being a representation of a potentially one-time occurrence into a subversive habit, ingraining transgressive un-Christian behaviour into Scythia. With the Essedones, *Hereford* has layers of imagery to unpack. The picture effectively but basically denotes Scythia as savage. The text heightens this savagery, imbuing an intellectual level of evil. Greater literacy brought deeper understandings of how far *Hereford* constructed its Asia as savage, transgressive and barbarian.

The last vignette is of two Carimaspi fighting a griffon for treasure (Figure 4.17). These Scythians have only one eye, as described by Herodotus and Pliny.¹⁰³ At the far east of Scythia, its human inhabitants display monstrous characteristics, a theme reinforced by their interaction with the griffon. The trope of monsters guarding wealth was ancient by the thirteenth century; *Hereford* draws it from Solinus and it was mentioned by Isidore, but the idea stems back to Herodotus.¹⁰⁴ The presence of men fighting monsters for jewels illustrates once more the notion of *mappaemundi* portraying a violent, exotic Asian steppe drawn from antique ideas. The Carimaspi demonstrate the end of the transition into the fierce and exotic as the reader moves into the increasingly unknown barbarian steppes. The growing west-to-east monstrosity of barbarianism culminates with one-eyed Scythians and monsters. To the east are Gog and Magog and more monsters like the minotaur. The savage steppe comprises a staggered scale of barbarianism, becoming more fantastic and dangerous the more the viewer mentally travels away from Jerusalem. *Hereford* further privileges urban Europe and Christianity by showing increasing inferiority in spaces further away from Christ and the city. This occurred by combining selectively chosen antique ideas with Christian priorities.

Through this, the cartographer evoked the ancient but contemporary notion of the Asian barbarian; the classical authors had recorded intensifying savagery and monstrosity further and further east, and the Mongols' invasions and continued

¹⁰³ Herodotus, *The Histories*, 180, Book 4.27; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae Vol. II*, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 86; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Tomus II*, XIV.III.32.

presence reinforced this trend over the thirteenth century. *Hereford's* deliberately selected and emphasised barbarian tropes brought contemporary relevance to what superficially seems a dated vision of Asia. The *mappaemundi* are products of intellectual tradition, their reception tied to more recent information and concerns. To audiences, North-East Asia was a place of barbarian violence and savagery. *Hereford* drew on and reinforced this principle, illustrating it vividly with an eastward intensification, the ancient Scythians given contemporary relevance by the continued Mongol presence. This gradation of Asian savagery helped explain the whole world, clarifying the civilising, morally superior nature of Christianity. Compare urban, Christian Europe, the map impels, with non-urban, non-Christian Asian savagery, bound within a triumphalist apocalyptic frame. The Scythian barbarians mould viewer understandings of Asia, and Asia illustrates *Hereford's* worldview, championing urban Christianity when foes – including not only the Mongols themselves but also Muslims in the Holy Land – had threatened it.

The interplay between image and text demonstrates a staggered degree of intent in producing Asia in this way. To the maps' visitors, a quick viewing of the pictures without being able to read the text would convey the essential meaning of Asia as barbarian. However, those who could engage more closely would find more layers of meaning, elevating the simple savagery of individuals into an evil land. The pictures construct Scythia as immediately, unambiguously savage, suggesting *everyone* should read it in this way. The captions provide ideological depth, elevating savage acts into evil behaviour. The more a reader could engage with Asia, the more they learnt its barbarian nature, and the more that Latin Europe – urban, with a splendid Rome, in the Christian time and space of the world – was privileged by comparison.

Regardless of how far audiences could unpack Scythia, moreover, the cartographer worked to make its peoples as savage as possible. As on *Ebstorf*, the images are all vicious *in media res* scenes of barbarians in action, not inoffensive domestic vignettes; the cartographer specifically chose to depict the Scythians as fierce. *Hereford's* captions demonstrate a conscious streamlining of classical information into medieval stereotypes. The issue of selectivity and partial information can be extended from the mapped Scythians' characteristics to the cartographer's selection of which Scythians to include at all, and to what content was excluded for not fitting

the cartographer's ideas. *Hereford*'s close reliance on Solinus for the Scythians indicates access to his work, suggesting the cartographer would have been aware of other types of Scythians from it. The cartographer hence actively chose particular barbarians over other peoples. For example, Solinus described the Agathyrsi, who dyed their skins and hair blue, and the white-haired Albani, reputedly descended from Jason.¹⁰⁵ Concerning the land itself, he noted the delicious, bone-free fish of the river Borysthenes, indicating fecundity.¹⁰⁶ *Hereford* mentions none of these features, despite being interesting and simple enough to communicate. However, Solinus did not describe them in savage terms; their inclusion would run counter to the bleak and fierce representations of Scythia and the Scythians. By omitting the tamer known Scythians or positive features of Scythia, the cartographer further reduced North-East Asia to a savage stereotype.

Similarly, Solinus described the Chalybes and Dahae people as exceedingly cruel, but afforded them no striking activity or characteristics which could be easily illustrated.¹⁰⁷ They therefore did not fall into *Hereford*'s scheme of pictorially representing ferocious barbarians. Based on the images and text which *Hereford* does include, it is fair to posit that the cartographer aimed at sensationalism in depicting Scythia, selecting barbarians such as the Griste and Essedones who were savage and easy to illustrate dramatically. By including no other kind of Scythian, those present became representative of all of Scythia's peoples. The neoclassical cartographic nature of Scythia was an issue of partial representation: including, excluding and ordering details to strikingly populate North-East Asia with recognisably evil forces.

The *Hereford* cartographer's construction of Asia and its inhabitants as barbarian stereotypes aligns with Murphy's observations about the interrelationship between identity, representation, Us, Them, power and ideology. In ethnographic and geographic sources, the self-professed 'civilised Self' constructs its sense of cultural and political superiority partly by exaggerating the negative traits of peoples whose

¹⁰⁵ Gaius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 82–83.

¹⁰⁶ Gaius Julius Solinus, 82.

¹⁰⁷ Gaius Julius Solinus, 83. In his list of Scythian peoples, Solinus notes that "The Chalybes and Dahae, in Asiatic Scythia, differ in cruelty no less than the most savage people" [*Chalybes et Dahae in parte Asiaticae Scythiae crudelitate ab inmanissimis nihil discrepant*].

way of life differs.¹⁰⁸ These peoples' flawed distinctiveness emerges through strategies of selecting, ignoring and representation which reflect the priorities and backgrounds of the representor.¹⁰⁹ For instance, much thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English literature, historiography and art worked to privilege English identity by setting intellectual borders around Latin Christianity and its outsiders, including Muslims and Mongols, aiming to smooth over internal divisions by contrasting Christians against multiple sets of non-Christian peoples.¹¹⁰ These facets of representation relate to arguments made by theorists of space and cartography that spaces are not neutral, passive entities waiting to be uncovered, but are consciously created.¹¹¹ Mapped space is not a mirror image of 'reality', but is defined and interpreted by a given society to delineate themselves and others. *Hereford* does not, therefore, show Scythia as a 'real' space, as more closely described by Herodotus. Instead, it shows a Scythia constructed as barbarian, suitable for the challenges faced in Latin Europe at the end of the thirteenth century. In the face of crises, Latin Christians bolstered their sense of internal community by defining themselves against other apparently flawed groups. This is visible in *Hereford's* imagery and the cartographer's decisions which constructed a one-dimensional, flawed, non-Christian, non-urban Scythia as a foil. The cartographer did not invent information; all the scenes can be traced to older sources. However, *Hereford* is not passive replication of older knowledge. To condemn the Scythians and champion Latin Europe, the cartographer mapped what was known, but not *all* that was known.

¹⁰⁸ Murphy, *Empire in the Encyclopedia*, 94–95.

¹⁰⁹ Lorenzo Pubblici, 'Giovanni Di Plano Carpini and the Representation of Otherness in the First Part of the *Historia Mongalorum*', *Zolotoordynskaya Tsivilizatsiya=Golden Horde Civilization* 10 (2017): 39; Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 7–9, 136–37, 168–74, 203.

¹¹⁰ Heng, 'Jews, Saracens, "Black Men", Tartars', 250.

¹¹¹ The literature here is wide-ranging. For important texts on the theme of space and cartography as phenomena tied with power and subjectivity, see: Lefebvre, *Space*, 1, 9–11, 34–37, 42–48; Russell West-Pavlov, *Space in Theory: Kristeva, Foucault, Deleuze* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 15–17; Lavezzo, *Angels*, 11–13; Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Spaces* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 31, 45–46; Edward Soja, *The Political Organization of Space* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1971), 3–7, 33–34; David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 53–56, 77–82; J.H. Andrews, 'Introduction: Meaning, Knowledge, and Power in the Map Philosophy of J.B. Harley', in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, by J.B. Harley (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 5–6; J.B. Harley, 'Maps, Knowledge, and Power', in *The Iconography of Landscape*, ed. Daniel Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), passim, esp. 277–80, 289–90, 295.

Mapping the Mongols

Hereford purposefully populated North-East Asia with savage, non-Christian forces reminiscent of the Mongols who left a legacy of fear, anxiety and failed diplomacy; the Mongols had a profound impact on Latin politics and thought. This thesis argues that this impact extended to cartography. *Hereford's* Scythians are particularly evil and populous, its Scythia larger, less contained and closer to Europe than on *Ebstorf* and earlier *mappaemundi*.

Ebstorf's Scythia is small, peripheral and enclosed, a distant point of safely remote curiosity.¹¹² In the early thirteenth century, before the Mongol invasions, neither the steppes nor its peoples were a pressing concern, so Scythia could exist as savage but distant and sealed-off. By naming Scythia, *Ebstorf* reifies the region as a cohesive space which could be demarcated by mountains and thereby shut off. Medieval authors like Adam of Bremen argued that mountains were fixed, strong borders between places or peoples. Such borders, as part of nature, were bound with ideas of Creation and hence had divine logic behind them.¹¹³ *Ebstorf's* Scythian mountains were a defensive act of divine will and acted as borders which helped define, contain and control this region.

Other detailed *mappaemundi* produced before the mid-thirteenth century show similar trends. The eleventh-century Cotton Map, for instance (Figure 2.3) shows Scythia cut off from Europe, its peoples (appearing as text) demarcated and compartmentalised by mountains, drawn as lines. An isthmus separates Asia from Europe. Barbarians exist, but distantly. Similarly, the twelfth-century Sawley map (Figure 2.4) seals Scythia behind expansive mountains, the “Caspian Gates”.¹¹⁴ Again, before the impact of the Mongols, fierce Asian forces existed but were physically separated from the rest of the world. These maps could domesticate savagery, showing steppe barbarians as an interesting aspect of the world while demonstrating that God had kept Christian Europe safe through geography. In maps

¹¹² See Chapter 2 p.136 and Figure 1.2.

¹¹³ Kimmo Katajala, ‘Maps, Borders and State-Building’, in *Physical and Cultural Space in Pre-Industrial Europe: Methodological Approaches to Spatiality*, ed. Marko Lamberg, Marko Hakanen, and Janne Haikari (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011), 63–65.

¹¹⁴ “*Caspio Porte*”.

predating the Mongol invasions, North-East Asians were less of an immediate, threatening reality. They could be relatively small, distant and self-contained as they had little bearing on the mapmakers; the mapped world reflected the lived world.

Hereford's Scythia, conversely, is large and uncontained.¹¹⁵ It is contiguous with Europe and the rest of Asia, a great expanse with barbarians and no cities, reflecting half a century of awareness of Mongol nomadism. This region lacks a name, in contrast to other areas on *Hereford* such as Hyrcania and Parthia (Figure 4.18). Unlike *Ebstorf's* captioned, demarcated, geographically defined Scythia, *Hereford* defines Scythia ethnographically through its people – the reader is left to assume that 'Scythia' is the space where the Scythians are. This further demonstrates the mutable, dynamic Asia of medieval cartography; there was no definitive version to be reproduced from the sources. Instead, Asia was contingent on ongoing circumstances, particularly the Mongols.

Reflecting this Mongol impact, Figure 4.14 shows the most westerly Scythians, the Griste, above the river Corvus and a caption explaining the dimensions of Europe.¹¹⁶ Scythia stretches far to the east. There are no mountains to provide an impermeable separation; these Scythians were made safe by neither distance nor divisions. Given the prominence of the Scythians and the lack of a 'Scythia' label, *Hereford* is less interested in Scythia than in the Scythians, steppe barbarians of which the Mongols were the latest iteration. The map's unconstrained, nearby barbarians reflect historical reality and anxiety – steppe nomads were no longer an abstract notion which could be imagined as safely and distantly sealed away, but had been and potentially continued to be a real danger. The Mongols pushed Asian nomads into European thought, and *Hereford's* Scythians reflect this new immediacy. It was no use showing mountains sealing off people who had invaded and whose Golden Horde territory now stretched to Eastern Europe. This aspect of historical relevance

¹¹⁵ See Figure 1.3.

¹¹⁶ On *Hereford*, Europe itself is labelled as 'AFRICA'. This is likely a mistake, although Kupfer advances a case for a purposeful transposition by the cartographer of the labels for Africa and Europe, reflecting contemporary ideas of optics and God's perspective when overseeing the world. See Kupfer, *Art and Optics*.

is overlooked in scholarship which paints mappaemundi as exclusively antique, conservative and detached from worldly geographical concerns.¹¹⁷

Despite their ferocity, the Scythians remain intellectually contained. *Hereford* proclaims in myriad ways the superiority of God and Christendom, containing the Scythians in the divine plan. *Hereford's* presence within a cathedral and function within a pilgrimage complex primed it for a propagandistic function as a polemic of Christian power, designed to impress many viewers. Christian Europe is disproportionately urban, implying the moral high-ground of a sophisticated way of life. The presence of Christ in Majesty during the Final Judgement affirms God's ultimate triumph and what will happen to violent sinners of the kind found in Scythia: they will be swallowed by Hell as the saved ascend to Heaven. Finally, Gog and Magog reaffirm Christianity's triumph against its various enemies.¹¹⁸ *Hereford* did not need to use physical geography to contain the Scythians and the Mongols who mirrored them. It contained them with ideas, contextualising them in a divine framework in which they would be punished as faithful Christians were rewarded. The *mappamundi* may not have reassured its viewers that they were safe geographically from steppe barbarians, but by emphasising that everything existed within a divine structure, it did remind them that they held moral superiority and that ultimate salvation would be theirs.

Hereford's Scythia squared the circle of how cartography designed to glorify Christianity could represent non-Christians who had been monumentally important in the thirteenth century, reshaping ideas of Asia, causing lasting emotional and political consequences. Neoclassical strategies provided a solution. *Hereford's* larger, closer Scythia likely represents an acknowledgment of the Mongols, but this acknowledgement is firmly mapped on Christian terms. Despite thawing relationships between Latin Europe and the Mongols towards the end of the thirteenth century, the cartographer still primarily aimed at depicting the people of North-East Asia as utterly barbarian but controlled. The antiquated, one-note Scythians, bound in indications of

¹¹⁷ See discussions in the Introduction, Chapter 1, and the Conclusion. For example, see Edson, *The World Map*, 95 (Edson mentions *Hereford's* "conservatism in Asia"); Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*, 128 ("no attempt was made to represent Asia in contemporary terms" in medieval world maps).

¹¹⁸ See below for Gog and Magog.

Christianity's superiority, helped the map control the narrative of the thirteenth century and reassure viewers that right was on their side. The cartographer safely accommodated the Mongols as antique barbarians while *Hereford's* location within a cathedral's saint cult proclaimed God's power. The Mongols were mapped indirectly according to the conventions of the world as a supreme God's creation, matching their earthly ferocity with divine might. Without a larger corpus of late thirteenth-century detailed *mappaemundi*, such conclusions can remain only tentative; there is insufficient evidence to categorically state a consistent impact by the Mongols on European cartography. However, from the evidence which does survive, it can be cautiously assumed from *Hereford's* post-Mongol creation and more imposing Scythia that the Mongol invasions did influence this particular map and its maker, an assumption given further weight by *Hereford's* depiction of Gog and Magog.

Gog and Magog

Hereford's Gog and Magog reinforce the map's triumphalist propaganda, aligning with its apocalyptic imagery and savage North-East Asia which privilege Latin Christianity by comparison. Of the *mappaemundi*, *Hereford* incorporates Gog and Magog into the most pronounced apocalyptic scheme, evident in the map's framing and institutional reception.¹¹⁹ *Hereford's* role near the end of a pilgrimage reinforced the sense of journeying to reach God and achieve salvation. Moreover, the architectural setting of a Gothic cathedral evoked ideas of Heaven as pilgrims viewed the map and considered its arguments about past, present and future. The apocalyptic Gog and Magog cannot be read in isolation and must be assessed as part of a *mappamundi* in a cathedral's pilgrimage complex. This evil people were associated with God's triumph, made clear in *Hereford's* imagery and architectural, devotional contexts.

This apocalypticism provided an urgent moral consolation in the wake of anxiety over the Mongols, losses in the Holy Land, and some persistent enthusiasm for crusading.¹²⁰ *Hereford* existed within an atmosphere of loss, fervour and expectation,

¹¹⁹ See the discussion of the map's apocalypticism above, for instance in its Last Judgement scene, the encircling MORS and the huntsman.

¹²⁰ See the above discussion of historical context, and Chapter 1.

its contents tapping into these emotions. For instance, the lack of political borders and the minimised Arabia obscured contemporary losses and posited the Holy Land as rightfully, potentially Christian. In this mentality, Gog and Magog, a non-Christian foe destined to be defeated, reminded viewers of Christianity's ultimate victory, offering hope for the present. Multiple themes of the map's contents and reception point to an apocalyptic message of Christian triumph which could provide reassurance for contemporary challenges.¹²¹

Hereford's Gog and Magog facilitated this apocalyptic, propagandistic role. Figure 4.19 shows them sealed on three sides by seas and mountains. The portion facing land is sealed off from the rest of the world by a wall, drawn from the perspective of the region's inhabitants to emphasise that the fortification's purpose was to shut them away. Within are Gog and Magog. Where *Hereford* is elsewhere rich with imagery, particularly of monsters and barbarians, Gog and Magog exist as a clipped Latin text, a necessity of space which nonetheless conveys urgency and horror. The caption is not from any known text, but seems drawn from different pieces of geographical and historical lore:

"All kinds of horrors – more than can be believed. Intolerable cold, indeed a piercing seasonal wind from the mountains which the inhabitants call Bizo. These are exceedingly ferocious people, the evil sons of Cain: eating human flesh, drinking blood. The Lord enclosed them through Alexander the Great; for having made the earth move in sight of the prince, mountains on mountains tumbled in a circuit around them. Where mountains were wanting, Alexander enclosed them with an indestructible wall."¹²²

Hereford does not label this people as Gog and Magog; their identification requires the reader recognising the clear literary and biblical associations. This raises a question. The savage people enclosed by Alexander and God are recognisably Gog

¹²¹ For instance, as seen above, the pilgrimage complex function, the Last Judgement scene, MORS and the huntsman.

¹²² "*Omnia horribilia plus quam credi potest. Frigus intollerabile, enim tempore ventus acerimus a montibus, quem incole Bizo vocant. Hic sunt homines truculenti nimis, humanis carnibus vescentes, cruorem potantes, filii Caim maledicti. Hos inclusit Dominus per magnum Alexandrum, nam terre motu facto in conspectu principis montes super montes in circuitu eorum ceciderunt. Ubi montes deerant, ipse eos muro insolubili cinxit*".

and Magog; why did *Hereford* not name them? A caption to the wall's right links them with destruction at the "time of Antichrist", but again does not label them Gog and Magog, stating "these enclosed are believed to be the same who are called Anthropophagi by Solinus".¹²³ Solinus had not mentioned Gog and Magog, but the cartographer attempted to invest this region with the authority Solinus provided, associating this part of Asia with him even when no such links existed. The map combined classical authoritative knowledge with biblical ideas, but it is curious that Gog and Magog are not named.

The answer is perhaps linked with their appearing as text rather than image, and relates to an orthodox Augustinian understanding of apocalypticism; interpreting these people and their role demanded close reflection with no attempts to presume to know firm truths about God's plan. On one level, Gog and Magog's textual presence stresses their importance to Christian belief; they are written into the space, time and divine plan of the world. Their textual form also perhaps relates to concerns over orthodox interpretations of the Apocalypse, reconciling these visions of victory with the hidden nature of God's plan. Augustine had urged Christians not to try to predict when this plan would come to fruition. He argued it was impossible to know the intricacies of God's workings and that humans should not dare to presume to understand, noting that the thousand years until the Apocalypse should be understood allegorically as a symbol marking the "fullness of time". It did not matter *when* the Apocalypse would occur, just that it would; that God would triumph; and that his plans were just. Humans should be content to know they were living in the Sixth Age, which would remain stable until the Last Judgement.¹²⁴ An Augustinian influence on *Hereford* is likely, given Augustine's unique portrait. The cartographer must have included him for a reason, perhaps as a reminder of his arguments about the Apocalypse which frames and conditions *Hereford*.

¹²³ "*tempore Antichristi*"; "*Isti inclusi idem esse creduntur qui a Solino Antropophagi dicuntur*".

¹²⁴ Augustine, *City of God*, XX.VII for the argument about one thousand years; "*temporis plenitudo*" for the "fullness of time". While discussing monsters, Augustine reaffirms that God "is the creator of everything, who knows where and when each thing should be or should have been created" [*creator est omnium, qui ubi et quando creari quid oporteat uel oportuerit*] (XVI.VIII). In Book XX, he discusses God's plan and the Apocalypse, arguing that only God knows the intricacies of his plan and when the end times will arise; his plans are hidden but humanity should trust that they are just (XX.II, XX.VII). See also Westrem, 'Gog and Magog', 55, 67; Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East', 168; McKenzie, 'Westward Progression of History', 342–43; Fredriksen, 'Apocalypse and Redemption', 153–54.

This Augustinian influence perhaps relates to Gog and Magog's anonymity. As part of his diatribe against interpreting the intricacies of God's plan, Augustine argued that Gog and Magog were not a specific race, but an allegory for evil peoples all over the world.¹²⁵ *Hereford* makes its enclosure very recognisably that of Gog and Magog but stops short of naming them, cleaving to Augustine's argument while nevertheless including this interesting, morally and rhetorically useful legend, reconciling the inclusion of an important feature with popular orthodoxy. Appearing without their name and as Latin text, Gog and Magog also have an air of the esoteric, a representation hard to understand at first glance without engaging with the map. They were not meant to be understood quickly, but only through meditation and reflection on the world's contents and its structure. Unlike the immediately recognisably savage Scythians, Gog and Magog warranted more interpretation and reflection as befitted their crucial role in the divine plan. Terkla's hypothesised guides could have explained these themes, ensuring a proper vision of the world's journey through time as part of the pilgrims' journey through space.

As part of communicating God's plan, *Hereford* emphasised Gog and Magog's ferocious strength to also emphasise the power of God. The caption evokes their savagery by mentioning cannibalism, Cain and their ferocity. The contrast between urban and non-urban heightens this barbarian construction; the cartographer juxtaposed Gog and Magog's non-urban space against four Hyrcanian cities. While Asia is less urban than Europe, the enclosed peninsula is less urban still. The one piece of architecture is Alexander's wall. As in the Romances, the map describes how God and Alexander enclosed these savage people with the former manipulating the terrain and the latter constructing his wall.¹²⁶ By emphasising the barbarity of Gog and Magog, *Hereford* demonstrates the power of God and his agents who stopped them. The map indicates the divine order and control which structures the world; God oversees everything, keeping monstrous forces in check until they are necessary to realise his plan. This shows Asia as a space lacking its own agency; non-Asian forces like God or the Christianised Alexander of legend act on it, demonstrating Christian power over different times at Asian expense. The wall is a

¹²⁵ Augustine, *City of God*, XX.XI-XII.

¹²⁶ See Chapter 1 p.96.

Christian symbol, indicating the power of the urban ideal to constrain barbarian forces while demonstrating God's influence throughout history. Unlike on *Psalter*, it is ungated and unbroken, clearly containing any threat. The cartographer introduced further apocalyptic rhetoric to remind readers of God's power while nonetheless showing that this threat is still sealed – the Mongols are not Gog and Magog. The end is not nigh, the map says, but when it does come, Christ in Majesty will oversee everything and achieve Christianity's ultimate aim.

Hereford presents Gog and Magog as barbarian, peripheral and non-urban, but also contained. They are physically enclosed, were defeated by God in the past, and will be beaten again in the future. As well as providing hope and consolation for contemporary challenges against Muslims in the Holy Land, this was another way in which *Hereford* attempted to domesticate the Mongols, a fierce, feared eastern nomadic force. No matter what earthly horrors laid in wait, they could be rationalised within a divine cosmography where ultimate victory would be Christian. The cartographer did not need to imply that the Mongols *were* Gog and Magog; this people's symbolism was enough to reassure viewers of God's power and plan. In contrast to *Ebstorf's* small enclosure and *Psalter's* dominant but non-textual one, *Hereford's* pronounced and developed Gog and Magog perhaps reflect a century of Latin loss, trauma, bloodshed and the need to proclaim Christian might in the face of this difficulty. The cartographer used Gog and Magog and North-East Asia to make a point about this region, the Holy Land and the past, present and future world.

Conclusion

The early-thirteenth-century *Ebstorf* and late-thirteenth-century *Hereford* have much in common. Both are large maps from religious institutions, received by ecclesiastical and pilgrim audiences as devotional, didactic, propagandistic displays of God's wonder. Both demonstrate the presence of God and affirm Latin Christian splendour using a densely urban Europe with grand cities, contrasted against Asia with its purposefully diminished urban landscape and savage features. Both understate sites like Arabia and the Seres. However, *Hereford* was shaped by a century of hardship, crisis and lost opportunity. The map reflects an altered mindscape of North-East Asia, while proclaiming more strongly the superiority of Christianity. *Hereford*

demonstrates the neoclassical themes which have recurred throughout this thesis and the historical contingency which makes each *mappamundi* distinct.

Hereford's clergy and pilgrim audiences would examine this map in a cathedral expecting to see God's power, which the cartographer clearly communicated. Apocalyptic themes encircle and penetrate the map, framing the earthly world in the context of its spiritual end. *Hereford* articulates this explicitly with the scenes of the Last Judgement, implicitly through the imagery of the huntsman, and textually through Gog and Magog. Any guides could relay further context for pilgrims. The Apocalypse and its inherent notion of God's triumph were eminently legible and meant to be received by viewers. So too was the difference between Europe and Asia. One was packed with cities, overseen by papal Augustus; the other was noticeably less urban, with Babel, monsters and barbarians in the midst of savage or gruesome activities. Even without literacy or close engagement with the map, *Hereford* made its arguments evident: whatever political or emotional difficulties were ongoing, Latin Europe held the moral high ground. Come the Apocalypse, God would be victorious. *Hereford* communicates this more strongly than *Ebstorf*; the later map has more barbarians, a more complex Gog and Magog, more apocalyptic imagery. After the Mongol invasions and Crusader losses, it had a more pressing need for moral conciliation, for expressing Christianity's superiority against the odds.

This historical specificity is apparent in how the cartographer selected and drew *Hereford's* landforms and content. The cartographer went beyond the simple pictorial depiction of Gog and Magog in *Ebstorf* and *Psalter*, describing in detail their savagery while making it clear that they had been contained in the past by God and Alexander and would be defeated in the future, offering hope for the present. *Hereford's* Scythia is large, uncontained by physical geography and bordering Europe. The cartographer deliberately made its barbarian inhabitants even more savage than the already fierce versions in Solinus, thematically mirroring the choice to omit many known cities to reduce Asia's urban profile. This was an Asia which the cartographer deliberately made flawed according to Latin ideas, indicating *Hereford's* neoclassical aspect. The proximity, size and savagery of Scythia similarly reflected five decades of awareness of the Mongols, who remained a concern throughout the thirteenth century. While the perceived shock and utter barbarianism of the Mongols

waned by the end of the century, they had left an impact and were still not to be entirely trusted, even as Latin rulers like Edward I courted them as potential allies. It seems fair to relate this sustained intellectual impact with *Hereford's* Scythia. The *Hereford* cartographer mapped the idea of the Mongols, indicating how North-East Asia was a closer, more relevant notion than before. Through antique nomenclature, this mapping was only ever indirect, but the idea of North-East Asian barbarianism was relevant and recognisable. Such nomenclature, moreover, allowed a dated people to be safely contained in the map's apocalyptic frames. The *Hereford* cartographer confronted savagery and Christian losses by accommodating the world in the neoclassical conventions of *mappaemundi*. Whatever challenges and crises occurred in the world, *Hereford* could situate difficulties in a worldview which forever proclaimed the order and power of God, accepting and reflecting contemporary ideas while nonetheless containing them.

Chapter 4 Figures



Figure 4.1: The Last Judgement scene at the top of *Hereford*, including angels leading the saved to heaven on the left, and demons leading the damned to the mouth of hell on the right.



Figure 4.2: The *Hereford* huntsman, bottom-right of the map.



Figure 4.3: Saint Augustine (on red background in a tower, right hand side of the image) in context on *Hereford*. Europe is in the left of the image.



Figure 4.4: Augustine detail on *Hereford* (rotated 90 degrees anti-clockwise for clarity).



Figure 4.5: Abraham on *Hereford*.



Figure 4.6: Augustine holding a heart in a Book of Hours (left, Morgan Library, MS M.374, f.139r) and a missal (right, Morgan Library, MS M.76, f.53v). Both manuscripts are from Bruges, c.1420.

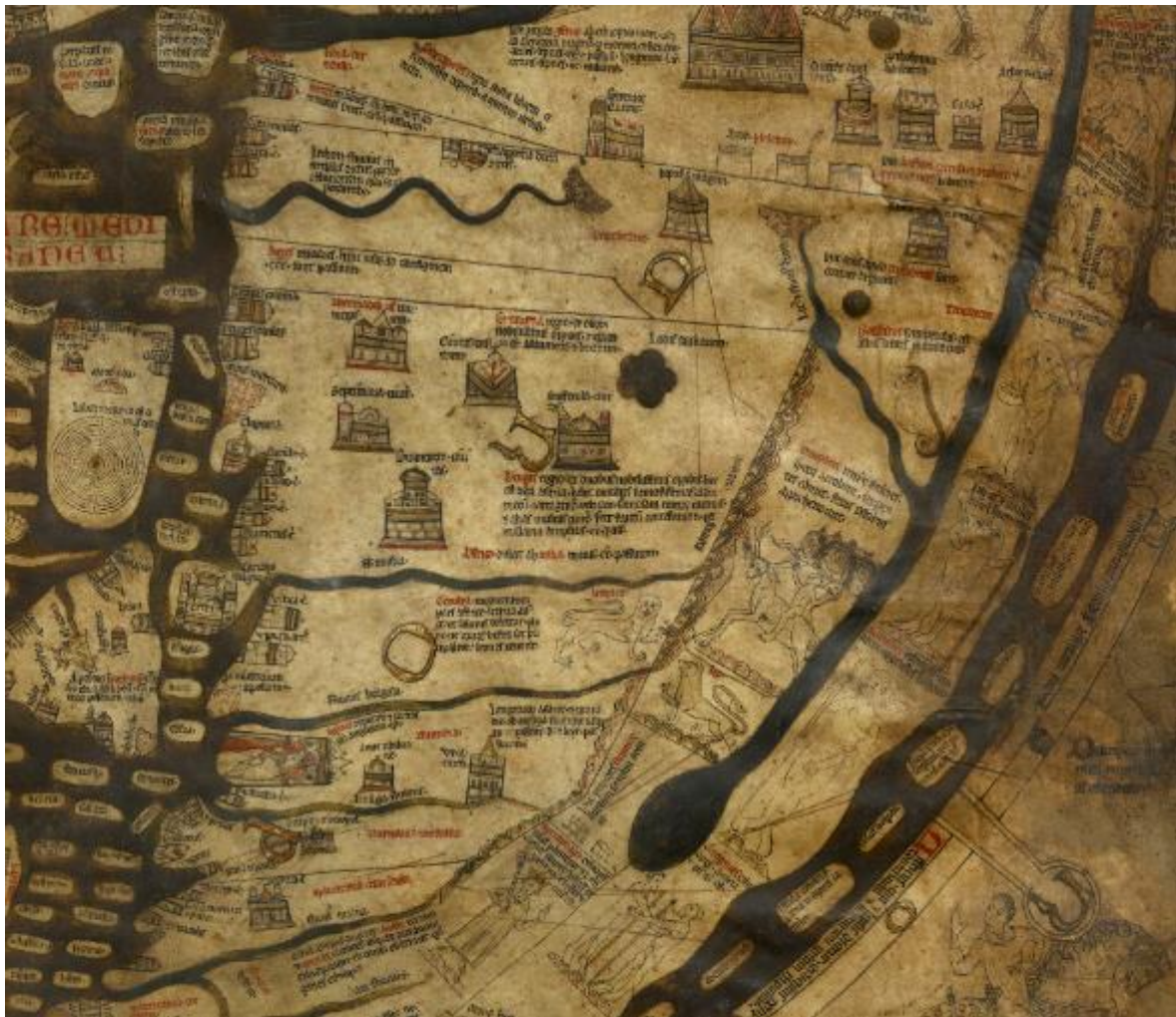


Figure 4.7: Africa on Hereford.

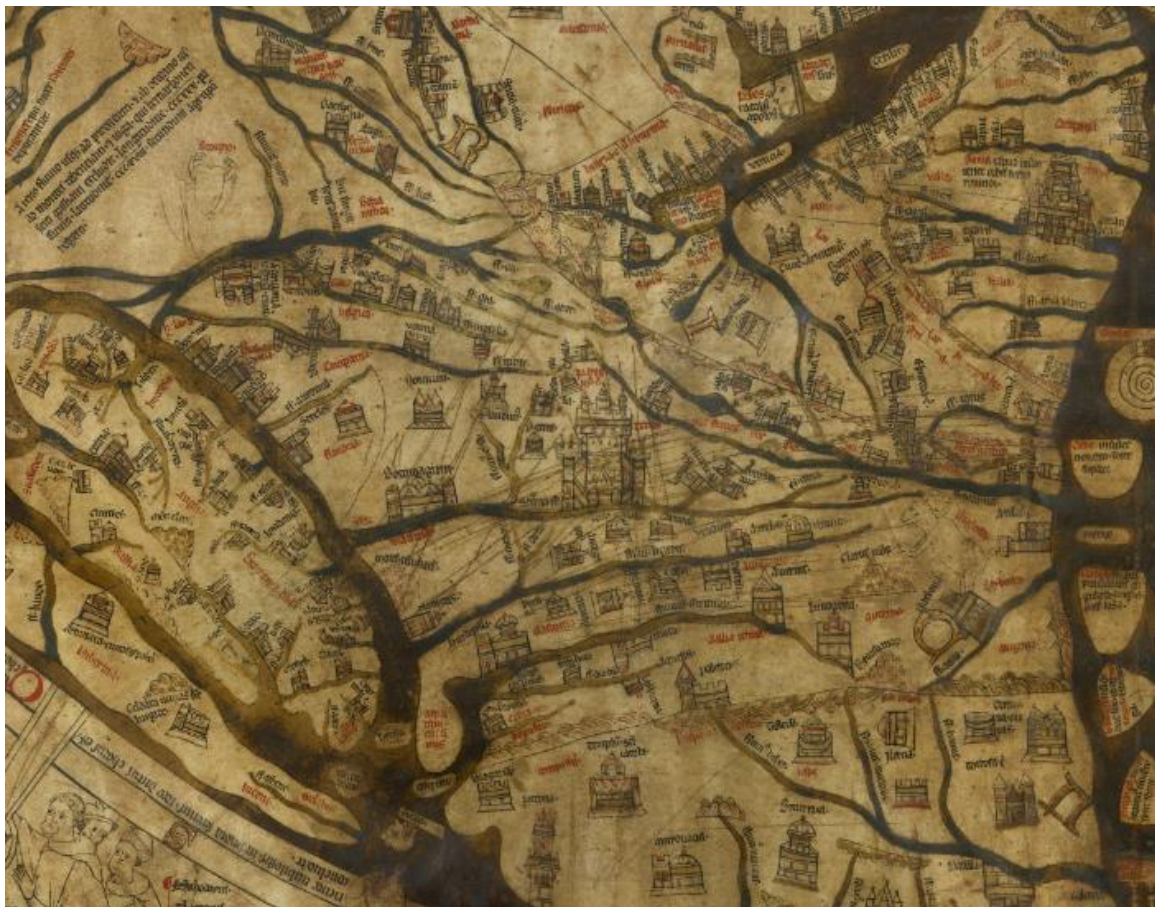


Figure 4.8: Urban Europe on *Hereford*.



Figure 4.9: India on *Hereford*.



Figure 4.10: Mesopotamia and Persia on *Hereford*.

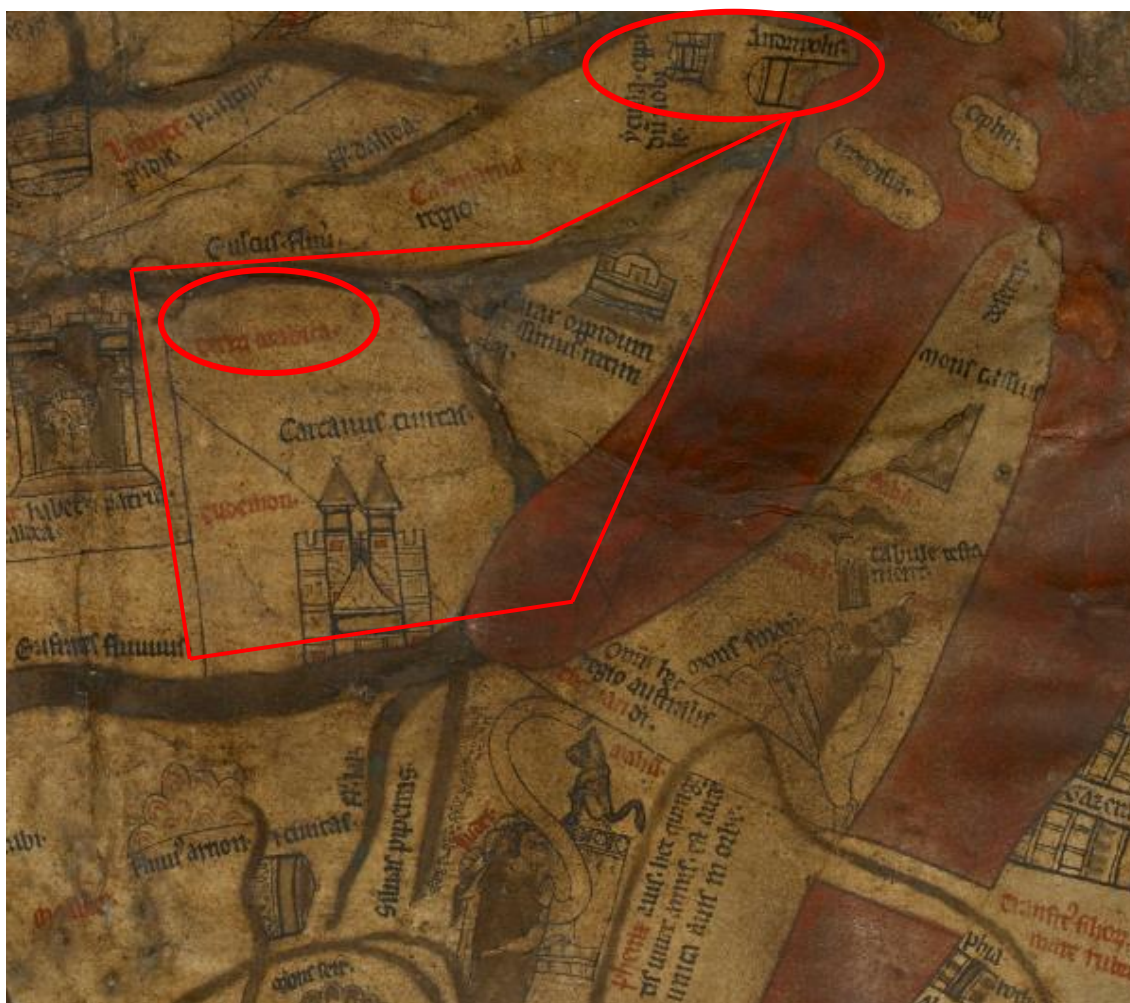


Figure 4.11: Arabia on *Hereford* with its two cities. The rubric for Arabia and the small Persian cities are circled.



Figure 4.12: The north-east of Hereford. Seres Civitas bottom left; Seres caption top.



Key

- 1) The Griste (Geloni in Solinus). Chapter 15.2. Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 82.
- 2) The Essedones. Chapter 15.13. Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 84.
- 3) The Scythians. Chapter 15.14-15. Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 85.
- 4) The Carimaspi. (Arimaspi in Solinus). Chapter 15.20. Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 86.

Figure 4.13: Solinus' Scythians plotted onto Hereford.



Figure 4.16: The Essedones of Hereford.

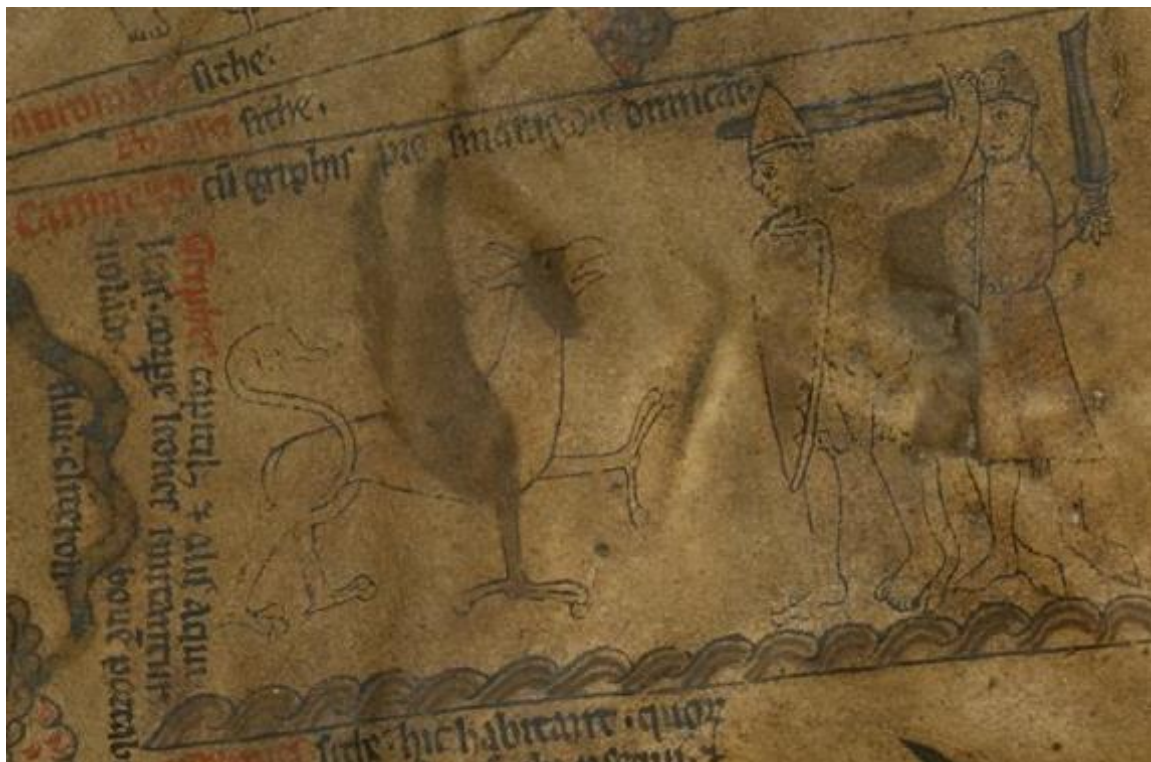


Figure 4.17: The Carimaspi of Hereford.

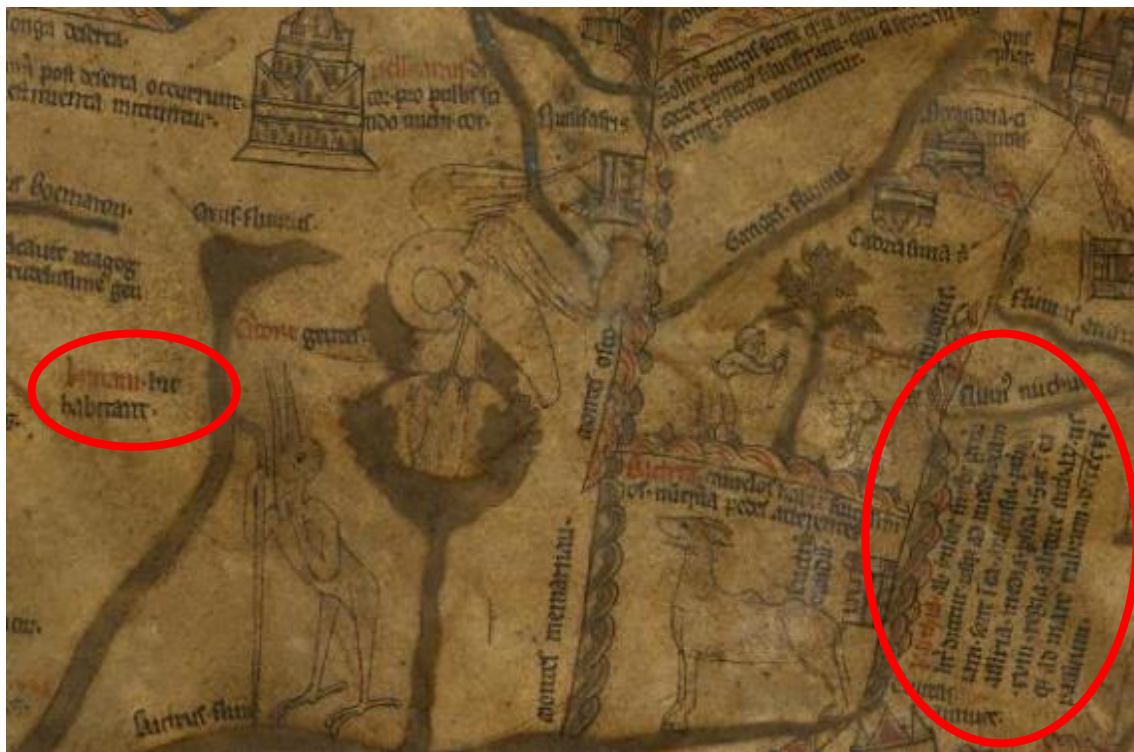


Figure 4.18: The regions of Hyrcania and Parthia labelled on *Hereford*.



Figure 4.19: Gog and Magog on *Hereford*.

Chapter 5 – The Missing King

Introduction

According to the legend of Prester John, circulating in Europe from the mid-twelfth to eighteenth centuries, Asia contained a powerful Nestorian kingdom which would aid Latin forces in the Holy Land.¹ First described in Otto of Freising's twelfth-century chronicle, popularised in the *Letter of Prester John* of that century, and sought by later travellers, John is absent from the *mappaemundi*.² This omission did not stem from ignorance or cartographic convention; the legend of John was known, and maps could be expected to include a marvellous Christian kingdom. This chapter explores why the cartographers omitted John's kingdom, a common feature of twelfth-, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts. Precisely why John is absent remains uncertain, but this absence supports and reflects themes presented throughout this thesis: unity, the superiority of Latin Christianity, and making North-East Asia flawed via omissions. The *mappaemundi* contributed to a sense of Latin-driven Christian unity by removing the schism that acknowledging John's Nestorian kingdom would invoke. By omitting the kingdom, the cartographers also reinforced the view of a culturally, religiously inferior Asia, lacking cities and rife with barbarians. This privileged Latin Europe as the maps' main site of contemporary Christian significance. The absence of John, a mighty leader whom Latin Christians considered a potential ally, removed a source of earthly hope. However, the cartographers sacrificed this potential worldly consolation to make larger points about Latin Christianity, God and the world.

The missing John hence differed from contemporary thought about Asia but was consistent with the maps' patterns. Because of the absence of contemporary texts

¹ "Prester" is a term related to Latin "*presbyter*" and English "priest". Nestorianism was a branch of Christianity across Asia, seen as heretical by Latin Christian; see further below. I refer to Prester John and his kingdom as a 'legend' throughout this chapter, but this is simply shorthand for convenience and brevity. It is only with hindsight that the idea of Prester John can be accurately termed a 'legend' with the associations of fiction or widespread scepticism which that term denotes. As this chapter argues, John's kingdom was a commonly agreed-upon geographical fact, and I use 'legend' to refer to the king and kingdom in a way which does not presuppose similar popular medieval views of the ruler as non-existent.

² See *passim* below for the origins of the Prester John legend and its interpretations over the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

explaining the cartographers' rationales, and the issues in arguing from negative evidence – proving that the cartographers knew about, but deliberately omitted, John – the conclusions presented remain tentative. However, this chapter argues for deliberate omission by suggesting a likely knowledge in John, demonstrated by the many twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts which mention him; and by showing how John's omission complements other cartographic patterns.

This chapter has two sections. Much of the material analysed is textual, grounding the maps' absent John in contemporary thought. I use the *Letter* of Prester John and the thirteenth-century travellers' texts not as direct sources for the cartographers, but as evidence for contemporary intellectual trends.³ The cartographers probably did not consult William of Rubruck, for instance, but his text is indicative of a contemporary knowledge of John. I use this textual evidence and cartographic material seen in previous chapters to compare John's exclusion with contemporary thought and with the *mappaemundi*'s other inclusions and exclusions.

The first section outlines the Prester John legend and revisits aspects of the maps to establish that ignorance does not explain John's absence. The section presents the legend's twelfth-century origins and early popularity, then uses efforts to find John as evidence that this kingdom was thought to be in Asia. This kingdom was imagined with a tangible location so could have been mapped, and as a powerful potential Christian ally. The section compares the travellers' texts with the *mappaemundi*, demonstrating that the maps had the impetus to include Prester John but did not.

The second section explores the possible reasons behind and consequences of this omission. Discussing the absence of John in Rubruck and Marco Polo's texts, the section situates the *mappaemundi* in a thirteenth-century context in which John's omission could take different forms to different ends. These travellers explained John's absence in ways consistent with their aims, Rubruck to damn Nestorianism and Polo to rationalise and explain Mongol history. The *mappaemundi* omit John

³ I refer to the *Letter* in italics to denote its nature as a text which was reproduced in manuscripts, to distinguish it from a physical object which 'letter' by itself could imply.

completely, reinforcing their presentation of a barbarian, monstrous, non-urban Asia, while depicting unity by removing heresy.

The chapter argues for the importance of considering John's absence from examples of medieval geographical thought, incorporating earlier cartographical evidence than has previously been used. Scholars have analysed areas like the legend's origins; the author and purpose of the *Letter*; the progression of ideas about Prester John; manuscript transmission and reception; and the change in location from Asia to Ethiopia from the mid-fourteenth century.⁴ Scholars emphasise John's role as a source of hope for Latin Christians and as an impetus for travel into the steppes and, later, India.⁵ Scholarship has established the origin, developments and importance of Prester John: to medieval European thinkers, his was a *real*, Christian kingdom, the discovery of which was imperative.

This chapter responds to this literature in two main ways. Firstly, where studies into cartographic history have addressed John, the analysis begins chronologically with his first appearances on maps, such maps providing evidence for belief in *where* the kingdom existed. Scholarship has offered no sustained discussion of John's absence from earlier maps. Instead, it is concerned with tracing his presence over time, only

⁴ For good studies of Prester John which demonstrate the trends in literature as outlined above, see Michael Uebel, 'Imperial Fetishism: Prester John among the Natives', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), 261–82; Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*; de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 19–40; Keagan Brewer, *Prester John: The Legend and Its Sources* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Charles F. Beckingham, 'The Achievements of Prester John', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996), 1–22; Charles F. Beckingham, 'Prester John in West Africa', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996), 207–11; Charles F. Beckingham, 'The Quest for Prester John', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996), 271–90; Bernard Hamilton, 'Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress through the Indies', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996), 237–69; David Morgan, 'Prester John and the Mongols', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996), 159–70; Karl F. Helleiner, 'Prester John's Letter: A Mediaeval Utopia', *Phoenix* 13, no. 2 (1959): 47–57.

⁵ Hamilton, 'Continental Drift', 238 ('Prester John symbolized the hopes which western Christians in the twelfth century derived from the certain knowledge that there were in the lands beyond Islam Christian communities who might potentially be allies'); Jo Ann Hoeppe Morán Cruz and Michael Frassetto, 'Popular Attitudes Toward Islam in Medieval Europe', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 64; Edson, *The World Map*, 96–98; Hiatt, 'Maps and Margins', 664; Tjalling H.F. Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia: Discovery, Reconstruction and Appropriation* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 13; Beckingham, 'Quest', 280–90.

analysing those maps which *do* include him.⁶ John's absence from *mappaemundi* is an important but overlooked aspect of Asia. This argument contributes to this chapter's second response to scholarship. Analyses of *mappaemundi* emphasise how they unmitigatedly glorified Christianity and God's world in all its divine diversity.⁷ However, excluding the Christian Prester John was important in the maps' construction of Asia and the world; absence made stronger points about God's creation, framed in Latin terms.

Prester John – Genesis and Development

Origins and Early Knowledge

The German historian Otto of Freising's mid-1140s chronicle provides the earliest textual evidence of John.⁸ Otto met Hugh, bishop of Jabala in present-day Lebanon, who described "a certain John, who lives in the extreme east beyond Persia and Armenia and, with all his people, is a Christian, albeit a Nestorian".⁹ The reference to "the extreme east" set the borders of firm Latin geographical knowledge at Persia and Armenia. Beyond these, the imagined geography of Asia became fuzzier, enabling flexibility in where writers could locate John.¹⁰ While it is not clear where Hugh obtained this information, Otto's account at least came from contact with someone from Asia; the legend was not invented in Europe.

As Beckingham and Brewer observe, two grammatical points of Otto's account further suggest that while he and Hugh provided the earliest textual reference, the

⁶ For example, Brewer, *Prester John*, 321-323 provides an overview of historical cartography which includes Prester John, starting with Giovanni da Carignano's map of c.1310. He also discusses sources like Vesconte's and Higden's early-fourteenth-century maps as well as later ones; Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 332-333 discusses his appearance in India or Ethiopia in maps from the early fourteenth century onwards; Edson, *The World Map*, 97-99 also provides a list of post-thirteenth-century maps placing the kingdom in northern Asia, India, or Ethiopia.

⁷ For example, Edson, 'Maps in Context', 232 calls Hereford an "encyclopedic collection"; Barber and Harper, *Magnificent Maps*, 14 likewise describe medieval world maps as "visual encyclopaedias of the world"; Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism', 514-517 discusses the aim of *mappaemundi* to show all of Creation; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 14-16.

⁸ Beckingham, 'Achievements', 2. See Otto of Freising, *Duabus Civitatibus*, 363-367 for the full passage on Prester John.

⁹ Otto of Freising, *Duabus Civitatibus*, 365. "*Iohannes quidam, qui ultra Persidem et Armeniam in extremo oriente habitans rex et sacerdos cum gente sua Christianus est, sed Nestorianus*".

¹⁰ I return to themes of location in the next sub-section.

John legend did not originate with them.¹¹ Otto wrote “Prester John – so they are accustomed to name him”, finishing his description of John’s wealthy kingdom and descent from the Magi with “so it is said”.¹² The third-person plural and passive voice indicate a pre-existing, possibly oral, legend. Otto referred only to Hugh as his source, so “*solent*” makes no sense unless referring to another group, and the passive “*dicatur*” would be inappropriate when recording a direct encounter with someone and evokes an unspecific third party. Such language indicates that Otto provided the first Latin account of an already established legend.

While not the legend’s source, Otto remains important for providing the first Latin description, and demonstrates two points which permeate accounts of John. Firstly, John’s Christianity was, to Latins, the wrong kind: Nestorian.¹³ The second part of this chapter considers the significance of John’s Nestorianism with reference to the maps’ Latin-framed unity. However, it is important to note that from the legend’s inception, king and kingdom were identified as belonging to an apparently heretical denomination. ‘Nestorianism’ derives from its alleged founder Nestorius, denounced at the 431 Council of Ephesus, establishing tension at the heart of this legend of a potential ally. Nestorians spread across the Levant, Persia and China, news about them travelling orally and textually to the Latin East and Europe.¹⁴ The John legend originated not in an intellectual vacuum, but in a context of Latin knowledge of Christian communities in Asia, such as Nestorians and old legends of St Thomas in India, believed to have established a lasting Christian presence.¹⁵

Secondly, Otto’s mention of John referenced contemporary events which demonstrate the role of hope in medieval Latin interpretations of Asian politics and warfare. According to Hugh, John had attacked the Persians and Medes before

¹¹ Beckingham, ‘Achievements’, 6; Brewer, *Prester John*, 8.

¹² Otto of Freising, *Duabus Civitatibus*, 366. “*Presbyter Iohannes – sic enim eum nominare solent; ubi dicatur*”.

¹³ “albeit a Nestorian” [*sed Nestorianus*], quoted above p.267 in Otto’s text.

¹⁴ Sp Brock, ‘The “Nestorian” Church: A Lamentable Misnomer’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78, no. 3 (1996): passim.; Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, 24–25. Nestorius was denounced for arguing that Christ had a solely human nature, distancing this eastern branch of Christianity from Latin thought in a key theological area.

¹⁵ See for instance Beckingham, ‘Achievements’, 6–7; Helleiner, ‘Prester John’s Letter’, 50; Seymour Phillips, ‘The Outer World in the European Middle Ages’, in *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond*, ed. Joan-Pau Rubiés (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2009), 15; de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 27.

taking their capital. After defeating a Persian alliance, John advanced to help the Christians in Jerusalem, thwarted only by the frozen Tigris.¹⁶ This is likely a distorted reference to events around the 1141 battle of Qatwan in which the Kara-Khitai defeated a Seljuq army. In its transmission from Persia to Lebanon, via uncertain means, news of a non-Christian victory over an Islamic host became reinterpreted as a Christian victory, galvanised by the need for hope.¹⁷ Through assumptions that ‘the enemy of my enemy is my friend’ and the transmission of vaguely known news, real events became beneficially reimagined. The need for hope and an ally stemmed from the fall of the Crusader city of Edessa in 1144 to the Turkish ruler Zengi, following losses for the Crusader States. The fall of Edessa, the heart of the first Crusader State, was traumatic for Latin Europe, spurring the Second Crusade.¹⁸ During this difficult time, John provided a potential ally willing to fight Muslim forces. The legend hence originated from an idealised Latin interpretation of historical events, Christian communities in Asia, optimism, and partially transmitted information where an enemy of a Muslim polity could become a Christian power.

Having been described only briefly by historians such as Otto, William of Tyre and Gerald of Wales, the legend took on new energy in the 1160s with the circulation of the *Letter of Prester John*.¹⁹ Addressed to the Byzantine emperor, the *Letter* was quickly reproduced and circulated over Europe in Latin and many vernaculars.²⁰ John wrote to the emperor, addressed insultingly as “governor of the Romans”, extensively describing his fabulous, wealthy, pious kingdom.²¹ This was in “the Three Indias”, a medieval term of no fixed definition which encompassed much of Asia.²² The *Letter* offered some geographical clarity by describing the kingdom’s borders:

¹⁶ Otto of Freising, *Duabus Civitatibus*, 365-366.

¹⁷ Tang Li, *East Syriac Christianity in Mongol-Yuan China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 21–23; de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 31–34; Brewer, *Prester John*, 7–8; Beckingham, ‘Achievements’, 2–5. Qatwan is in north-east Persia, south of the Aral Sea.

¹⁸ Hamilton, ‘Continental Drift’, 238.

¹⁹ For discussions of Prester John in mid-twelfth-century historiography, see Brewer, *Prester John*, 9. Such historians made passing reference to John’s kingdom, but offered no in-depth description. The Latin version of the letter is edited and published in Friedrich Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1876), 909–24.

²⁰ Brewer, *Prester John*, 9–10.

²¹ *The Letter*, 909. “*Romeon gubernatori*”. For this as an insulting means of address, and a general survey of the *Letter*’s themes, see Helleiner, ‘Prester John’s Letter’, 48–50.

²² *The Letter*, 910. “*In tribus Indiis*”. Beckingham, ‘Achievements’, 14–17.

“Our lands go from Further India, in which the body of St Thomas the Apostle lies, through the desert to where the sun rises, and come back in a gentle slope to deserted Babylon.”²³

The *Letter* demonstrates the old associations between Asia, St Thomas and Christianity, locating John in an area implied to be large but lacking any precise definition beyond a few geographical comparisons. The kingdom was *somewhere* in Asia; this was enough for the legend to persist.

The *Letter* established John’s kingdom as an ideal realm which evoked existing ideas of the marvels of Asia. The paradise-like kingdom contained gems; rivers of milk and honey; diverse wildlife; and beautiful architecture.²⁴ There was no sin, poverty or unhappiness.²⁵ The fantastical descriptions conformed with centuries of European ideas about east Asia, which, due to sources like Solinus, Isidore, bestiaries, the Alexander Romances and the *Marvels of the East* genre, was popularly held to be the domain of the marvellous.²⁶ Into this mindscape could be integrated information like the knowledge of eastern Christians and Islamic military defeats, resulting in legends such as John.

The *Letter*’s author, origins and purpose remain debated. However, there is no extant Greek copy and its content and language suggest “a Latin forgery”; this was a western European idea of east Asia.²⁷ Helleiner also identifies in the address to the “governor of the Romans” a Latin response to Byzantine tendencies to call the Pope an “archpriest”.²⁸ Nevertheless, the *Letter* was taken as genuine correspondence from somewhere in Asia.²⁹ Regarding its purpose, reports of a powerful Christian king could have provided solace for struggling Latins.³⁰ John being Nestorian could have rebuked Christians for infighting, reminding them of a common faith and the

²³ *The Letter*, 910. “transit terra nostra ab ulteriore India, in qua corpus sancti Thomae apostoli requiescit, per desertum et progreditur ad solis ortum, et redit per declivum in Babilonem desertam”.

²⁴ *The Letter*, 910-911, 915, 917.

²⁵ *The Letter*, 915-916.

²⁶ Brewer, *Prester John*, 3–4, 11; Helleiner, ‘Prester John’s Letter’, 49.

²⁷ Brewer, *Prester John*, 9.

²⁸ Helleiner, ‘Prester John’s Letter’, 54.

²⁹ Brewer, *Prester John*, 9.

³⁰ de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 35–36.

need for unity against shared enemies.³¹ The hostility towards Greeks could make it anti-Byzantine propaganda.³² Alternatively, championing a secular ruler, without mentioning a head of Church, could have been pro-Holy Roman Emperor, anti-Papacy propaganda.³³ While the *Letter*'s purpose remains speculative, it is significant that it employed and matched established ideas of Asia, was popularly reproduced, and had various potential uses. John was a possible military ally *and* a rhetorical device for arguments about religion and politics. Accordingly, the *mappaemundi* could be expected to have included the kingdom, a flexible intellectual tool which could privilege or galvanise Latin Christianity. John's absence is conspicuous, made more so by continued thirteenth-century belief in him.

A Deliberate Omission – Belief, Continuity, Power

Any discussion of a feature's absence from a source must first consider whether that omission stemmed from choice, ignorance or a genre's limitations and conventions. This section argues that John's absence was a conscious omission by presenting three possible grounds for his presence. Firstly, John was a popular notion, widely known about and an attractive, interesting prospect. This popularity is indicated by the *Letter*'s spread and frequent mentions of him in thirteenth-century travel texts; ignorance does not explain his absence. Secondly, his kingdom was believed to occupy real territory somewhere, so was a location which could have been mapped. Thirdly, John was a powerful Christian force, and *mappaemundi* aimed to glorify Christian power, so his kingdom was a viable inclusion. The maps had every reason to include John; it is significant they do not.

John's kingdom was widely known and believed in, indicated by the circulation of texts mentioning him and by persistent efforts to find him. As well as the *Letter*'s widespread, multilingual circulation, sources which referenced John, his line and his kingdom abound from the twelfth century onwards.³⁴ The *Letter* and legend proved

³¹ Bernard Hamilton, 'Prester John and the Three Kings of Cologne', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996), 178–80.

³² Helleiner, 'Prester John's Letter', 54.

³³ Brewer, *Prester John*, 12.

³⁴ Brewer, 2–3, 10, 17–20.

popular for their exotic interest, the hope they provided for an ally and because the *Letter*, a short text, could be copied quickly and easily.³⁵ Many manuscripts mention John's kingdom, not just replicating the *Letter*, but describing his kingdom in a range of genres, comprising what can be understood as a Prester John corpus.³⁶ There are at least 235 vernacular (including German and Anglo-Norman) manuscripts and at least 469 in Latin and vernacular, including 103 from between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, many in cathedral or monastic libraries. Such manuscript contexts were varied, including histories, ballads, satires, literary romances, traditions of 'Marvels of the East', travel accounts, and crusade chronicles; the legend appeared in many contexts including those grounded in the 'reality' of Asian geography and history.³⁷ The legend could entertain with its marvels, as in its presence in a thirteenth-century miscellany containing "romances, fabliaux, humorous lyrics, games and party tricks", or could teach readers about geography and model rulers, as was possible in manuscripts in ecclesiastical and university libraries.³⁸ Ultimately, as Brewer argues, the Prester John corpus is so extensive that it is difficult to draw a generalised typology of manuscripts or readers: he appeared in fiction and non-fiction, entertainment and pedagogy, across a range of genres and manuscript contexts.³⁹ The high figure of manuscripts, moreover, includes neither lost codices nor impossible-to-measure oral transmission. The manuscript evidence indicates much awareness of John over time, indicating high readership and widely available information employed for entertainment, education or propaganda.

Was he, however, known to the cartographers? This is more difficult to address. This chapter's argument depends on a general sense of John being widely known about, rather than any direct evidence which firmly proves that each cartographer had access to a source describing him. As well as the great range of genres and manuscripts which include John, this sense is evident, this chapter contends, in the quick, widespread circulation of the *Letter* and early texts mentioning John, and how he occurs in the thirteenth-century travellers' texts repeatedly without the authors

³⁵ Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 47. I discuss John's role as a potential ally below, pp.285-289.

³⁶ Brewer, *Prester John*, 17.

³⁷ Brewer, 17, 312-19.

³⁸ Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 47. The manuscript is Bodleian MS Digby 86 in Oxford.

³⁹ Brewer, *Prester John*, 17.

feeling it necessary to extensively explain the concept.⁴⁰ Such texts were not accessible to the cartographers. *Ebstorf* predates Rubruck, Carpini, Polo and John of Montecorvino, who travelled between the mid-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries and discussed John in some form.⁴¹ *Psalter* predates Polo and Montecorvino, who wrote in the mid-1290s and 1305 respectively. The Italian Carpini's report (1240s) for Innocent IV and the Flemish Rubruck's barely circulated report (1250s) for Louis IX of France were also unlikely to reach an English cartographer in the 1260s.⁴² Polo and Montecorvino's works postdate *Hereford*, whose cartographer was also unlikely to have access to the Franciscans' reports.⁴³ Moreover, of the extant manuscripts containing the *Letter* which Brewer lists, none are in Ebstorf, London or Hereford.⁴⁴ Hereford Cathedral Library's catalogue includes no manuscripts which reference John.⁴⁵ There is no direct evidence that the cartographers could have read about John in any surviving sources held in the places where these maps were drawn. The conclusions presented in this chapter therefore remain speculative, resting on inference rather than empirical proof.

However, it is fair to infer that the cartographers would have known about John in some form. Firstly, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. The cartographers could have read about John in lost books, or in other institutions' collections, or heard the legend orally. The extent of the loss of medieval manuscripts is not fully known but was likely high, with libraries losing codices to, for instance, natural erosion, fires, theft, and ideological attacks.⁴⁶ This is not proof that

⁴⁰ See below *passim* for discussions of these travellers.

⁴¹ John of Montecorvino was a Franciscan whom Pope Nicholas IV sent east in 1289 to become the first Latin Archbishop of Beijing. The source discussed in the present chapter is a letter he wrote to senior Franciscans in 1305 recounting his experiences, successes and failures in Beijing. See John of Montecorvino, 'First Letter'; de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 160–78; Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 222.

⁴² de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 89; Jackson, 'Introduction', 51.

⁴³ John Critchley, *Marco Polo's Book* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992), 139; John of Montecorvino, 'First Letter', 69.

⁴⁴ Brewer, *Prester John*, 301–11.

⁴⁵ Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors and Rodney Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 3–125 for the catalogue; 135–146 for the general index.

⁴⁶ Teresa Webber, 'The Libraries of Religious Houses', in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 103; Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford Catalogue*, xvi–xvii. Mynors and Thomson note, for instance, "obvious gaps" in Hereford Cathedral Library's medieval collection, but also that the extent of loss can never be fully gauged in the absence of contemporary documentary evidence such as a medieval catalogue or inventory, which for Hereford is lacking.

the cartographers *did* have access to texts mentioning John, but a reminder that twenty-first century statistics cannot replicate thirteenth-century bibliographical reality. Moreover, sites like Ebstorf and Hereford which went to the effort of commissioning and displaying a *mappamundi* can be assumed to have had an interest in geography. Von den Brincken argues that information about eastern Christian allies for the crusades – particularly John – was of especial interest for Latin religious houses; it is likely that ecclesiastical libraries gathered or at least had access to relevant texts even if they no longer survive.⁴⁷ Finally, as argued throughout this chapter, John's frequent appearance in texts by authors with different audiences, backgrounds and priorities indicates an awareness of the kingdom across social and intellectual spheres. Polo the merchant, the Franciscan travellers, and the Mandeville author's pseudo-travel text all deemed John a suitable, familiar subject which audiences of popes, kings, clergy and romance readers could recognise.⁴⁸ Therefore, while the cartographers' access to sources which discuss John cannot be proven, John's frequent manuscript appearance and his interesting nature make it likely that the cartographers would have heard of him.

Widespread knowledge about John, however, should not necessarily be taken as similarly widespread belief in him. His kingdom could have been taken simply as a wonderful story, absent from the maps for being recognisably fictional. Brewer, examining the kingdom's most frequently reproduced details, argues that many readers and copyists met the fantastical elements of the *Letter*, such as the excesses of gemstones and armed forces, with scepticism.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, scepticism in the excesses of the *Letter* and belief in the kingdom were not mutually

⁴⁷ Anna-Dorothee Von den Brincken, 'Spuren Der Orientalischen Christenheit Auf Karten Des 12. Bis 14. Jahrhunderts [Traces of Oriental Christianity on Maps from the 12th to 14th Centuries]', in *Kloster Und Bildung Im Mittelalter*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 404–5.

⁴⁸ I elaborate on this notion with reference to specific texts below. John Mandeville was the narrator and purported author of an incredibly popular travel book of the mid-fourteenth century. Mandeville, however, was actually a character, the book's author an armchair traveller. The text is a composite of works by real travellers including Carpini, Odoric of Pordenone and William of Boldensele, and of other geographical information from authors such as Pliny. Despite this, the work was assumed to be real and Mandeville was taken as a geographic authority during the Middle Ages. See Anthony Bale, 'Introduction', in Sir John Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels*, ed. Anthony Bale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), passim; Ian Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1997), passim, esp. 3, 8–13.

⁴⁹ Brewer, *Prester John*, 13, 17–18.

exclusive; people believed in John's kingdom in some form, if not every element.⁵⁰ Medieval journeys to find John, or which at least anticipated his presence, began as early as the 1240s with Carpini's mission, providing evidence for popular knowledge and belief in him and his kingdom. These travels demonstrate that, to Latin Europeans, John's kingdom had a real geographical presence in Asia which theoretically aligned attractively with tropes of the 'Marvels of the East', independent of a pronounced but potentially just literary romantic manuscript presence.

Belief in John's kingdom persisted from the twelfth century into the thirteenth and beyond, the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century travel texts demonstrating widespread awareness of and belief in John's kingdom as an expected feature of Asia. While these texts postdate *Ebstorf*, they are contemporary with *Psalter* and *Hereford*, thus illustrating thirteenth-century geographical thought. Carpini, Rubruck, Polo and Mandeville included some version of John in their narratives. They introduced John with little explanation, indicating not only that they knew about him, but that they expected that their audiences would too. I return to different themes and more detailed discussions of these texts in later sections. For now, I briefly summarise the travellers' accounts of John to indicate thirteenth-century belief in him from a range of writers and readers. I present these texts not as sources for the cartographers, but as evidence of contemporary thought about John which in turn demonstrates the likely or possible thought of the cartographers.

In the 1240s and 1250s, the Franciscans Carpini and Rubruck reported on the Mongols to Innocent IV and Louis IX of France respectively; they wrote as religious individuals to small audiences of elites about a new threat and possible responses to it.⁵¹ It is not surprising to find learned individuals, writing for elites worried about the Mongols, discussing John the potential ally. Carpini wrote that John had defeated Chinggis Khan's army when it invaded John's Indian kingdom, indicating Carpini's belief in a possible counterweight to Mongol invasions. Carpini introduced John

⁵⁰ Brewer, 20.

⁵¹ On the background to these missions and on the audiences of the texts, see for instance de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 89; Anna Czarnowus, 'The Mongols, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe: The Mirabilia Tradition in Benedict of Poland's *Historia Tartarorum* and John of Plano Carpini's *Historia Mongalorum*', *Literature Compass* 11, no. 7 (2014): 484–89; Larner, *Discovery*, 23–25; Peter Jackson, 'William of Rubruck: A Review Article', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1987): 92–95.

simply as the king of India without deeming it necessary to mention the *Letter* or any other source on John, suggesting he already knew about John and assumed prior knowledge in his audience.⁵² Carpini's report also opens with a self-attested commitment to veracity and eye-witness information, stating that he should be believed because he saw everything first-hand.⁵³ Chinggis, however, never reached India, campaigning only as far south as Khwarazmia in Central Asia – Carpini had his John defeat the Mongols without any eye-witness evidence or foundation in reality.⁵⁴ Carpini interpolated legend into history; whether his account of John defeating Chinggis was his own creation is impossible to tell, but his including it in a self-professed credible account suggests he believed John's victory was possible. The willingness to lapse into such content, geographically and chronologically distant from Carpini, indicates contemporary belief in and hope for John's existence. Carpini felt able to move away from eye-witness verisimilitude precisely because he and his readers would accept the idea of John. Unlike later travellers, Carpini did not travel far enough east or speak to the right people to delve further into the legend. Instead of his own knowledge, it was necessary to rely on popular truisms, indicating his belief in John and anticipating a similar audience awareness.

Rubruck too presupposed knowledge about John in his readers; he also introduced his version of John without spending time discussing the legend's origins or details. He cited John as a ruler of the Naiman tribe whom the local Nestorians called "King John". There was no mighty kingdom, only a steppe ruler to whom Rubruck devoted little detail.⁵⁵ This John, whom Rubruck dismissed as a Nestorian fabrication, was not the John of legend.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Rubruck's inclusion of a Prester John in any form indicates that his kingdom was anticipated in Asia. Rubruck asked after John amongst local peoples; that "no-one knew anything about him" suggests Rubruck searched for him, albeit unsuccessfully.⁵⁷ Rubruck and Carpini were prepared to integrate John into Mongol history, and apparently departed expecting him. Their

⁵² John of Plano Carpini, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', 59.

⁵³ John of Plano Carpini, 28.

⁵⁴ Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*, trans. Thomas Nivison Haining (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 118–20.

⁵⁵ William of Rubruck, 'Itinerarium', 205–6. "*regem Iohannem*".

⁵⁶ William of Rubruck, 206–7. I return to discussions of Rubruck and the Nestorians in the next section (pp.290-296) while considering the reasons for Prester John's absence from different sources.

⁵⁷ William of Rubruck, 206–7. "*nullus aliquid sciebat de eo*".

texts indicate existing awareness of John among elite and religious circles, even if their limited circulation in Latin did little to propagate the legend themselves.⁵⁸ The friars demonstrate continued knowledge of and belief in Prester John, though their texts alone can only suggest that this knowledge existed among elites and monks.⁵⁹

Polo and Mandeville, however, indicate a much wider awareness, stemming from their books' larger audience and extensive multi-lingual circulation; their texts were read alongside histories, geographical texts, romances and marvels, in a range of contexts for different readers and purposes.⁶⁰ They also introduced John without extensive background or explanatory information, suggesting they took John as a familiar concept and assumed their readers would recognise him. Like the Franciscans, Polo made John part of Mongol history, calling him "a great prince" whom Chinggis served and offered tribute, before later defeating and killing in battle, cementing the Mongol ascendancy. This prince "was called in their tongue Unc Can, the same that we call Prester John, him in fact about whose great dominion all the world talks".⁶¹ This was Toghril, otherwise known as Ong Khan of the Kerait.⁶² Toghril was a great ruler in the later twelfth century, whom Chinggis served before

⁵⁸ Rubruck's text survives in only four medieval manuscripts, all in Latin, and there is little evidence of its circulation apart from the inclusion of select sections in his fellow Franciscan Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus*. Jackson, 'Introduction', 51–52. Carpini's text was slightly more popular and sections about the Mongols circulated in another text, Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, but again this was in Latin among a limited audience. C. Raymond Beazley, *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis, as Printed for the First Time by Hakluyt in 1598, Together with Some Shorter Pieces* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1903), vii–xviii; Sardelić, 'Emotions in the Eurasian Steppe', 496–98.

⁵⁹ I return to the friars' texts passim below to discuss themes such as John's power and Nestorianism; for now, I cite them simply to demonstrate mid-thirteenth-century knowledge and anticipation of John's kingdom.

⁶⁰ On the popularity of texts, gauged by contemporary translations and extant manuscripts, by people who travelled (or, in Mandeville's case, purported to travel) in Asia, see for instance James Muldoon, 'Introduction', in *Travellers, Intellectuals, and the World Beyond Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2010), xv; Phillips, 'Outer World', 18–19; J.K. Hyde, 'Ethnographers in Search of an Audience', in *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond*, ed. Joan-Pau Rubiés (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2009), 97, 110; Andreose, 'Franco-Italian Tradition', 261–62; Larner, *Discovery*, 148; Bale, 'Mandeville Introduction', xiv–xvii; Jean E. Jost, 'The Exotic and Fabulous East in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: Understated Authenticity*', in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 575; Higgins, *Writing East*, vii–viii.

⁶¹ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition in Two Volumes. Volume I*, ed. Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), 226 for the quotation. For the whole account, see 226, 238–45 and passim below, especially in the next section.

⁶² The Kerait were a steppe people of north-eastern Asia, often with Nestorian elites. Ong comes from Marco's interpretation of the Chinese 王 *wang*, king.

eclipsing in power.⁶³ Polo provides evidence that John was still a popular notion by the end of the thirteenth century, who could be understood as having a role in Mongol history. In a text which circulated widely among readers of different backgrounds, Polo felt able to discuss John as a known figure.

Mandeville's popular mid-fourteenth-century travel account further suggests common awareness of John. The Mandeville author heavily used the *Letter* over three chapters, describing John as a model ruler of a model kingdom – wealthy, pious, militarily strong.⁶⁴ Mandeville's fictional nature proved little hindrance to his text being accepted as a geographical authority; until the mid-sixteenth century, his travels were seen as true and provided information for sources like Martin Behaim's late-fifteenth-century globe.⁶⁵ It cannot be known whether this belief in Mandeville extended to belief in his John; it is not necessarily the case that readers accepted all parts of Mandeville's text. Nevertheless, it remains significant that Mandeville felt able, two hundred years since Otto of Freising and the *Letter*, to include the legend in a text purported to be true. He made no claims to be testifying to the kingdom's veracity in a time of disbelief; there is no "I came to the kingdom of Prester John, long thought to be a myth". Mandeville noted the realm as just another geographical fact, describing its location near Bactria.⁶⁶ Like Polo, Mandeville's text circulated among a wide readership, who can be inferred to have had some prior awareness of the legend. Like the Franciscans' texts, Polo and Mandeville's vernacular popular narratives drew on knowledge of and belief in John's kingdom as a real feature of Asia. The version of John differed across texts – Carpini's victorious Indian king, Rubruck's Nestorian myth, Polo's steppe ruler, Mandeville's model leader – but each traveller nevertheless indicates a thirteenth-century common awareness of John.

⁶³ Morgan, 'Prester John', 162–65; May, *Mongol Conquests*, 33–36; Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, 67–73. The final section of this chapter explores Marco's narrative in more detail to consider why John was absent from the maps.

⁶⁴ For a thorough analysis of the nature and role of Prester John in Mandeville, see for example, Higgins, *Writing East*, passim, esp. 156–59, 187–94. John Mandeville, *Sir John Mandeville: The Book of Marvels and Travels*, ed. Anthony Bale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 106–109, 109–118, 118–124.

⁶⁵ Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), passim for reception history; 122–123 for Mandeville as geographical source. See also Bale, 'Mandeville Introduction', x–xi; Higgins, *Writing East*, vii; Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 110.

⁶⁶ John Mandeville, *Book of Marvels*, 106. Bactria is a region of what is now often termed Central Asia.

The *mappaemundi* can therefore be situated in a period when Prester John was an accepted, expected part of Asia. Two kinds of non-literary evidence reinforce this belief: attempts at contact, and maps. Through the medieval and early modern periods, European elites tried to contact John. Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) sent a letter to him to co-ordinate military action against Muslim powers in the Levant; John was imagined not as an abstract rumour but as an actor in Asian politics.⁶⁷ Efforts persisted to find him in North-East Asia and, when a satisfactorily strong and marvellous realm did not emerge, his location shifted in the early-to-mid fourteenth century to India, then Ethiopia. Hope that the kingdom could be found persisted until the eighteenth century, marked by expeditions to find him such as voyages by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.⁶⁸ While this move to Ethiopia divorced Prester John from Asia, the efforts to find him *somewhere* indicate that he was an expected presence in Asia at the time of the maps.

John was even present in Asia in some early fourteenth-century world maps, showing that cartography, not much later than the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*, could and would include him. While most maps which featured him did so in Africa, two fourteenth-century examples located him in Asia. The c.1320 map of Pietro Vesconte (Figure 5.1) placed John in India Inferior, a northern region on Asia's east coast. The 1340s/1350s map of Ranulf Higden (Figure 5.2) placed John in Scythia Inferior, the part of Scythia nearer to Europe, calling him the "Tartars" king.⁶⁹ It is notable that an Asian John features in cartography produced not much later than *Hereford*. It is unclear where Higden and Vesconte acquired their information on

⁶⁷ I-Chun Wang, 'Alexander the Great, Prester John, Strabo of Amasia, and Wonders of the East', *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 14, no. 5 (2012): 4.

⁶⁸ On continued efforts to find the wandering kingdom, see Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 89; Brewer, *Prester John*, 21–24; Beckingham, 'Prester John in West Africa', *passim*; Hamilton, 'Continental Drift', 252–55; Beckingham, 'Quest', 280–90.

⁶⁹ Brewer, *Prester John*, 321–22. Early examples of Prester John's presence in Ethiopia include Angelino Dulcert's 1336 world map, Albertin de Virga's 1411x1415 world map, and the 1375 Catalan Atlas. Higden's map, which accompanies one manuscript of his world history, notes that "In the northern part live the Tartars, whose king was Prester John" [*ex parte aquilonis habitant Tartari quorum rex fuit Presbiter Iohannes*].

John, but his presence indicates the necessary knowledge and cartographic desire to include him in some form.⁷⁰

The evidence of these maps, the popular manuscript traditions, the travel texts and continued European efforts to find John overwhelmingly indicate persistent anticipation of his kingdom in Asia. Fourteenth-century maps include him in some location; he is uniquely absent, therefore, from the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*.⁷¹ Knowledge of John's kingdom was widespread from the mid-twelfth century onwards, transmitted in a range of manuscript traditions, including twelfth- and thirteenth-century England and Germany.⁷² Each traveller apparently knew about John before writing. It is fair to assume that oral or textual knowledge of Prester John must have been available, in some form with whatever detail, to the cartographers who worked in scholarly environments.⁷³ An author's potential knowledge of a given subject can never be firmly proven if the author does not mention this subject. However, it seems likely that these maps' makers, who had access to monastic or cathedral libraries, would have known or had the means of accessing information about John and his kingdom, a popular geographical fact. The maps' cities, monsters, barbarians, animals and features like Gog and Magog indicate access to a wide range of sources and kinds of knowledge. Moreover, each *mappamundi* has contextual aspects further suggesting the cartographers had much geographical information at their disposal. *Ebstorf* includes surrounds the world with text about the world's animals and history, as well as material on the world itself, and cites authorities including Isidore and Sallust. *Psalter*'s production in London – a large city with many available libraries – likewise suggests access to a range of information.⁷⁴ Hereford had a distinguished medieval library and was a scholarly centre, especially in geographical areas such as chorography.⁷⁵ It is fair to assume

⁷⁰ On Vesconte, see for instance Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 37, 51; Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 314–18; Edson, *The World Map*, 83. On Higden, see Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', 312; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 126–29; Scafi, 'Image of Persia', 226.

⁷¹ His kingdom is also omitted from the late-twelfth-century Sawley Map. However, given this map's relatively close date to the inception and early development of the legend, and before the weight of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century evidence suggesting widespread knowledge in John, this absence is less surprising.

⁷² Brewer, *Prester John*, 301–11.

⁷³ Edson, *The World Map*, 95.

⁷⁴ On *Psalter*'s London production, see Chapter 3, especially Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 23.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 4, for instance Birkholz, 'Hereford Maps', 233; Terkla, 'Informal Catechesis', 138–39.

that each cartographer would have heard of John in some form. His absence from the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* did not stem from ignorance.

Nor was the kingdom absent for being difficult to locate, or for being imagined as transient. As the evidence for thirteenth-century belief in John indicates, the legend was organic, developing over time and across sources. Changing understandings of the ruler and his realm across the thirteenth century enabled a prolonged search for a kingdom ruled by 'Prester John'. The thirteenth-century travellers looked in North-East Asia for the kingdom described in the twelfth century, but were not necessarily looking for the same person of the *Letter* or Otto's chronicle. In the second theme of this section, the kingdom was not abstract, but had concrete territory and history. It was a real region, and hence could have been included in the *mappaemundi* which named and defined regions.

The legend developed as writers encountered different information and reinterpreted ideas of John. The kingdom was made credible by ideas that 'Prester John' represented a title or dynastic progenitor – readers did not need to accept an incredibly long-lived ruler. 'Prester John' was more commonly interpreted as a title from the thirteenth century onwards; one French-language edition of Polo, for instance, cited "*le Prester Johan*" as a ruler's title, and mentioned a grandson "of the Prester John", not "of Prester John".⁷⁶ Mandeville took this approach, explaining the origin of the title. The first 'John', a noble but non-Christian ruler, travelled to Egypt to observe Christian rites. There, he converted, learned what priests were, and decided to be called one thereafter. He said he would take the name of the first priest to leave a particular church. This was John, so the king and all his successors became known as Prester John.⁷⁷ The Mandeville author added temporal depth to the legend, explaining the use of a single name over time to justify the fourteenth-century existence of a ruler with a name first mentioned in the 1100s. This is an example of an interpretation of John which provided realism, making the kingdom more believable as a polity which existed over time.

⁷⁶ Brewer, *Prester John*, 20–22. The point about the grammar around "the Prester John" is clearer in the manuscript's French: the present "*le filz au filz dou Prestre Joan*" as opposed to "*le filz au filz de Prestre Joan*" (22). Emphases are Brewer's.

⁷⁷ John Mandeville, *Book of Marvels*, 118.

Other writers understood the twelfth-century Prester John of Otto and the *Letter* as a ruler with descendants of different names. Polo, surveying the province of “Tenduc”, described the ruling family as descended from Prester John, currently led by a certain George.⁷⁸ George was a historical figure, an Onggut ruler present in contemporary Chinese sources.⁷⁹ Polo conflated the Onggut with the Kerait of Toghril, his original John; two distinct Christian peoples and rulers became related. This was likely not a purposeful conflation, instead stemming from Polo’s understanding and remembering of a complex array of tribes and lands, some of which were ruled by Christians. Polo showed continuity between John and the late thirteenth century, establishing his kingdom as a lasting feature of Asia.

Montecorvino demonstrated a similar interpretation in a letter to the Franciscans from 1305, too early to have read Polo’s text; his understanding of John was independent of Polo’s. Montecorvino also mentioned George, describing him as a formerly Nestorian king descended from John and converted by Montecorvino.⁸⁰ George had a church built and converted some of his people to Latin Christianity, although they reverted to Nestorianism after George died.⁸¹ Like Polo, Montecorvino interpreted a real figure through an old legend. He also provided no explanation of how or where he learned about John; it is hence fair to assume that Montecorvino considered John commonplace, or at least known by his Franciscan audience. This further indicates knowledge of John, and demonstrates that the kingdom was understood as a real polity with rulers with normal lifespans and lineages. The legend was organic and constantly changing, its details reinterpreted by successive writers. ‘Prester John’ could be a title or progenitor, so the story could persist over

⁷⁸ Marco Polo, *The Travels Volume I*, 284. Tenduc comprised the former lands of the Onggut tribe.

⁷⁹ Such records include the *Yuanshi*, the annals of the Mongol Yuan dynasty, compiled in the subsequent Ming dynasty from records compiled during the Yuan. On George, see Maurizio Paolillo, ‘A Nestorian Tale of Many Cities: The Problem of the Identification of Urban Structures in Önggüt Territory During the Yuan Dynasty According to Chinese and Western Sources’, in *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, ed. Roman Malek (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006), 357–59; Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 38–41.

⁸⁰ John of Montecorvino, ‘First Letter’, 69. “*ad veritatem verae fidei Catholicae per me conversus*”.

⁸¹ John of Montecorvino, 70; Valtrová, ‘Horizons of Legends’, 167; de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 164–67.

time without necessitating John's incredible old age.⁸² His kingdom became grounded in realism, making it unlikely the cartographers rejected it as fantasy.

The kingdom also had a mappable location. As the texts indicate, this location was not fixed, but was nevertheless a persistent presence somewhere in Asia. Otto and the *Letter* presented ambiguous eastern locations: Otto, "the extreme east"; the *Letter*, the "Three Indias".⁸³ Carpini and Mandeville, the writers least tied to the realities of Asian history, similarly located John in or near India. Carpini called John the king of India.⁸⁴ Mandeville was less explicit over the kingdom's location, describing it as remote, near Cathay and Bactria.⁸⁵ He implied Indian associations, however, while describing Tiberias in Syria; here were Christians of many kinds, including "Indians, who come from the land of Prester John".⁸⁶ Mandeville's fourteenth-century text hence continues the twelfth-century tradition of locating John somewhere in the hazily defined "Indias". The Vesconte map likewise placed John in India Inferior.⁸⁷ Early, more fabulous accounts of John, and some maps, hence posited an Indian location. While India's geography was not fully understood, *mappaemundi* nonetheless included it; John's kingdom was associated from the outset in a region acknowledged by cartographers. Other travellers looked for John's kingdom among the North-East Asian steppes as writers like Rubruck, Polo and Montecorvino associated John with Mongol history. While the cartographers did not use these travel texts, these sources nonetheless indicate understandings of John where the kingdom's location was flexible with people seeking him across Asia.⁸⁸ This varying or ambiguous location was for the cartographers not a potential hindrance, but an asset. The wandering position provided many possible sites on a map. That there were many options for John to appear somewhere makes it surprising that he appears nowhere. An important issue is, therefore, not just whether the cartographers were aware of John or believed in him, but *why* his

⁸² Brewer, *Prester John*, 21–22.

⁸³ See 'Origins and Early Knowledge' above.

⁸⁴ John of Plano Carpini, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', 59. See also the above discussion of Carpini's introduction of John into his narrative.

⁸⁵ John Mandeville, *Book of Marvels*, 106–107.

⁸⁶ John Mandeville, 57.

⁸⁷ See above p.279.

⁸⁸ On the thirteenth-century trend towards locating Prester John in northern rather than southern India, see Hamilton, 'Continental Drift', 245–49.

kingdom appeared in texts but not maps. This issue can be addressed by considering the cartographers' aims, priorities and methods.

The kingdom's absence cannot be explained on the grounds of being unsuitable for the content or limitations of *mappaemundi*, documents which included regions all over the world. *Ebstorf* names regions including Germany, Assyria and Syria; *Hereford*, regions including Macedonia, Aquitaine and Arabia. Even the tiny *Psalter*, whose size meant details had to be applied sparingly, names, for example, Hyrcania and Egypt.⁸⁹ The larger *mappaemundi* also describe some regions, a feature which could have explained John's kingdom: Figure 5.3 shows a caption describing Parthia on *Hereford*; Figure 5.4, *Ebstorf*'s caption for Mesopotamia.⁹⁰ The maps could describe geographical regions using text, especially in the less understood Asia, as John's kingdom could have merited. *Ebstorf*'s Mesopotamia caption also references authorities such as Isidore, showing how the cartographers cited texts to explain parts of the world; a cartographer could, hypothetically, have supported their description of John's kingdom by citing a text such as the *Letter*. The cartographers collected and adapted information from antique authors, moulding classical worldviews into the *mappaemundi*'s particular mindscapes, creating regions which while different from those in the classical corpus were nonetheless present. Conversely, the cartographers did not mould a version of John's kingdom from any of the references to or ideas about him. They simply omitted it.

Given that the *mappaemundi* name and describe many regions, it was feasible for the cartographers to include John's kingdom in one of its locations. The maps, admittedly, do not name political units, instead citing geographical areas. Instead of the Holy Roman Empire, for instance, there is Germania, even on *Ebstorf*. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that this detail would outweigh all the reasons to include John, such as belief in him and his marvellous, powerful, nature as a Christian ally. Even if his kingdom were not included as a discrete entity, it is striking that there is no trace of him in any of the captions explaining Asian regions; he could

⁸⁹ See Figure 5.3 for *Hereford*, Figure 5.4 for *Ebstorf* and Figure 5.5 for *Psalter* for examples.

⁹⁰ *Hereford*'s text explains that Parthia stretches from India to Mesopotamia; comprises eighteen kingdoms, and spans 940 miles from the "Scythian shore" [*litore Scitharum*] to the Red Sea. *Ebstorf*'s text notes Mesopotamia's location between the Tigris and Euphrates, citing Sallust, Isidore's *Etymologies*, Jerome and Boethius as authorities on the matter.

have been cited in India or Scythia. John's realm was a fixture of twelfth- and thirteenth-century geographical thought about Asia, with various possible locations and a definite, realistic existence over time. His absence from the *mappaemundi* cannot be satisfactorily explained through their region-naming conventions.

Nor was John's absence because the kingdom would have been cartographically inappropriate. His was a powerful, Christian realm, the third theme of this section. The *mappaemundi* were interested in scenes which emphasised marvels, Christian features and God's power.⁹¹ They could have been expected to include John's kingdom as a symbol of hope and the spread of Christian military and economic might. As Pope Alexander's letter to John, Portuguese efforts to find him, and Otto's chronicle demonstrate, John was regarded as a potential Christian ally. His piety, wealth and military power permeate most accounts of his kingdom.

This power was apparent in the earliest texts about John: Otto's chronicle and the *Letter*. Otto presented John as a powerful potential ally, describing his great army which had defeated Persian forces, and claiming that John was prepared to march on Jerusalem to help the Crusader States.⁹² While Otto's account is relatively brief, it is significant that this first Latin reference to John mentioned his military power and presented him as a hope for Latin Christianity following the loss of Edessa. The *Letter* described John's power more explicitly and extensively, describing 10,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry, accompanied by thirteen great gold crosses in wagons, establishing the kingdom's military strength, riches and piety.⁹³ One passage emphasises these themes:

"If you truly want to know the magnitude and excellence of our highness and in which lands our power dominates, know and without doubt believe that I, Prester John, am lord of lords and surpass in all riches which are under Heaven, in virtue and in power, all the kings of the whole world. Seventy-two kings are tributary to us ... I am a devout Christian, and everywhere we defend poor Christians whom the empire of our clemency rules, and we sustain them

⁹¹ As seen throughout this thesis and reaffirmed presently.

⁹² Otto of Freising, *Duabus Civitatibus*, 365-366.

⁹³ *The Letter*, 916

with alms ... We have vowed to visit the sepulchre of the Lord with a great army, exactly as befits the glory of our majesty, to humble and defeat the enemies of the cross of Christ."⁹⁴

The *Letter* presented John's military capacity, political authority, piety, readiness to intervene militarily, and commitment to protecting Christians; ideas of him as a powerful, willing ally circulated early on. Even if not all elements of the legend were believed, John was persistently associated with marvel and might. Against the backdrop of the Crusades, which combined military power with Christian theology, this is the kind of figure who could have provided hope for the *mappaemundi*'s viewers, or at least illustrated the might of Christian rulers over the world.

John's power is apparent in the two travel texts most detached from real Asian history and politics: Carpini, for not travelling eastward enough to learn more about genuine events; and Mandeville, for basing his John on the *Letter*. Hearsay or fiction governed these accounts of John, producing an accordingly marvellous king. Mandeville, paraphrasing the *Letter*, replicated its themes of might, including the massive armies following crosses into battle.⁹⁵ That the author felt it possible, two hundred years after the *Letter*, to describe John's kingdom as so wealthy and militarily capable suggests that the notion of John as supremely powerful still held currency. If John were widely rejected as weak or non-existent, Mandeville may not have included such a passage, or may have emphasised its veracity. Instead, his account of John is like the rest of his text, appearing as reportage of a real, visited place, suggesting it drew on commonplace belief about the kingdom.

Carpini's reference to John is short but made striking by preceding passages which build the idea of John's power. Carpini first described the sophistication, wealth and great fortresses of the Khitai.⁹⁶ Doing so evoked the military strength and cunning of

⁹⁴ *The Letter*, 910. "*Si vero vis cognoscere magnitudinem et excellentiam nostrae celsitudinis et in quibus terris dominetur potentia nostra, intellige et sine dubitatione crede, quia ergo, presbiter Iohannes, dominus sum dominantium et praecello in omnibus divitiis, quae sub caelo sunt, virtute et potentia omnes reges universae terrae. Septuaginta duo reges nobis tributarii sunt ... Devotus sum christianus, et ubique pauperes christianos, quos clementiae nostrae regit imperium, defendimus et clemosinis nostris sustentamus ... In voto habemus visitare sepulchrum domini cum maximo exercitu, prout decet gloriam maiestatis nostrae humiliare et debellare inimicos crucis Christi*".

⁹⁵ John Mandeville, *Book of Marvels*, 106-109, 109-118, 118-124.

⁹⁶ John of Plano Carpini, 'Ystoria Mongalorum', 57-58. Carpini's Khitai were the Jin dynasty.

their vanquisher Chinggis Khan, who according to Carpini conquered the Khitai capital by constructing an underground tunnel.⁹⁷ By noting their military ingenuity, Carpini emphasised the might of the eventually victorious Mongols. Carpini then had Chinggis turn to India, where his single mention of John emerges. It is a curious episode, seemingly fabricated by Carpini or one of his sources, because it does not match the course of historical events.⁹⁸ John, on hearing of the advancing Mongols, assembled his army to meet them “and he made figures of men out of copper, and placed them in saddles on horses”.⁹⁹ He had fire put into these figures, with men with bellows stoking the flames to burn and scare the enemy. The Mongols were defeated through ingenious technology ideally suited to countering cavalry, and “we never heard of them returning there later”.¹⁰⁰ Just as Carpini emphasised the Mongols’ strength by demonstrating the power of the Khitai, so too did he communicate John’s power by having him defeat a mighty Mongol foe. John’s kingdom stands out as a realm able to withstand the Mongols, even repel them indefinitely, using seemingly tailor-made strategies. When Carpini travelled and wrote for the pope in the 1240s, the Mongols had recently invaded eastern Europe; mentioning John could provide hope that this danger could be defeated, perhaps with the help of a sophisticated ally.¹⁰¹ To construct such an account without first-hand observation suggests ideas were already circulating about John as powerful.

Rubruck and Polo also indicate existing notions of John as powerful, even if they did not find the king of legend. Rubruck’s John was a petty steppe prince inflated into legend by local Nestorians who also erroneously spread word that several Mongol rulers were Christian.¹⁰² Despite finding a phantom, it seems Rubruck expected a legend, having actively searched for John.¹⁰³ Of this king, the local Nestorians “asserted more than ten times about him than what was true”.¹⁰⁴ Rubruck attacking the Nestorians for inflating John implies that he had expected to find a great

⁹⁷ John of Plano Carpini, 57–58.

⁹⁸ See the discussion of John in Carpini’s text above.

⁹⁹ John of Plano Carpini, ‘Ystoria Mongalorum’, 59. “*et faciens ymagines hominum cupreas in sellis posuit super equos*”.

¹⁰⁰ John of Plano Carpini, 59. “*nec unquam audivimus quod ultra ad ipsos redierint*”. These fiery figures are perhaps a garbled reference to gunpowder.

¹⁰¹ Sardelić, ‘Emotions in the Eurasian Steppe’, 494–96.

¹⁰² William of Rubruck, ‘Itinerarium’, 206.

¹⁰³ See above.

¹⁰⁴ William of Rubruck, ‘Itinerarium’, 206. “*plus dicebant de ipso in decuplo quam veritas esset*”.

Christian king in the steppes; if there were no existing legend, the Nestorians could not have exaggerated so much. Rubruck did not reproduce themes of John's power, but given his small audience he would not have changed popular thought.¹⁰⁵ Instead, Rubruck indicates popular prior expectations of his power. Similarly, while Polo's narrative of John ends with his death in battle, the preceding description of John as a steppe suzerain again demonstrates popular thirteenth-century notions of his political power, or else Polo could not have integrated the king into his narrative so easily.¹⁰⁶ While Polo describes John's death, he nonetheless includes a Prester John so powerful that everyone, including even Chinggis Khan, once paid tribute to him. There is no sense of John the potential ally, but his presentation implies common existing perceptions of the kingdom's might.

Throughout the thirteenth century, John's kingdom was believed to be a powerful potential source of alliances and hope for Latin Christianity. It was constantly imagined as a marvellous Christian presence in Asia, even if the exact degree of power differed over time and between authors. This persistent understanding makes its absence from the maps unusual. The *mappaemundi* demonstrated Christian power repeatedly.¹⁰⁷ God appears prominently on each: forming the world on *Ebstorf*; overseeing it on *Psalter*; presiding over the Last Judgement on *Hereford*. Christ also appears *in* the world on *Ebstorf* in the Resurrection and on *Hereford* in the Crucifixion. Each map embellishes important Christian cities such as Rome and Jerusalem, and plots significant Christian scenes from history such as Noah's Ark and the Exodus. Each map refers to significant individuals, such as Alexander on all the *mappaemundi*, via his altars, and *Hereford*'s Augustine and Abraham. The *mappaemundi* are rich with content designed to show significant places and peoples, and demonstrate the will, glory and ultimate triumph of God and Christianity.

The maps' contexts reinforce this notion.¹⁰⁸ *Ebstorf* demonstrates God's power and the wonder of his creation, entreating readers to peruse the world and find joy in

¹⁰⁵ See above for Rubruck's small intended audience of King Louis IX and his circle.

¹⁰⁶ Marco Polo, *The Travels Volume I*, 240–45.

¹⁰⁷ See *passim* throughout this thesis.

¹⁰⁸ For points about each map's context, see sections on background in Chapters 2–4.

discovery.¹⁰⁹ John's kingdom, a remote Christian marvel, would surely reward discovery. *Psalter*, concerned with God as protector, could have included John as an extension of this protective role. *Hereford*, via the Last Judgement and Crucifixion, and in its saints' cult pilgrimage context, demonstrated the triumph of Christian forces over adversity, a notion which John's powerful kingdom could have reinforced. Like *Psalter*, it was produced in the wake of defeats by Muslims in the Levant and the Mongols in Europe; both maps would have benefitted from the source of hope which the potential ally John could have provided. Each map presented powerful, marvellous content to map a cosmology of Christian superiority, encompassing God's power and wondrous features throughout the world. John would have aligned with this cosmology, making his absence conspicuous on each map.

The maps' marvellous content was not limited to classical authorities, either; if Asia were drawn solely from, for instance, Pliny, Isidore and Solinus, the kingdom's absence could be anticipated. However, cartographic Asia included information postdating the classical authorities. The maps plotted features in Asia drawn from the Alexander Romances, such as Gog and Magog. Similarly, many animals of the *mappaemundi* came not directly from classical or early medieval authorities, but through the bestiary tradition.¹¹⁰ Asia was not restricted to sources no earlier than Isidore of Seville; there must be other factors which influenced John's omission.

John's kingdom was widely known, occupied real territory and history, and was a marvellous Christian presence which could have provided hope. It was suitable for inclusion, being consistent with many of the maps' themes of construction and representation. The maps had the knowledge, cartographic apparatus and rhetorical impetus to include John. Why, then, is he absent?

¹⁰⁹ For instance, in the phrase "if you search, you can discover" [*Si inquiris, poteris invenire*] from a section on dogs and elephants in the text around the body of the world, and from the map's own definition of *mappamundi* which promises "direction and the delectation of the most pleasing sight of things on the way" [*directionem rerumque viarum gratissime speculationis dilectionem*].

¹¹⁰ Hoogvliet, 'Animals in Context', passim. Hoogvliet notes, for instance, that the Christological symbolism of the pelican present on *Hereford* comes from medieval bestiary traditions (158-159).

A Royal Lacuna – Understanding Absence

This section discusses the possible reasons for and consequences of John's absence from the *mappaemundi*. The mindset of the cartographers cannot be entered, so any conclusions about motives cannot be definitive. It is difficult enough ascribing with certainty motivation for features which are present, let alone those which are not. However, because the exclusion of John cannot be satisfactorily explained through factors of necessity like knowledge or cartographic convention, it is possible to explore how his absence aligns with other deliberate cartographic trends in depicting the world and Asia. Furthermore, as argued previously, even where authorial motives cannot be known, it is possible to assess a source's symbolic impact independent of the author's intentions, even if this impact was not necessarily consciously constructed.¹¹¹ John's absence can be assessed as part of a neoclassical cartographic programme, and the consequences of the kingdom's omission can be considered even without fully understanding the cartographers' exact reasons. John's omission is part of a general representational strategy which reinforces the maps' construction of a unified world while downplaying the importance, power and civilisation of Asia.

This section presents two themes exploring John's cartographic absence, contextualised by the texts of Rubruck and Polo in which the John of legend is also absent. John's absence reinforces a Latin-based world unity by omitting any mention of Nestorianism. The omission also reinforces a view of Asia as non-sophisticated, non-cultured and barbarian, lacking any positive contemporary presence.

Two Churches, One World

John was understood from the outset to be Nestorian, as asserted by Otto and implicit in his nature as an Asian Christian, a fact discussed to different degrees by

¹¹¹ On this facet of reception theory, see the Introduction to this thesis pp.11-12, and especially Caviness, 'Reception of Images', 65–66; Iser, *Act of Reading*.

the writers.¹¹² Even when John's exact denomination was not clarified, it is implicit that he was not Latin. While the *Letter* affirmed that he was "a devout Christian", it did not specify what kind.¹¹³ If the *Letter*'s author had intended John to be interpreted as a Latin ruling in the Three Indies, the text would have clarified this striking fact. Even without certainty over the kind of Christianity, it seems fair to assume that John was not interpreted as Latin. By extension, as shown by Otto, the likely candidate for John's Asian form of Christianity was the predominant Church known to exist in Asia – Nestorianism, something different writers stated or implicitly suggested.¹¹⁴

For Latin Christian readers, this was a theological concern; Nestorianism had been considered heretical since the fifth century for its views on the divinity and humanity of Christ.¹¹⁵ Its practitioners were in Latin thought complex individuals, potentially allies or rivals, familiar as Christians but exotic and theologically flawed.¹¹⁶ Montecorvino demonstrates Latin hostility towards Nestorian Christians, and his account of the apostasy of George's subjects can be situated within this critical attitude. He considered local Christians his main impediments, depicting them as jealous. For five years, they accused him of being an imposter, a spy who had murdered the true envoy in India, until Montecorvino was eventually absolved.¹¹⁷ Here, Nestorians were not just poor Christians, but active antagonists against the Latin cause. Montecorvino repeatedly affirmed how much the Nestorians were an obstacle, for instance claiming that he had baptised six thousand people, but would have baptised over thirty thousand had the Nestorians not interfered.¹¹⁸ This astonishing claim reveals how far Montecorvino wished to depict different Christians as an active impediment to the Latin mission, a barrier to enlarging the Christian community. For him, Nestorians were not an inferior if acceptable Christian presence, but detrimental to spreading God's word.

¹¹² See above pp.267-268 for discussions of Asian Christians including Nestorians, and for Otto's description of John as a Christian "albeit a Nestorian".

¹¹³ *The Letter*, passim for references to John's pious nature, 910 for "*Devotus sum christianus*".

¹¹⁴ See below for each text's interpretation of Prester John's religion.

¹¹⁵ See above p.268.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Ertl, 'Repercussions from the Far East: A Comparison of the Catholic and Nestorian Presence in China', *Transcultural Studies* 1, no. 2 (2015): 54.

¹¹⁷ John of Montecorvino, 'First Letter', 69.

¹¹⁸ John of Montecorvino, 69. "I have baptised there (as far as I reckon) around six thousand people to this day, and if those aforesaid charges had not been made, I would have baptised more than thirty thousand" [*Baptizavi etiam ibidem ut existimo usque hodie circa sex millia personarum, et nisi fuissent supradictae infamationes, baptizassem ultra triginta millia*].

Perhaps due to sensitivities over Nestorianism, Carpini, Polo and Mandeville did not make John's religion explicit, but he was not imagined as Latin. Carpini did not even mention that John was Christian. If he knew the legend, location and name of Prester John, it is inconceivable that he did not also know that John was Christian. Nor, given his background as a Franciscan, is it likely that Carpini deemed John's Christianity unworthy of mention. Rather, Carpini's lack of specificity over John's religion implies it could be taken as read that he was Christian: it was common enough knowledge to omit. Likewise, it can be assumed that Carpini took John to be Nestorian, or at least a non-Latin Christian; his being Latin would be worth mentioning. Similarly, Polo did not specify John's faith, but it can be inferred that he was assumed to be Nestorian; the presence of a Latin or Greek Christian ruler this far into Asia would again be worth recording. It is likely that Polo took John as the standard east Asian Christian, a Nestorian, especially given how often Polo named Nestorians across the Khan's domains.¹¹⁹ Finally, Mandeville noted that John and his subjects "don't have all the articles of our faith".¹²⁰ Mandeville did not explicitly call John Nestorian or any other creed, but clarified that he was not Latin. These writers made John's Nestorianism implicit, left to be inferred through prior knowledge of Christianity in Asia or through details supplied elsewhere in the texts. For Carpini and Mandeville, this tacit sectarianism reconciled John's religion with the idea of him as an ally or didactic model. John was potentially useful to Latin Christianity; to make this utility most palatable there was no need to draw attention to heresy.

Rubruck, conversely, made John's Nestorianism explicit as part of his criticism of this creed, made especially hostile by the Franciscan concern for spiritual perfection.¹²¹ Rubruck illustrates Latin hostility towards Nestorians and shows how the absence of the John of legend could serve a rhetorical purpose, as on the *mappaemundi*.

¹¹⁹ Marco Polo, *The Travels Volume I*, passim; Marco Polo, *The Travels Volume II*, passim. For instance, Marco Polo, *The Travels Volume I*, 203 (for Tangut, in the west of present day China), 212 (for Chingintalas, near the Taklamakan desert), 285 (for the Tenduc; former lands of the Onggut people of whom King George was a member, most heavily suggesting that John was a Nestorian).

¹²⁰ John Mandeville, *Book of Marvels*, 107.

¹²¹ On this aspect of Franciscan belief and Rubruck's background, see Jackson, 'Introduction'; Jackson, 'Review Article', 92–95; Peter Jackson, 'William of Rubruck in the Mongol Empire: Perception and Prejudices', in *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond*, ed. Joan-Pau Rubiés (Farnham: Ashgate Variorum, 2009), 273, 279; Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*, xii–xiii, 37–39.

Rubruck attacked Nestorianism as theologically lax and corrupt: Nestorians practiced usury and simony; their cross lacked the body of Christ because they were embarrassed by it; they washed like Saracens and were polygamous like Mongols; and Nestorian bishops rarely visited. Moreover, they were ignorant of their liturgical language Syriac, and “this is why they are totally corrupt”.¹²² Rubruck linked Nestorian immorality with their inability to access Scripture. These were not just heretics, but impure, uncivilised, detached from their own faith.

Much of what Rubruck attacked had an explanation. Nestorians’ success stemmed from pragmatic flexibility in adapting to local customs, for instance in clergy not condemning polygamy among nomads.¹²³ The steppes’ distance from the Nestorian centre in Baghdad caused isolation and challenges like infrequent episcopal visits and maintaining Syriac. The Nestorian Church lacked state funds or tithes, making simony and usury unfortunate financial necessities.¹²⁴ The Nestorian cross was not that of the Passion but the Parousia, which did not feature Christ’s body.¹²⁵ Rubruck had the opportunity to realise some of these justifications; he spent time communicating with Nestorians, including attending an Easter mass and debating alongside them against Buddhists.¹²⁶ However, he chose not to include, or even discover, these explanations. His depiction of Nestorianism is one-sided polemic, damning Nestorians as morally destitute Christians, worsened by the absence of contextual information about the realities of Nestorian existence.

Rubruck’s account of John as a Nestorian exaggeration can be situated in this attitude. He accused them of inflating the legend, “for this is what Nestorians from

¹²² William of Rubruck, ‘Itinerarium’, 237–38, 264. “*hinc est quod totaliter sunt corrupti*”. Simony is the selling of church offices; usury is lending with interest.

¹²³ Ken Parry, ‘The Art of the Church of the East in China’, in *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, ed. Roman Malek (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006), 321–39; Ertl, ‘Catholic and Nestorian Presence in China’, 48–50, 56–57, 63; Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, 27.

¹²⁴ Ertl, ‘Catholic and Nestorian Presence in China’, 55; Ertl, 27; Jackson, ‘Perceptions and Prejudices’, 279–80.

¹²⁵ Ken Parry, ‘Images in the Church of the East: The Evidence from Central Asia and China’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78, no. 3 (1996): 330; Jackson, ‘Perceptions and Prejudices’, 279–80. The Parousia is the Second Coming, and the Parousia cross is a sign of Christ’s future triumph.

¹²⁶ William of Rubruck, ‘Itinerarium’, 280–82, 294–297.

these parts do: they make great rumours from nothing”.¹²⁷ Rubruck took Nestorians to be not just theologically flawed, but dishonest, guilty of fraudulently raising Latin hopes for little discernible end. He used John as another means of criticising Nestorians, the absence of John’s marvellous kingdom mirroring the absence of theologically sound Christianity. Rubruck’s text demonstrates the importance of considering John through divisions and tensions within medieval Christianity. The king could not always be separated from his Nestorian roots, and this ‘heresy’ could adversely affect interpretations of the legend. Rubruck also illustrates the symbolic impact of absence; the missing king emphasised Rubruck’s criticisms of Nestorianism and its apparent moral faults.

Montecorvino and Rubruck’s issues with Nestorianism, and Rubruck’s account of John, situate the *mappaemundi* in a context where Latin Christianity was concerned with rival branches and their detrimental impacts, and in a context where absence could have a profound rhetorical effect. The other travellers’ texts, which did not attack John’s religion, demonstrate that it could sometimes be expedient to overlook a potentially heretical feature. The maps’ absent John can therefore be considered through these lenses of omission and concern over theological orthodoxy.

This orthodoxy was linked with ideas of unity, of which the *mappaemundi* present an immediate vision, seen in Figures I.1-I.3 and discussed throughout this thesis. Each map shows God as the custodian of the whole world – it forms his body on *Ebstorf* and he presides over it on *Psalter* and *Hereford*. The maps present the world as God’s creation, *all* of which he oversees. Within this world, there are no political borders and hence no visible division; the world is not split between political units but is instead a contiguous whole. The uniform urban iconography reinforces this unity; each cartographer drew cities over the world in essentially similar ways, minimising any immediately recognisable division.¹²⁸ There are differences in parts of the world, such as in the distribution of cities, but the maps’ common iconography and lack of borders present a veneer of unity.

¹²⁷ William of Rubruck, 206. “*Ita enim faciunt nestoriani venientes de partibus illis, de nichilo enim faciunt magnos rumores*”.

¹²⁸ See Chapters 1-4 for more on cities.

This aesthetic drew on and reinforced Christian ideals of universalism, with the maps' uniform worldview framed through Latin Christian terms. As argued in Chapter 3, the notion of a universal Christian community and Church, encompassing all of God's creation, was important in thirteenth-century Latin thought. The Latin emphasis on universalism helps explain Montecorvino and Rubruck's concern over Nestorians, whom they considered deviants impeding Christian mission. The maps' visions of unity, received in religious contexts, reflected an important contemporary theological concern for the Latin Church, which at elite and missionary levels desired the spread of a uniform, universal faith. The cartographers portrayed unity by not depicting non-Christian religions or non-Latin Christianity. There are no explicit mentions of Judaism or Islam, for instance, on any of the maps, apart from the Exodus scene of *Hereford* which conflates the "*Iudei*" with an idol named Mahun, a derogatory term for Muhammad (Figure 5.6).¹²⁹ The maps' only non-Christian religions hence occur in a scene referencing a formative event in Christian history in which the Hebrews moved away from idolatry towards God. Other religions do not exist for their own sake or for diversity, but to illustrate Christian history and its rejection of foolish, evil tendencies.¹³⁰ The maps only deployed non-Christian features for Latin Christian ends. Nor are there references to Nestorian Christianity. However, the maps' Christianity should not be understood as a generic, non-denominational form, as suggested by themes presented throughout this thesis. The prominence of Rome; its position in the timeline of world history which presents it as a successor to Jerusalem and former empires; the presence of Latin text across the world; and the figure of Caesar in a papal tiara on *Hereford* all present a Latin Christian worldview.¹³¹ The maps' unity is unity along Roman grounds.

John's absence propagated this Latinised unity. Including a polity known to be heretical would only highlight sectarian divides in documents endeavouring to present a worldwide Christian community led by Rome. John's omission provided a convenient silence around discontinuities within an ideally universal Christian faith;

¹²⁹ Strickland, 'Edward I', 430.

¹³⁰ For medieval Christian concerns over idols and idolatry, Camille, *Gothic Idol*, passim, esp. 9, 12-14 (for the errant nature of idolatry), 23-24 (for the potentially dangerous nature of idolatry), 27-29 (for biblical prohibitions of idolatry), 36 (for the falseness of idols), 54 (for links between idolatry and pride), 129-142 (for links in Latin thought between Islam and idolatry, particularly during the Crusades).

¹³¹ See Chapters 1 and 2 for discussions of Rome, esp. 76-77.

despite removing a Christian presence, it preserved important tenets of unity. This was made a priority by the maps' performative contexts. For *Psalter*, allusions to a prominent, powerful non-Latin Christian kingdom would be an inappropriate, unhelpful theological distraction in a Latin psalter concerned with a proper relationship with God. On the didactic, propagandistic *Hereford* and *Ebstorf*, held in ecclesiastical institutions, any positive reference to heresy would divert from their moralising. The cartographers used silence to maintain cosmologies of a world driven by Roman Christianity.

A Beneficial Worldview

John's absence also reinforced the *mappaemundi*'s presentation of non-urban, barbarian Asia as culturally and religiously inferior to Europe. Silence over John sacrificed one potential advantage of his inclusion – the presence of an interesting feature who could provide hope – to support a beneficial worldview.

In this respect, the maps' exclusion of John is consistent with how other thirteenth-century geographical sources used the legend to interpret Asia. John was understood as a real figure in Asian history, interacting with the Mongols and founding dynasties. Even as his nature varied across texts, each writer used the familiar trope of him and his kingdom to explain the history of places and peoples. Rubruck's John was not the John of popular expectation, but he still became part of Rubruck's history of the steppes. Montecorvino used John to contextualise George, a Christian ruler in Asia. Carpini integrated John into Mongol history in a way which provided some reassurance, using him as a counterpoint to Mongol power, explaining the halt of their southern advances and providing hope that they could be beaten. Polo used John in an opposite way. Where Carpini elaborated on Mongol might to demonstrate John's superior strength, Polo invoked existing ideas of John's military, economic and political power to indicate the strength of Chinggis Khan. Polo interpreted and narrated Mongol history through a common intellectual referent, Prester John, identifying a key figure in steppe history (Toghrlil) with this king. This was a way of rationalising new information about an unfamiliar place and history; Polo mapped what was expected – John – onto what he found, 'Asianising' the John legend while 'Latinising' Asian history to reconcile rumours of John's kingdom with

what happened in the steppes. In Polo's account, John's death at the hands of Chinggis meant he was absent from the contemporary world. This absence helped Polo explain Mongol history while demonstrating their strength.¹³² John was a useful device for thirteenth-century writers as they attempted to interpret and explain Asia in a way consistent with their priorities. Even when absent, he could be advantageous.

The maps' exclusion of John can be considered in a similar way; the (non)use of the legend reinforced their aims. It is helpful here to consider different kinds of absence. For Rubruck, John was absent because the legend was inflated; he was a spectre and failed to meet expectations, but was nonetheless mentioned in some form. For Polo, John's kingdom did not currently exist, but once did. His was a historical absence. Both Rubruck and Polo acknowledged John's absence. On the *mappaemundi*, however, John is an unacknowledged absence. Not only is there no sign of him in textual or pictorial form, but there is no caption explaining there ever was a kingdom, or even an idea of a kingdom. John was excised from Asia's landscape and history.

This excision was consistent with how the *mappaemundi* minimised contemporary Asian power and agency to emphasise the importance of Christian Europe. John's exclusion contributed to this asymmetry, reinforcing themes explored throughout this thesis. The maps' presentation of world history had time move away from Asia towards Latin Christian Europe, making Asia a spent force, significant *then* but not *now*.¹³³ John's contemporary kingdom would challenge the regressive North-East Asia created with antique toponyms; he was not classical enough for this neoclassical imagined landscape. Similarly, his absence strengthens the maps' historical progression of world time by removing a powerful contemporary kingdom from Asia, which could have rivalled Europe and distracted from the sense of Asia as a land of former glories. The cartographers deliberately distributed cities unevenly to present Europe as more urban and cultured than Asia. John's kingdom would again have challenged this representation, especially as the *mappaemundi* specifically

¹³² See *passim* throughout the present chapter for more detailed discussions of the texts' treatment of John. For Marco specifically, see *The Travels Volume I*, 227, 238-239, 240-245 for Marco's account of Chinggis' revolt against and ultimately victory over Prester John.

¹³³ See Chapter 1 pp.74-81.

constructed the steppes as non-urban. Features like stereotyped barbarians and Gog and Magog further presented Asia as savage and culturally inferior to Europe. The cartographers went to creative efforts to represent North-East Asia as non-urban and barbarian; John's bounteous, sophisticated kingdom would undermine this representation. Silence about the kingdom reinforced how the cartographers constructed North-East Asia as spent, savage and unsophisticated.

The omission of John, the potential ally, also indicated to readers where to look for hope; not directed to his Asian kingdom, but towards Latin Christianity and the God who created, oversaw and acted in the world. Removing John suggested that power and victory in contemporary struggles could and should come from within, not without. This assertion was especially important in the thirteenth century, when Muslims and Mongols were serious enemies across Asia. In contrast to contemporary reality, the maps projected an idealised divine order with a weak Asia, made weaker by the lack of John. By *Ebstorf's* time, the Second and Third Crusades had failed to retake Jerusalem; this lack of success persisted through the periods of *Psalter* and *Hereford*, when the Mongols posed another severe threat. Rulers such as those of England and France also failed to engage in an alliance with the Ilkhanate.¹³⁴ In the face of threats and frustrations, John's absence indicated that hope and triumph would have to come from within, and from the God made powerfully present on the maps.¹³⁵

This message drew on and reinforced the *mappaemundi's* purposes and arguments. A psalter was not a treatise on international allies of Latin Europe, but a way of structuring one's relationship with God. *Psalter* accordingly reflects these divine not geopolitical priorities, and does not include the potentially distracting earthly riches and wonders of John's kingdom. *Ebstorf* the teaching aid, which encouraged readers to search and discover, could have been expected to include John's kingdom. However, *Ebstorf* the bombastic, moralising, propagandistic display of God and Latin

¹³⁴ Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu*, 2–4, 14–17, 20–22; Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia Volume I: Beginnings to 1500* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992), 406–7; Phillips, *Medieval Expansion*, 115–18, 122–23. See Chapters 1–4 for more on these aspects of historical background.

¹³⁵ See *passim* throughout this thesis for the notion of an active, protective God as displayed on the maps, and also the difficulties facing Latin Christians throughout the thirteenth century.

Christianity's superiority would find John's grand Asian kingdom a distraction from Asia's role as a foil to Europe. This was also the case for *Hereford*, which impelled readers to contemplate the transient nature of the world and God's triumph in the Apocalypse. It also formed part of a pilgrimage, a devotional experience linked with the protective roles of God and the saints. The pilgrimage and apocalyptic contexts of *Hereford* made it clear that it was not necessary to look to Asia to find God's active power in the world. John's earthly riches and mighty military were not necessary in documents whose settings, contexts and worldviews preached the ultimate triumph of God's plan.

Conclusion

Prester John and his kingdom were a constant expectation in Latin ideas of Asian history and geography. Even when travellers could not find him, they felt it necessary to explain this absence – a Nestorian hoax, a casualty of the Mongols – rather than relegate him entirely to myth. Just as travellers interpreted Asia through external ideas, the legend of John evolved as writers adapted it to match historical figures and events. John hence represents a two-way rationalisation of Asia. Writers understood new information with reference to older knowledge of John, but this knowledge was not static. Ideas of John proved mutable, changing to match new information about Asia and Asian Christian rulers, reconciling two bodies of knowledge: tradition and empirical observation. When accounts such as Polo and Rubruck's were based on observation and reality, suiting the aims of the genre – the travellers observing, interpreting and relaying what they saw or heard on their travels – the John of legend morphed into the historicised, defeated John of Mongol history. While Mongol history was interpreted through Latin ideas of John, this history itself changed interpretations of the legend over the thirteenth century.

Conversely, John's complete absence from the maps was another area where the cartographers minimised contemporary civilisation in Asia, and where the representation of Asia was one-way, unaffected by actual events or peoples. This indicates a fundamental difference between the genres and epistemologies of the maps and travel texts. Both kinds of source relayed what they deemed important, but what the authors of these sources considered important differed. Travellers

articulated what they understood of Asia, be it Carpini's ingenious warrior king, Rubruck's Nestorian-damning spectre, or Polo's historical steppe ruler. Each iteration of John varied based on each writers' evidence and preconceptions, but recording John in some form was a persistent concern; they travelled across an Asia in which John was anticipated. In contrast, the cartographers worked from re-interpreted classical texts and aimed not to produce a 'real' Asian landscape, but a neoclassical Asian mindscape which suited Christian ends. Prester John was, in many ways, a viable and perhaps expected feature of *mappaemundi*. His kingdom was widely known and believed in; had elements of real location and history so was a feasible inclusion; and the marvellous, mighty Christian kingdom was a suitable feature of maps which aimed to show off Christian splendour. This demonstrates some limits of the John legend; while common, he was not ubiquitous in medieval views of Asia. Sometimes, less John had more impact.

Polo and especially Rubruck demonstrate that John was not always considered positive or invincible. He could be defeated, or could just be a petty steppe ruler, his power exaggerated by heretics' lies. The maps' removal of John was therefore not simply a case of merely removing a positive presence from Asia (although this was important) in line with the representation of Asia as inferior. Instead, the complete omission removed earthly power from Asia. Combined with the antique toponyms, this reinforced the neoclassical strategy of making North-East Asia regressive, especially in contrast to Latin Europe. Moreover, the absence reinforced the *mappaemundi*'s Latin-framed unity and uniformity. On these grounds, John's omission is least surprising on *Psalter*, the map with least space and interest in earthly features in Asia such as the Seres and Scythians. John was an inappropriate subject in *Psalter*'s divine landscape, and would have been hard to include in much detail. On the larger maps, he could have been expected as a source of hope or interest, but his omission instead reinforced the maps' broader, arguments about God's creation which transcended the Latin Christian need for earthly allies.

Uebel argues the *Letter* was part of a phenomenon where "in the process of reacting against external pressures, the Latin West defined itself internally", responding to outside challenges with ideas of universal community and assertions of innate superiority. For Uebel, Prester John reflects the Christianisation of non-Christian

lands, co-opting unknown space as a source of Christian might and Latin hope.¹³⁶ The *mappaemundi* demonstrate the opposite. As part of a persistent strategy, John's kingdom was a conspicuous absence. By not showing a kingdom which viewers had likely heard of and perhaps anticipated, the *mappaemundi* subverted audience expectations. No John meant Asia lacked a strong, moral civilisation, which was visible instead in the Rome-centred Christian west. Contrary to arguments that the *mappaemundi* aimed to present *all* of God's creation and all Christian grandeur, the lack of John shows that the maps presented a carefully curated and selective idea of Christian power.¹³⁷ They omitted some potentially useful features to highlight Latin Europe through contrast to barbarian, non-urban, morally flawed Asia. Any map is just one possible source created from available information, with omission and silence shaping how cartographers constructed regions.¹³⁸ The cartographers could have included John's kingdom on several grounds, but instead his omission reinforces the maps' inferior, spent Asia. *Mappaemundi* demonstrated the splendour and diversity of God's creation, but for this splendour to be most carefully pronounced, the diversity could not be unconstrained. In a Latinised world with an urban Christian Europe and barbarous Asia, there was no room for Prester John.

¹³⁶ Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, passim, 36 for quotation.

¹³⁷ See the introduction to the present chapter, and the thesis Conclusion's discussion of notions of *mappaemundi* as encyclopaedic for arguments such as these.

¹³⁸ Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 2; Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy', 57–60, 70.

Chapter 5 Figures



Figure 5.1: World map by Pietro Vesconte, c.1320. British Library, London. Add MS 27376, f.187v-188r. Prester John's location is circled.



Figure 5.2: World map by Ranulf Higden, 1340s/1350s. British Library, London. Royal 14 C IX 27376, f.1v-2r. Prester John's location is circled.



Figure 5.4: Caption describing Mesopotamia (block of text to the left of the tower of Babel) on *Ebstorf*, with other region names marked in red.



Figure 5.5: Regions named on *Psalter*; Hircania on left above the gate of Gog and Magog's enclosure; Egypt bottom right.



Figure 5.6: “Iudei” worshipping the idol “Mahun” in the Exodus scene on *Hereford*.

Conclusion – The Neoclassical Thirteenth Century

The Catalan Atlas (1375) demonstrates an indisputable change in European cartographic history (Figure C.1). Probably drawn by the Jewish Majorcan Cresque Abraham, it is rectangular, with coasts drawn from sailors' records, and contains recognisable lands and bodies of water: Iberia, Italy, the North African Coast and the Black Sea appear much closer to those forms found in later cartography than in *mappaemundi*.¹ The Caspian has rotated ninety degrees off reality, but now correctly appears inland rather than adjoining a northern ocean, as *mappaemundi* had shown. Drawing for the first time on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century travellers including Marco Polo, Odoric of Pordenone and Friar Jordanus, Asia includes Tartars and contemporary Indian sites such as Delhi and Colombo, and cities in Cathay – *not* Seres – including Khanbaliq, Zayton and Cansay.² There are still medieval features such as biblical and historical phenomena including Gog and Magog and the Magi, but this is nevertheless a new cartography: new sources, structure, forms and content.³

Even before this shift, European world maps of the earlier fourteenth century indicate changes in principles in how the world should be mapped. While the landmasses, orientation and general shape of the world remain similar to predecessors, world maps like the c.1320 Vesconte map (Figure 5.1) and c.1340s/1350s Higden map (Figure 5.2) incorporated newer nomenclature in Asia. Out went the Scythians and the Seres; in came the Tartars and Cathay, as well as Prester John. After a century of intense contact and interaction with Asian peoples, cartographers began recording the world in contemporary terms. These changes are undeniably significant in how they represent a move away from the antique, fossilised Asia of earlier *mappaemundi*. Cartographers began mapping the world more as it was, rather than what it used to be or should be. Biblical features also became less common.

¹ Vladimír Liščák, 'Mapa Mondí (Catalan Atlas of 1375), Majorcan Cartographic School, and 14th Century Asia', *Proceedings of the International Cartographic Association 1* (2017): 1–2; Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', 315–16; Edson, *The World Map*, 79–82.

² Liščák, 'Catalan Atlas', 3–6; Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 60; Edson, *The World Map*, 86; Larner, *Discovery*, 135–36. Khanbaliq, Zayton and Cansay are present-day Beijing, Quanzhou and Hangzhou respectively.

³ Liščák, 'Catalan Atlas', 5; Edson, *The World Map*, 81; Westrem, 'Gog and Magog', 62.

What prompted this change in world maps and the mindsets which produced them? Building on the arguments presented throughout this thesis, it is possible that the huge political and psychological impacts of the Mongols, and the new evidence accrued by travellers among them, stimulated the need for more contemporary maps of the world and its Asia. The Mongols brought Asia into European consciousness and more information was becoming available by the decade. Asia could no longer convincingly remain as antique Scythia; nor, with a wealth of new toponyms and contemporary awareness of this region, did it have to. The exact reasons, dynamics and consequences of these fourteenth-century changes are the scope of a different study. What remains important here is that the beginning of the fourteenth century represented a change of the cartographical guard.

However, this thesis has argued, it is not necessary to look so late for cartographic innovation and change. By closely reading three thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*, related to their historical circumstances, it is possible to discern differences, developments and historical sensitivity in this period. These changes are subtler than the fourteenth-century shifts in nomenclature and landforms, and are couched in the traditional principles and formulae of the *mappaemundi* genre. In this way, *Hereford* can be understood as transitional, sharing much in common with the earlier *Ebstorf* in how it named Asian regions and peoples, but also sharing with these later maps a move towards reflecting the realities of contemporary North-East Asia.

Against a context of more knowledge about, and increasing anxiety over, Asia and Asian peoples, medieval cartographers faced a choice; they could incorporate new information and face up to reality, or they could exert a form of dated, Christianised control, rising above current trauma with the reassuring imagery of Christianity and the language of old. While travellers' accounts opened up the real, contemporary Asia of the Mongols and Cathay, the cartographers continued to rely on the antique ideas of Scythia and the Seres. Nevertheless, these maps represent neither an entirely classical worldview, nor a homogeneous kind of medieval cartography – these were historically contingent medieval adaptations of classical knowledge. The differences the maps show with each other and their source material reveal a particularly thirteenth-century approach to geographical change, visible in neoclassical strategies and reflections of contemporary concerns. By reflecting on

the analytical themes explored throughout this thesis (urbanism, Scythia, Gog and Magog) and presenting three main trends – omission, innovation, historical contingency – this conclusion establishes the case for understanding the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* as innovative, neoclassical documents bound to the events of their day. In doing so, the conclusion reiterates the contributions this thesis has endeavoured to make.

Analysing urbanism on the *mappaemundi* reveals two key themes of this thesis: the Christianising efforts achieved through the distribution of cities; and the neoclassical attitude to source materials, particularly in omission, which facilitated this Christianisation. A building on a map reflected Christian culture and access to the Kingdom of Heaven, the picture standing for a concept larger than architecture. Stone has noted how *mappaemundi* sought to order the world along theological lines to express “sacred power” and posit a unified society under God through such means as the presence of God and the order provided by divine time.⁴ The depiction of cities is another key ordering principle, a way of orienting viewers to the global spread of urbanism, and by extension, of cultural and theological significance. On *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, the cartographers deliberately, consistently omitted Asian cities, making way for savage or exotic features. The cartographers chose to map all of Asia not as urban, but as flawed, an inferior foil to Europe’s dense urban grandeur, a choice reinforced by the lack of Prester John’s wealthy, sophisticated kingdom. These *mappaemundi* did not replicate classical city lists, but built neoclassical arguments about Latin Europe by omitting cities. *Psalter*, less concerned with bombast and more concerned with unity and control, has a more equitable spread, emphasising the uniformity of Creation under God. However, it achieved this by turning North-East Asia into the enclosed lands, using the geography of this region to articulate a message of divine power. In omitting the Seres and Arabia, the *Psalter* cartographer likewise engaged in omission, albeit hiding absence within a more ostensibly even urbanism. The cartographic approach to urbanism differed more by performative than historical context; *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, at different ends of the century but with similar sizes, audiences and

⁴ Stone, ‘Medieval Mappaemundi’, 197–200. See Chapter 1 pp.74-81 for the ideology of history and time on *mappaemundi*.

locations, demonstrate similar patterns. The smaller, more personal *Psalter* reveals a different trend. When size allowed and the audience demanded, *mappaemundi* used urbanism as a blunt object, clearly portraying a world which privileged Latin Europe regardless of what was going on in the background. Examining urbanism demonstrates that the cartographers created Asia to serve Latin Christian ends; the Asian space of maps did not exist just to visualise the Asian civilisations found in texts, but to voice a claim to cultural and moral superiority in works which aimed to celebrate God.

Similar devices and goals are evident in the maps' treatment of Scythia and the Scythian barbarians. Again, *Psalter* stands here as an outlier. It omits the Scythians by necessity of size, but this necessary decision nonetheless reinforces the sense of divine order, control, and harmony by removing a destructive force. *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, meanwhile, use barbarians differently to both *Psalter* and each other, the early and late map differing as a result of the Mongols' seismic impact. Neither large map has Prester John in North-East Asia; instead of his cultured land, there are cannibalistic, fierce, cruel, Scythians. Both cartographers stereotyped their Scythians, turning Roman descriptions which already lacked Herodotus' breadth and depth into even more one-note caricatures reduced to their most transgressive characteristics and presented as savagely as possible. Like the spread of urbanism, pictures of Scythians clearly demonstrated to large audiences the fundamental evil and incivility of North-East Asia, championing urban, Christian Europe by comparison. In designing and presenting the Scythians, the *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* cartographers intended to again map North-East Asia as a lesson in the superiority of the Latin world which supported their aims of preaching God's glory to pilgrim and ecclesiastical audiences ready to receive this message. However, the ways in which these maps did so differed. *Ebstorf*, made before the Mongol conquests when North-East Asian peoples were irrelevant to day-to-day life, could seal its Scythians away behind mountains in a small, distant corner of the world. In contrast, after the Mongols exploded into Latin thought in the 1240s, *Hereford's* Scythia is imminent and extensive. By depicting the Scythians as so culturally flawed, framing them in antique terms, and locating them in a world clearly and apocalyptically overseen by a powerful God, *Hereford* still contained its Scythians, but nevertheless presented them in a way which recognised the presence of the mighty, fierce Mongols. The

idea and purpose of barbarianism on maps remained constant between *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, but the degree, intensity and relevance changed over time, visible not in how the maps named North-East Asians but in how the cartographers built these peoples' lands. Barbarianism is key to understanding the neoclassical nature of thirteenth-century cartography: the Scythians combine Christian propagandising; selective approaches to sources including omission; and historical sensitivity where the cartographers reacted to ongoing events even as their principles and nomenclature remained constant. The Scythians generally were a classical force; the maps' Scythians were neoclassical, a carefully constructed version which each cartographer tailored for their map.

Gog and Magog further reflect the neoclassical, specifically thirteenth-century nature of these *mappaemundi*. In contributing to the maps' neoclassicism, Gog and Magog did not appear in Pliny and Solinus, the cartographers' main sources for North-East Asia. However, the notion of a people defeated once by God and Alexander, and again by God at the Last Judgement, further developed North-East Asia as antiquated, inferior to Christian forces and illustrating the divine plan. Earlier maps included these people, but did so in a minimalist way; the eleventh-century Cotton and twelfth-century Sawley maps include them as brief captions (Figures C.2-C.3). On *Ebstorf*, they are somewhat more developed, but are still drawn relatively basically, and have a remote, doubly-contained presence. On these earlier maps, Gog and Magog add further exotic savagery to the north-east, and denote God's plan, but are neither urgent nor prominent. *Psalter* and *Hereford*, however, drawn after Holy Land losses and the devastating impact of the Mongols, feature larger, more developed enclosures. *Psalter*'s dominates North-East Asia but is nonetheless neutralised by the presence of a protector God, facilitating an ordered, united world under God. They reinforced the message of a powerful God, giving ballast to the religious celebrations and contemplations found in *Psalter*'s manuscript. On *Hereford*, produced while the Mongols were still a threat, when efforts at missionary activity and diplomacy with the Mongols had stalled, when the last Christian lands in the Holy Land had been lost, the apocalypticism is the most pronounced. *Hereford*, like *Psalter*, is framed through triumph, but its triumph divides rather than unites, indicated by the division at the top of the map between the saved and the damned. Its apocalyptic Gog and Magog assured viewers of a necessary, ultimate Christian

victory. Each cartographer, then, depicted Gog and Magog in historically and institutionally specific ways, moulding similar material to match current demands. However, across each map, Gog and Magog nonetheless supported similar ends in similar ways. They demonstrate the complex overlaying of multiple times within one space, representing simultaneously Alexander's barbarians, contemporary foes, and the Apocalyptic hordes. Gog and Magog were not an atomised horror found at the edge of the world. The cartographers used them and the North-East Asia in which they appeared, to articulate the superiority of Christianity and the nature and fate of the world as part of God's plan.

Between these themes, as well as the missing Prester John and the recurring neoclassical trends, three important points about the maps emerge which build on arguments in existing scholarship. The thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* are not encyclopaedic but partial and selective; not conservative but innovative and adaptive; not homogenous but heterogeneous and contextual.

In each map, omission and selectivity were key to how the cartographers built their versions of North-East Asia and the world. Given all the available information which the cartographers could access, the *mappaemundi* display a striking, recurring trend in which the cartographers removed aspects of urbanism, wealth, civility, culture and Christianity from all Asia and its north-eastern region specifically. Classical sources had described many cities, including in Arabia and Scythia. The Mongols had firmly imprinted themselves in Latin thought by the 1260s, let alone the 1290s. Prester John was a mainstay of Latin thought. Texts from the mid-thirteenth century provided names such as 'Tartar', 'Karakorum', 'Cathay'. Solinus had described Scythians with neutral or even positive characteristics. The cartographers omitted these features. Ignorance is not a satisfying explanation here, and nor, given the consistent, complementary patterns of omission, is chance. This seems a deliberate attempt to reduce North-East Asia as a respectable force, presenting it instead as antiquated, barbarian and regressive, separating evil from Latin Europe, presenting the Christian world as favourable by comparison, and situating everything in God's plan.

This strategy of omission challenges trends within the cultural turn of describing *mappaemundi* as encyclopaedic.⁵ Scholars over the last five decades have rejected earlier arguments, such as those of Beazley, which posited medieval maps as useless and ignorant. Newer scholarship has, instead, emphasised all maps as cultural products of their time, which suited particular ends; *mappaemundi* mapped space as medieval Christianity needed them to, showing the world as it was understood to contemporary audiences. Such scholarship emphasises medieval maps' richness, diversity and sophistication, presenting them as founts of contemporary knowledge, not damning indictments of foolish Dark Age ignorance. A recurring concept here is 'encyclopaedic', a term used in arguments that *mappaemundi* communicate as much information as possible about the world as it was known.⁶ Moreover, Wacha and Levernier note:

“Scholarly attention has shifted away from *lacunae*, and towards the recognition and appreciation of *calculated rationales and purposeful intentions* that guided medieval mapmaker's cartographic representations.”⁷

This point summarises the arguments of cultural turn scholarship. However, the theme of omission is important here because it tempers what is perhaps an overcorrection in this newer scholarship to earlier summaries of medieval maps as deeply flawed. In the rush to demonstrate everything which the maps *did* show, and the elegance with which they did so, such scholarship overlooks the significant

⁵ See the Introduction pp.20-26 for the cultural turn and the following precis of academic trends.

⁶ For instance, Edson, *The World Map*, 30-31 (“The [Hereford] mappamundi was an encyclopedia”); De Craecker-Dussart, ‘La cartographie médiévale’, 175 (A study which calls a medieval world map “comparable to a visual encyclopaedia” [*comparables à une encyclopédie visuelle*], a position taken while summarising scholarship in a review essay of the state of the field); Barber and Harper, *Magnificent Maps*, 14 (“visual encyclopaedias of the world”. This is a public-facing rather than fully academic work, but demonstrates a desire to show medieval maps in a certain way to a wider audience); Denisov, ‘Scythia’, 73 (“A mappa mundi was actually a graphic encyclopedia that reflected the Christian image of the world”); Birkholz, *King's Two Maps*, 15 (Birkholz notes the “encyclopedic weight and diversity of creation” on medieval world maps); Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 75 (Kline notes the “encyclopedic fullness” of Hereford); Westrem, ‘Making a Mappamundi’, 19 (The Hereford map is a “great encyclopedia of knowledge”); Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, 171 (Medieval world maps have an “encyclopedic impulse”); Wolf, ‘Ebstorf “Mappamundi”’, 3 (“rich visual encyclopaedia”), 5 (“historical encyclopaedia”).

⁷ Heather Wacha and Jacob Levernier, ‘Cartography and Code: Incorporating Automation in the Exploration of Medieval *Mappaemundi*’, *Digital Medievalist* 12, no. 1 (2019): §1, <https://doi.org/10.16995/dm.84>. Emphases mine.

evidence of what the maps *did not* show, especially what was not included but which could have been. Lacunae, that is, matter.

My aim in raising the linked issue of the encyclopaedic and lacunae is neither pedantry nor to argue that *mappaemundi* actually do demonstrate profound ignorance of the world. Rather, my intent is to highlight conceptual issues around the notion of the encyclopaedia and *mappaemundi* as sources which aimed to show *all* knowledge, and to prompt more critical, nuanced readings of the maps. The *mappaemundi* are undoubtedly rich and sophisticated vessels of information. However, gauging their nuances requires reading between the lines and considering what was left out, and why.

The authors cited above are correct to note that large *mappaemundi* showed much information of different kinds, but they have not emphasised the missing information. The commonly applied term ‘encyclopaedic’ is misleading because it unhelpfully conflates the cartographers’ desire to show much information with a desire to show *everything*. Kline, for instance, situates *Hereford* within an encyclopaedic tradition defined as “an attempt to embody all knowledge”.⁸ I contend that the *mappaemundi* intended to show not the entire range of contemporary knowledge, but only knowledge which contributed to the maps’ arguments about the world.

‘Encyclopaedic’ implies a broader, more expansive range of information than the carefully curated and selective geographies seen in the Asia of these maps, and it is important to consider the gaps in the knowledge presented in the *mappaemundi*. The very lacunae which Wacha and Levernier argue scholars have rightfully moved away from are crucial indicators of those “calculated rationales and purposeful intentions” that research on medieval cartography seeks to explore.

Examining omission therefore demonstrates how cartographic North-East Asia represented a strategic restructuring of classical and medieval information, rather than an aggregation of all known geographical and ethnographical features as ‘encyclopaedic’ would suggest. In turn, this suggests that analysing *mappaemundi* requires critical intertextuality. It is not enough to trace the origins of the maps’

⁸ Kline, *Hereford Paradigm*, 147.

contents. Rather, it is necessary to compare the maps' features and arguments against their sources as well as contemporary knowledge and beliefs, to interrogate why some features were included while others were not. Every map is a consequence of choice: every inclusion, every silence, is there for a reason. This demands a close reading of the relationship between the maps, set against their historical context, and their sources. Approaching from this perspective elucidates the construction and intended symbolism of *mappaemundi*, allowing more nuanced understandings. A crucial way in which the cartographers designed North-East Asia was hence how they partially, selectively constructed its space from available intellectual resources. Every omission in Asia helped shape the polemic which proclaimed the superiority of God and Christianity.

The cartographers' use of silence also illustrates another important trend: the *mappaemundi* were not conservative, but innovative. The Introduction and Chapter 1 cite scholarship which describes thirteenth-century (and earlier) cartographers as resistant to change, evident in the persistence, for instance, of Scythia over Tartary. Scholars have also argued that maps only really began to change at the time that they drew on travellers' accounts from the late-fourteenth century onwards. The 1375 Catalan Atlas was the first to use Marco Polo, for instance, and a 1450 world map by Fra Mauro shed monsters from its Asia after travellers could not find them.⁹ Before this, the implication is that *mappaemundi* represented an unchanging, outdated idea of the world while texts and geographical knowledge ploughed new furrows distinct from the obstinate maps.

However, many patterns and features of the *mappaemundi* make it necessary to engage more critically with the notion that thirteenth-century maps were static, conservative and concerned simply with reproducing no more and no less than all that was known. Prester John was absent, and not out of ignorance. The cartographers manipulated their antique sources, presenting not a classical but neoclassical mindscape. *Hereford's* Scythia is markedly different from earlier versions. Gog and Magog became more prominent and developed over time. The

⁹ Edson, *The World Map*, 83–86, 89, 233–35; Surekha Davies, 'The Wondrous East in the Renaissance Geographical Imagination: Marco Polo, Fra Mauro and Giovanni Battista Ramusio', *History and Anthropology* 23, no. 2 (2012): 215, 217–24.

patterns of omission already indicate a more purposeful and innovative engagement by the cartographers with their sources than ‘conservative’ suggests – the maps did not perpetuate but restructured older worldviews. Moreover, if the different shape of Scythia on *Hereford* compared to earlier maps is taken as a consequence of the Mongols, then that indicates a reconfiguration of North-East Asia in response to new knowledge, even if the map’s nomenclature remained the same. This is not to deny the sea-change in the nature of maps towards the end of the fourteenth century, nor to deny that makers of *mappaemundi* were slow adopters of sources which revealed new peoples and places of Asia. Rather, by suggesting that earlier maps were more adaptive, proactive and sensitively aligned with contemporary geographical thought than has hitherto been posited, my aim is to challenge a narrative in which medieval cartographic innovation was invented in 1375. Given the cartographers’ often drastic reworking of the classical texts’ Scythians and urban landscapes, it is inaccurate to cite a “medieval deference to classical authorities”.¹⁰ An undeniable respect for and heavy use of classical knowledge did not result in carbon copies of this information. Instead, it is necessary to interrogate the maps’ features and omission, to explore where and why the cartographers manipulated classical knowledge for medieval ends. It is also necessary to compare various iterations of an ostensibly classical region like Scythia with one another, with consideration to historical circumstances, to note changes and differences over time, rather than simply noting an antique toponym and assuming that obstinate conservatism reigned. Closely reading the *mappaemundi* in these ways demonstrates the authorial agency in depicting Asia as significantly less urban and cultured, significantly more barbarian and immoral, than Europe. The cartographers were active agents in transmitting and producing geographical information, not simply copyists of a classical corpus.

Finally, as demonstrated by comparing the maps, these *mappaemundi* cannot be considered as homogenous or exemplars of “the medieval world view”, but instead are diverse and historically contingent.¹¹ These three thirteenth-century *mappaemundi* – let alone others – are distinct, differing in varied ways as befitted

¹⁰ Edson, *The World Map*, 28.

¹¹ See the Introduction pp. 17-18, 25-26 for examples of the scholarship which tends to, deliberately or not, lump together pre-fourteenth-century *mappaemundi* as an essentially uniform, stable genre and for the prevalence of the notion of *mappaemundi* as emblematic of “the medieval world view”.

their historical and performative contexts. *Ebstorf* and *Hereford* have much in common; they are large maps from ecclesiastical institutions, with similarities in urban distribution, minimising of non-Christian lands like Arabia, absence of Prester John, and wealth of information about myriad subjects. This much can be considered typical in *mappaemundi* production, as can the inclusion of Scythians and Gog and Magog in some form. However, the post-Mongol-invasion *Hereford* with its larger Scythia, more apocalyptic framing, and more developed Gog and Magog, bears the impact of a century of challenges. Its views of the world and Asia were shaped by difficulties in Europe and the Holy Land. *Ebstorf*, in contrast, has a smaller, more distant North-East Asia, with fewer Scythians and a simpler Gog and Magog. It is a product of a less traumatic period. *Psalter*, falling chronologically between the larger maps, shares some similarities with *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*. Each map prominently displays God, Jerusalem and Rome while diminishing Arabia and the Seres, providing important spiritual orientation for readers. *Hereford* with its Scythians and *Psalter* with its enclosure share the theme of a fierce, prominent force in Asia, likely spurred by the Mongols. However, *Psalter* is also distinct in many ways, as size and context demanded. Its size made many inclusions, such as the Scythians, impossible. In omitting the Scythians and in having a more uniform urban distribution, *Psalter* is distinct from the large maps. However, size cannot account for all its exclusions; Arabia, the Seres and perhaps a city marking Prester John's lands could all conceivably have fitted had the cartographer so chosen. Instead, these exclusions reinforced *Psalter*'s emphasis on divine order, not earthly riches or dangers. While each *mappaemundi* declares God's power, *Hereford* and *Ebstorf* do so more bombastically with an overtly flawed Asia. *Psalter* is subtler and concerned with the uniformity made possible by the physically and ideologically contained Gog and Magog; such a mindscape suited a small audience and manuscript context more than the larger maps' public displays. Three thirteenth-century maps, then, offer very different ways of interpreting Asia and the world. Based on these differences, and also on the high number of omissions between the *mappaemundi* and contemporary knowledge, it seems more appropriate to recognise the diversity and dynamism within *mappaemundi* – documents which share trends and aims yet remain distinct – than to simply label them “the medieval worldview”.

If these *mappaemundi* do not represent “the medieval worldview”, then this thesis has argued that they each represent a neoclassical, particularly thirteenth-century approach to understanding the world. Classical nomenclature was a necessity at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but even as new information about, for instance, the Mongols became available, cartographers continued to use antique terminology which lent authority to the maps’ visions. Classical referents also provided a sense of control over and detachment from ongoing threats and challenges such as the Mongol invasions and Holy Land failures; rather than acknowledging difficult ongoing circumstances, antique names allowed an idealised, ordered, crystallised vision of Asia and the world which rose above these contemporary difficulties. However, the cartographers did not merely transcribe antique information wholesale; these were *neoclassical* documents, creatively adopting and adapting classical information to suit medieval ends. Prester John’s absence and Gog and Magog’s inclusion reinforced the notion of a regressive, dated North-East Asia, made more flawed by uneven urbanism and stereotyped Scythians. The cartographers’ inventive approach to their sources is evident on each *mappamundi*, pointing to a consistent creativity across the thirteenth century which reinforced a similarly consistent aim of proclaiming God’s power and eventual triumph. As anonymous or contested as their identity may be, this thesis has aimed to emphasise the role of the cartographers not as mere, passive copyists, but as active participants in creative cartographic processes tied to the conditions of their time.

Over the thirteenth century, as Latin Europe became challenged politically and psychologically, the prominence of North-East Asian menaces grew, but so too did the sense of a protector God and his apocalyptic victory. The maps always showed God’s power by adapting classical and contemporary information, but this authority and might intensified to respond to challenges from Mongols and Muslims. These elements of creativity and contingency, of adaptive, reactive neoclassical approaches, typify the thirteenth-century *mappaemundi*, distinguishing them from what came before and after.

The Asia of these thirteenth-century world maps looks alien to present-day eyes. Its shape bears little relationship to actual physical geography. It is littered with barbarians surely too savage to be true. It contains a great wall-mountain hybrid containing an ancient evil.

However, for all its unusual nature and distinctiveness from earlier and later cartography, North-East Asia nevertheless reveals one continuity in principle between the *mappaemundi* and maps which preceded and followed them. The *mappaemundi* did what all maps of all times and cultures do. They worked to translate three-dimensional space into a smaller legible form; they engaged critically and innovatively with available knowledge; they drew on and reinforced their cultural and intellectual milieu; they shaped the world in a way which privileged the space and ideas of home.

The monstrous, malformed Asia was integral to this. The ways in which the cartographers built it through selection and silence demonstrated the power of God, the order of his creation, and the supremacy of his worshippers. The differences between the maps show how the cartographers moulded North-East Asia and the world to suit the demands and circumstances of specific audiences, time and media; these cartographers moulded and framed classical knowledge according to medieval ideas. The neoclassical construction of North-East Asia was central to how each of these *mappaemundi* represent not just a view of the world, but also a worldview.

Conclusion Figures



Figure C.1: Abraham Cresque, c.1375, *The Catalan Atlas* (8 separate pages assembled digitally). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Espagnol 30.



Figure C.2: Gog and Magog on the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon Cotton map.



Figure C.3: Gog and Magog on the twelfth-century Sawley map.

Appendices – World Urbanism

Appendix 1 – Methodology and Cities of the Classical Texts

The analysis of urbanism presented in this thesis stems from a comparison between the maps' depicted cities and those available in the cartographers' important classical and early medieval sources for Asia: Pliny, Solinus, Orosius and Isidore. This involved a four-stage process.

Firstly, I counted and logged the numbers of Asian cities listed in these classical texts. Secondly, I attributed these texts to a region based on the authors' own information: some appeared in chapters describing a particular region, while other cities appeared in phrases along the lines of 'x in the province of y...'. To provide a usable dataset, I grouped together some regions which would otherwise provide too many categories for comparison. 'Asia Minor', for instance, includes Pliny's Lydia, Ionia and Phrygia; the Levant includes Palestine and Judaea. Consequently, these regions, especially Asia Minor, have high levels of cities, not only because of their being in the Roman empire but also because these categories cover many chapters in Pliny. Because Pliny provided the most information, which the other authors often followed, the version of the city name is usually that supplied by Pliny, with alternative forms named. Where Pliny did not mention a city, the name given is that found in the first author who did mention that city.

Thirdly, I counted the numbers of cities over the world on each *mappaemundi*. For the purposes of the thesis, I counted cities as sites, usually named, which had an urban icon which matched the artistic conventions of each given map: *Ebstorf's* mixed cityscapes; *Psalter's* small golden icons; *Hereford's* Gothic edifices. Many cities on *Ebstorf* lack a name due to the damage and its sustained and subsequent partial reproduction, but such unnamed features are recognisably cities.

Finally, I assigned each city on each map to a region to allow comparison of the urbanism in the different areas of Asia. This process followed wherever possible classical and medieval geographical ontology and definitions, using older terms like

Hyrcania and Scythia rather than 'Central Asia' or similar. I categorised cities into regions based on factors including the region provided in the texts; nearby captions; comparisons with adjacent cities where the region was identifiable; and parallels with the other maps.⁸³⁸ This method assigned each city to a region aligning with the classical texts.

Region	City	Pliny	Solinus	Orosius	Isidore
Arabia	Agra (Aelana)	Yes			
Arabia	Ampelome	Yes			
Arabia	Athrida	Yes			
Arabia	Badanatha	Yes			
Arabia	Barbatia	Yes			
Arabia	Besannisa	Yes			
Arabia	Cane	Yes			
Arabia	Canthace	Yes			
Arabia	Cardava	Yes			
Arabia	Caritai	Yes			
Arabia	Carnon	Yes			
Arabia	Carnus	Yes			
Arabia	Cennesseris	Yes			
Arabia	Charax	Yes			
Arabia	Corolia	Yes			
Arabia	Danei	Yes			
Arabia	Domata	Yes			
Arabia	Ebod	Yes			
Arabia	Fora	Yes			
Arabia	Foth	Yes			
Arabia	Gerra	Yes			
Arabia	Heroon	Yes			
Arabia	Heroopolis	Yes			
Arabia	Marane	Yes			
Arabia	Mariaba	Yes			
Arabia	Marippa	Yes			
Arabia	Mariva	Yes			
Arabia	Marma	Yes			
Arabia	Masala	Yes			
Arabia	Muranimal	Yes			
Arabia	Muza	Yes			
Arabia	Nascus	Yes			
Arabia	Nessa	Yes			

⁸³⁸ For categorisation seen in the texts, examples include Eracleon on *Ebstorf*, noted by Pliny as being in Egypt; Pabibora on *Psalter*, listed as being in India by Pliny and Solinus. For captions, Caspia Civitas appears by a Hyrcania label on *Hereford*; Hierapolis on *Ebstorf* is by an Armenia label. Comparisons with adjacent cities of identifiable regions were important for the many nameless cities on *Ebstorf*. For parallels with other maps, an example is that *Hereford* includes a slightly ambiguously placed 'Pergen Pansius', which on *Ebstorf* is clearly marked as part of Asia Minor.

Arabia	Ocelis	Yes	Yes		
Arabia	Omana	Yes			
Arabia	Palon	Yes			
Arabia	Riphearma	Yes			
Arabia	Sabatha	Yes			
Arabia	Sagiatta	Yes			
Arabia	Sapphar	Yes			
Arabia	Save	Yes			
Arabia	Sibi (Apate)	Yes			
Arabia	Singara	Yes			
Arabia	Soractia	Yes			
Arabia	Thomala	Yes			
Arabia	Thumata	Yes			
Armenia	Arsamosta	Yes			
Armenia	Artaxata	Yes			
Armenia	Aza	Yes			
Armenia	Caesarea	Yes			
Armenia	Dascusa	Yes			
Armenia	Elegia	Yes			
Armenia	Melitene	Yes			
Armenia	Nicopolis	Yes			
Armenia	Samosata	Yes			
Armenia	Tigranocerta	Yes			
Asia Minor	Absarus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Abydos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Acone	Yes			
Asia Minor	Adana	Yes			
Asia Minor	Agae	Yes			
Asia Minor	Alabanda	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Alaea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Ale	Yes			
Asia Minor	Alexandria	Yes			
Asia Minor	Alexandria	Yes			
Asia Minor	Amasia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Amastris	Yes			
Asia Minor	Amazonium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Amelas	Yes			
Asia Minor	Amisus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Amycus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Amyzon	Yes			
Asia Minor	Anazarbus (Caesarea)	Yes			
Asia Minor	Anchiale	Yes			
Asia Minor	Ancysea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Andera	Yes			
Asia Minor	Andria	Yes			
Asia Minor	Anemurium	Yes			

Asia Minor	Antandros	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Antiochia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Antiphellos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Apamea	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Aperrae	Yes			
Asia Minor	Aphrodisias	Yes			
Asia Minor	Apollonia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Archelais	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Ariace	Yes			
Asia Minor	Arisbe	Yes			
Asia Minor	Arsinoe	Yes			
Asia Minor	Artace	Yes			
Asia Minor	Arycanda	Yes			
Asia Minor	Ascandia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Aspendus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Assos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Attalia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Augusta	Yes			
Asia Minor	Balbura	Yes			
Asia Minor	Balcea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Bargyla	Yes			
Asia Minor	Bryllion	Yes			
Asia Minor	Bubon	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cabalaca	Yes			
Asia Minor	Caesarea	Yes			Yes
Asia Minor	Cale	Yes			
Asia Minor	Calpas	Yes			
Asia Minor	Calynda	Yes			
Asia Minor	Canas	Yes			
Asia Minor	Candyba	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cappadocia				Yes
Asia Minor	Carina	Yes			
Asia Minor	Carusa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Caryanda	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cassipolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Castabala	Yes			
Asia Minor	Caunos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cebrenia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Celaenae	Yes			
Asia Minor	Celenderitis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Ceraïne	Yes			
Asia Minor	Ceramus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cerasus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Chadisia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Chalcedon	Yes			
Asia Minor	Choma	Yes			

Asia Minor	Chordule	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cibotus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cibyra	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cilicia				Yes
Asia Minor	Cimmeris	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cimolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cius	Yes			
Asia Minor	Claudiopolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cnidos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Colophon	Yes			
Asia Minor	Colossae	Yes			
Asia Minor	Comana	Yes			
Asia Minor	Conisium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Conium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Coracesium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Corycos	Yes	Yes		Yes
Asia Minor	Coryphas	Yes			
Asia Minor	Coscinus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cotyaion	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cotyorum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cressa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cromna	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cumania	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cyaneae	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cygnus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cyme	Yes			
Asia Minor	Cyzicus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Dardanium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Dascylos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Dindymis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Diocaesarea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Dioscurias	Yes	Yes		Yes
Asia Minor	Dolionis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Doron	Yes			
Asia Minor	Dorylaion (Dorylaum)	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Eleus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Ephesus	Yes	Yes		Yes
Asia Minor	Epiphania	Yes			
Asia Minor	Eumenia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Eupatoria (Pompeiopolis)	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Euralium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Eurome	Yes			
Asia Minor	Eutane	Yes			
Asia Minor	Euthene	Yes			
Asia Minor	Gangre	Yes			
Asia Minor	Gargara	Yes			

Asia Minor	Gazelum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Gaziura	Yes			
Asia Minor	Gordiucome (Juliopolis)	Yes			
Asia Minor	Gordium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Halicarnassus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Halisperne	Yes			
Asia Minor	Hamaxitos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Harmastis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Harpasa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Hephaestia		Yes		
Asia Minor	Heraclea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Heracleium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Holmoe	Yes			
Asia Minor	Hyda	Yes			
Asia Minor	Hynidos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Iasus	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Iconium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Illium (Troy)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Asia Minor	Iotape	Yes			
Asia Minor	Issos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Lampascus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Larymna	Yes			
Asia Minor	Lebedos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Leuce	Yes			
Asia Minor	Leucopolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Lycastum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Lycide	Yes			
Asia Minor	Lygdamum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Magarsos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Magnesia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Magnopolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Mallos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Mantium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Mantium (another)	Yes			
Asia Minor	Marathesium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Mastya	Yes			
Asia Minor	Matium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Mazaca	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Medmasa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Melita	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Midaium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Miletopolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Miletus	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Mopsos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Myanda	Yes			
Asia Minor	Mylasa	Yes			

Asia Minor	Myle	Yes			
Asia Minor	Myndos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Myrina	Yes			
Asia Minor	Myrlea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Myus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Nariandos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Naulochum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Neapolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Nee	Yes			
Asia Minor	Neocaesarea	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Neontichos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Neoris	Yes			
Asia Minor	Nicaea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Nicomedia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Noscopium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Nysa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Oeniandra	Yes			
Asia Minor	Olbia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Olympena	Yes			
Asia Minor	Oxyopum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Paridion	Yes			
Asia Minor	Parium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Parthenium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Patara	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pedalie	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pedasus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pegusa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Penius	Yes			
Asia Minor	Percote	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pergamum	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Perperene	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pessinus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Phanarœa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pharnacea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Phaselis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Phellos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Phocaea (Phokaia)	Yes			
Asia Minor	Phorontis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Phygela	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pinare	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pioniae	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pitaium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pityus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Placia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Podalia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Polemonium	Yes			

Asia Minor	Posidea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Priapos	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Priene	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Prusa	Yes			
Asia Minor	Psillis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pyrnos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Pyrrha	Yes			
Asia Minor	Rhoeteum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sardes	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Sarnaca	Yes			
Asia Minor	Scamandria	Yes			
Asia Minor	Scylace	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sebastia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sebastopolis	Yes			
Asia Minor	Seleucia	Yes			Yes
Asia Minor	Selinus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sibde	Yes			
Asia Minor	Side	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sidyma	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sindos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sinope	Yes			
Asia Minor	Sipylus	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Smyrna	Yes	Yes		Yes
Asia Minor	Soli (Pompeiopolis)	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Sotira	Yes			
Asia Minor	Stabulum	Yes			
Asia Minor	Stadia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Stephane	Yes			
Asia Minor	Stratonicea	Yes			
Asia Minor	Surium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Tarsus	Yes	Yes		Yes
Asia Minor	Tavium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Teium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Telandrus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Telmessus	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Temnos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Termera	Yes			
Asia Minor	Teuthrania	Yes	Yes		
Asia Minor	Theangela	Yes			
Asia Minor	Themiseyra	Yes			
Asia Minor	Thyatira	Yes			
Asia Minor	Thydonos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Thymbre	Yes			
Asia Minor	Thynos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Tiare	Yes			
Asia Minor	Tisanusa	Yes			

Asia Minor	Titanus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Tium	Yes			
Asia Minor	Tlos	Yes			
Asia Minor	Tralles	Yes			
Asia Minor	Trapezus (Trebizond)	Yes			
Asia Minor	Triopia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Troezene	Yes			
Asia Minor	Tyana	Yes			
Asia Minor	Xanthus	Yes			
Asia Minor	Zela	Yes			
Asia Minor	Zelia	Yes			
Asia Minor	Zephyrium	Yes			
Egypt	Abydus	Yes	Yes		
Egypt	Alexandria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Egypt	Aphroditopolis	Yes			
Egypt	Aphroditopolis (another)	Yes			
Egypt	Apollinopolis	Yes			
Egypt	Arsinoe	Yes	Yes		
Egypt	Athribis	Yes			
Egypt	Berenice	Yes			Yes
Egypt	Bolbitine	Yes			
Egypt	Busiris	Yes			
Egypt	Butos	Yes			
Egypt	Canopus	Yes	Yes		Yes
Egypt	Coptos	Yes	Yes		
Egypt	Cynopolis	Yes			
Egypt	Diospolis (town of Jupiter; Thebes aka Great Diospolis)	Yes			
Egypt	Heliopolis	Yes			Yes
Egypt	Heracleopolis	Yes			
Egypt	Hydreuma	Yes			
Egypt	Isis	Yes			
Egypt	Juliopolis	Yes			
Egypt	Katabathmos		Yes		
Egypt	Leontopolis	Yes			
Egypt	Leucothea	Yes			
Egypt	Memphis	Yes			Yes
Egypt	Mendes	Yes			
Egypt	Naucratis	Yes			
Egypt	Ostrakine		Yes		
Egypt	Panopolis	Yes			
Egypt	Pelusium	Yes	Yes		
Egypt	Pharbaethos	Yes			
Egypt	Phatnis	Yes			
Egypt	Ptolemais	Yes			Yes
Egypt	Sais	Yes			

Egypt	Sebennys	Yes			
Egypt	Syene	Yes	Yes		
Egypt	Tanis	Yes			Yes
Egypt	Tentyris	Yes			
Egypt	Thebes	Yes	Yes		Yes
Hyrcania	Alexandria	Yes			
Hyrcania	Antiochia (Merv?)	Yes			
Hyrcania	Bactrum	Yes	Yes		Yes
Hyrcania	Carris			Yes	
Hyrcania	Cathippus			Yes	
Hyrcania	Heraclea	Yes			
Hyrcania	Ortospanum	Yes			
Hyrcania	Ottogorro			Yes	
Hyrcania	Panda	Yes	Yes		
Hyrcania	Saphri			Yes	
Hyrcania	Zariaspe (later Bactra)	Yes			
India	Alexandria	Yes	Yes		
India	Arachosia (Cophen)	Yes	Yes		
India	Argenus	Yes			
India	Arbis	Yes			
India	Artacabane	Yes			
India	Artacoana	Yes			
India	Automula	Yes			
India	Barace	Yes			
India	Bucephala	Yes		Yes	
India	Calinipaxa	Yes			
India	Capisa	Yes			
India	Cartana (Tetragonis)	Yes			
India	Chrysobora	Yes			
India	Condigramma	Yes			
India	Dandaguda	Yes			
India	Lyphorta	Yes			
India	Methora	Yes			
India	Modiera	Yes			
India	Muziris (Zmirim)	Yes	Yes		
India	Nicaea			Yes	
India	Nitrias	Yes			
India	Nysa	Yes	Yes		Yes
India	Palaesimundus	Yes			
India	Palibothra	Yes	Yes		
India	Parabeste	Yes			
India	Patala	Yes			
India	Peucolaitis	Yes			
India	Pucolis	Yes			
India	Prophthasia	Yes			
India	Protalis	Yes			

India	Rhodapha	Yes			
India	Tarsus				Yes
India	Taxilla	Yes			
Levant	Acrabbim	Yes			
Levant	Acre	Yes			
Levant	Anthedon	Yes			
Levant	Apollonia	Yes			
Levant	Arados	Yes			
Levant	Arfa (Judea)				Yes
Levant	Ascalon	Yes			Yes
Levant	Azotus (Ashdod)	Yes			
Levant	Bethaven (Samaria)				Yes
Levant	Bethlehem (Judea)				Yes
Levant	Bethleptephene	Yes			
Levant	Berytus (Beirut, Felix Julia)	Yes			
Levant	Botrys	Yes			
Levant	Byblos	Yes			
Levant	Caesarea (Prima Flavia)	Yes			
Levant	Caesarea Panias	Yes	Yes		
Levant	Calamos	Yes			
Levant	Carmelus	Yes			
Levant	Ecdippa	Yes			
Levant	Eleas (Samaria)				Yes
Levant	Emmaüs (Nicopolis)	Yes			
Levant	Gamala	Yes			
Levant	Gazae	Yes			Yes
Levant	Getta	Yes			
Levant	Gigarta	Yes			
Levant	Gophna	Yes			
Levant	Hebron (Judea)				Yes
Levant	Herodium	Yes			
Levant	Hippo	Yes			
Levant	Jamniae	Yes			
Levant	Jamniae (another)	Yes			
Levant	Jeba	Yes			
Levant	Jericho (Hiericus)	Yes	Yes		Yes
Levant	Jerusalem	Yes	Yes		Yes
Levant	Joppe	Yes	Yes		Yes
Levant	Julius	Yes			
Levant	Leontos	Yes			
Levant	Lydda	Yes			
Levant	Machaerus	Yes			
Levant	Marathos	Yes			
Levant	Masada	Yes	Yes		
Levant	Neapolis	Yes			Yes
Levant	Ornithon	Yes			

Levant	Orthosia	Yes			
Levant	Palaebyblos	Yes			
Levant	Palaestina	Yes			
Levant	Petra	Yes			
Levant	Rhaphea	Yes			
Levant	Sarepta	Yes			
Levant	Sebast	Yes			Yes
Levant	Sidon	Yes			Yes
Levant	Simyra	Yes			
Levant	Tiberias	Yes			Yes
Levant	Thamna	Yes			
Levant	Trieris	Yes			
Levant	Tripolis	Yes			
Levant	Tyre	Yes	Yes		Yes
Media	Aganzaga	Yes			
Media	Apamea	Yes			
Media	Ecbatana	Yes			
Media	Media				Yes
Media	Phazaca	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Accobis	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Anthemusia	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Anthermis	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Antiochia (on Euphrates)	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Apamia/Apamea	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Arbela	Yes	Yes		
Mesopotamia	Artemita	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Babylon	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mesopotamia	Bura	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Callirhoe	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Caphrena	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Carrhae	Yes	Yes		Yes
Mesopotamia	Dabithac	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Digba	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Diospage	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Edessa	Yes			Yes
Mesopotamia	Epiphania	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Gaugamela	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Hipparenum	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Laodicea	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Nicephorium/Nicephorion	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Ninus (Nineveh)	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Orchenus	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Oruros	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Otris	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Polytelia	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Sabdata	Yes			

Mesopotamia	Seleucia	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Sittace	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Stratonice	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Thaebata	Yes			
Mesopotamia	Zeugma	Yes			
Parthia	Alexandria	Yes			
Parthia	Alexandropolis	Yes			
Parthia	Aracusia				Yes
Parthia	Arbil	Yes			
Parthia	Arsace	Yes			
Parthia	Cadrusi	Yes	Yes		
Parthia	Calliope	Yes			
Parthia	Europus	Yes			
Parthia	Ctesiphon	Yes	Yes		Yes
Parthia	Gazae	Yes			
Parthia	Hecatompylos	Yes			
Parthia	Issatis	Yes			
Parthia	Maria	Yes			
Parthia	Nisibis	Yes			
Parthia	Vologesocerta	Yes			
Persia	Alexandria	Yes			
Persia	Babytace	Yes			
Persia	Fidasarcida		Yes		
Persia	Laodicea	Yes			
Persia	Persepolis	Yes		Yes	Yes
Persia	Susa	Yes	Yes		Yes
Persia	Zetis	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Achaei	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Aepolium	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Cepi	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Cimmerium	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Cremniscos	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Hermisium	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Hermonassa	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Myrmecium	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Olbiopolis	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Phanagoria	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Stratoclia	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Tanais	Yes			
Scythia (on Black Sea)	Theodosia (Kaffa)	Yes			
Seres	Seres				Yes
Syria	Abila	Yes			
Syria	Ampeloëssa	Yes			
Syria	Amhipolis	Yes			
Syria	Antioch	Yes	Yes		Yes
Syria	Apamea	Yes			

Syria	Arca	Yes			
Syria	Balanea (Banias)	Yes			
Syria	Bambyx (Hierapolis, Mabog)	Yes			
Syria	Bomitae	Yes			
Syria	Canatha	Yes			
Syria	Carne (Antarados)	Yes			
Syria	Charadrus	Yes			
Syria	Commaga				Yes
Syria	Cyrrhестice	Yes			
Syria	Cyrrhum	Yes			
Syria	Damascus	Yes	Yes		Yes
Syria	Dagusa			Yes	
Syria	Dion (Dium)	Yes			
Syria	Diospolis	Yes			
Syria	Europus	Yes			
Syria	Gabale	Yes			
Syria	Gabe	Yes			
Syria	Gadara	Yes			
Syria	Galasa	Yes			
Syria	Heliopolis (Baalbec)	Yes	Yes		
Syria	Heraclea	Yes			
Syria	Laodicea	Yes			
Syria	Myriandros	Yes			
Syria	Pagrae	Yes			
Syria	Palmyra	Yes			
Syria	Paltos	Yes			
Syria	Paradisus	Yes			
Syria	Pella (Butis)	Yes			
Syria	Philadelphia	Yes	Yes		
Syria	Posidium	Yes			
Syria	Rhaphana	Yes	Yes		
Syria	Rhosos	Yes			
Syria	Scythopolis	Yes			
Syria	Seleucia (Pieria)	Yes			
Syria	Seleucia (another one)	Yes			
Syria	Trachontis	Yes			

Appendix 2 – The Asian Cities of *Ebstorf*

City	Region
Madian (Medina?)	Arabia
Occelia Portus	Arabia
Arthaxath	Armenia
Elegia	Armenia
Hierapolis	Armenia
Meopolim (Meopolis)	Armenia
Militana (Melitene/Malatya)	Armenia
Parthan (Spartan)	Armenia
Calcedon	Asia Minor
Cappadocia (city)	Asia Minor
Cemiscerinum (Themyscra)	Asia Minor
Cesarea	Asia Minor
Coricon	Asia Minor
Dioscorus	Asia Minor
Eladea (Heraclea)	Asia Minor
Ephesus	Asia Minor
Gersanis	Asia Minor
Libusa	Asia Minor
Listra	Asia Minor
Neapolis	Asia Minor
Nicea	Asia Minor
Nicomedia	Asia Minor
Niconium	Asia Minor
Pamphylia	Asia Minor
Patara	Asia Minor
Pergen	Asia Minor
Sardis	Asia Minor
Seleucia	Asia Minor
Seleucia Penea	Asia Minor
Smyrna	Asia Minor
Sofia? (damaged)	Asia Minor
Tarsis (Tarsus)	Asia Minor
Terbant (Derbent)	Asia Minor
Unnamed	Asia Minor
Unnamed	Asia Minor
Unnamed	Asia Minor
Alexandria	Egypt
Anatipolim	Egypt
Babylon (Cairo)	Egypt
Copten (Coptos)	Egypt
Dadracata (Damietta?)	Egypt
Eracleon	Egypt
Fiton	Egypt

Heliopolis	Egypt
Hydreuma	Egypt
Magdalum	Egypt
Melfriel	Egypt
Memphis	Egypt
Nubia civitas	Egypt
Pelusium	Egypt
Ramasses	Egypt
Says	Egypt
Sygene	Egypt
Tanis	Egypt
Thebes	Egypt
Thoman	Egypt
Unnamed	Egypt
Alexandria	Hyrkania
Carras	Hyrkania
Colisma (Choolisma)	Hyrkania
Samarcha (Samarkand)	Hyrkania
Sciropolis (Cyropolis)	Hyrkania
Calaminica	India
Codestan (Kabul?)	India
Coprestes	India
Elioforus (Heliophorum)	India
Nisa	India
Poliboca (Palibothra)	India
Porus(?)	India
Unnamed	India
Accaron	Levant
Antiradus	Levant
Archas	Levant
Arimathia	Levant
Astharoth	Levant
Astralon	Levant
Azotum (Ashdod)	Levant
Basan	Levant
Bersabee	Levant
Bethania	Levant
Bethanum	Levant
Betharaba	Levant
Bethlehem	Levant
Bosra	Levant
Cadesbarne	Levant
Caiphas (Haifa)	Levant
Cana	Levant
Cariatha	Levant
Cesarea Stratonis	Levant

Cesaree	Levant
Corrozaim	Levant
Dispolis	Levant
Ebron	Levant
Emaus	Levant
Endor	Levant
Gabaa	Levant
Gadera	Levant
Galaon (Golan)	Levant
Galgalis	Levant
Gaza	Levant
Gerara	Levant
Gerasa	Levant
Geth	Levant
Hay	Levant
Iamnia	Levant
Jabes	Levant
Jericho	Levant
Jerusalem	Levant
Joppe	Levant
Lonascha (Ascalon)	Levant
Nazareth	Levant
Nicopolis	Levant
Oppida Sarracenorum	Levant
Oppida Sarracenorum	Levant
Oppida Sarracenorum	Levant
Ragath	Levant
Ramoth	Levant
Samaria civitas (Sebast)	Levant
Sarepta	Levant
Sidon	Levant
Tripolis	Levant
Tyrus	Levant
Unnamed	Levant
Unnamed	Levant
Unnamed	Levant
Zarodassim	Levant
Arbella	Mesopotamia
Arx	Mesopotamia
Assur	Mesopotamia
Babylon	Mesopotamia
Bagada	Mesopotamia
Calon	Mesopotamia
Cesse	Mesopotamia
Ectabana	Mesopotamia
Edissa (Edessa)	Mesopotamia

Jerapolis (Hierapolis)	Mesopotamia
Nineve	Mesopotamia
Tesiphons	Mesopotamia
Unnamed (possibly Theodoseopolis)	Mesopotamia
Ur	Mesopotamia
Zema	Mesopotamia
Zomada	Mesopotamia
Andropolim	Persia/Parthia
Andropolis	Persia/Parthia
Aracusa	Persia/Parthia
Archamedon	Persia/Parthia
Carras	Persia/Parthia
Elyseme (Elam)	Persia/Parthia
Lenti (Leuke)	Persia/Parthia
Media	Persia/Parthia
Persida civitas (Persepolis)	Persia/Parthia
Rages	Persia/Parthia
Susa	Persia/Parthia
Thesifons (Ctesiphon)	Persia/Parthia
Unnamed	Persia/Parthia
Unnamed (possibly Herat)	Persia/Parthia
Unnamed	Scythia
Antioch	Syria
Celesyria	Syria
Damascus	Syria
Edissa (Urfa)	Syria
Raboth (Amman)	Syria
Samosa	Syria
Ternama (Palmyra)	Syria

Appendix 3 – The Asian Cities of *Psalter*

City	Region
Armenia	Armenia
Spartan	Armenia
Chalcedon	Asia Minor
Capadocia	Asia Minor
Troy	Asia Minor
Babilonia (Cairo)	Egypt
Damietta	Egypt
Ethiopia	Egypt
Oliopolim (Heliopolis)	Egypt
Pelusium	Egypt
Saltabri	Egypt
Tapnis (Daphnae)	Egypt
Carnis	Hyrcania
Ciropolis	Hyrcania
Licia	Hyrcania
Octogora	Hyrcania
Saphri	Hyrcania
Ganges	India
Iazaron	India
Nisapi	India
Pabibora	India
Saima	India
Ascalon	Levant
Ashdad	Levant
Betheida	Levant
Bethlehem	Levant
Cesarea Palestine	Levant
Corozaim	Levant
Jericho	Levant
Jerusalem	Levant
Tiberias	Levant
Unnamed	Levant
Babylon	Mesopotamia
Elam	Mesopotamia
Nineveh	Mesopotamia
Theodosopolis	Mesopotamia
Unnamed	Mesopotamia
Peliopolis	Persia/Parthia
Pesiopolis	Persia/Parthia
Unnamed	Persia/Parthia
Antioch	Syria
Lachis	Syria

Appendix 4 – The Asian Cities of *Hereford*

City	Region
Carax	Arabia
Carcanus	Arabia
Unnamed	Armenia
Metima	Armenia
Decusa	Armenia
Abydos	Asia Minor
Antiochet	Asia Minor
Atalia	Asia Minor
Brusias	Asia Minor
Calcidonia	Asia Minor
Caria	Asia Minor
Cesarea	Asia Minor
Ephesus	Asia Minor
Eraclea	Asia Minor
Hilium	Asia Minor
Lampsacus	Asia Minor
Listra	Asia Minor
Micomedia	Asia Minor
Miletus	Asia Minor
Minutanda	Asia Minor
Mirrea	Asia Minor
Nicaea	Asia Minor
Patera	Asia Minor
Pergen Pansius	Asia Minor
Prienna	Asia Minor
Telmel	Asia Minor
Tharsus	Asia Minor
Troia	Asia Minor
Yconium	Asia Minor
Abidos	Egypt
Alexandria	Egypt
Babilonia (Cairo)	Egypt
Berenice	Egypt
Cachinna	Egypt
City of Ramesse	Egypt
Craculus (Herakleus?)	Egypt
Dafnus	Egypt
Etham	Egypt
Gazera	Egypt
Laureum	Egypt
Magdalus	Egypt
Mekesus	Egypt
Memphis	Egypt

Naddaber	Egypt
Oppidum Nibie	Egypt
Ostrochena	Egypt
Paretonium	Egypt
Pelasium	Egypt
Pelipolis (Panopolis?)	Egypt
Phiaroth	Egypt
Protholomayda	Egypt
Rhiocerura	Egypt
Sochoth	Egypt
Stenas	Egypt
Syene	Egypt
Tasnis (Tanis)	Egypt
Tasnus	Egypt
Bactrum	Hyrcania
Caspia Civitas	Hyrcania
Choolissime	Hyrcania
Nucusafris	Hyrcania
Octoricirus	Hyrcania
Panda	Hyrcania
Samarcan	Hyrcania
Seres Civitas	Hyrcania
Aracusiam	India
Bucefala	India
Cassica (Capisa)	India
Cristoas (Chrysobora)	India
Enos	India
Niceas	India
Nua (Nysa)	India
Pobrotta (Patna)	India
Unnamed on Taprobane	India
Zimarim	India
Acaron (Ekron)	Levant
Actua	Levant
Archas	Levant
Arnon	Levant
Ascalon	Levant
Beritus	Levant
Bersabee	Levant
Bethel	Levant
Bethlehem	Levant
Cana	Levant
Cesarea Philippi	Levant
Civitas Saracena	Levant
Diospolis	Levant
Ebron	Levant

Gaza	Levant
Gerara	Levant
Hersura	Levant
Iampnia	Levant
Ierico	Levant
Iope	Levant
Jerusalem	Levant
Madian	Levant
Modin	Levant
Petra	Levant
Ramaca	Levant
Saba	Levant
Salem	Levant
Sile	Levant
Tholomaida (Ptolomais, aka Acre)	Levant
Tripolis	Levant
Tyrus	Levant
Unnamed	Levant
Assyria	Mesopotamia
Babylon	Mesopotamia
Ninevee	Mesopotamia
Nisibi	Mesopotamia
Rahais	Mesopotamia
Samosaka	Mesopotamia
Ur	Mesopotamia
Alexandria	Persia/Parthia
Andropolis	Persia/Parthia
Cadrusima	Persia/Parthia
Persepolis	Persia/Parthia
Rages	Persia/Parthia
Susa	Persia/Parthia
Ycusia	Persia/Parthia
Antioch	Syria
Appanina	Syria
Damascus	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Decapolis	Syria
Laodiciam	Syria

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Hereford

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