

Part II

Modes of Reading Geography

3. *Time. Authority and Archaism*

Abstract: This chapter explores the archaisms in the territorial nomenclature of the *Imago mundi*. To illustrate how this flexible framework permeated vernacular tradition, the chapter begins with an examination of the Old Norse material. The Norse evidence for transmission of the *Imago mundi* and the incorporation of its material into new texts of varied genres, exemplifies the use and re-use of the same material in various contexts typical of the entire tradition. The second and third sections of the chapter focus on Honorius's use of outdated Roman imperial nomenclature, and how later adaptors, such as Brunetto Latini and Gervase of Tilbury exploit it by overlapping new political maps onto this base description, using it, in essence, as a base outline.

Keywords Scandinavia; Roman Empire; geographical archaism; imperial territorial units; *provincia*; overlapping maps

Chapters 1 and 2 have provided an overview of the content and the spread of the *Imago mundi*. Now that we have gathered our affairs, we can mount the hippogriff and in Chapter 3 set out on our journey, as a number of important ideas that have surfaced in the initial chapters are brought together. We will examine how the *Imago mundi* becomes an authority drawn on for geographical information in different cultural and linguistic concepts. This discussion builds on the treatment in Chapter 2 which touched briefly on medieval ideas of translation and authority.¹ We then turn to the first of two major aspects of the text that I argue are crucial to its transformation into an authority and phenomenal success: archaism. (The second is the flexibility of the spatial description, which I discuss in terms of fuzzy sets in Chapter 4). The topographical framework in the *Imago mundi*, I will argue, like the reference to the Pillars of Hercules in *Orlando Furioso*, provides classical landmarks as reference points for medieval geography.

¹ Chapter 2, pp. 55–57.

The nomenclature used by Honorius is predominantly that of Roman provinces. This is sometimes updated in vernacular rewritings. The phenomenon particularly concerns European regions, and particularly in relation to areas close to the place of production for the updated version or locations to which the author or audience of the new vernacular text had particular connections.² Reference is also sometimes made to contemporaneous political entities, and these cases will receive our special attention. I argue here that this is evidence for the remarkable strength of the notions of authority in the medieval period, coupled with a reluctance to challenge that authority through change motivated by anything less than equal authority (general knowledge, it seems, would have been accepted).³ One might run into trouble only, as Marco Polo almost did, when the evidence of a unique eye-witness (himself, in Marco Polo's case) ran contrary to widely circulated authorities.⁴ For the depiction of Europe in the texts of the *Imago*

2 This theme is built upon in Chapter 5, where we look at the context of our texts: audience experience and patronage.

3 For the acceptability of expectations of general knowledge as reason for adjustment of information, one need only think of Caxton's appeals to his audience in the few instances where he made explicit alterations to the text of the *Image du monde* which he was translating; see James A. Knapp, 'Translating for Print: Continuity and Change in Caxton's *Mirror of the World*', *Disputatio*, 3 (1998), 64–90 (pp. 73–75). As Knapp observes, 'Caxton is careful to reserve his alterations for aspects of the French text that are obviously wrong (confirmed so by personal experience) or obviously offensive to an English audience' (p. 74). Knapp's comment about personal experience relates to Caxton's removal of the claim made in the French text that Englishmen have tails. For the sake of the present argument it seems appropriate to point out that the experience would have been shared by Caxton's audience. Caxton changed the text because his audience would have known as well as he did that it was wrong (and, of course, as Knapp points out, would have found this offensive). The fact that Caxton often retains the error alongside his corrections (which then function as a guide) suggests that not only does the translator/editor in this case function as a guide to the readers, as Knapp observes, but also that there is complicity between the editor who provides the correction and the reader, whom the editor expects to agree with this correction.

4 For the negotiation between authority of tradition and authority of the eyewitness in Marco Polo's text, see, for instance, discussions in Aníbal A. Biglieri, *Las ideas geográficas y la imagen del mundo en la literatura española medieval*, *Medievalia Hispanica*, 17 (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2012), pp. 25–30; Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's 'Le Devisement du Monde': Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), pp. 30–35, 113–44; Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 94–112; Suzanne M. Yeager, 'The World Translated: Marco Polo's *Le Devisement dou monde*, *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, and their Medieval Audiences', in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. by Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci, with the assistance of John Tulk (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 156–81 (pp. 156, 167–70). For a more general discussion of the relation between eyewitness accounts and textual authority, see Bernard Ribémont,

mundi tradition, in the context of a culture used to perceiving the world as a synchronous representation of time-space (which Georg Jostkleigrew called the historico-geographical model), so vividly illustrated by the *mappae mundi*, this did not represent a conflict.⁵ This framework provides ample material for rewriting and renegotiation, especially, as we shall see in later chapters, of one's own place in the world.

To illustrate how intensively this flexible framework permeated vernacular tradition, it is useful to look at the Norse material, briefly introduced in the previous chapter, in a little more detail. Even though – perhaps even because – it is fragmentary and circumstantial, the Norse evidence for transmission of the *Imago mundi* and the incorporation of the material derived from it into new texts of widely varied genres, exemplifies the use and re-use of the same material in various contexts typical of this whole tradition.⁶

Authority in Fragments

Scandinavia barely features in the *Imago mundi*: 'In hac est Dania et Norweia' ('In that [= *Germania Inferior*] is Denmark and Norway'; 1.24) is all the text says of it.⁷ Previous discussions have shown that echoes of this geographical tradition, and the tripartite world structure in particular can be found throughout Norse literature.⁸ *Imago mundi* is cited and quoted in multiple

'L'inconnu géographique des encyclopédies médiévales', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales*, 3 (1997), 101–11, esp. pp. 101–03, and Surekha Davies, 'The Wondrous East in the Renaissance Geographical Imagination: Marco Polo, Fra Mauro and Giovanni Battista Ramusio', *History and Anthropology*, 23 (2012), 215–34 (pp. 220–23 and 226–29).

5 See, for instance, Naomi Reed Kline's discussion of the Hereford *mappa mundi* as a 'universal chronicle'; Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 221–22; also Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492: The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 22–24. Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace entre tradition et innovation: la géographie symbolique du monde et son adaptation par Gossouin de Metz', *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et représentations. xxxvii^e Congrès de la SHMES. Mulhouse, 2–4 juin 2006* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007), pp. 369–78 (p. 377). See discussion in Chapter 3, p. 111.

6 Margaret Clunies Ross and Rudolf Simek, 'Encyclopedic Literature', in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by P. Pulsiano, Kirsten Wolf, Paul Acker, and Donald K. Fry (New York and London: Garland, 1993), pp. 164–66 (p. 166).

7 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, ed. by Valerie I. J. Flint, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 49 (1982), p. 60. My translation.

8 A number of relevant studies are referenced throughout the following discussion. For the most recent overview and further bibliography, see Dale Kedwards, 'Geography', in *A Critical*

surviving medieval sources.⁹ Indeed, Paul Lehmann has compared the influence of the *Imago mundi* to that of Honorius's *Elucidarium* (a full translation of which into Icelandic does survive), and even that most influential of medieval encyclopedias, Isidore's *Etymologies*.¹⁰ It has been argued that influence of the *Imago mundi* on Old Norse literature was formative for the development of Norse understanding of space in general.¹¹ This provides context for the surviving echoes of the geographical content of the *Imago mundi* in the Norse sagas.¹² The texts that cite it include *Stjórn* (a Norwegian biblical compendium); *Eiríks saga víðförla* ('Saga of Erik the Far-Travelled'), which concerns the quest for the Earthly Paradise; *Fóstbræðra saga* ('Saga of the Sworn Brothers'); and the *Dínus saga dramláta* ('Saga of Dínus the Proud').¹³ It has also been argued that the *Imago mundi* had influenced the

Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre, ed. by Massimiliano Bampi, Carolyne Larrington, and Sif Rikharðsdóttir (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2020), pp. 127–44.

9 Rudolf Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie: Studien und Quellen zu Weltbild und Weltbeschreibung in Norwegen und Island vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), p. 27.

10 Lehman, 'Skandinaviens Anteil an der Lateinischen Literatur und Wissenschaft des Mittelalters', in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, 5 vols (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959–73), vol. 5 (1962), pp. 275–393 (p. 358). For more on the Old Norse *Elucidarium*, see above, p. 43, n. 21 and discussion also in G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 137–40.

11 Lukas Rösli points out that the work of Rudolf Simek and Margaret Clunies Ross has demonstrated that 'Old Norse cosmographical and spatial narratives, on the one hand, did not occur autonomously, but were dependent on contemporary scholarly discourses from Europe, and, on the other hand, that these texts shaped at least as much the cultural and collective understanding of space in medieval Iceland as they were in turn influenced by a conception of space'; Rösli, 'Spatial Studies', in *Handbook of Pre-Modern Nordic Memory Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by Jürg Glauser, Pernille Hermann, and Stephen A. Mitchell, 2 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 1, pp. 274–83 (p. 277). A similar pattern was also observed for cartography by Dale Kedwards in *The Mappae Mundi of Medieval Iceland* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

12 Further context is provided by the presence translation of other works by Honorius Augustodunensis into Old Norse, including the *Elucidarium* and a sermon surviving in Copenhagen, University of Copenhagen, AM 655XX 4to (s. XIV); '*Elucidarius*' in *Old Norse Translation*, ed. by Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Kaaren Grimstad (Reykjavik: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1989); Stephen Pelle, 'An Old Norse Adaptation of a Christmas Sermon by Honorius Augustodunensis', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 61 (2017), 44–58.

13 Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, p. 27. See also Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland: Studies in AM 764 4to' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2000), pp. 80–83; Ian J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), pp. 61, 64, 69–71; Frederic Amory, 'Things Greek and the Riddarasögur', *Speculum*, 59 (1984), 509–23 (p. 522). Helle Jensen, ed., *Eiríks saga víðförla* (Copenhagen: Reizel, 1983). For a brief overview, see Helle Jensen, '*Eiríks saga víðförla*', in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Pulsiano et al., pp. 160–61.

structure of *Snorra Edda* itself, suggesting a fundamental impact on the Norse worldview.¹⁴

Although the use of *Imago mundi* material is extremely limited in all cases cited here, the sheer range of texts that use it attests to its status as authority.¹⁵ This incorporation of Honorius's geographical view into the Old Norse world view (where it also becomes tied to self-representation) reflects processes that have been observed for other aspects of local literary production – for example, genealogies, which came to combine the local with the pan-European traditions, such as tracing origins back to historical figures and Trojans.¹⁶ This snapshot of the Old Norse tradition thus illustrates some of the main points that will be made about the *Imago mundi* as authority. I argue that its enormous popularity has a lot to do with its traditional nomenclature and with the freedom it creates for subsequent adaptors, much like the pattern of the Trojan origin legends. Part of that freedom lies in the adaptability of its map, which much like the Trojan origin legends is found in its reliance on frameworks provided by classical antiquity. In the case of Honorius's text this is expressed in its resolute and intentional archaism.

The Timelessness of Archaism

In its use of classical (and thus, by the Middle Ages, outdated) place-names, the *Imago mundi* is purposefully archaising, a characteristic retained

14 Gunnar Hardarson, 'Old Norse Intellectual Culture: Appropriation and Innovation', in *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Scandinavia, c. 1100–1350*, ed. by Stefka Georgieva Eriksen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 35–73 (p. 59); and Margaret Clunies Ross, 'The Influence of the Medieval Encyclopedia on Snorri's *Edda*', in *Skaldskaparmál: Snorri Sturluson's Ars Poetica and Medieval Theories of Language*, Viking Collection, 4 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1987), 151–73 (155–67); originally published in *The Sixth International Saga Conference 28/7–2/8 1985* (Copenhagen, 1985), pp. 177–206. For more on descriptions of world geography, modelled on the tripartite structure seen in *Imago mundi*, in Old Norse literary texts, see Kedwards, 'Geography', pp. 127–44.

15 In the case of *Dínus saga*, for instance, it is confined to a geographical reference to the three parts of the world in the beginning of the text. For the text, see Finnur Jónsson, ed., 'Dínus rímur', in *Rímnasafn: Samling af de aldeste islandske rimer*, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Møller & Jørgensen, 1905–1922), II, pp. 801–24; Jónas Kristjánsson, ed., *Dínus saga drambláta*, Riddarsögur, 1 (Reykjavík: Háskóli Íslands, 1960).

16 Judy Quinn, 'From Orality to Literary in Medieval Iceland', in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. by Margaret Clunies Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 30–60 (pp. 48–49); referring to Eyvindr Fjeld Halvorsen, 'Landfreðgatal', *Kulturhistorische leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, 10 (1965), cols. 311–13.

in several of its vernacular rewritings.¹⁷ This is unsurprising given the conservative nature of the text, which presents an accessible version of the encyclopedic status quo and relies heavily in this on the Isidoran tradition.¹⁸ The main sources used very visibly in the *Imago mundi* are the trio of early medieval encyclopedic greats: Isidore, Orosius, and Bede. Additional sources include Pliny, Solinus, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Rabanus Maurus, Helpericus, Hyginus, Cassiodorus, Pseudo-Bede, and Pseudo-Alcuin, among others, all notably reflective of what has been described as the ‘Carolingian worldview’.¹⁹ We will see in the following that it is precisely the fact that it was outdated from the outset that guarantees the popularity of *Imago mundi*.

As far as Honorius’s geography is concerned, this archaism is most visible in the sections on Europe, where he uses predominantly Roman nomenclature (more than for other parts of the world).²⁰ This not only gives his text an antiquated flare, but it also sets Honorius’s Europe apart from the rest of the world, particularly in his use of the term *provincia* (‘province’).²¹ Since his use of the term is illustrative of both his reliance

17 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 14–18.

18 Bernard Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales: D’Isidore de Seville aux Carolingiens* (Paris: Champion, 2001), pp. 234, 316; for a discussion of Honorius in the context of twelfth-century learning, see H. Schipperges, ‘Honorius und die Naturkunde des 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 42 (1958), 71–82.

19 Michael W. Twomey, ‘Honorius Augustodunensis’, *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Frigg, with Scott D. Westrem and Gregory G. Guzman (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 259–61 (p. 260); Marie-Odile Garrigues, ‘L’oeuvre d’Honorius Augustodunensis: Inventaire Critique’ (1), *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, 38 (1986), 7–136 (pp. 30–32); Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 18. For an overview of the early medieval worldview, see, for example, N. Lozovsky, *The Earth is Our Book: Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West, ca. 400–1000* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2000).

20 This is arguably because knowledge of other parts of the world would have been more limited and more slowly updated. There is room here for further exploration, specifically of representations of Asia and Africa in the *Imago mundi* tradition, but these have to be left to other studies. For recent studies of medieval representations of Africa and Asia more broadly, see, for example, Francesc Relaño, *The Shaping of Africa: Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2009); Marianne O’Doherty, ‘Eyewitness Accounts of “the Indies” in the Later Medieval West: Reading, Reception and Re-use (c. 1300–1500)’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2006); and O’Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

21 For the term *provincia* in the classical Roman context, see John Richardson, ‘Provincial Administration’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society*, ed. by Paul J. du Plessis, Clifford Ando, and Kaius Tuori (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 111–23, (pp. 112–13); and Alejandro Díaz Fernández, ed., *Provinces and Provincial Command in Republican Rome*:

on Roman nomenclature and of the distinction between how Europe and other regions are treated, it is explored here further.

Although Honorius bases his description of Europe largely on Isidore's *Etymologies* XIV, his use of the territorial nomenclature does not correspond to Isidore's. For instance, where Isidore uses the term *regio* for Scythia, Honorius does not (he uses no territorial term for Scythia). Meanwhile where for Alania Isidore uses *pars* and for Dacia and Gothia no term at all, Honorius designates these as *provinciae*.²² Returning to Germany, Isidore designates Moesia and Pannonia as *provinciae*, and Noricum as *Noricus ager*.²³ The term *ager*, originally meaning 'field' but also used to signify 'territory, district, domain, the whole of the soil belonging to a community', is not used by Honorius at all.²⁴ The other source for these passages identified by Flint, Osorius's *Historiae adversum paganos*, does not offer a correspondence to Honorius's nomenclature either.²⁵ Honorius's nomenclature thus appears to be his own.

Starting with the East, as the text does, we can observe that there is not a single instance of the use of the term *provincia* in the *Imago mundi* until

Genesis, Development and Governance (Sevilla and Zaragoza: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla and Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2021).

²² Isidore, *Etymologies* in *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarvm sive Originvm Libri xx*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), xiv.iv.2–3; Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, I.22 (p. 59).

²³ Isidore, *Etymologies*, ed. by Lindsay, xiv.iv.5.

²⁴ Definition quoted from Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), s.v. *ager*.

²⁵ *Historiarum adversum Paganos*, I.2; see *Pavli Orosii Historiarum Adversum Paganos libri VII*, ed. by Karl Zangemeister (Vienna: apud Geroldi Filium Bibliopolam Academiae, 1882), pp. 9–10. Orosius does not use the term *provincia* for any of the regions discussed here and cannot have been the basis for Honorius's understanding of *provincia*, as in his use, provinces and countries were composed of *gentes* (and thus were larger units), and he tended to use *gentes* where his own sources might have used *provincia*; see discussion in Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Gens: Terminology and Perception of the "Germanic" Peoples from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources, and Artefacts*, ed. by R. Corrandini, M. Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 39–64 (pp. 45–46). Goetz also presents a useful quantitative analysis of the use of territorial terminology (*finis*, *regio*, *regnum*, and *provincia*) in the early medieval period (ibid., pp. 55–57). His study, however, relates specifically to ethnonyms and does not include a differentiating semantic analysis for the territorial terms. For a discussion of the use of territorial terms in French and German medieval sources, see Thomas Kohl, 'Territorialisierungen im 11. Jahrhundert? Der deutsche Südwesten und das westliche Frankreich im Vergleich', in *Territorium. Raum und Politik: Wahrnehmung und Praxis im Frankenreich und seinen Nachfolgeregionen vom 9. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2011), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:21-opus-59604> (accessed 17 July 2020).

the reference to *provincia Thebaida* in 1.17, on Egypt.²⁶ Until that point Honorius only uses the term *regio* ('region'), including for Iudea, even though there is a reference to the Roman Empire in that chapter, with the mention of Emperor Hadrian.²⁷ The use of the term for Thebaid is one of only two instances of the term 'province' in Honorius's discussion of Asia. The other is Bithynia: *prima provincia Asie Minoris est Bithinia* ('the first province of Asia Minor is Bythinia').²⁸ By contrast, Honorius's Europe is full of 'provinces'. He uses the term for: Alania, Dacia and Gothia (1.22); Dalmacia and Aonia (1.25); Tuscia, but presumably it applies to other Italian regions as well (1.26); and six provinces in Spain (1.28).²⁹ In his description of Africa, Lybia (1.30), Mauretania Stifensis, Mauretania Caesarensis, and Mauretania Tingitana (1.31) are also termed provinces.³⁰ Although care should be exercised in drawing conclusions on the basis of the term's absence from descriptions of certain parts of Europe, some tentative observations can be made on the basis of this evidence.

To start with the least controversial of these, we can say that the use of the term *provincia* in the *Imago mundi* roughly corresponds to the extent of the Roman Empire. This is unsurprising, given Honorius's use of the names of Roman provinces even in cases where this represents serious archaism in the twelfth-century context of this work. The term is not used at all in descriptions of Germany and France (1.23–24 and 1.27), although Roman toponyms are used throughout these chapters. While it is not the objective here to argue for a sharp and precise differentiation between the terms *provincia* and *regio* throughout medieval discourse, given the pattern described above, the possibility that Honorius at least made such a distinction in this particular text is worth investigating further.³¹ Philippe Leveau's justification of a similar investigation undertaken in relation to classical texts also applies here: 'un tel inventaire est susceptible d'éclairer le

26 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 57.

27 Chapter 15; Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 56.

28 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 58; my translation.

29 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 59–62.

30 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 63. Note that Tingitana is also in the list of Spanish provinces. This is arguably a case of overlap between two fuzzy sets – Europe and Africa.

31 For a general discussion of this terminology, see Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, trans. by Howard Kaminsky and James van Horn Melton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), pp. 159–60; Brunner considers that these terms are used interchangeably and 'sometimes used generally for any geographical unit' (p. 160). For a detailed study of the terms in classical sources, see Philippe Leveau, 'Territorium Urbis: Le territoire de la cité romaine et ses divisions: du vocabulaire aux réalités administratives', *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 95 (1993), 459–71.

débat et de limiter les discussions nées des différences de sens données aux mêmes mots' ('such an inventory may throw light on the debate and limit the discussions born from different meanings given to the same words').³²

Although we do not have an identified written source for Honorius's use of *provincia* (and as pointed out above it is in any case not Isidore), it could be a product of general knowledge, and Honorius's own contribution to the text. In each case where Honorius uses the term *provincia*, it is applied to the name of a Roman province, and not once is the term used for territories outside the Roman Empire.³³ It may be relevant to consider here the point raised by Ronnie Ellenblum in a discussion of whether borders existed in the Middle Ages, when he mentions Benjamin Isaac's argument that the only 'clearly demarcated boundaries' in the Roman Empire were those of the individual provinces.³⁴ One could suggest, given the evidence of the *Imago mundi*, that those provincial boundaries were the only ones that remained, at least in the learned geographical discourse (if not necessarily physically on the ground). The remaining question, then, carried over from the discussion in the previous chapter, is why the term is not used at all in the chapters describing French and German regions in Honorius's Latin text?

The proposed answer lies, despite the apparent archaism of Honorius's geographical description, in the contemporary political map of the area, for here we find one of very few instances of place-names being updated, with Noricum glossed as *Bawaria*, followed by the much-discussed reference to Honorius's own purported home of *Ratispona* (=Regensburg).³⁵

Regardless of whether the *Imago mundi* was written, as Flint suggests, for Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria, Honorius's associations with Regensburg make it likely that he would have been aware of recent political developments in the region. It makes sense, therefore, that even if he designated this region by its Roman provincial name Noricum (*Noricus* in the *Imago mundi*), as

32 Leveau, 'Territorium urbis', p. 460. My translation.

33 See above, pp. 89–90.

34 Ronnie Ellenblum, 'Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by David Abulafia and Nora Berend (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 105–20 (p. 106); referring to Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 3.

35 For the association of Honorius with Regensburg, see Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 8; Eva Mathews Sanford, 'Honorius Presbyter and Scholasticus', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 397–425, esp. pp. 398–403; Loris Sturlese, 'Zwischen Anselm und Johannes Scotus Eriugena: Der seltsame Fall des Honorius, des Mönchs von Regensburg', *Historia philosophiae medii aevi: Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, ed. by B. Mojsisch and O. Pluta (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991), pp. 927–50 (esp. p. 930).

well as by its current name, *Bawaria*, he might have chosen to avoid the term *provincia* on purpose.³⁶ The fact that in this instance Honorius provides a contemporary term alongside the Roman designation supports this theory. According to Klebel, in classical geography, the province Noricum corresponded to Carinthia (German: Kärnten) and Styria (German: Steiermark), but the term was also applied to the region on the Danube, from the river Inn to the Vienna Woods, including Salzburg and the Bavarian Alpine Foreland, though in the Middle Ages it is used primarily for the Duchy of Bavaria.³⁷ The exact localisation is not provided in the *Imago mundi*, which merely lists Bavaria as one of the regions in *Germania Superior*: ‘Est in ea Noricus que et Bawaria, in qua est civitas Ratispona’ (‘There is in it Noricum, which is also Bawaria, in which is the city of Regensburg’).³⁸ Although the sentence immediately preceding described the Danube, it is not specified how the region *Noricus*/Bavaria relates to the river. A little earlier in the same chapter, Swabia (*Suevia*) is referred to as a *regio*, which can also mean ‘province’ but might be regarded as a more neutral term.³⁹ Honorius might have avoided the term *provincia* in his description of these areas because in contemporary parlance it had acquired a new meaning, which may have been foremost in the minds of his local audience when he was writing and would have overshadowed any archaic imperial connotations.⁴⁰

In 1098, to quote Benjamin Arnold’s description of the events, ‘Swabia was deprived of its ancient constitution as a *gens* under the presidency of its duke, and as a *provincia* with known geographical boundaries’.⁴¹ It may be therefore that Honorius avoided using the term in a context where it might have been perceived to have contemporary political connotations.

36 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 60. For the use of *Noricum* to designate Bavaria in the Middle Ages, see Ernst Klebel, ‘Das Fortleben des Namens “Noricum” im Mittelalter’, *Carinthia I. Mitteilungen des Geschichtsvereins für Kärnten, Klagenfurt*, 146 (1956), 481–92.

37 Klebel, ‘Das Fortleben’, p. 481.

38 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 60; *ea* probably refers to *Germania Superior* mentioned at the start of the chapter (p. 59).

39 See above, p. 90.

40 Gleb Schmidt suggests the composition of the *Elucidarium* is associated with the monastic reform movement that started in Hirsau Abbey (on the Swabia/Franconia border); ‘From Manual to Best-Seller: The History of Honorius Augustodunensis’s *Elucidarium*’, in *Books of Knowledge in Late Medieval Europe: Circulation and Reception of Popular Texts*, ed. by Pavlína Cermanová and Václav Žurek, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 137–63 (pp. 141–43). Evidence seems thus to point increasingly to Honorius’s association with South-Western Germany generally.

41 Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 96. A *post quem* of 1098 can be given for Honorius’s earliest known work, the *Elucidarium*; Schmidt, ‘From Manual to Best-Seller’, p. 140.

In turn, it may also explain why he may have avoided the term *provincia* for Germanic regions altogether. His only nod towards the contemporary reality would have been in providing a gloss for *Noricus* in the term *Bawaria*, which is not derived from classical Roman geography. This constitutes the only deviation from the otherwise resolutely antiquarian form of the text. It is striking, therefore, that this deviation concerns the region where the author himself was probably active. We will see throughout the discussion in the following chapters that this is a phenomenon recurring throughout the entirety of the *Imago mundi* tradition.

Both the archaism of Roman imperial terminology and the special treatment of Germany show that Honorius's map seem to derive from a socio-cultural, or even political history of the region. However, shifts in terminology observed above do not map perfectly onto what we might imagine to be boundaries that Honorius demarcates for the regions in his text (for Europe: the Don and the Mediterranean). The Roman Empire extended beyond 'Europe' and so does its provincial terminology in his use. Chapter 4 pursues this line of thought further, suggesting that in the *Imago mundi* we might not be dealing the schematic linear boundaries of regions as all, but rather with what are essentially fuzzy sets, which allow for areas of overlap, and areas which belong 'more or less' to a particular region or part of the world.

Another example of the same phenomenon of updating local terminology in gloss form while maintaining the general archaic nomenclature, which we have observed in Honorius's treatment of Germany, is found in the fifteenth-century *Das buch von der Forme und pildnuss der Welt* (ff. 85v–86r), which adds contemporary names almost as glosses on the original nomenclature for various regions. Examples include, for instance, in the chapter on Germany, additions to the sentence describing Suevia: 'Das ist Swaben landt' (f. 85v ll. 20–21).⁴² Similarly for the Latin phrase 'Est in ea Noricus que et Bawaria, in qua est civitas Ratispona', the German adds glossing updating the two later names, resulting in 'Es ist auch darhin das landt Norica, daz yetzt hasst bauaria. Das ist Bayrnland. Darhin leyt dy stat Ratispana daz ist regenspurg' (f. 85v ll. 24–26).⁴³ (For the manuscript text, see the detail from the manuscript page reproduced in Figure 3.) *Bauaria* is thus glossed in the vernacular as *Bayrnland* and *Ratispana* as *Regenspurg*. The additions are not exclusive to Germany, and there are explanations, for instance, of the meaning of the Mediterranean, for which the Latin term

42 Cf. Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, 1.28 (p. 59).

43 Cf. Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 60.

verbal map. My argument is that these changes are enabled by the *Imago mundi*'s archaism.

Already in the seemingly straightforward description in *Imago mundi* 1.21, which begins the section of the text dedicated to Europe, there is both archaism and ambiguity. The chapter sets the pattern for the descriptions of the regions of Europe in enumerating the first of the northern regions, the Ripheian Mountains (*Rifei montes*), the Don (*Tanais fluvius*), and the *Meotides paludes* (usually identified as the Sea of Azov).⁴⁵ Since we will also be examining its vernacular rewritings further in *Transforming Europe*, I quote the whole chapter.

Europa ab Europe rege, vel ab Europa filia Agenoris est nominata. In qua inprimis versus septentrionem sunt Rifei montes et Tanais fluvius, a Tanai rege dictus, et Meotides paludes, magno mari iuxta Theodosiam urbem seiungentes.⁴⁶

Europe is named after King Europs or after Europa, daughter of Agenor. In which first towards the north are Ripheian mountains and the River Don, named after King Tanaus, and the Maeotian Swamps, severing the Great Sea close to the City of Theodosia.⁴⁷

45 Evelyn Edson identifies *Paludes Meotides* as the Sea of Azov; '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. by Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 21–236 (p. 222).

46 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, 1.21 (p. 59).

47 My translation. The alternative etymology for Europe is unusual; see Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe: Visualising Europe in Cartography and Iconography Throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 102–52; see also discussion of Europs in Caroline D. Eckhardt, 'One Third of the Earth? Europe Seen and Unseen in the Middle English Chronicles of the Fourteenth Century', *Comparative Literature*, 58.4 'The Idea of Europe' (2006), 313–38 (pp. 319–20). The Europs identification is present in other texts of the *Imago mundi* tradition, e.g. Connochie-Bourgne, ed., *Image du monde*, 11.1, ll. 2131–34 (p. 818). The resulting indeterminacy of two possible origins for the name may thus be considered a feature of the *Imago mundi* tradition. This type of multiplicity or ambiguity might be argued to be part and parcel of the text's flexibility and adaptability, which we will revisit in later chapters. For further references to this legend, see Klaus Oschema, *Bilder von Europa im Mittelalter*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, 43 (Ostfildern: Thornbecke, 2013), pp. 165, 204–06. King Europs is mentioned by Frechulf of Lisieux (s. ix), for instance, and Frutolf of Michelberg (d. 1103), both of which predate the *Imago mundi*, as well as by Otto of Freising (1114–1158) and Rudolf of Ems (1200–1254) among others who used the *Imago mundi*. Europs also appears in the Medieval Irish 'Book of Leccan'; see Hildegard Tristram, ed., *Sex aetates mundi: die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte*, *Anglistische Forschungen*, 165 (Heidelberg, 1985), p. 104 n. 119, referred to by Oschema (p. 204 n. 26). See also Eckhardt, 'One Third of the Earth?', pp. 318–20; Doberentz, 'Die Erd- und Völkerrunde', pp. 298–301, 387–454; and the continuation of Doberentz's

Although commonly this chapter is referred to in discussions of medieval geography as delineating the boundaries of Europe, in this passage, these are not explicitly described as boundaries.⁴⁸ The position of the *paludes Meotides* between two parts of the sea, which seems to be implied here, seems to go against Evelyn Edson's identification of these 'swamps' as the Sea of Azov, but it may also be the result of Honorius's misunderstanding.⁴⁹ The Azov Sea and the Black Sea are connected by the Kerch Strait; the modern Feodosia (corresponding in its location to the Ancient Greek Θεοδοσία) is located on the Crimean Peninsula, on the Black Sea coast, south-west of the Kerch Strait (Figure 4). Honorius may be referring to the Kerch Strait as the *paludes Meotides*. These *paludes*, whatever they might be in Honorius's view, derive from archaic classical geography, and that matches his use of the name Theodosia, which, unlike the swamps, is identifiable.

The reference to Theodosia in the passage exemplifies the anachronism of *Imago mundi* geography, as the city was known as Caffa/Kaffa for much of the Middle Ages.⁵⁰ Indeed, this reference is dropped in several of the adaptations, including *Delw y Byd* Version A, the more extensive of the two Welsh translations, and in the fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman

article in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 13 (1882), 29–56; Karl Schorbach, *Studien über das deutsche Volksbuch Lucidarius und seine Bearbeitungen in fremden Sprachen*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, 74 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1894), p. 163. Europs does not feature in the context of an etymology for Europe in Honorius's source, Isidore's *Etymologies* (xiv.iv.1). However, Europs appears in the *Etymologies* in a different context at at xiv.iii.41.

48 The Eurasian boundary has been the subject of much discussion; W. H. Parker, 'Europe: How Far?', *The Geographical Journal*, 126 (1960), 278–97; Anthony Pagden, 'Europe: Conceptualising a Continent', in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. by Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 33–54 (pp. 46–47); Wintle, *The Image of Europe*, pp. 9–10, 38, 41, 43, 51–52; Oschema, *Bilder von Europa*, pp. 211–12; and Leonid S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). Already, Herodotus had questioned where the boundary lay; James S. Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek Theories of Global Structure', in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. by Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J. A. Talbert (Chichester: Wiley–Blackwell, 2010), pp. 215–35 (pp. 215, 225); Wintle, *The Image of Europe*, p. 85. Some of the adaptations of *Imago mundi*, such as the *Image du monde*, give no Europe–Asia boundary; Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, 'Limites et diversités de l'Europe: le parti pris par Gossouin de Metz (*Image du monde*, 1245)', *De la Chrétienté à l'Europe: Actes du Colloque Orléans, mai 1993*, ed. by Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), pp. 49–62 (p. 59 n. 6). My point here is that this is already a feature of the Latin.

49 Edson, 'Maps in Context', p. 222.

50 For a discussion, see Michel Balard, 'The Greeks of Crimea under Genoese Rule in the XIVth and XVth Centuries', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), 23–32.

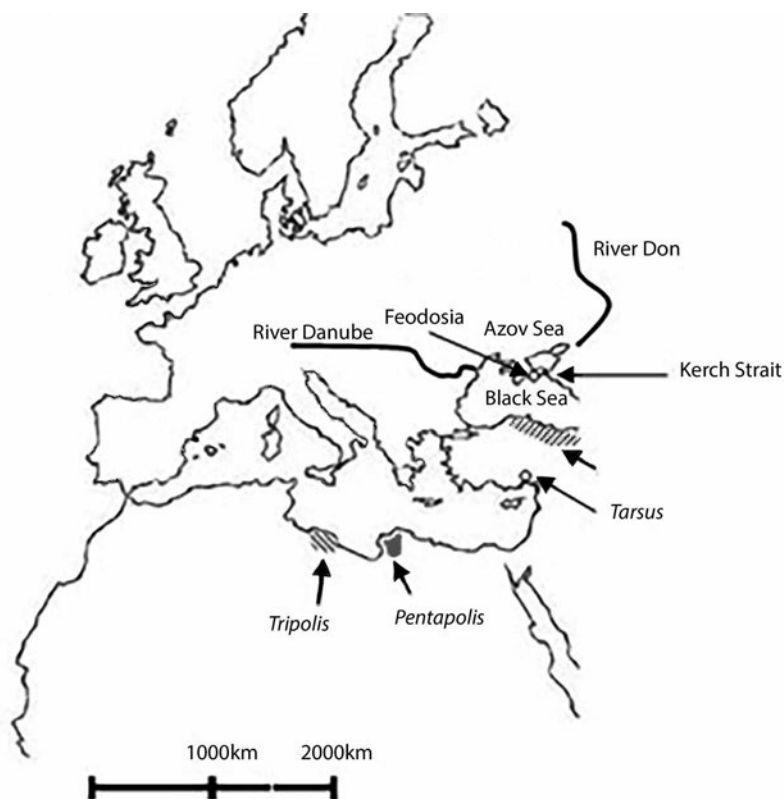


Figure 4: *Imago mundi* locations mentioned in Chapter 3

Divisiones mundi (which, however, abridges the text considerably throughout and cannot be brought to the problem as a diagnostic witness insofar as omissions are concerned, since in this text those are endemic).⁵¹ Generally, Version A of *Delw y Byd* is considered to be closer to the original Latin, but in retaining the Theodosia reference, it is the shorter Version B which is closer to the Latin text in this instance.⁵² In the case of the Welsh translations,

⁵¹ See O. H. Prior, ed., *Divisiones Mundi*, in *Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), pp. 59–60. On the *Divisiones mundi*, see also the discussion in Natalia I. Petrovskaia, 'Europe and the Holy Land in the British Branch of the *Imago mundi* Tradition', in *Crusading Culture and the Holy Land in Medieval Britain*, ed. by Kathryn Hurlock and Laura Whatley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 41–66. For more on the term *divisiones* see this book, pp. 106–09.

⁵² Henry Lewis and P. Diverres, ed., *Delw y Byd (Imago Mundi)* (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 1928), pp. 39, 93; and Natalia I. Petrovskaia, ed., *Delw y Byd. A Medieval Welsh Encyclopedia*, *MHRA Library of Medieval Welsh Literature* (London: MHRA, 2020), p. 53.

Version B does tend to maintain the form of the Latin place-names (going so far as to retain the Latin case endings on occasion), so this may well be an instance where the translators kept the references as they were because these were unfamiliar to them.⁵³

Thus, for some of the *Imago mundi* rewritings archaism remains a feature. The *Semeiança del mundo* which, like *Delw y Byd*, is a very close rendering of *Imago mundi*, also displays this feature prominently. For example, the chapter on Spain which largely corresponds to the Latin, and also ends on the enumeration of the six provinces of Tarragona (Catalonia), Cartagena (Murcia), *Lusitania* (Roman province encompassing Portugal and neighbouring parts of modern Spain), Galicia, *Betica* (Roman province, corresponding roughly to modern Andalucía), and *Tinguitania*.⁵⁴ An important point to note in relation to this list of regions is that, as pointed out in the identifications provided in brackets, the nomenclature used is largely that of the Roman provinces. The text, therefore, demonstrates the archaising feature observed in much of the *Imago mundi* tradition.⁵⁵ A similar archaising tendency has been observed by Leszek Wojciechowski in his analysis of Isidore's description of Spain in the *Etymologies*.⁵⁶ As Wojciechowski points out, Isidore's description formed the base of Honorius's, but the latter had changed the emphases slightly for a new audience, providing only 'enough for a reader (receiver) to be able to place the country in the overall picture of the inhabited globe drawn (from the Isidorian perspective) by Honorius'.⁵⁷ In this respect, the *Semeiança* follows in that tradition. As Alan Deyermond observes, 'the description of the world offered by the *Semeiança* is not, as one might suppose from its date, a product of the XIIIc Renaissance, but a late presentation of largely classical geographical beliefs'.⁵⁸ That the *Semeiança*, in the passage on Spain, does not update the text, is interesting in the light of other changes made in the translation

53 For the Welsh translators' attitudes towards the text, see Petrovskaja, ed., *Delw y Byd*, pp. 13–14.

54 A marginal gloss identifies Lusitania as the region *in qua est Lisebona* ('in which Lisbon is') in at least one manuscript of the *Imago mundi*: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 66. For Anglo-Norman involvement in Lisbon, see Lucas Villegas-Aristizabal, 'Norman and Anglo-Norman Participation in the Iberian Reconquista c. 1018–c.1248' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham 2007), pp. 160, 166–68, 176–85.

55 See this book, pp. 87–94.

56 Wojciechowski, 'Geographical Descriptions', p. 39.

57 Wojciechowski, 'Geographical Descriptions', p. 48.

58 Alan Deyermond, 'Building a World: Geography and Cosmology in Castilian Literature of the Early Thirteenth Century', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 23 (1996), 141–59 (p. 144).

(including the omission of the description of Britain, which is moved to the section on islands).⁵⁹

It is helpful to think of these terminological shifts also as the product of the overlay of several different maps (such as is created by an artist's reconstruction on a photograph of the *Fori Romani* in a tourist booklet). There is a geographical space, which Honorius takes from Isidore, and it is overlaid by the political space, which, as we shall see in the discussion of the adaptations of the material in Gervase of Tilbury and Brunetto Latini below, is susceptible to replacement by a different overlaying map, albeit one which keeps the underlying geographical framework intact. Whether the overlaying map has sharply drawn boundaries does not affect the nature of the underlying geographical framework. The etymological and historical information given by the Latin text, just like its depiction of the world, is paradoxically both concrete and fluid, facilitating adjustment of the map, where necessary, by its translators and adaptators. We will now consider an example of this in the ecclesiastical rewriting of Rome by Gervase and Brunetto.

The *Imago mundi* was used by Gervase of Tilbury in the geographical description in *Otia imperialia* (c. 1209–1215), an instructional work in the 'mirror of the princes' genre composed for the future Otto IV.⁶⁰ Gervase relied heavily on Honorius's text in his description of the world in the *Secunda decisio* (Book II), particularly in his description of Europe.⁶¹ My discussion will focus on aspects of this description. While an extensive analysis of the extent of the use of *Imago mundi* in the *Otia imperialia* is not possible within the limits of the present study, it is worth taking the two texts side by side. Their production, though separated in time by almost a century, also shares some similarities of cultural context (possible in Honorius's case and fairly certain in that of Gervase) – partly English and

59 We return to the discussion of the category of Islands in Chapter 4.

60 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 11–12; O. Doberentz, 'Die Erd- und Völkerkunde in der Weltchronik des Rudolf von Hohen-Ems', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 12 (1881), 387–454 (pp. 412–18); Fortunata Latella, 'Come lavorava un intellettuale laico del medioevo: Gli *Otia imperialia* di Gervasio di Tilbury tra *intenvio* e *compilatio*', *Revista de literatura medieval*, 25 (2013), 103–34 (pp. 109, 113, 116); Jerzy Strzelczyk, 'Gervase of Tilbury (c. 1165–c. 1234)', in *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages. An Encyclopedia*, ed. by John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg, with Scott D. Westrem and Gregory G. Guzman (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 227–28 (p. 228); Wojciechowski, 'Geographical Descriptions', p. 49. For the date, see Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. by S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), p. xxxix.

61 Strzelczyk, 'Gervase of Tilbury', p. 228. See also the notes in Banks and Binns's edition, identifying the *Imago mundi* as the source of multiple passages throughout the text.

partly German. Probably an Englishman by birth, as identified by his name of Tilbury in Essex, Gervase travelled widely, having studied in Bologna, and had served Henry II, Archbishop William of Rheims, and William II of Sicily, before he finally settled in Arles, in Provence, from around 1190.⁶² His career is even more transnational than that of Honorius and exemplifies the interconnected, networked world of medieval Europe that bred the broad interlingual family of *Imago mundi*-derived texts.

Like the *Imago mundi*, Gervase's text moves from the east to the west. His attention is more than that of Honorius, however, on history, and on matters ecclesiastical. He dedicates considerably more space to Rome than does Honorius, including additional information related to the Basilica of St Peter and references to the popes, not found in the former.⁶³ This is particularly striking when Gervase's text is taken alongside Latini's, composed a little later in the same century and also reliant on the geographical description of the *Imago mundi*. Latini, whose career was as international as that of Gervase, is much more concerned with the present, but he shares with Gervase an interest in ecclesiastical matters, barely visible in Honorius, as noted above.⁶⁴ Although Gervase dedicates much more space to the description of Rome than does Latini, they do have at least one addition in common, which is illustrative of the point being made here.

The addition concerns the description of the sees of the cardinal-bishops subject to the see of Rome. In Gervase's text, this reads: 'Roma papalis sedes est, quinque habens ecclesias patriarchales; suntque episcopatus cardinales et speciales eius isti: Ostiensis, Portuensis, Albanensis, Prenestinus, Sabinensis, Tusculanus, Tiburtinus, Reatinus' ('The papal see is in Rome. It has five patriarchal churches, and the following sees, whose bishops are cardinals, are subject to it alone: Ostia, Porto, Albano, Palestrina, Sabina, Tusculum, Tivoli, and Rieti').⁶⁵ In Brunetto Latini's text, the same passage reads: 'Et sachiés que li apostoles de Rome a desous lui .vi. evesques ki sont chardenals, celui d'Ostie et de Albani et de Portes et de Savine et de Tosquelain et de Penestraine' ('And know that the apostle of Rome has beneath him 6 bishops who are cardinals: that of Ostia and of Albano and of Porto and of Sabina and of Tusculum and of Palestrina').⁶⁶ Brunetto's text omits Tivoli and Rieti. The other sees on the list, though in a slightly different

62 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, ed. and trans. Banks and Binns, pp. xxv–xxx, xxxviii.

63 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, 11.8, ed. and trans. Banks and Binns, pp. 260–71.

64 Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace', pp. 373–74.

65 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, 11.8, ed. and trans. Banks and Binns, pp. 270–71.

66 Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Francis Carmody (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), p. 116; my translation.

order, are the same. The editors of *Otia imperialia* identify the source of the passage as the *Provinciale Romanum*, and note that Rieti does not appear in that text at that point.⁶⁷ It seems that both Gervase and Brunetto use the same source to add to the information derived from *Imago mundi* here, but with minor alterations. Could it be that both relied on an intermediate source that already combined this with *Imago mundi*? The question will have to remain unanswered for now, but some tentative conclusions might be drawn based on this comparison.

This type of reference represents what is, perhaps, the most striking point of divergence between the geography of Europe in the Latin original and in its rewritings, such as the *Trésor* and *Otia imperialia*.⁶⁸ The former provides the framework and basic information to which new material is added in the rewritings, given new meaning and a different emphasis. In the texts shown here the emphasis is religious. This might seem to support Hay's thesis, mentioned in the Introduction, that Christianity or Christendom was a much more important term for the period than Europe was.⁶⁹ Yet we are really back to the simile of the *Fori Romani* tourist booklet: with a Christian, ecclesiastical, framework superimposed in these texts upon the geographical structure provided by Honorius.⁷⁰ The underlying description of Europe which provides the framework does not carry the ecclesiastical connotations prior to the rewritings. These are added by later authors based on the needs and requirements of their new compositions, which are no longer narrowly geographical in focus.

To illustrate this point, it is worth considering a broader section of Latini's text focusing specifically on comparing his use of nomenclature with that of Honorius. We have seen that the Latin text uses the term *provincia* in its classical sense extensively. By contrast, though in his discussion of Italy Latini writes of its *provinces*, it becomes clear almost immediately that these are ecclesiastical rather than secular, as the section begins with an enumeration

67 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, ed. and trans. Banks and Binns, p. 271 n. 64. For the text, see *Calendarium Historico-Christianum*, ed. by A. J. Weidenbach (Regensburg, 1855), pp. 264–84, at 264. For more on the *Provinciale*, its circulation and use by Gervase, see Fabrice Delivré, 'Du nouveau sur la "Liste de Florence": La chronique du Pseudo-Godel (v. 1175) et la préhistoire du *Provinciale Romanum* du XIIIe siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 167 (2009), 353–74, esp. p. 366 n. 64; and Benedict Wiedemann, 'The Joy of Lists: The *Provinciale Romanum*, Tribute and *Ad limina* Visitation to Rome', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 115 (2020), 61–97.

68 For further discussion of Latini's *Trésor* and its interest in church territories, see pp. 151–53.

69 See p. 20.

70 As Jostkleigrew points out, the ecclesiastical re-focusing of the text by Latini also constitutes an updating of the archaic Roman imperial geographical framework used by Honorius; Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace', p. 374.

of the cardinals subject to the Pope in the the *Provinciale Romanum*—derived passage discussed above.⁷¹ Latini's entire verbal map of Italy is therefore a map of the Italian church: his focus is on the archbishoprics and bishoprics exclusively, with occasional reference to cities. A typical example is his description of Lombardy: 'Après i est Lombardie, ou est Boloigne la crasse et .iii. autres cités, et l'archeveschié de Melan, ki dure dusc'a la mer de Gene, et la cités de Saone et de Albinge, et puis jusc'a la terre de Ferrere, ou il a .xviii. evexchiés' ('After this is Lombardy, in which is located Bologna the fertile and many bishoprics, and the archbishopric of Mila, which extends to the Ligurian Sea and the city of Savona and Albenga and then up to the land of Ferrara, where there are 18 bishoprics').⁷² There is no trace of secular power structures. The same pattern can be traced throughout Latini's description of Europe, and I will not belabour that point here.

As with Honorius, there is contrast in Latini's useage between terminology used in the Europe section on the one hand, and in the descriptions of Asia and Africa, on the other, but it is even more striking. If in Honorius, as we have seen, differences were limited to absence of presence of *provincia* references, based on the extent of the Roman Empire, there is a more complex pattern of differentiation in Latini.⁷³ In his description of Asia, he uses the terms *païs*, *province*, *terre*, and refers to *cités* and *villes*.⁷⁴ Within the description of the region of Asia, the only reference to ecclesiastical territories comes in the section beginning with the description of Jerusalem: 'En celui païs a mains patriarches et archevesques et evesques; selonc l'establissement de sainte eglise, ki sont par conte .c. et xxxiii' ('In that country there are many patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, according to the establishment of Holy Church, and these total 133').⁷⁵ Although we cannot expect to find references to bishoprics where none existed, the contrast between the ecclesiastical focus of the description of Europe and the complete lack of focus on religion in the discussion of Asia (outside the Holy Land) and Africa, is striking. Conversely, while in the section on Europe, Latini uses the terms *païs* and *terre*, the term *province* (which we have seen in Honorius's text) is conspicuous by its absence. The marked

71 See above, pp. 100–01.

72 Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Carmody, p. 116; *The Book of Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. by Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Series B, vol. 90 (New York and London: Garland, 1993), p. 93.

73 See the discussion of Honorius's provincial nomenclature above, pp. 87–93.

74 See, for instance, Brunetto Latini, *Tresor*, ed. by Carmody, p. 112.

75 Section 27; Brunetto Latini, *Tresor*, ed. by Carmody, p. 114; trans. by Barrette and Baldwin, *The Book of Treasure*, p. 91.

change in the use of terminology when it comes to Europe is strikingly similar to the trend observed in the *Imago mundi*. Whereas the pattern in that text is, as we have seen, based on the political jurisdictional structures of the Roman Empire, that in the *Trésor* is very clearly dictated by the extent of the political jurisdictional structure of the Roman Catholic Church (i.e. bishoprics and archbishoprics). Ultimately, of course, it had been the Roman provinces that had formed the basis of ecclesiastical territorial structures, and thus Latini's rewriting of Honorius parallels historical developments.⁷⁶

In his geography, Latini's main interest in ecclesiastical jurisdictions is almost to the exclusion of other interests. Though the use of *province* is not exclusive to the regions beyond Europe in Latini's text where the Church does not hold jurisdiction (in Asia and Africa) forcing him to forgo ecclesiastical structures, he defaults to the *Imago mundi* description of secular regions, and his use of the term *province* for Thebaid and Bythinia, as we have seen, represents an anachronistic reference to the Roman Empire (increasingly so in Brunetto Latini's text).⁷⁷ The focus of the geographical description on ecclesiastical rather than secular territorial units might be related to the unstable nature of the latter in the mid-thirteenth century, as a result of the struggle between the papacy and the empire.⁷⁸

The ecclesiastical framework seen here, while prominent, is dependent on the geographical structure provided by the *Imago mundi* as base text and cannot function without it. In rewriting this material Gervase and Brunetto do not so much transform Europe as they overlay another layer, an ecclesiastical layer, on top of the geographical material provided by Honorius. This is a purposefully scholarly exercise, for as Simon Gaunt points out, the *Trésor*, like the the *Image du monde* to which he compares it, is governed by 'a preoccupation with Christian geography' and explicitly relies on the authority of written sources, rather than on first-hand

76 A clear brief overview, in context of the use of the term 'province', is given in Peter J. Heather, *The Restoration of Rome: Barbarian Popes and Imperial Pretenders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 305; for a more detailed description of the process in a Gaulish context, see Yitzhak Hen, 'The Church in Sixth-Century Gaul', in *A Companion to Gregory of Tours*, ed. by Alexander C. Murray (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 232–55 (pp. 238–40).

77 See discussion on p. 90.

78 A brief account of this struggle is given in the *Trésor*, I.LXXXVIII; Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. Carmody, pp. 80–81. For discussions see, for instance, David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 63–66; and Brett Edward Whalen, *The Two Powers: The Papacy, the Empire, and the Struggle for Sovereignty in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), pp. 96–121.

experience.⁷⁹ This constitutes not only an act of self-positioning within the encyclopedic tradition, explicit in both authors' works, but the presentation of the work as a link within the *translatio* process of information derived from *auctoritas* ('authority').⁸⁰ These works build their authority on that of their model, and the changes they make, and the points they make, are facilitated by Honorius. Though the ecclesiastical framing in the *Trésor* and *Otia imperialia* seemingly supports Hay's thesis (that the precursor of the concept of 'Europe' in the Middle Ages was 'Christendom'), they can only function in counterbalance to the pre-existing map, which is archaic and – a point we turn to in Chapter 4 – fuzzy.⁸¹ In Chapter 4 I argue that when we imitate Ruggiero on the hippogriff in attempting to 'leave Europe' in the *Imago mundi* texts, we cross no sharply delineated boundary.

79 Gaunt, *Marco Polo's 'Le Devisement'*, pp. 70, 71. For an example of the increased focus of Brunetto's work on ecclesiastical geography, compared to Honorius's text, see above, p. 100.

80 Simon Gaunt observes that both texts are 'a tissue of translated quotation', citing the reference to the act of translation in the opening of *Image du monde* and of the *Trésor*; Gaunt, *Marco Polo's 'Devisement'*, p. 71 and esp. n. 66.

81 For the use of the term 'Europe' in chronicle writing, see in Caroline D. Eckhardt, 'One Third of the Earth?', 313–38.

4. *Space*. Geographical Regions as Fuzzy Sets

Abstract: This chapter addresses the terminology relating to boundaries, used in describing the three parts of the world in the *Imago mundi*, *Image du monde*, and Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*. This shows that contrary to the conventions adopted in modern discussions, the geographical description in these texts is predominantly cumulative rather than divisive. Further, the areas delimiting the three parts of the world are shown to have been conceived of as zones rather than lines, indicating that both the areas so defined and the boundary zones themselves should be seen as fuzzy. This opens up a new solution to the problem of the re-assignment of some areas to other parts of the world in the *Image du monde*.

Keywords: fuzzy sets; borders; boundaries; Mediterranean; Europe and Africa; *Image du monde*

As we have seen in Chapter 2, in *Imago mundi* 1.7 only the Mediterranean is mentioned as a separation between the three parts of the world.¹ The discussion here will investigate this further. This chapter therefore begins by examining the 'divisive' terminology in *Imago mundi* and its adaptations. I propose to show that what might at first glance appear as borders frequently fit more easily into the concept of 'area of overlap' (or frontier in its spatial sense as area rather than line).² We will then look at how regions

¹ Quoted in Chapter 2, p. 46.

² For suggestions that the medieval tripartite scheme was not necessarily divisive, see Benjamin Braude, 'The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 54 (1997), 103–42 (p. 109); David Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi' in *History of Cartography I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. by J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 286–370 (p. 290); Caroline D. Eckhardt, 'One Third of the Earth? Europe Seen and Unseen in the Middle English Chronicles

of the world in the *Imago mundi* can be read as fuzzy sets, before revisiting the issue of problematic boundaries by looking in detail at the apparent re-assignment of apparently European regions to Africa and Asia in the *Image du monde*. In this discussion I will show how the fuzzy set model combines with previous suggestions, the historico-geographical model in particular, to help us understand this phenomenon. Understanding the three parts of the world as partially overlapping fuzzy sets also opens up the way to reading the Mediterranean itself as a fuzzy set. The concluding section of this chapter will accordingly show how this reading helps us understand the cumulative structure of the world in the *Imago mundi*, as well as the changes which its discussion of islands undergo in the various vernacular rewritings. The fact that these changes are often brought about by the reordering of the the itinerary will lead us to our next chapter, and the discussion of the hodoeporical nature of the text's design.

We therefore now continue our flight on the hippogriff, paying attention to whether we encounter any borderlines as we approach the regions where Europe ends for Ruggiero as he sees the pillars that Hercules set up as a sign.

Divide or Describe? *Dirimere, deviser*

The term used in *Imago mundi* to refer to the role of the Mediterranean in the spatial layout of the three parts of the world is *dirimitur*, the present passive indicative of the verb *dirimere/dirimo* 'to take apart, separate, divide'.³ The lack of reference to the rivers Don and Nile, conventionally added as boundaries between Europe and Asia and Africa and Asia respectively in descriptions of medieval geography (usually based on the *mappae mundi*), is noteworthy. Both rivers are mentioned elsewhere in the text, and it might also be argued, tentatively, that by limiting the reference to the Mediterranean here the emphasis in the sentence is placed on the regions themselves rather than the boundaries between them.⁴ The Mediterranean thus appears to be described as a boundary. It is important to note that its

of the Fourteenth Century', *Comparative Literature*, 58.4 'The Idea of Europe' (2006), 313–38 (p. 324).

3 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, ed. by Valerie I. J. Flint, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 49 (1982), p. 52; Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), s.v. *dirimo*.

4 A similar trend highlighting centres such as cities over borders and frontiers was noted in medieval Muslim geography by Ralph W. Brauer in *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995).

function separating the other regions does not seem to be at odds with its being an area of space. We are dealing at the very least with a frontier as zone or area, and not as a line.⁵ We will come back to this issue when looking at the Mediterranean as a fuzzy set later on in this chapter.

The word *dirimere* is translated in the French text as *deviser*, which means 'divide' (but not exclusively, as shall be seen below). Let us focus on how the word *deviser* is employed in the section translating *Imago mundi* in the *Image du monde*, the thirteenth-century *livre du clergie* whose Book II corresponds to *Imago mundi* I. As with the Latin text, in the *Image du monde* the apparent divisive structure – if it is indeed divisive in this case – is limited to the initial description of the three regions by the use of the term *deviser*. The rest of the description neatly fits the definition of sets: 'De ces .III. parz qui sont nommees / Tient chascune maintes contrees / Et maintes riches regions / Dont nous dirons auques les nons' ('Of these three parts which are named / each has many countries / and many rich regions / of which we will give some names').⁶ After France, which is the last region of Europe mentioned in the text, Europe includes 'toute la terre / Ki est jusqu'a mons de Mongieu' ('all the earth / which is as far as the mountain of Mongieu'), that is as far as the Alps.⁷

The *Image du monde* presents the tripartite composition of the inhabited world as *Si est en .III. parz devisez*.⁸ Though this appears to be a literal translation of the Latin, the phrase nevertheless poses an interpretative difficulty, as in medieval French, *deviser* has three meanings: 'describe', and 'organise' or 'put in order' as well as 'divide'.⁹ Elsewhere in the text,

5 A rather later geographical text, the sixteenth-century *Cosmographia* of Peter Apian/Petrus Apianus, uses *dirimitur* in relation to a region (*regio*) and an ocean: 'A parte meridiei Oceanus Meridionalis vocatur, quo hac ipsa regio dirimitur ab alia quadam nondum lustrata terra'; *Cosmographia, siue Descriptio universi orbis...* (Antwerp: Jan Bellerus, 1584), p. 175. The work was originally published in 1524; for a discussion, see Margaret Gaida, 'Reading *Cosmographia*: Peter Apian's Book-Instrument Hybrid and the Rise of the Mathematical Amateur in the Sixteenth Century', *Early Science and Medicine*, 21 (2016), 277–302.

6 Gossouin de Metz, *L'Image du monde, une encyclopédie du XIII^e siècle: édition critique et commentaire de la première version*, ed. by Chantal Connochie-Bourgne (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Paris, Sorbonne, Paris IV, 1999), p. 818, ll. 2143–46; my translation.

7 *Image du monde*, ed. Connochie-Bourgne, p. 840, ll. 3000–01. Mongieu derives from the Latin Mons Iovis and refers to what is now known as St Bernard's Pass in the Alps; see, for instance, Claude Lecouteux, 'Aspects mythiques de la montagne au Moyen Age', *Le Monde Alpin et Rhodanien: Revue régionale d'ethnologie*, 1.4 (1982), 43–54 (p. 45); available at http://www.persee.fr/doc/mar_0758-4431_1982_num_10_1_1140 (accessed 11 April 2024).

8 Connochie-Bourgne, ed., *Image du monde*, p. 817, l. 2118.

9 *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF)*, s.v. *deviser*; available at <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/deviser> (accessed 11 April 2024). See also the discussion in Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's*

deviser is used in the sense of 'describe' rather than 'divide' and it is possible that here the sense is also 'organise', or even, albeit with less likelihood, 'describe' (referring to the text's own activity in describing the three regions). The Europe section in the French text commences as follows: 'Puis qu'Asie devisee avons, / Europe après deviserons' ('Now that we have described Asia / After we will describe Europe').¹⁰ Here, the verb *deviser* is being used in the sense of 'describe'. Thus, in the case of tripartite 'division' also Gossouin may be composing the inhabited world from three sections rather than dividing it. We are faced here, therefore, in the first instance with the fuzziness not of the boundaries of Europe but rather of the terminology itself used to describe the region. The important points here are that the regions are described as sets and that the term used, *deviser*, does not necessarily mean 'divide' although it can have that meaning.

Brunetto Latini also uses the same term in his *Trésor*. He introduces Europe in a passage reminiscent of *Imago mundi* 1.21, but that, unlike the Latin text, explicitly refers to the tripartite structure in terms of division and separation by using a preposition *de* alongside the fuzzy term: 'Europe est une partie de la terre ki est devisee de celui d'Asie la u est li estrois dou Bras St. George et es parties de Constantinoble et de Grece...' (11) ('Europe is a part of the earth which is separated from that part of Asia where the Hellespont is, in the areas of Constantinople and Greece').¹² Note that while it does appear that here we are dealing with division rather than description, the entity that is doing the dividing is not necessarily a line. Barrette and Baldwin render *et es parties* as 'in the areas' but technically the text has the coordinating conjunction (*et*), which might imply that the boundary here is fuzzy. If we interpret the text to mean 'that part of Asia where the Hellespont is, and the areas of Constantinople and Greece', the Hellespont no longer constitutes a boundary line between Asia and Europe. Rather, the general vicinity of the Hellespont, Constantinople, and Greece is the area where Asia becomes Europe and Europe becomes Asia. These are marginal members, I would argue, of both fuzzy sets, and we are dealing

'Le Devisement du Monde': Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), pp. 150–51.

10 *Image du monde*, ed. Connochie-Bourgne, p. 839, ll. 2977–78; my translation.

11 Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Francis Carmody (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), p. 115.

12 Brunetto Latini, *The Book of Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. by Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin, Garland Library of Medieval Literature Series B, vol. 90 (New York and London: Garland, 1993), p. 91.

with a frontier as area of overlap, not as line.¹³ This point can be pressed further and has interesting implications for the history of the development of the medieval idea of borders.¹⁴ The use of the word *parties* ('parts'/ 'areas') for the areas of Constantinople and Greece in Latini's text is significant, as will become clear from the discussion of his terminology further below. As much of the spatial terminology discussed in this chapter, the term is fuzzy. In its spatial sense, the word *partie* was used for the parts of the world (as in this passage for Europe), for a part of space or 'territory', 'region', or 'direction'.¹⁵ Although 'direction' is unlikely to be a good translation for the passage quoted above, the fact that the term's semantic range includes the notion of trajectory is significant in the light of the hodoeporical nature of the description in the *Imago mundi* tradition which we will turn to in Chapter 5. It is worth carrying with us as we proceed the awareness of possible ambiguity in references to division, description, and definition in both the Latin text and in its Francophone translations discussed in this chapter.¹⁶ If the *parties* are where the border lies, then that border is (in these texts at least) fuzzy – a frontier area of overlap between fuzzy sets.

Regions as Fuzzy Sets

This chapter began with a brief discussion of fuzzy boundaries in the *Imago mundi* tradition. We turn now to the notion of the regions themselves as fuzzy sets. The phenomenon is best observed in the *Imago mundi* chapters that mark the switches between sections of 'Asia'/'Europe', 'Europe'/'Africa' in turn. The quotation below presents the switching point from Asia to Europe,

13 For the notion of frontier as area, see 'Preface' to *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by David Abulafia and Nora Berend (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. x–xvi, and above, p. 29–30. The idea of Greece and Constantinople as marginal members of the Europe and Asia fuzzy sets echoes the ambiguities of western European attitudes towards the Greeks/Byzantines in the Middle Ages; see Jonathan S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London: Athlone, 1987), pp. 2–3, 18–24, 90–91, 98–99; Malcolm Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 4 (1989), 111–28; Natalia I. Petrovskaia, *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 33–35, 125–27.

14 For the current state of the scholarship, see Abulafia and Berend, eds, *Medieval Frontiers*.

15 DMF, s.v. *partie*; available at <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/partie> (accessed 26 April 2020).

16 Not all of the translations of *Imago mundi* are ambiguous in their terminology; the Welsh *Delwy Byd*, for instance, uses *rannu* ('divide'); Natalia I. Petrovskaia, ed., *Delwy Byd: A Medieval Welsh Encyclopedia*, MHRA Library of Medieval Welsh Literature (London: MHRA, 2020), p. 49; *Geiriadur Pryfisgol Cymru*, s.v. *rhannaf*: *rhannu*; available at <https://geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> (consulted 17 September 2021).

at Chapters 20 and 21. The Latin text does not provide, in the chapters at the end and at the beginning of sections, any reference to particular defined linear boundaries. It merely lists the regions' components. These correspond to the definition of a set as an entity composed of a group of smaller entities. The boundaries between the regions would thus be boundaries between sets. The presence of overlap and of regions that belong to one or the other to different degrees would then constitute overlap between fuzzy sets (where a fuzzy set is one to which something might belong to a greater or lesser degree).

Taken in this context, the Rhiphaean mountains and the Don can be seen not as boundaries but rather as marginal/overlapping members of the fuzzy sets described. That the cumulative nature of the description in *Imago mundi* 1.21 is not an anomaly can be aptly illustrated by examining the following short chapter, 1.22 ('on Scythia').¹⁷ This builds on the overall description of Europe given in the previous chapter: 'A Tanai fluvio est Scithia inferior, que versus meridiem usque ad Danubium porrigitur. In hac sunt iste provincie, Alania, Dacia, Gothia' ('From the River Don is Lower Scythia, which is extended towards the south as far as the Danube. In this are the following provinces: Alania, Dacia, Gothia').¹⁸ Whilst at first glance, beginning the description in this chapter with the Don might suggest that it is used as a boundary, the reference to Europe in the chapter above, *in qua inprimis versus septentrionem sunt Rifei montes et Tanais fluvius*, suggests that it is perceived to lie within Europe, rather than necessarily merely delimiting its border.¹⁹ The *Imago mundi* thus presents the region of Europe as what we can now describe as a fuzzy set, using the Don and the Mediterranean members of the set, without specifying these necessarily as borders, leading to a flexibility in the framework provided for later authors.

The same can be observed in the transitional chapters between Europe and Africa (1.29–30).²⁰ No boundary is provided by Honorius to separate the two parts of the world: rather, they are built up of components, meeting the formal definition of a set.²¹ In this case the components are the regions

17 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 59.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid. For the idea of the Don as a boundary of Europe, inherited by the medieval T-O tradition from the Greeks and Romans, see, for instance, Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe: Visualising Europe in Cartography and Iconography Throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 41, 91.

20 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 62–63.

21 The description of Africa, for instance, beginning with the etymology, lists the various regions in the following manner: 'Huius prima provincia est Libia, a regina eiusdem nominis

named in the chapters dedicated to the sections on Europe, Asia, and Africa, respectively.

The same phenomenon has been observed by Caroline D. Eckhardt in her study of one of the world maps illustrating Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* where, she notes, 'Europe's constituent elements may be visible, but the perimeters are unmarked, and continental identities as such are effaced by other structural patterns'.²² I suggest that in the case of the *Imago mundi* these 'structural patterns' can be usefully described as fuzzy sets. Taken in the light the existence of compositional geography in both cartographic and textual formats, where the regions constitute fuzzy sets, rather than being divided into sections by boundaries or frontiers, the existence of such maps alongside divisive T-O types appears less disruptive. Rather than constituting an exception, the *Polychronicon* maps and the *Imago mundi* text represent a shared tradition of compositional fuzzy geography.

This way of reading the material also makes it possible to resolve another problem, that posed by the *Image du monde* and its re-assignment of some European regions to Africa. A workable solution has already been proposed by Georg Jostkleigrew, in the form of a 'historico-geographical' framework, but he thought it was a unique case. The discussion below will show that the fuzzy set model works well in combination with Jostkleigrew's solution, and that it also helps show that this case – and his solution to it – have a broader relevance.

Overlap between Fuzzy Sets in the *Image du monde*

The *Image du monde* introduces one of the most fascinating changes to the description of Europe within the *Imago mundi* tradition.²³ It reassigns some regions from one of the three parts of the world to another: it attributes

dicta. [...] Inde est Cirenaica, [...] Hec et Pentapolis, [...] Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolomaide, Apollonia, Cirene' ('Of which the first province is Lybia, named after a queen of that name. [...] Thence is Cyrenaica [...] This is Pentapolis, named after 5 cities, namely: Berenice, Arsinoë, Ptolemais, Apollonia, Cyrene'); Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 63 (my translation).

²² Eckhardt, 'One Third of the Earth?', p. 324 (p. 325 for the map itself). Eckhardt refers to the author as 'Ralf of Higden'. See also above, p. 29 n. 53. For the text of the *Polychronicon*, see Ranulf of Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translation of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Churchill Babington and Joseph R. Lunby, Rolls Series, 9 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1865–86).

²³ There are multiple other, mainly minor, alterations, which are beyond the scope of the present study. Another major alteration, the relabelling of the whole of Asia as *India*, is examined in Natalia I. Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape: Religion and History in

Jerusalem, Syria, Greece, a part of Italy, Spain, and Gascony to the region of Africa.²⁴ It also, in a contradictory or complementary movement, simultaneously assigns the first two also to Asia, and parts of Greece also to Europe.²⁵ As O. H. Prior observes, this reordering of the world structure confuses not only modern scholars but also the text's fifteenth-century English translator, William Caxton, but cannot be ascribed to a mere scribal error. In an early version of the French text, since it is present in all manuscripts of all of its versions.²⁶ Caxton's reaction to Gossouin's text, elegantly characterised by Prior as 'mild protest', suggests that whatever the reason behind the reordering of the geography in the French text may have been in the thirteenth century, by the fifteenth that reason was no longer obvious.²⁷ If we are willing to ascribe to medieval scribes a modicum of sense and to medieval readers a modicum of thought, we come inevitably to the conclusion that this must have made sense at some point to the scribes and readers of these manuscripts! On this principle, the alteration has received ample scholarly attention, in particular from Prior, Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, and Jostkleigrew.²⁸ The intention of the following is to contribute to this

Imago Mundi, Image du Monde and Delwy Byd', in *Landscape and Myth*, ed. by Matthias Egeler, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 195–211.

24 *Image du monde*, ed. Connochie-Bourgne, p. 840, ll. 3009–10.

25 Georg Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace entre tradition et innovation: la géographie symbolique du monde et son adaptation par Gossouin de Metz', *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: Pratiques et représentations. XXXVIIe Congrès de la SHMES. Mulhouse, 2–4 juin 2006* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007), pp. 369–78 (p. 375), and further discussion below.

26 Caxton, *Mirroure of the World*, ed. by Oliver H. Prior, EETS, e.s. 110 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1913), p. xvi; for the multiple versions of the *Image du monde*, see the introduction to *Image du monde*, ed. Connochie-Bourgne, pp. 10, 27–30, 58–59; see Centili, 'La tradition manuscrite de l'*Image du monde*: Fortune et diffusion d'une encyclopédie du XIII^e siècle' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Paris, Ecole des Chartes, 2005). This section of the text was subject to one of the very few instances of intervention and comment by Caxton: 'And how be it that the Auctour of this book saye that thise contrees ben in Affryke, yet, as I vnderstonde alle thise ben within the lymytes and boundes of Europe'; Caxton, *Mirroure of the World*, ed. Prior, pp. 93–94; James A. Knapp, 'Translating for Print: Continuity and Change in Caxton's *Mirroure of the World*', *Disputatio*, 3 (1998): 64–90 (pp. 64, 73–74).

27 Caxton, *Mirroure of the World*, ed. Prior, p. xvi.

28 Caxton, *Mirroure of the World*, ed. Prior; Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le cas de l'*Image du monde*: une encyclopédie du XIII^e siècle, ses sources antiques, l'apport médiéval', in *La transmission des connaissances techniques: tables rondes Aix-en-Provence, avril 1993–mai 1994*, ed. by M.-Cl. Amouretti and G. Comet, *Cahier d'histoire des techniques*, 3 (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1995), pp. 87–98; Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, 'Limites et diversités de l'Europe: le parti pris par Gossouin de Metz (*Image du monde*, 1245)', in *De la Chrétienté à l'Europe. Actes du Colloque Orléans, mai 1993*, ed. by Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), pp. 49–62 (pp. 52–55, 58); and Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace', pp. 375–78. The issue is also discussed in Elisée Dion, 'Penser le monde en langue vulgaire et en images: enjeux sociaux

discussion by showing some of the results that can be attained by also examining this material through the prism of fuzzy set theory.

Prior's explanation for the phenomenon is that there was a distinct tradition which saw 'Africa as merely a province of Europe'.²⁹ Although Prior provides a number of examples, from Varro, Sallust, Orosius, Gervase of Tilbury, and Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, the explanation is not altogether satisfactory, since this tradition is not represented by Gossouin's primary source for this section of the text: the *Imago mundi*.³⁰ Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, who revisited the issue as part of her work on the verse version of the *Image du monde*, suggests that the geographical reshuffling here can be explained by postulating that 'Europe' was seen as a cultural unit, and the lands reassigned by Gossouin to Africa in this text were regions that at some point had been subject to Islam.³¹ Connochie-Bourgne's theory is that for Gossouin, the Alps represented a boundary for his Europe, limited to Western Christianity.³²

Two arguments can be offered in favour of this interpretation. In the first place, the treatise as a whole self-identifies as a *livre de clergie*, signifying

et dimensions visuelles de la transmission du savoir dans l'Image du monde (XIIIe–XVe siècles)' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Université de Reims and Eberhard-Karls-Universität, 2018); I have not been able to consult this thesis but it is discussed in Christoph Mauntel, *Die Erdteile in der Weltordnung des Mittelalters: Asien – Europa – Afrika* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 2023), pp. 253–54. I am grateful to Christoph Mauntel for this reference.

29 Caxton, *Mirroure of the World*, ed. Prior, p. xvi.

30 Ibid., n. 2.

31 Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le cas de l'Image du monde', pp. 91–93; Compare also Jerry Brotton's interpretation of the elision of the words *Europa* and *Asia* in the Berlinghieri's atlas (Florence, 1482); Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), pp. 96–97, cited in Wintle, *Image of Europe*, p. 39. For a much more recent period, Eric Hobsbawm also mentions perceptions of Spain and South Italy as belonging more to Africa than Europe; Hobsbawm, 'The Curious History of Europe', in *On History* (London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1997), pp. 217–27 (p. 223).

32 Her interpretation of the world map of *Image du monde* thus seems to echo Denys Hay's influential idea of medieval 'Europe' as a cultural term equivalent to 'Christianity'; Connochie-Bourgne, 'Limites et diversités', p. 54. Connochie-Bourgne sees this as an echo contemporary discourse, particularly that of Jacques de Vitry, referring to what he saw as the Church's shrinking borders; Connochie-Bourgne, 'Limites et diversités', p. 56. Note that Jacques de Vitry may also have used the *Imago mundi*; Karl Schorbach, *Studien über das deutsche Volksbuch Lucidarius und seine Bearbeitungen in fremden Sprachen*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, 74 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1894), p. 162. See also William Chester Jordan's analysis of what would have been described as 'Christendom' territorially by contemporaries c. 1250 (which coincides largely with Gossouin's 'Europe'); Jordan, 'Europe' in the Middle Ages', in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. by Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 72–90 (pp. 75–76).

that it is a vernacular text of encyclopedic nature of which the ostensible self-pronounced purpose is to improve the spiritual well-being of its lay audience.³³ A focus on matters religious is apparent throughout the text, as it relates the phenomena it treats to biblical events, to a greater degree than the *Imago mundi*, particularly in those Books of *Image du monde* not based on that Latin treatise.³⁴ We are not dealing here with an overtly ecclesiastical map along the lines of those by Latini or Gervase.³⁵

The second point is contextual. The composition of *Image du monde* corresponded to the period identified by scholars of political theory as that of the formation of the nation-state, and in the case of France in particular ‘a sense of “national” unity based on the unique holiness of the French people and the French king’s special role as the defender of Christianity’, to quote Chris Jones.³⁶ This would suggest in turn that for Gossouin it was not so much a case of ‘Europe = Christendom’, as Connochie-Bourgne suggests, but perhaps more of ‘Europe-as-Christendom = France’.

A number of reservations, however, have to accompany this proposal, and have prompted Jostkleigrew’s follow-up investigation. Before discussing his theory, it is worth mentioning some of the reasons for considering alternatives to Connochie-Bourgne’s argument. The first is that this reading rests partly on the notion of the medieval interchangeability of the terms ‘Saracen’ and ‘African’ in the Middle Ages, as synonyms for ‘pagan’ and is founded at least partly on the analytical framework of Orientalism, seeing the text in light of a dichotomy between ‘self’ and ‘other’ which presents an opposition between Christians and Muslims, wherein Europe is defined by exclusion and opposition.³⁷ However, Kathy Cawsey has recently argued very

33 For a discussion, see, for instance, Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, ‘Pourquoi et comment réécrire une encyclopédie? Deux rédactions de l’*Image du monde*’, in *Encyclopédies médiévales: discours et savoirs*, ed. by B. Baillaud, J. de Gramont and D. Hüe, Cahiers Diderot, 10 (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes et Association Diderot, 1999), pp. 143–54 (pp. 146–47).

34 For instance, in its extensive discussion of eclipses (absent from the Latin), it mentions that which accompanied the Crucifixion; *Image du monde*, ed. Connochie-Bourgne, pp. 883–90, ll. 4586–4818; the description of the biblical eclipse at pp. 887–90, ll. 4719–4818.

35 See Chapter 3.

36 Jones, ‘Understanding Political Conceptions in the Later Middle Ages: The French Imperial Candidatures and the Idea of the Nation-State’, *Viator*, 42 (2011), 83–114 (p. 86), citing Joseph R. Strayer, ‘France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King’, in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph R. Strayer* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 300–14.

37 Connochie-Bourgne, ‘Limites et diversités’, p. 56. Megan Cassidy-Welch, ‘Space and Place in Medieval Contexts’, *Parergon*, 27 (2010), 1–12 (p. 3); cf. Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson, ‘Introduction’ to Linehan and Nelson, ed., *The Medieval World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 7, 12, who conclude that medieval Europe ‘had become Europe by negation: by asserting

forcefully that the divisions and dichotomies often perceived in medieval texts might be due partly to the nature of the theoretical frameworks (such as Orientalism) being applied: 'Formulations which focus on race and geography as the primary maker of difference between peoples and cultures in the medieval period [...] consider the dichotomy between East and West as timeless and essential, rather than as situated and contingent'.³⁸

Jostkleigrew's proposed alternative to Connochie-Bourgne's interpretation of *Image du monde*, argues that to see Gossouin's text as merely shifting boundaries of Europe to match cultural or religious territories would not explain why some regions are in his text not merely reassigned, but apparently attributed to multiple parts of the world simultaneously.³⁹ A purely geographical or even religious reading is thus unsatisfactory, and to understand Gossouin's world map, what Jostkleigrew terms a 'historico-geographical model' is needed.⁴⁰ This model associates the three parts of the

what it was not, and by proscribing assorted Others' (p. 12). Compare also Heikki Mikkeli: 'During the Middle Ages the view emerged of a world divided in principle into Christians and others'; Mikkeli, *Europe as an Idea and an Identity* (New York, 1998), p. 22. For a discussion of the interchangeable use of terms referring to non-Christian peoples in the medieval Insular context, and further references, see Nataia I. Petrovskaia, 'Which "Pagans"?: The Influence of the Crusades on Battle Narratives in Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia', in *Writing Battles: New Perspectives on Warfare and Memory in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Rory Naismith, and Elizabeth Ashman Rowe (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), pp. 147–64.

38 Cawsey, 'Disorienting Orientalism: Finding Saracens in Strange Places in Late Medieval English Manuscripts', *Exemplaria*, 21 (2009), 380–97 (p. 389). For the original theory, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). One wonders to what extent the notion of 'Other' and definition by exclusion is a construct dictated by the modern experience (one thinks in particular of the border controls in the Schengen area, which tend to divide travellers into 'EU' and 'Other', although new additional categories for visa-free travellers, residents, and those possessed of 'fast pass' identification increasingly erode the strict boundary of this dichotomy). Compare also Nora Berend's comments on these seeming oppositions: 'The Concept of Christendom: A Rhetoric of Integration of Disintegration?', in *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. by Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 51–62 (p. 60). For a reference to the continuous crossing of interreligious boundaries in medieval Europe see Giles Constable, 'Frontiers in the Middle Ages', in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10–14 June 2003)*, ed. by O. Merisalo and P. Pahta, *Textes et Etudes du Moyen Age*, 35 (Louvain-la-neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2006), pp. 3–28 (pp. 17–18). One is also reminded of Eric Hobsbawm's point that while '[t]he original concept of Europe rested on a double confrontation' of Greeks and Persians on the one hand and Greeks and Scythians on the other, and while this is interpreted, with hindsight, 'in the light of subsequent history, as a process of confrontation and differentiation [...] it would be quite as easy to read into it symbiosis and syncretism'; Hobsbawm, 'The Curious History', p. 219.

39 Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace', pp. 375–76.

40 Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace', pp. 377.

world (which he terms ‘continents’) with three distinct historical moments: Old Testament, New Testament, and contemporary.⁴¹ In this reading, since Africa encompasses the world of the New Testament, and thus both the birth of Christ and the Roman Empire, the city of Rome is associated with it.⁴² Similarly, multiple attributions of Greece can be then perceived as due to its historical associations with Alexander the Great and the Apostle Paul on the one hand, and the contemporary Byzantine Empire on the other.⁴³

The three points of association Jostkleigrew proposes for Greece would also work well in the ‘Three Orients’ model, which I proposed some years ago for the analysis of medieval Welsh literature, distinguishing the representations of the Orient in medieval European literature as carrying biblical, classical, or contemporary associations.⁴⁴ Based on the *translatio studii et imperii* concept, wherein the biblical and classical Orients are positioned in the past and privileged as location of imperial power, scholarly knowledge, and religious significance, while the contemporary Orient is perceived as a location left behind by the movement of *studii et imperii* (learning and empire) westward. The fact that multiple associations within *Image du monde* can be mapped onto this pattern also, indicates that rather than being a unique historico-geographical model, as Jostkleigrew interprets it, Gossouin’s text rather presents a unique articulation of a model that was more widely spread across medieval Europe.⁴⁵ Jostkleigrew’s interpretation of the medieval perception of space as an overlapping rather than an oppositional structure in essence corresponds to the notion proposed in this book, but presented here in mathematical terms and as part of a broader pattern. The geographical areas of the three parts of the world, Europe, Asia, and Africa, as they are described in the *Imago mundi* tradition, should be conceived of as fuzzy sets.

To illustrate the use of this overlapping model we can turn to consider another passage in the *Image du monde*, wherein the use of ‘us’ and ‘them’ terminology has been previously interpreted by Connochie-Bourgne as an

41 Jostkleigrew, ‘L’espace’, p. 377.

42 Jostkleigrew, ‘L’espace’, p. 377.

43 Jostkleigrew, ‘L’espace’, p. 377.

44 Petrovskaja, *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient*, pp. 5–6. The two models complement each other.

45 The multiple associations of a place with different regions echo what Michael Heffernan describes as the ‘spatial fluidity of medieval geopolitics’; Heffernan, ‘The Changing Political Map: Geography, Geopolitics, and the Idea of Europe since 1500’, in *An Historical Geography of Europe*, ed. by R. A. Butlin and R. A. Dodgshon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 140–80 (p. 144).

illustration of a sharply delineated binary system, but which can alternatively be read in terms of fuzziness. The passage runs as follows:

Aussi comme il nous samble ci
 Qu'il a grans merveilles enqui,
 Aussi resambent ceus de la
 Diverssez les chosez de ca
 Et mout merueilleusez les font,
 Pour ce que veües nes ont.⁴⁶

Just as it seems here to us
 That there are great marvels there,
 So seem to them there
 Different the things of here
 And very marvelous they make them
 Because they have not seen them.

Rather than necessarily creating a 'self'/'other' dichotomy, this passage suggests an elision of difference between 'us' and 'them'. Its message is that regardless of their location, people in different parts of the world see the marvellous in distant places where they have not been. 'Here' and 'there' are in that respect similar, and 'we' and 'they' in this passage engage in the same type of imaginings.

The reference to the marvels of Europe in this passage opens up the possibility of reading Europe itself as 'other' in this text. The issue cannot be easily dismissed as incidental, for as Connochie-Bourgne observes in her study of the representation of the Orient in the *Image du monde*, the word *diversitez* appears to be particularly dear to that author.⁴⁷ *Etrange* ('strange'), *autre* ('other'), and *divers* ('different'), are according to Connochie-Bourgne preferable in that text to terms 'supernatural' or 'extraordinary'.⁴⁸ Yet it must be noted that *diversité*, which signifies 'variety', 'diversity', or 'heterogeneity', does not necessarily imply 'Other' in the sense of 'different from the self'.⁴⁹

46 Gossouin de Metz, *Image du monde*, ll. 3113–18; quoted here from Connochie-Bourgne, 'Limites et diversités', p. 57 (the translation here is mine). For the full text, see Gossouin de Metz, *L'Image du monde*, ed. Connochie-Bourgne.

47 Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, 'L'Orient, réalité et discours, dans l'Image du monde', in *Senefiance 11: Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 1982), § 18.

48 Connochie-Bourgne, 'L'Orient', § 18.

49 DMF, s.v. *diversité*.

This is amply demonstrated in Connochie-Bourgne's analysis of the use of the term in relation to Europe: 'Des diversitez qui sont en Europe et en Afrique' ('The marvels which are in Europe and in Africa') further in the text.⁵⁰ As she points out, Gossouin's interest in the marvellous lies more in Asia, to which he dedicates considerably more space than to Europe and Africa combined (counting the combined section on the 'diversities' of these areas under discussion here).⁵¹ In Caxton's text, this precedes a discussion of the marvels of Europe, introduced with the words 'We haue in thise parties many thinges that they of Asye and of Affryke haue none'.⁵² This links the tradition of the marvels of the East to that of the marvels of the West. The fact that some marvels are present in Europe, in both the French text and in its Middle English translation, makes it difficult to sustain the idea of contrast and 'othering' of Asia through association with marvels. Europe, in these encyclopedias, is as weird and alien. In terms of fuzzy set theory, we can articulate this as follows: we can consider marvels to be a set. However, this set belongs both (partially) to the set that is Asia and partly to the set that is Europe. Thus, marvels form the intersection, in Zadeh's definition of intersection already quoted, between the fuzzy sets Europe and Asia.⁵³

The 'marvels of the West' tradition is commonly associated with Britain and Ireland, and it is worth examining the final chapter of the Europe section

50 Connochie-Bourgne, 'L'Orient', § 21. The 'Self–Other' dichotomy derived mainly from the theoretical writings of Jacques Lacan and Emmanuel Lévinas. Examples of the use of this dichotomy contemporary readings of medieval literature and history are too numerous for a full bibliography to be practicable here, but for recent examples of studies building on the theoretical work of Lacan and Lévinas, see, for instance, Michael Uebel, ed., *Ecstatic Transformation: On The Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages*, The New Middle Ages (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Albrecht Classen, ed., *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript*, Studies in Medieval History and Culture (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2005); essays in J. C. Frakes, ed., *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). The major sources for this theoretical approach are Emmanuel Lévinas, *Totalité et infini: Essai sur l'extériorité* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971); Jacques Lacan's writings, including, for instance, *Livre XVI: D'un Autre à l'autre, 1968–1969*, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006). For more on Lacan and a further bibliography of relevant theoretical writings, see Lorenzo Chiesa, *Subjectivity and Otherness: A Philosophical Reading of Lacan* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); and Jean-Michel Rabaté, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Lacan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003).

51 Connochie-Bourgne counts 778 lines for Asia to 252 for Europe and Africa combined; Connochie-Bourgne, 'Limites et diversités', p. 50.

52 Caxton, *Mirror of the World*, ed. Prior, p. 50.

53 See in this book, p. 31. '[T]he intersection of *A* and *B* is the *largest* fuzzy set which is contained in both *A* and *B*'; Lotfi A. Zadeh, 'Fuzzy Sets', *Information and Control*, 8 (1965), 338–53 (p. 339).

in the Latin text, Chapter 29 *Britannia*.⁵⁴ For Britain, no biblical or classical references are possible (to echo Jostkleigrew's historico-geographical model and the 'Three Orients' model) because it does not feature in the Bible or, for instance, the Alexander legend. This echoes the problem of the nomenclature for designating regions in *Imago mundi*, where *provinciae* could only be those areas which had been part of the Roman Empire.⁵⁵ While in terms of nomenclature, Britain does not pose the same problem, its position in the farthest west means that in the historical view of *translatio studii et imperii* it is too new to contain any 'history' which might provide a narrative for the geographical locations (in etymologies, for instance).⁵⁶ There is awareness in the writings produced in medieval Britain of the marginality of the writers' own location in the medieval worldview: 'Finales hos terrarum angulos' ('these farthest reaches of the Earth'), as Gerald of Wales describes the region at the end of the twelfth century.⁵⁷

54 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 62–63. For discussions of the 'marvels of the West' tradition, see, for instance, Asa Simon Mittman, 'The Other Close at Hand: Gerald of Wales and the "Marvels of the West"', in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. by Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 97–112; Yu Onuma, 'Convention through Innovation: Marvels in *Topographia Hibernica* by Gerald of Wales', in *Aspetti del meraviglioso nelle letterature medievali: Aspects du merveilleux dans les littératures médiévales: Medioevo latino, romanzo, germanico e celtico*, ed. by Franca Ela Consolino, Francesco Marzella and Lucilla Spetia (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 69–80; Keith Busby, *French in Medieval Ireland, Ireland in Medieval French: The Paradox of Two Worlds* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 191–264.

55 See Chapter 3.

56 That more historical information is given for Asia than for Europe or Africa in the *Image du monde* is observed by Jostkleigrew, 'L'espace', p. 372.

57 Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, ed. by J. F. Dimock, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, 6 (London, 1868), Praefatio Prima, p. 168 (my translation); note that the reference to remoteness is omitted in Thorpe's translation of the relevant passage: Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe, *The Journey Through Wales and the description of Wales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2001), p. 212. The topos has been much commented on; see, for example, Mittman, 'The Other Close at Hand', p. 97; Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000–1534* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), for instance, pp. 2, 7, 54, 85; Roger Ellis, 'Translation and Frontiers in Late Medieval England: Caxton, Kempe, and Mandeville', in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Merisalo and Pahta, pp. 559–83 (p. 582); Lucy E. G. Donkin, '"Usque ad ultimum terrae": Mapping the Ends of the Earth in Two Medieval Floor Mosaics', in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, ed. by Richard J. A. Talbert and Richard W. Unger, Terminology and Change in History, 10 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 189–217, esp. p. 198; Eckhardt, 'One Third of the Earth?', pp. 313–14; and for a more general discussion, see also Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Fines Terrae: Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992); and Robert Bartlett, 'Heartland and Border: The Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe', in *Power and Identity in*

Indeed, the application of the Orientalist framework to the analysis of medieval writings about the north-western edges of Europe, the ‘marvels of the West’, has shown that it is possible to read medieval descriptions of areas and peoples within ‘Europe’ (both in its modern sense and in the definition of the *Imago mundi*–type medieval geography) as ‘othering’.⁵⁸ Thus, ‘otherness’ is not unique to that which is outside Europe in the texts described in this chapter.⁵⁹

The interpretative difficulties concerning the description of the world in *Image du monde* and Gossuin’s changes to information derived from the *Imago mundi* may therefore be due only partly to the uniqueness of the thirteenth-century French intellectual context of production, or the specifics of Gossuin’s own perceptions of Europe and its place in the world. They may also be more a product of our own changing ideas about the concept of boundary, the function of the Mediterranean as an economic and cultural system, and the inheritance of twentieth-century theories of cultural dichotomies. The changes Gossuin makes seem all the more confusing because they disentangle his tripartite scheme from the Mediterranean and thus from the convenient ‘lines’ forming the T on the T-O maps. Yet the problem might be less to do with Gossuin’s seeming subversion of the T-O structure and more to do with our expectations, formed by the normativity of linear, rather than fuzzy, logic. It would be inadvisable to argue that the ‘lines’ of the T distinguish political or cultural entities and can be translated into our reading of the textual monuments of medieval geography as borders. Rather, they represent a structural view of the world where the notional components were not necessarily stable or permanent and certainly did not have to correspond to or indicate political boundaries. It may be that Caxton shares our problem because his work post-dates the

the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies, ed. by Huw Pryce and John Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 23–36. The perception of Britain as marginal or as part of a different world is already present in Roman literature; see James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 140–41.

58 See, for instance, Mittman, ‘The Other Close at Hand’; Matthieu Boyd, ‘Celts Seen as Muslims and Muslims Seen by Celts in Medieval Literature’, in *Contextualising the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. by Jerold C. Frakes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 21–38; Onuma, ‘Convention’, pp. 69–80.

59 Since both *Imago mundi* and *Image du monde* were the progenitors of multiple further texts, it is worth considering this as a starting point for querying other texts as well. The task of investigating the perception of the ‘other’ in the *Imago mundi* tradition is a monumental enterprise, and the suggestion tentatively offered here can be considered at most a prolegomenon to such an investigation.

development of the linear frontier in the thirteenth century.⁶⁰ If so, the notion that the geography of the *Imago mundi* and *Image du monde* is fuzzy, and our evidence, works well with what is known about the development of the idea of the linear border.

The conceptual framework of the historico-geographical model proposed by Jostkleigrew permits overlap in the various regional schemes and works well with the fuzzy set model proposed in this book. We can test this further by analysing the variation in the description of islands in the *Imago mundi* texts. Viewed through the prism of Jostkleigrew's model, the fact that the islands of the Mediterranean are often treated separately may be interpreted as a tribute to the plurality of possible attributions of these islands.⁶¹ Due to their position in the T of the T-O world, they can be ascribed to any one of the three regions, and sometimes might be seen to belong simultaneously to several. The next section of this chapter, therefore, looks at what happens to this dataset when it is examined in terms of fuzzy sets.

The Mediterranean as Fuzzy Set

It is something of a commonplace in scholarship on medieval geography and the development of the idea of Europe that the Don boundary was problematic.⁶² The evidence of the *Image du monde* suggests that the Mediterranean was, as well. Fuzzy sets help us understand how this might work without being paradoxical. The concept of each part of the world as a fuzzy set allows for areas of overlap, where we are dealing with unities which are members of both sets (perhaps to different degrees). Let us begin by looking at the position of Spain on the margins of both Europe and the Mediterranean, and then we will conclude by examining the Mediterranean itself as a fuzzy set.

We must start this discussion by going back to the list of Spanish regions in the *Imago mundi* and *Semeiança del mundo* discussed in Chapter 3. The identification of the last region on this list, *Tinguitania*, is uncertain and problematic in a very telling way: it may refer to the Roman province of Mauretania Tingitana, corresponding roughly to modern Morocco.⁶³ If

60 'Preface' to *Medieval Frontiers*, ed. by Abulafia and Berend, p. xiii; see also above, pp. 29–30.

61 Latini's *Trésor* is a notable exception, but it is loosely and partially related to the *Imago mundi* and the *Image du monde*.

62 See references on p. 96, n. 48 above.

63 Mauretania Tingitana also occurs in Isidore's *Etymologies*, although it should be noted that the list of Spanish provinces in the *Imago mundi*, and in the *Semeiança*, does not quite correspond

so, both the Latin and the Spanish texts incorporate part of what we now consider the African ‘continent’ into their concept of Europe, emphasising that the boundaries between the three parts of the world did not have to correspond to bodies of water. If the identification is correct, it forms a precedent for the fuzzy map of the *Image du monde*. Both of these examples point to a greater complexity in the medieval tripartite world structure than is usually represented in modern discussions in their use of the formula: three parts of the world separated by the Mediterranean, the Don, and the Nile. They imply a fuzziness and overlap of the sets involved.

The marginality of Spain as member of the Europe fuzzy set in these texts reflects the cultural and political tensions of medieval Spain’s ‘European’ status. As Klaus Oschema points out, medieval authors in general placed Spain unequivocally within Europe.⁶⁴ However, this positioning was not devoid of ambiguity. One cannot do better here than cite Sharon Kinoshita’s illuminating articulation: ‘The dictum that “Europe ends at the Pyrenees” becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy: the Iberian peninsula is not “European” because “Europe” is defined as a culture much smaller than the continent bearing this name.’⁶⁵ There are two possible interpretations of the resulting apparent paradox of Spain being both European and not. One of these is to say that the paradox emerges primarily through discursive conflation of ‘Europe’ as geographical area (our focus here) and Europe as myth and cultural construct (or produced space, to use Lefebvre’s terminology).⁶⁶ The alternative position, and one that I propose as an extension of the general argument in this book, is that the paradox is only there if one insists on linear boundaries. Within the framework provided by the medieval texts themselves, however, regions and boundaries between them are fuzzy. Spain thus effortlessly shifts in its marginal position as member of the fuzzy set of Europe.

As a result, Spain, locationally within Europe but conceptually problematic and ambiguous, becomes particularly useful as a point of departure

to Isidore’s; for a discussion, see from Leszek Wojciechowski, ‘Geographical Descriptions of Spain in Latin Medieval Encyclopedias: From Isidore of Seville to Vincent of Beauvais (VII–XIII C.)’, *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 67 (2019), 31–55 (pp. 44, 45).

64 Klaus Oschema, *Bilder von Europa im Mittelalter*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, 43 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2013), pp. 257–60.

65 Sharon Kinoshita, ‘Discrepant Medievalisms: Deprovincializing the Middle Ages’, in *Worldlings: World Literature, Field Imaginaries, Future Practices: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by R. Wilson and Chris Connery (Santa Cruz: New Pacific Press, 2006), pp. 75–89 (p. 86).

66 See above, pp. 19, 30 n. 59.

for examining how the concept of Europe might transform in translation to its margins.⁶⁷ In Sharon Kinoshita's words, 'medieval Iberia is in fact a privileged site from which to disrupt reductive notions of the "European" Middle Ages'.⁶⁸ The idea is echoed by Julian Weiss, who describes Spain as the 'stereotypical chronotopic other'.⁶⁹ It is also interesting that a particular fluidity has been observed in the tripartite structure of the world in Spanish texts such as the *General Estoria*.⁷⁰ The uncertainty surrounding the division of Africa and Europe, sometimes separating Africa and Ethiopia, sometimes merging Europe and Africa, may be due to Spain's own cultural and political history.⁷¹

The different degrees of membership allowed for fuzzy sets also help conceptualise the removal of Britain to the section on Islands in this text and in some of the other *Imago mundi* adaptations. The movement of Spain to the edge of Europe in the *Semeiança* translation of 1.21 is an example.⁷² In addition to the addition of a reference to Spain, the Castilian translator(s) introduce recapitulating transitional passages between sections of the text.⁷³ Whereas the final chapter of the Europe section in the *Imago mundi*

67 According to Oschema, no references to Europe are found in ninth- and tenth-century Spanish texts, with Spain instead positioned between Africa and Gaul; Oschema, *Bilder von Europa*, p. 151. Note, however, that – as Oschema observes – even in medieval works that treat Roman provinces with uncertainty, the European position of Spain is not questioned (pp. 260–1). The only exception is the *Image du monde* (n. 116).

68 Kinoshita, 'Discrepant Medievalisms', p. 85.

69 Weiss, 'Remembering Spain in the Medieval European Epic: A Prospect', in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. by Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: King's College London Medieval Studies, 2012), pp. 67–82 (p. 75).

70 Aníbal A. Biglieri, *Las ideas geográficas y la imagen del mundo en la literatura española medieval*, Medievalia Hispanica, 17 (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2012), pp. 62–63.

71 Biglieri, *Las ideas geográficas*, pp. 62–64.

72 William E. Bull and Harry F. Williams, eds, *Semeiança del mundo: A Medieval Description of the World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), p. 78. Compare the *Primera Crónica General de España*, 2 vols., ed. by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Editorial Gredos–Cátedra Seminrio Menéndez Pidal, 1979), 1, 5–51; quoted and discussed in Biglieri, *Las ideas geográficas*, pp. 65–66. An important element common to texts of the *Imago mundi* tradition, retained here, is the alternative etymology referring to Europs; Bull and Williams, eds, *Semeiança del mundo*, p. 16; Alan Deyermond, 'Building a World: Geography and Cosmology in Castilian Literature of the Early Thirteenth Century', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 23 (1996), 141–59 (pp. 143–44); and references above, p. 95, n. 47.

73 Bull and Williams, eds, *Semeiança del mundo*, p. 16. It is worth noting that Spain is mentioned by Isidore in his description of the extent of Europe. Whether the author is following Isidore here, or simply introducing a reference to Spain as subject of particular interest to his audience, is a moot point. For instance, a passage recapitulating the information of a previous section is

is Britain, in *Semeiança* it is Spain (Chapter 128). Britain is moved to the later, separate discussion of islands. This act breaks the original design of the *Imago mundi*, where the separate section was dedicated to the islands of the Mediterranean. The removal of Britain from the concluding position in the description of Europe in the *Semeiança* puts Spain in a marginal position on the European map of this text, echoing the structure of Isidore's description of Europe.⁷⁴ It also suggests that either for the Spanish translators the section on Islands in *Imago mundi* did not seem to be a geographically coherent unit (the British Isles and Ireland are, after all, not in the Mediterranean) or that they were thinking in *mappae mundi* terms, where these islands are not that far removed from the Mediterranean.

Looked at through Zadeh's mathematical model, the Mediterranean itself constitutes a fuzzy set.⁷⁵ The category of 'Islands' in the *Imago mundi* follows the chapters dedicated to the three parts of the world (1.33–35). This category thus does not fall into the sets of Asia, Africa, or Europe, and the discussion in the section of the text focuses primarily on islands of the Mediterranean (the British Isles and Ireland having been included in the part of the text devoted to Europe).⁷⁶ The Islands covered in Chapter 33 are: Cyprus, Crete, Abydos,⁷⁷ Cos, Cyclades, Rhodes, Tenedos, Karpathos, Cythera, Delos, Ikaria, Naxos, Melos, Paros, *Cidon*,⁷⁸ Samos.⁷⁹ Chapter 34 is dedicated to Sicily, with reference made to the Aeolian Islands and the Stoechades.⁸⁰ Chapter 35

added to the end of the section on Europe (as Chapter 129): *Aqui se acaba tierra de Europa* ('Here ends the land of Europe'); Bull and Williams, eds, *Semeiança del mundo*, p. 88.

74 For more on Isidore's description of Spain, see Wojciechowski, 'Geographical Descriptions', pp. 37–40.

75 See discussion above, pp. 121–22.

76 The treatment of islands as a separate category is a feature of other texts in the *Imago mundi* tradition, including the *Image du monde*, and follows Isidore; see the discussion in Bernard Ribémont, 'L'inconnu géographique des encyclopédies médiévales', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales*, 3 (1997), 101–11 (pp. 107–108). Brunetto Latini diverges from this trend in incorporating islands into the T-O structure; see *ibid.*, p. 108. For further discussion of the structure of Latini's geographical descriptions, see below, pp. 151–53. For discussion of Britain as a boundary case, sometimes depicted as part of Europe and sometimes as external, see also Wintle, *The Image of Europe*, p. 36.

77 City on the mainland, mistakenly identified as an island in the text.

78 Identification unclear, but associated in the text with the production of *mastix*, mastic gum, a natural resin traditionally produced on the Greek island of Chios; see Nikolas Bakirtzis and Xenophon Monairos, 'Mastic Production in Medieval Chios: Economic Flows and Transitions in an Insular Setting', *Al-Masâq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 31 (2019), 171–95.

79 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 64–65.

80 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 65. Based on the variation in the references to Sicily and Samos in the corresponding section of the *Image du monde*, Christine Silvi has found that for that part of the text at least, the prose version of French text is closer to the original Latin, suggestive

mentions Sardinia, Corsica, Cyrenus, Ebosus, *Colubria* (= Formentera?), the Balearic Islands, *Gorgones insulae* (=Cape Verde?), the Hesperides, Atlantis (unnamed but described), Island of Meroë, and finally *Perdita*, the name of which translates as 'lost', and which is associated with the legend of the seafaring Irish saint, St Brendan.⁸¹ It will be observed that, with the possible exception of the 'lost' and therefore by definition unlocated *Perdita*, most of the islands discussed in the separate section in the *Imago mundi* are in the Mediterranean.⁸² This may indicate that the discussion of landmasses in the Mediterranean under a separate heading, as 'Islands' points to the perception of the sea as fuzzy set 'the Mediterranean'. This is also indicated by the transitional phrase at the conclusion of the chapter on Africa (Chapter 32), which introduces the discussion of the islands (*peragratis Africę finibus, ad insulas maris tendamus*; 'having travelled the ends of Africa, we would press on to the islands of the sea'), is similar to the transitional phrases found at points when the discussion moves from Asia to Europe and from Europe to Africa.⁸³

In this regard it is important to remind ourselves that the British Isles and Ireland, though technically also islands, are placed in the Europe section of the text (they belong to the fuzzy set Europe). The only potential problem for this interpretation is that posed by the use of word *dirimitur* ('divide') in relation to the Mediterranean. It would, at first glance, seem to imply that the use of Mediterranean (islands) as a separate fuzzy set (and a separate section in the text) does not correspond to the structure Honorius sets out at the beginning of Book 1, which specifies that the inhabited world is composed of three parts. However, as shown in the beginning of this chapter, the term does not have to imply a linear boundary. It can be used of a region that falls between other regions and separates them. If this interpretation

of a process of correction in reference to the Latin or the use of a source different to the verse version; see Silvi, 'Les variations sur le nom dans la *Mappemonde* de maître Gossuin de Metz', in *Par les mots et les textes. Mélanges de langue, de littérature et d'histoire des sciences médiévales offerts à Claude Thomasset*, ed. by Danielle Jacquart, Danièle James-Raoul, and Olivier Soutet (Paris, 2005), pp. 679–91 (p. 683).

81 For a discussion of the afterlife of the Irish Brendan legend in later – post-medieval – works, and further references, see Natalia I. Petrovskaja, *Modern Afterlives of Old Irish Travel Narratives: From Gulliver to Star Trek* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

82 Perhaps this reference to *Perdita* (one of the 'Fortunate Isles') in *Imago mundi* is the reason for the Brendan story to be drawn into the *Image du monde*. For more on the 'Fortunate Isles', see, for example, Vincent H. Cassidy, 'Other Fortunate Islands and Some that were Lost', *Terrae Incognitae*, 1 (1969), 35–39; and Marcos Martínez Hernández, 'Las Islas Afortunadas en la Edad media', *Cuadernos del CEMYR*, 14 (2006) 55–78.

83 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 64; compare *ibid.*, pp. 59, 63.

is correct, it also solves the seeming inconsistency in Honorius's design. Where in the traditional interpretation it looked as if he set out dividing the world into three, and then proceeding to describe four parts of it, in this interpretation he is setting out four regions in the first place: the three parts of the world (Asia, Europe, Africa), divided by a fourth (the Mediterranean). We may therefore need to consider it as a separate fuzzy set in its capacity as a fourth 'part of the world', which in consequence should be described not as a tripartite, but as a quadripartite one, with considerable overlap.⁸⁴

The Mediterranean provides a particularly apt illustration for why fuzzy sets are a helpful heuristic tool. Studies focusing on the cultural world of the Mediterranean and surrounding areas have shown the need for the re-evaluation of what for a long time had been considered as borders and boundaries.⁸⁵ As Eric Hobsbawm observes: it is possible 'to see the entire Mediterranean civilization of classical antiquity as syncretic', and it is that civilisation that gave birth to the tripartite conception of world geography inherited in the Middle Ages.⁸⁶ For the classical world, Hobsbawm continues, 'the present division between Europe, Asia and Africa had no meaning – at least no meaning corresponding to the present [...]. What meaning could it have had in the heyday of the undivided Roman Empire, happily tricontinental and ready to assimilate anything useful that came from anywhere?'⁸⁷ That there was no break between the connected Mediterranean of the classical period and the connected Mediterranean of

84 For more on the Mediterranean as a unit, and a connecting rather than a dividing force, see the studies cited in n. 85 below; see also discussions in Brian A. Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita, eds, *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

85 See, for instance, Allen James Fromherz, *The Near West: Medieval North Africa, Latin Europe and the Mediterranean in the Second Axial Age* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), whose argument is that 'medieval Western European and North African history were part of a common Western mediterranean culture' (p. 1). See, however, David Abulafia's review in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 29 (2018), 110–12; also Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), esp. p. 241, for the loss of unity of the Mediterranean cultural space in the early Middle Ages. For a much earlier reference to the same idea, see Hobsbawm, 'The Curious History', p. 219. The great predecessor of the studies dedicated to the Mediterranean is, of course, Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II* (Paris: A. Colin, 1949), which in its second movement presents the sea as a historical actor in its own right. For comments on the originality of this presentation of the Mediterranean as a historical character, see the discussion by the work's dedicatee and Braudel's doctoral advisor, Lucien Febvre, in 'Un livre qui grandit: *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*', *Revue historique*, 203.2 (1950), 216–24 (p. 218).

86 Hobsbawm, 'The Curious History', p. 219.

87 Hobsbawm, 'The Curious History', p. 219.

the later Middle Ages has also been shown by Michael McCormick.⁸⁸ The Mediterranean as a fuzzy set overlapping with the other regions (also fuzzy sets) allows us to combine what McCormick described as the connected map with the T-O map as traditionally understood (but sans linear borders) without doing 'epistemic violence' (to borrow Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's term) to either.⁸⁹

This chapter began with an investigation of whether the language of the texts permits us to draw border and boundary lines. I have argued that more attention must be paid to the descriptive meaning of the French term *deviser* and that the apparent Europe–Asia boundary drawn at the Dardanelles in a translation of Brunetto Latini's text can be reinterpreted as a fuzzy area of overlap between two fuzzy sets. Fuzzy sets also help us understand, alongside Jostkleigrewe's argument, how several regions described in Gossouin's *Image du monde* can belong simultaneously to different parts of the world. Finally, we returned to the argument for reading the Mediterranean and its islands as a fuzzy set, too. The last can be interpreted both in the framework of Jostkleigrewe's historico-geographical model and of my fuzzy set model. The fuzzy set model for the geographical descriptions was thus applied to four distinct cases. The reader may ask whether we have progressed at all beyond the starting point of this book: that Ruggiero on the hippogriff flying out of Europe must have meant something. If the world of the *Imago mundi* texts is a fuzzy one, how does one navigate it? In the following chapter I aim to answer this question by exploring the means by which the audience journeys through the various regions described in these texts. I argue that this is done through reference to the regions themselves, rather than to their boundaries, and the audience is taken on an armchair journey through fuzzy areas, not across linear borders. Are the Pillars of Hercules, the 'sign' left for mariners that mark the 'ends' of Europe for Ruggiero in *Orlando Furioso* really a border, or are they a central point in the fuzzy area of overlap (a frontier zone) between two fuzzy sets? I have aimed to show in this chapter that, in the *Imago mundi* tradition at least, borders are about as present as

88 Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); McCormick's study is mentioned in the context of the notion of an expanding Europe of the later medieval period in Jace Stuckey, 'Introduction', to *The Eastern Mediterranean Frontier of Latin Christendom*, ed. by Stuckey, *The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500*, 6 (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), pp. xvii–xxxv (pp. xix–xx).

89 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 271–313 (p. 280).

the linear shoreline is for one who walks into the sea: with their feet dry one moment and the next submerged in water; yet at the same time, the water might recede, offering another second's respite, leaving the sand behind them wet. Where does the sea start?

5. *Movement.* The Hodoeporical Descriptive Technique

Abstract: This chapter examines the order in which the various regions are described. The focus is on the re-ordering of the regions of Europe in several adaptations of the *Imago mundi*, which serve to refocus the text on the region in which the adaptation was produced. This is examined in the context of changes to the order of regions of Italy in different versions of the *Imago mundi* itself, demonstrating that the text was consciously designed to walk the reader through the world (almost literally). This yields a particularly flexible itinerary framework for the geographical information conveyed, and thus facilitates such re-ordering in the vernacular translations and adaptations. To describe this phenomenon, the term ‘hodoeporical descriptive technique’ is introduced in this chapter.

Keywords: auralty, reader experience, itinerary, hodoeporical descriptive technique, Fazio degli Uberti, Brunetto Latini

Having visited the islands of the Mediterranean at the end of Chapter 4, we remain in the vicinity for now, circling on our metaphorical hippogriff over the regions of Spain and Italy. I mentioned at the beginning of our journey in the context of discussion of linear borders that we might see Ruggiero’s journey on the hippogriff as not crossing borders but entering regions. This was part of my argument for fuzzy sets. In Chapter 4 we looked at geographical areas described in our tradition as fuzzy sets, as part of our investigation into the why of *Imago mundi*’s popularity. In this chapter I want to move towards investigating how the text was experienced. We will first use the Spanish translation of *Imago mundi* to explore the relationship between the text and the audience’s experience thereof. This will touch on issues of auralty and raise some questions (though perhaps fewer answers) about the performative aspects of this encyclopedic material. Then, we will look at how the audience is guided through the geography as an armchair

journey, and how that journey changes in the various vernacular adaptations of our Latin text.

Reader, Listener, or Viewer?

In introducing Europe, the Spanish text also recapitulates preceding information:

Ia oystes de suso como se departe el mundo en tres partes: en Asia e en Europa e en Affrica. Ya oystes de Asia la maior, que es en tierra de India, e Asia la menor, que es en tierra de Bitinia, e terra de Frigia.¹

You have already heard how the world is divided into three parts: into Asia and into Europe and into Africa. You heard already of Asia the Greater, which is in the land of India, and Asia the Lesser, which is in the land of Bitinia, and land of Phrygia.

The association of Asia the Greater with India is reminiscent of the relabeling of Asia as India in *Image du monde*, though such drastic rewriting is not present in the *Semeiança*.² The transitional passage connects the two regions (and sections), and reminds the audience of what had gone before, much like a voiceover in a modern TV series might at the beginning of an episode.³ I have also been doing it in this book. The translator(s) add a new transitional chapter after the Chapter 12 (at this point the *Imago mundi* simply starts the next chapter, 13, with *Ab Indo flumine usque ad Tigrim...*):⁴

1 William E. Bull and Harry F. Williams, eds, *Semeiança del mundo: A Medieval Description of the World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 76, 78. The translation is mine.

2 Above, p. 111 n. 23.

3 Natalia I. Petrovskaia, 'Re-Writing Parts of Europe in Some Vernacular Adaptations of the *Imago Mundi*', in *Medieval Translatio. Interdisciplinary Studies in the Translation and Transfer of Language, Culture, Literature*, ed. by Massimiliano Bampi and Stefanie Gropper (Brelin: DeGruyter, 2024), pp. 81–101 (p. 95).

4 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, ed. by Valerie I. J. Flint, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 49 (1982), p. 55. It may be worth pointing out that Gossouin in his *Image du monde* also seemed to have had trouble with this rapid transition, as his text at this point appears to fail to switch to the next area, resulting in the reassignment of the Middle East to India, which can alternatively be analysed as the relabelling of the whole region of Asia as 'India'; see Natalia I. Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape: Religion and History in *Imago Mundi*, *Image du Monde* and *Delw y Byd*', in *Landscape and Myth*, ed. by

Ia oystes de suso de tierra de India como era rica [...], e oystes otro si del mar que corre por ella e dalgunas sos yslas e de los pescados e de las bestias e de las gentes que moran y fata que allegamos al rrio que ha hy, que dizen Indus.⁵

You have already heard above of the land of India, how it was [...], and you heard apart from that of the sea which runs through it and of some of its islands and of the fish and the animals and the peoples who live there until we came as far as the river which is there, which they call Indus.

These passages appear to guide the audience. I use the term 'audience' because, while the text does seem to refer to the visual aspect of reading (through use of *de suso*, 'above'), *oyestes* ('you heard'; < *oír* 'to hear') indicates oral/aural delivery.⁶

The problem of oral or written transmission or delivery in Spanish texts has been much discussed, and the only consensus at present seems to be caution in drawing any conclusions on the basis of such clearly formulaic expressions.⁷ It is worth noting, however, that no such terminology is used in the original Latin *Imago mundi*. There are no indications of aurality in the Latin text. The Castilian text thus appears to change the intended reception mode for the text and the information it contains.

The *Imago mundi* itself rather constructs a virtual journey, where the armchair traveller reads through the world in a sequence of geographical juxtapositions, as we have seen in the passages quoted in the previous chapters.⁸ Words such as *transeamus* (pres. sj. 1 pl. < *transire*, 'go over') indicate a mental perambulation or virtual travel.⁹ We have already seen

Matthias Egeler, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 195–211 (pp. 203–06); 'Re-Writing Parts of Europe', pp. 95–96.

5 Bull and Williams, eds, *Semeiança del mundo*, p. 62.

6 Petrovskaia, 'Re-Writing Parts of Europe', p. 96. The difficulty of the apparent confusion between written and oral in such texts has been acknowledged for a long time. For an early discussion, see José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia Crítica de Literatura Española*, 7 vols (Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1863), III, p. 605. See also Steven N. Dworkin, *A Guide to Old Spanish* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 15; Roger M. Walker, *Tradition and Technique in 'El Libro del Cavallero Zifar'* (London, 1974), pp. 145–46; G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, 'The Spanish *Mester de Clerecía* and its Intended Public: Concerning the Validity as Evidence of Passages of Direct Address to the Audience', in *Medieval Miscellany Presented to Eugène Vinaver*, ed. by F. Whitehead, A. H. Diverres, and F. E. Sutcliffe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965), pp. 230–44 and the early study in Ruth Crosby, 'Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 11 (1936), 88–110.

7 See references above.

8 See discussion above, pp. 95, 98, 102.

9 See above, p. 127.

a similar phenomenon in the *Image du monde* of Gossouin de Metz. In the introduction, this text employs the first-person verbal form, but as Simon Gaunt points out ‘this “nous” is strictly academic’.¹⁰ The address to the audience is not intended, as in the Spanish text, for oral performance, but is rather a convention referring to the joint armchair journey of the audience or reader.

The shift we therefore observe in the *Semeiança* seems to be reflective of a shift in genre almost, and a process of cultural translation: not only being translated into a new language, and into a new political context, with new information added concerning Spain, but also a new performative format, meeting the requirements and conventions of the new audience (and host culture).¹¹

This phenomenon has been observed elsewhere in medieval translations, and in different genres. The translator responsible for the Welsh *Ystoria Bown o Hamtwn* (Story of Bown of Hampton), for instance, ‘implemented major changes on the levels of narrative structure and style’, to quote the text’s editors.¹² This reflects the more creative pattern followed by medieval Welsh translators in narrative texts as compared to, for instance, *Delwy Byd*, the medieval Welsh translation of *Imago mundi*, which is a faithful rendering of the original (including the hodoeporical terminology that we will come back to in the second part of this chapter).

The transitional passages introduced in the Spanish translation might imply that the reader (whether reading for an audience or for themselves) will have made a pause at the end of the previous section and requires a recap, as a modern television viewer might. These suggestions must, however, be treated with caution, as the formulaic exhortation to an audience is typical of Spanish texts of the period.¹³

A search for historical uses of the term *oyestes* (in the 2sg. pret. form) in the Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE), yields 543 instances in 41 texts, ranging in date from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries (with two

10 Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo’s ‘Le Devisement du Monde’: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), p. 70. See also discussion in Petrovskaia, ‘Re-Writing Parts of Europe’, p. 96.

11 Petrovskaia, ‘Re-Writing Parts of Europe’, pp. 96–97.

12 Erich Poppe and Regine Reck, ‘A French Romance in Wales: *Ystoria Bown o Hamtwn*. Processes of Medieval Translations (2)’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 56 (2008), 129–64 (pp. 142, 147–49). For the edition, see Poppe and Reck, eds, *Selections from Ystoria Bown o Hamtwn* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009).

13 See Dennis P. Seniff, ‘Orality and Textuality in Medieval Castilian Prose’, *Oral Tradition*, 2 (1987), 150–71 (pp. 151–53).

undated instances).¹⁴ By far the predominant genre of text in which the term occurs is historical prose (361 instances, 66.48%), followed by narrative prose (67 instances, 12.33%), religious prose (49 instances, 9.52%), and scientific prose (30 cases, 5.52%). Verse narrative and lyric genres produce even fewer examples. It must be added that all but one of the instances of the term *oystes* in 'scientific prose' are from the *Semeiança*, and only one comes from the *Lapidario*.¹⁵ These statistics should be treated with caution, therefore, as a single long text with frequent formulaic use of the term might affect the numbers considerably. A large proportion of the cases of the term's use in historical prose, for instance, come from the monumental encyclopedic universal history composed in the reign of Alfonso X, the *General Estoria*.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the pattern which shows dominant use in texts which provide a progressive narrative or story (historical prose and narrative texts) is unlikely to be an accident. If so, the *Semeiança* rewrites the Latin text stylistically to fit in that context. Its description of space seems to be subject, in its Castilian reworkings, to the same narrative conventions as other texts' descriptions of time. We are back to space-time and the *chronotope*. This might also lead us to question not only the performative aspect of the text, but more crucially our preconceptions of its genre. The genre distinctions in CORDE are modern. The question therefore is whether the *Semeiança* should, in fact, be grouped with the other texts, and if so, according to which criteria. We could be dealing with a common, broader, historico-geographical genre.

To what extent phrases such as *ia oystes de suso* reflect actual practice remains an important question, but one which lies beyond the scope of the present study. To further elucidate this issue an analysis of the use of terminology for both conveyance and reception of information in these texts

14 Real Academia Española, Banco de datos CORDE, <http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html> (accessed 6 August 2020).

15 For an edition of this text, completed c. 1250, see Alfonso X, *Lapidario (según el manuscrito Escorialense H.1.15)*, ed. by Sagrario Rodríguez M. Montalvo (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1981); Lloyd Kasten, John Nitti, and Jean Anderson, *Concordances and Texts of the Royal Scriptorium Manuscripts of Alfonso X, el Sabio* (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1978). For discussions, see, for instance, Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, *Astrología y arte en el 'Lapidario' de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid: Edilán, 1984).

16 For the *General Estoria*, see Alfonso X, *'El Sabio': General Estoria, VI Partes*, ed. by Pedro Sánchez-Prieto, 10 vols (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2009); for an earlier edition, see Alfonso el Sabio, *General estoria*, Part 1, ed. by Antonio G. Solalinde (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1930) and *General estoria*, Part 2, ed. by Antonio G. Solalinde, Lloyd A. Kasten, and Victor R. B. Oelschläger, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957–61).

would be in order, such as the use of *dezir* ('to say'), which frequently occurs in proximity to *oír* ('to hear') in these texts, as well as the more ambiguous *contar* ('recount, narrate'). While such an investigation is beyond the scope of this book, on the basis of the available information it is possible to cautiously conclude that, at the very least in the *Semeiança*, *Imago mundi* material was rewritten to match the conventions of the host vernacular culture, as well as to emphasise the place of Spain in Europe.

Another point arising from the brief presentation here is that caution is in order regarding assumptions of the difference in reception of texts we now consider as belonging to different genres. The versatility of geographical information of the *Imago mundi* tradition, often incorporated into narratives such as Alexander romances suggests that geographical accounts would have been performed as much as read (whatever that latter process might have entailed in practice at the time). At the very least, this is another indication of the 'tense relation between orality and literacy and its impacts on in medieval society' to once more quote Liedeke Plate and Els Rose, whose definition of rewriting I have adopted.¹⁷ A tentative suggestion that can be offered at this point, as a contribution to the debate on orality versus literacy in the reception of Spanish texts, is that the distinction between reading and listening might be a purely modern phenomenon, as it is particularly marked for a public used to silent reading.¹⁸ In the absence of silent reading (or in a culture where it is not the dominant mode of text access), whether an individual was reading with or without an audience becomes irrelevant in terms of auditory reception, because that individual could also have read aloud in the course of solitary perusal.

While Spain as a single case study is not necessarily reflective of the medieval European experience of encyclopedic material as a whole, comparison with other examples yields a firmer indication of an aural culture. A similar phenomenon to that discussed here was observed for medieval Scandinavian literature by Sif Ríkhartsdóttir, who points out that in the conclusion to *Karlamagnus saga ok kappa hans*, the Norse Charlemagne saga,

17 Liedeke Plate and Els Rose, 'Rewriting, A Literary Concept for the Study of Cultural Memory: Towards a Transhistorical Approach to Cultural Remembrance', *Neophilologus*, 97 (2013), 611–25 (p. 622).

18 For more on medieval versus modern reading practices, and the history of silent reading, see Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 212–17; and the discussion of individual readers' practices in D. H. Green, *Women Readers in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1–15.

the combination of references to written and aural transmission seems to point to an aural reception of the written text.¹⁹ By contrast to the Norse phenomenon, which Sif Ríkharðsdóttir describes as ‘sustained emphasis on the textuality of the transmission and its perpetuation’ in the course of the shift from aural to textuality, the Spanish tradition appears to sustain the emphasis on the aural element of the text transmitted in written form.²⁰ These may be regarded as different approaches towards a similar cultural problem.

Going through the Text

While further research is necessary in order to be able to say conclusively for each text of the *Imago mundi* family whether the audience experience was (intended to be) visual or aural, some observations can be made on the basis of the available evidence regarding the way in which the audience is led through the material (whether by eye or ear). This section of the book thus addresses the descriptive technique of the *Imago mundi* texts, which I call hodoeporical. We will look at how the audience is guided through the text as a whole, and then focus on two regional examples within the description of Europe. The focus here is on the order in which areas are recounted, and the principles underpinning it. One of the reasons why this needs to be addressed is that changes to the sequence within a region have sometimes led scholars to assume that a text was not based on the *Imago mundi*. I argue here that these alterations are often facilitated by the structure of the original treatise and constitute a feature of the process of rewriting in its vernacular adaptations. I also highlight the fact that sequence alterations are found not only in adaptations but also within the Latin manuscript tradition.

19 I follow the distinction made by Sif Ríkharðsdóttir in ‘The Norse Roland in Context’, paper presented at the Crossing Borders in the Insular Middle Ages Symposium, 24–25 September 2019. For more on the transformations in these texts from the aural to the textual in the course of translation, see Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, ‘The Norse Roland in Context’, in *Charlemagne in the Norse and Celtic Worlds*, ed. by Helen Fulton and Sif Ríkharðsdóttir (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2022), pp. 50–65. I am grateful to Sif Ríkharðsdóttir for generously sharing a pre-publication version of her article. See also Gabriele Röder, ‘Die chansons de geste der altnordischen *Karlamagnús saga*: Übersetzungen oder Adaptationen’, in *The Medieval Translator: Traduire au moyen âge*, ed. by Roger Ellis, René Tixier, and Bernd Weitemeier, *The Medieval Translator*, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 134–58.

20 Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, ‘The Old Norse Roland in Context’, p. 62.

Another reason why it is important to pay attention to the sequence of narration is that the vernacular versions frequently place the region with which they themselves are associated last in the description of Europe, thereby emphasising it. In this chapter I use the example of Italy for the purposes of analysis. It provides rich ground for discussion and comparison in this respect, as it is home to several independent rewritings of our text: Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, Vivaldo Belcalzèr's *mapa del mond* (which forms part of his translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*), and Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*. These adaptations have very different approaches to the text, but tend not to be discussed together. It is useful to see how each takes advantage of the fuzziness of the *Imago mundi* to bend the geographical description to new purposes and make it serve a new audience. Plate and Rose's concept of rewriting is particularly useful in understanding this process, for the changes observed in the *Imago mundi* family are indeed 'an act of cultural memory' and thus constitute precisely a case where 'rewriting asks scholars to account for agency and intentionality'.²¹

This is one of the few cases where one has to start at the end and not at the beginning. Let us begin with the final chapter of the Europe section in the *Imago mundi* (1.29). This as we have seen, is dedicated to Britain in the Latin original. A general pattern is that the various vernacular rewritings of the *Imago mundi* often refocus their text to their own region of origin by placing it last in the sequence of European lands visited.²² For example, the *Image du monde* adds the mention of France after Britain, to close its discussion of Europe. The same change can be seen in both the *Semeiança* and in Juan de Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna*. These authors achieve the same results differently, however, for they move Britain and Ireland to the section of islands. Spain, which in the *Imago mundi* was in the penultimate chapter on Europe, 1.28, is thus moved to the concluding position.²³

21 Plate and Rose, 'Rewriting', p. 623; and p. 58 in this book.

22 Jacob van Maerlant also moves the section on British Isles and Ireland – which in Honorius's text follow the reference to Spain – towards the end of the section in Islands, which follows his description of Africa; Jacob van Maerlant, *Alexanders geesten*, ed. by Johannes Franck (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1882), pp. 271, 275–76. This latter change appears to be Maerlant's own innovation, rather than his Latin source; Petra Berendrecht, *Proeven van bekwaamheid: Jacob van Maerlant en de omgang met zijn Latijnse bronnen* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996), p. 40. In this case, however, the change Maerlant makes does not result in his own area being last. However, as we have seen in the previous discussion, Maerlant's emphasis on the local region is expressed differently, simply because it wasn't in the *Imago mundi* in the first place – he adds it to the map.

23 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 62.

The same trend, to put the host region at the conclusion, is also found outside the *Imago mundi* tradition. The Old Norse Reynistaðarbók, MS AM 764 4to (s. XIV), for example, contains a description of the world, in the sequence Asia–Africa–Europe, and places Iceland at the end of its discussion of Europe (and thus at the end of its discussion of the world as a whole).²⁴ The text forms part of a chronicle and is not related to the *Imago mundi* tradition, but shows a similar attitude to the rewriting of geographic material.²⁵ It seems, therefore, that placing the home country last in the list, representing it as the edge of Europe, was a more general convention.

Three possible, and not necessarily mutually exclusive, explanations can be offered for this phenomenon. In the first place, particularly in the case of the chronicle, the home region might have been mentioned last in the text in order to connect the geographical description to the following historical account. This explanation seems to fit with the phenomenon referred to in Chapter 1 of the difference in the order in lists of the three regions in geographical and historical texts.²⁶ For the historical texts, the order Asia→Africa→Europe seems to follow the order of *translatio imperii*.²⁷ In the case of *Imago mundi*-derived texts, however, this is a little more complex, since there Europe was followed by Africa. However, since extracts from these texts were sometimes used in chronicles and other sources, it is not inconceivable that this may have been part of the design also. The second possibility is that the final place was a place of honour and emphasis (this is a reading somewhat edging towards the Eurocentrism concept), echoing the ascending order in religious processions.²⁸ The third possibility,

24 See Petrovskaia, 'La formulation tripartite', p. 203. For a more in-depth discussion of the geographical description in this text, and further references, see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland: Studies in AM 764 4to' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2000), pp. 69–73. For the manuscript, see <https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/da/AM04-0764> (accessed 20 September 2021).

25 The order in which it describes the world follows a pattern ultimately traceable to Orosius rather than to Isidore (as in the *Imago mundi* texts); Petrovskaia, 'La formulation tripartite'.

26 Chapter 1, pp. 46–47.

27 Petrovskaia, 'La formulation tripartite'.

28 See, for instance, C. Clifford Flanagan, 'The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective', in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskén (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 35–52, esp. pp. 46–47; and Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Spanish Society 1400–1600* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 147. The concept of Eurocentrism, important though it is to the study of Europe as a generalised idea, is not explored further in this book because it does not refer directly to the geographical construct, which is the focus of the present investigation. To quote Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, 'Eurocentrism does not refer to Europe in its literal sense as a continent or a geopolitical unit but rather to the perception of Europe (and its extensions

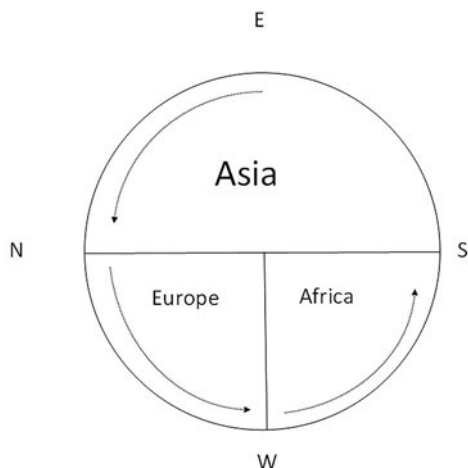


Figure 5: Narrative Progression of *Imago mundi* mapped onto a T-O schema

somewhat related to the second, is that the readers were intended to see the text in front of them, as their place in the world, as the culmination of the process of *translatio studii et imperii*, the historical progression of empire and scholarly learning westward.²⁹

Now that we have established some preliminaries, let us look at what happens to this global order of description in some of the *Imago mundi* adaptations. In the Latin text the order of description is Asia–Europe–Africa, which we might depict as a counter-clockwise movement around the T-O *mappa mundi* (Figure 5).³⁰ Rewritings such as the *Image du monde* introduce significant changes to the text but nevertheless retain the order in which the parts of the world are discussed. The references to ‘traversing’ parts of the world, which in the Latin are only made in the transition between the three parts of the world, are here more frequent.³¹ The structure of the description in the French text, which uses directional

around the world) as normative’; Shohat and Stam, *Race in Translation: Culture Wars around the Postcolonial Atlantic* (New York and London: NYU Press, 2012), p. 61. Shohat and Stam coin the term ‘Eurotropic’ to describe the orientation towards Europe ‘as an ideal Platonic Sun’ (p. 62).

²⁹ For a brief introduction to the *translatio* concept and further references, Chapter 2, p. 55.

³⁰ See p. 47.

³¹ For the Latin passages, see the quotations and discussion on pp. 108, 125; the French text’s trajectory through the world and technique of description is discussed in Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, ‘Limites et diversités de l’Europe: le parti pris par Gossouin de Metz (*Image du monde*, 1245)’, in *De la Chrétienté à l’Europe: Actes du Colloque Orléans, mai 1993*, ed. by Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), pp. 49–62 (p. 50).

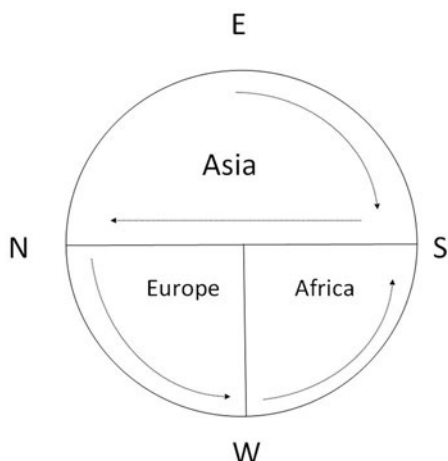


Figure 6: Narrative Progression of *Image du monde* mapped onto a T-O schema

terms ('right', 'left', 'up', 'down') invites visualisation in the form of a T-O *mappa mundi* (see Figure 6).³² Other translations and adaptations of *Imago mundi* follow this trajectory through the inhabited world consistently, with variation limited primarily to the way the reader is guided through the map/text by means of transitional passages, directional terms, and so on, as well as the order of the regions within the parts of the world, or of locations within regions.³³

The counter-clockwise direction of the original text's hodoeporical description is worth commenting on.³⁴ Although I describe the *Imago mundi* trajectory along the map from the viewer's perspective (looking at the map from the outside) as 'counter-clockwise', the intention in the hodoeporical description is probably that the reader is looking at the world from the starting point in the east, and imagining proceeding along the description by turning right towards the north. In medieval terms, one follows the counter-clockwise direction by turning right when facing the object of the

32 Figure 6 uses Connochie-Bourgne's summary of the direction taken by the text; 'Limites et diversités', p. 50. The trajectory, when mapped out schematically, follows a criss-crossing pattern rather than the outlines of the map, and is reminiscent of the movement of a hand making the sign of the cross.

33 See the discussion of changes made to transitional passages in the *Semeiança del mundo*, pp. 130–32.

34 The term is anachronistic (it post-dates the invention of the clockface) but is used here for convenience.

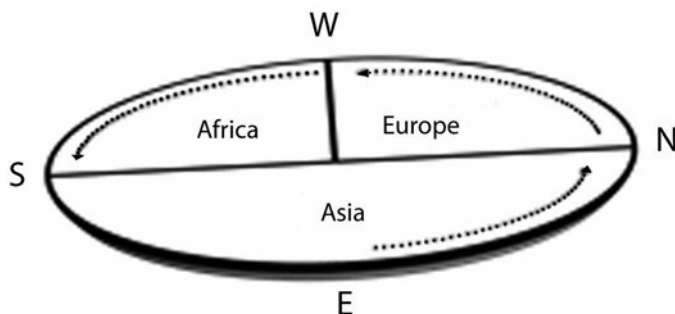


Figure 7 The direction viewed from the perspective of reader inside the map

circuit.³⁵ The privileging of this direction for religious processions, and thus probably also for the reading of the map in our texts, seems to be connected to the privileging of right over left in the Western tradition.³⁶ In the case of the trajectories described here, we should take the movement as being performed by the reader, who starts in the east and proceeds to the right (in a northward direction) along the T-O map following a procession-like circuit around the world (Figure 7).

It is striking that in some of the rewritings of the *Imago mundi* this hodoeporical order is altered extensively. Fazio degli Uberti's fourteenth-century geographical vision-poem *Il Dittamondo* is an example of this. Interestingly, being a vision poem in the style of Dante it is not merely hodoeporically constructed, but has the narrator literally travel, accompanied by a succession of guides. It is also particularly interesting for the purposes of this discussion because it is a text whose different order of description has been used to argue for independence of the *Imago mundi* tradition. It must be noted that a full study of geographical sources still needs to be undertaken

35 Given lack of clockfaces as a reference point, this is also sometimes described as 'sunwise', since it follows the trajectory of the sun in the Northern hemisphere (the movement is performed by the sun, with the observer looking east; this also explains the term for this direction, which survives from medieval Ireland, *dessel/deiseal*). This is used in describing saints' processions in a number of *Vitae*; see Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland. Architecture, Ritual and Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 311. Confusingly, *deiseal*, or sunwise course, is often described as clockwise (presumably because when facing the clock the observer sees its hand move towards the right); *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*, s.v. *dessel*; <https://dil.ie/15791> (accessed 2 November 2024).

36 See Robert Couzin, *Right and Left in Early Christian and Medieval Art* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), esp. pp. 5–7. Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that the feature is global; see Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), pp. 43–44.

for this text, and the arguments here relate exclusively to its use of the *Imago mundi*, which is just one of degli Uberti's sources.³⁷

Two previous suggestions open up the possibility of a direct connection between this text and Honorius's encyclopedia. In the first place, Nadia Belliato has pointed out that despite degli Uberti's insistent citation of classical authorities, his sources were probably primarily medieval.³⁸ More direct is Marie-Odile Garrigues's suggestion that, based on the similarity of place-name forms and names of peoples, including those which in Honorius's text are 'erroneous', the *Imago mundi* must have been one of the *Dittamondo*'s sources.³⁹ It is also probable that Fazio degli Uberti indeed used Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* and *Trésor* as sources of information, and if so the *Dittamondo* belongs in any case to the *Imago mundi* tradition.⁴⁰

Even if Honorius's work was merely one of many texts degli Uberti used, the *Dittamondo* presents an interesting link between the *Imago mundi* tradition and a much wider network of texts, because it also had a wide circulation and influenced others. The most notable example is Matteo Maria Boiardo's late-fifteenth-century romance *L'inamoramento de Orlando*, also known as *l'Orlando Innamorato* ('Orlando in love'), to which Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* quoted at the beginning of this book is a sequel.⁴¹ In the

37 Johannes Bartuschat, 'La forma allegorica del "Tesoretto" e il "Dittamondo" di Fazio degli Uberti', in *A scuola con Ser Brunetto: la ricezione di Brunetto Latini dal Medioevo al Rinascimento*, ed. by I. Maffia Scariati (Florence: SIMSEL–Galluzzo, 2008), pp. 417–35 (p. 425).

38 Nadia Belliato, 'Per un commento al "Dittamondo": il Paradiso terrestre e la personificazione di Roma (i.xi)', in *Quaderno di italianistica 2015*, Sezione di Italiano dell'Università di Losana (Pisa: ETS, 2015), pp. 33–48 (p. 34).

39 Marie-Odile Garrigues, 'Honorius Augustodunensis et l'Italie', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge, Temps Modernes*, 84 (1952), 511–30 (pp. 525–26). Garrigues cites the unpublished study by Mario Nerva, 'L'"Imago mundi" di Onorio Augustodunensis e le scienze naturali nel dodicesimo secolo' (unpublished MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 1971), pp. 162–64, stating that it contains an overview of *Imago Mundi*-derived works. I was unable to consult this thesis due to library policy of the Université de Montréal.

40 Belliato, 'Per un commento', pp. 35–36; Garrigues, 'Honorius Augustodunensis et l'Italie', pp. 525–26. See also Bartuschat, 'La forma allegorica', and the discussion of Latini's *Trésor*, below. The issue of multilingualism also deserves a mention here. The *Dittamondo*, inspired by Brunetto's poems, contains sections in Old French, Occitan, and in Greek; Bartuschat, 'La forma allegorica', p. 426.

41 For a discussion, with further references, see Andrea Canova, 'Altri furti boiardeschi ("Inamoramento de Orlando", II, xxviii)', *Parole rubate / Purloined Letters*, 18 (2018), 163–72 (esp. pp. 166–69), available online at www.parolerubate.unipr.it (accessed 11 April 2024). Canova refers in particular to the following passages in the *Inamoramento* which appear to quote *mirabilia* from the *Dittamondo*: M. M. Boiardo, *L'inamoramento de Orlando*, ed. by Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti and Christina Montagnani, 2 vols (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1999), II, p. 829 (II, i, 57), p. 1267 (II, xviii, 34), p. 1351 (II, xxii, 11), pp. 1508–09 (II, xxviii, 29); cited by Canova, p. 169 n. 12. For

following I contribute to the discussion of degli Uberti's use of Honorius by showing that the *Dittamondo* only seems to diverge from the *Imago mundi* itinerary. I argue that at its base is the same hodoeporical design, and that traces of the *Imago mundi* trajectory can still be seen when the text doubles back on itself at the end of each section.

The structure of the *Dittamondo* description of the tripartite world is in the order Asia–Africa–Europe. As I observed in Chapter 1, this is the historical rather than the geographical order of regions.⁴² It is worth looking closely at the apparent difference in the order of description between the *Dittamondo* and the *Imago mundi*. An important feature of degli Uberti's text is that in its counter-clockwise trajectory it doubles back at the end of each region to follow his Asia–Africa–Europe pattern. For instance, at the conclusion of the chapter on Asia (after which the text move to Africa) there is no reference to Africa, the next region in the order of the narrative, but only Europe: 'Questo ultimo paese, ch'io ti conto, / tanto si chiude in vèr settentrione, / ch'a le palú Meotide l'affronto, / lá dove Europa i suoi termini pone' ('This last land, which I recount to you, / thus it closes towards the north, / which has the *Meotides paludes* against it / there where Europe places its boundaries').⁴³ Picking up at this point, his following chapter has to introduce an explicit break (*Qui lascio Europa*, 'Here I leave Europe'), to move to Africa.⁴⁴ This has every appearance of extracting the section on Europe which should have been present here (as in the *Imago mundi*), and moving it to a different position within the text, with only traces of

comments on the wide manuscript circulation of the text, see David Paniagua, "Soccorri me, che solo non so ire": Solino in aiuto di Fazio degli Uberti', *Cento Pagine*, 3 (2009), 10–19 (p. 13); available at <https://www.openstarts.units.it/handle/10077/3222> (accessed 11 April 2024).

42 Chapter 1, p. 47. It has been suggested that the *Dittamondo* relies on Solinus's *Collectanea rerum memorabili* (also known as *De mirabilibus mundi* or *Polyhystor*). However, the order of the regions in Solinus is different again: Europe–Africa–Asia. The reference here is to the description in Book 1, chapters 8–10: Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo e le rime*, ed. by Giuseppe Corsi, 2 vols (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1952), 1, pp. 23–33. The parts of the world are subsequently visited in the order Europe–Africa–Asia (in Books I–VI), but the descriptions there are of historical and allegorical rather than purely geographical nature. Solinus, functions as Fazio's geographical guide on this journey, in imitation of Virgil's role in Dante. See Paget Toynbee, 'Brunetto Latino's Obligations to Solinus', *Romania*, 89 (1894), 62–77 (esp. p. 63 n. 1) for the reliance on Solinus's *Collectanea* in the *Dittamondo*. See also Paniagua, "Soccorri me", esp. p. 16. There is an earlier encounter with Ptolemy in the text; for a comparison with Brunetto Latini's Ptolemy and Dante's Virgil, see Bartuschat 'La forma allegorica', pp. 423–24, 430–33, and p. 432 n. 25. On Solinus's function in the *Dittamondo*, see Paniagua, "Soccorri me".

43 Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo*, ed. Corsi, 1, p. 26.

44 Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo*, ed. Corsi, 1, p. 27.

the original design remaining as telltale signs at the end of the Asia and beginning of the Africa section.⁴⁵

The break is particularly striking given the author's use of hodoeporical terminology. The term *lasciare* ('to leave'), used of places as well as objects and applied here to the conceptual movement across the textual map, is the same as that used for physical movement across space, as, for instance, in Ruggiero's journey described in the quotation from *Orlando Furioso* with which my book opened: 'lasciato avea [...] tutta l'Europa' ('He had left the European mainland').⁴⁶ The beginning of *Dittamondo* Chapter x, dedicated to Europe, shows a similar slight of hand (and similarly hodoeporical terminology): 'ritornar voglio in vèr settentrione, / dove lassai Europa in oriente' ('I wish to return towards the north / where I left Europe in the east').⁴⁷ The audience of degli Uberti's text, as that of the *Imago mundi* quite literally travels the world.

Within Europe, degli Uberti follows the same counter-clockwise trajectory as we have seen on the macro-level. He starts with Germany, moving north-west, through Britain and Ireland, south towards France, then through Spain, Italy, and finally Greece.⁴⁸ This is a slightly simplified account, as there are lists within each region which complicate this itinerary. It can be seen from this summary, however, that the order is not that of *Imago mundi*, though it follows, on the level of the regions, the counter-clockwise directionality of Honorius's overall design. The exact nature of the relationship between the *Dittamondo* and the *Imago mundi* tradition, therefore, cannot be easily solved and must await its own dedicated study. For now, it can be tentatively concluded that in the hodoeporical trajectory, and the base order of the regions which can still be seen in trace form at ends and beginnings of its major sections, the *Dittamondo* echoes Honorius's encyclopedia. In terms of its general purport, too, it would be typical of the *Imago mundi* tradition as a compilation of established knowledge based on earlier sources and presented in a more accessible, simplified, form. While not in itself conclusive, this offers some additional supporting evidence for Belliato's and Garrigues's suggestions mentioned above. The French text also brings us to our next

45 By contrast, Solinus ends his description of Europe with Spain and then moves to Lybia (Chapters XXIII–XXIV); *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. by Th. Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), p. 107.

46 Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso: A Selection*, ed. by Pamela Waley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), p. 55; trans. by Guido Waldman, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 52; quoted in this book, pp. 13–14.

47 Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo*, ed. Corsi, I, p. 27.

48 Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo*, ed. Corsi, I, pp. 27–33.

point: variations in the hodoeporical description between different versions of the same text.

Significant Itinerary Variations in the Latin Text

In the *Imago mundi*, while the order of the tripartite (or quadripartite) design remains stable, there is variation in the order of hodoeporical description within the regions between the various versions of the Latin text. The most interesting, and most radical, among these examples of variation is in the Italy chapter (1.26).⁴⁹ Flint has described this as a ‘tangle’ and has observed that the consistency in transposition of specific sections of the description across the manuscript tradition is such as to suggest that this is more than a scribal error.⁵⁰ I focus on this chapter here because it both offers a fascinating glimpse into the ways in which the original text’s flexibility forms the later tradition, and enables us to determine exact relationships between branches of that tradition. The variation has proved instrumental in identifying the different versions of *Imago mundi* used in the Welsh translations (*Delwy Byd*), since it is inherited by those texts.⁵¹

Of the two Welsh translations, the text known as Version B, is attested in the ‘White Book of Rhydderch’ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 4–5 (s. XIV), and in the ‘Red Book of Hergest’ Oxford, Jesus College, MS 111 (s. XIV^{ex.}), col. 510 onwards.⁵² Although it abridges considerably, and omits one of the sections of the passage, the order of the Italian passage in this version agrees with the Latin text as it is printed in Flint’s edition, which corresponds to the later versions of the *Imago mundi*. Meanwhile, *Delwy Byd* Version A, preserved in the Red Book col. 987 onwards, follows a different order of the passage, found in an earlier recension of *Imago mundi*. This variation has made it possible to identify the manuscript of

49 Quoted in full below, pp. 146–47.

50 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 14. We have seen a similar argument applied to the French text’s transposition of parts of Europe to Africa in Chapter 4.

51 Natalia I. Petrovskaia, ‘*Delwy byd*: une traduction médiévale en gallois d’une encyclopédie latine et la création d’un traité géographique’, *Études celtiques*, 39 (2013), 257–77, (pp. 267–70); Petrovskaia, ed., *Delwy Byd: A Medieval Welsh Encyclopedia*, MHRA Library of Medieval Welsh Literature (London: MHRA, 2020), pp. 7–8 n. 29; Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 61–62. By contrast, the German translation, for instance (which, like the Welsh, translates the Latin faithfully), follows the order of the passage as it is in Flint’s edition; *Das buch von der Forme und pildnuss der Welt* in Germ. Fol. 595, f. 86r l. 31–86v l. 8.

52 I specify column number for the Red Book because this manuscript contains both versions A and B of *Delwy Byd*; Petrovskaia, ed., *Delwy Byd*, pp. 8–9.

the Latin text closest to the Welsh translations, namely Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B.484 (s. XII^{ex}).⁵³ This manuscript has been grouped by Flint with others containing the 1110 redaction. However, on the basis on this difference in the Italy chapter it appears that this group should be further subdivided, allowing for a more accurate understanding of the early transmission of the Latin text in England and proving once more its original flexibility and pliability. Here, I propose to use the hodoeporical logic of the descriptions to show that the Rawlinson B.484 reading probably reflects an intermediate stage in the design of the Latin text. In order to facilitate analysis, I label and discuss the components of the hodoeporical description first, followed by the annotated passage.

In her edition, based on the the post-1123 version of the text, Flint labelled the sections susceptible to re-ordering consecutively with numbers (1) through (4), and for the sake of consistency I keep her numbering.⁵⁴ There are two further variants on this order, both belonging to manuscripts ascribed by Flint to the text's earliest, 1110 version. The order preserved in manuscripts of the 1110 version proper, exemplified by Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 66 (s. XII^{ex}, Sawley, Lancashire), is as follows: (1) *Antiqui ciuitates...*, (4) *Renus ab Alpibus nascitur...*, (3) *Padus qui et Eridanus* and (2) *Est in Italia Tuscia prouintia*.⁵⁵ For convenience, I label this the 'Corpus sequence'. The order of the alternative variant, also assigned to the 1110 version by Flint, is that preserved in the Rawlinson B 484 manuscript and the Welsh version that follows it. This is: (3) *Padus qui et Eridanus...*, (2) *Est in Italia Tuscia prouintia*, (1) *Antiqui ciuitates...*, (4) *Renus ab Alpibus nascitur...* I label this the 'Rawlinson sequence'. The difference between the Rawlinson and Corpus sequences amounts to the first two components swapping places with the last two: 3+2 and 1+4 are always together (see Table 1).

Table 1: The order of Chapter 27 sections in the *Imago mundi*

Rawlinson B 484	Corpus 66	Later versions (Flint's edn)
3–2–1–4	1–4–3–2	1–2–3–4

The Rawlinson sequence is to my knowledge unique among the Latin manuscripts. The Corpus sequence, by contrast, is attested in at least one

53 Petrovskaia, 'Delwy Byd: une traduction', pp. 269, 272.

54 Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 61–62.

55 The full passage, in the order in which it appear in this verion, is also reproduced below.

further manuscript: London, Lambeth Palace MS 371 (Reading Abbey, s. XIII).⁵⁶ The passage, as it appears in the Corpus and Lambeth manuscripts (f. 12r), is reproduced below.⁵⁷ The numbers assigned to the sections of the passage in the discussion above have been added for ease of reference.

In hac est urbs Roma, a Rolumo constructa, et sic nominata. (1) Antiqui ciuitates secundum praecipuas feras ob significationem formabant. Vnde Roma formam leonis habet, qui ceteris bestiis quasi rex preest. Huius capud est urbs a Romulo constructa, laterali uero edificio utrobique disposita. Vnde et Lateranis dicitur. Brundusium autem formam cerui, Kartago bouis, Troia equi figuram habuit. (4) Rhenus ab Alpibus nascitur, et contra auilonem uergens sinu oceani excipitur. (3) Padus, et Heridanus Italie fluuius ab apenninis montibus oritur, ac mari inmergitur. Yenetia a Beneto rege prius Benetia dicta, deinde Uenetia. (2) Est in Italia Tuscia prouincia⁵⁸ a thure et sacrificiis dicta. Est et Campania a Capua ciuitate dicta, a Capi rege constructa. Ibi est et Vmbria,⁵⁹ uel Ibria inde dicta quod imbribus tempore diluuii superfuit. Est et Etrutia ab Ethrusco rege dicta. Est et Longobardia a longobardi⁶⁰ uocata. Gallia a candore populi dicitur. Gala enim Grece 'lac' dicitur Latine.

In that is the city of Rome, consctructed by Romulus, and so called. (1) The ancients shaped cities following important beasts according to their significance. Thus Rome has the form of a lion, which rules other beasts like a king. Its head is the city constructed by Romulus, with buildings placed on either side [= laterally]. For that reason it is also called Lateran. Brindisi, indeed, has the form of a stag, Carthage that of a bull, Troy of a horse. (4) The Rhine is born in the Alps, descending in the direction of the

56 Discussed in Bettina Schöller, 'Transfer of Knowledge: *Mappae Mundi* Between Texts and Images', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 4 (2013), 42–55; the passage under discussion here can be seen on the photograph of the manuscript reproduced as Figure 3 of the article (p. 49) and is also available on the Lambeth Palace Library website at <https://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/s/x82y4t> (accessed 1 October 2023).

57 The passage is reproduced on the basis of a transcription of the Lambeth Palace text, reproduced with the kind permission of the Lambeth Palace Library. I have expanded abbreviations, added capitalisation, and modernised the punctuation. For a published transcription of the Corpus text, see Petrovskaia, 'Delw y Byd: une traduction', p. 267. There is minor variation between the two manuscripts, amounting primarily to spelling (e.g. *Karthago* for *Kartago*) or word choice (e.g. *appellatvr* or *dicitur latine* for *dicitur*). The translation is my own.

58 The Corpus MS has an error here, and reads *pronuntia*.

59 *Apulia* in the Corpus MS.

60 *Om.* in the Corpus MS.

north, flowing into the bay of the ocean. (3) The Po, also called Eridanus, a river of Italy, comes from the Appenines and merges into the sea. Venice was first called Benetia from King Benetus, thereafter called Venetia. (2) There is in Italy the province Tuscany, named after incense [= *thus*] and sacrifices. There is also Campania, called after the city of Capua, built by King Capys. There are also Umbria also Imbria, called so because it survived the rains [= *imbribus*] of the time of the Flood. There is also Ethruria, called after King Ethrusc. There is also Longobardia named after long-beards [= *Lombards*]. Gallia is named after the whiteness of the people. For 'Gala' in Greek means 'milk' in Latin.

An analysis of the structure of the passage and the changes in the order in which the region is described suggests a redesign of the narrative itinerary. A structural logic can be found in each of the variants, and it is possible to see the intentionality behind the re-ordering. Figure 8 maps the four sections of the passage onto a schematic image of Italy. Section (2), beginning with the reference to Tuscany, is also broken down into the various geographical references contained within it as it contains a vividly marked internal trajectory.

Figure 8 shows that the positions of the place-names heading each section orchestrate an overall northward movement, from Rome, through Tuscany, to the River Po, and beyond the Alps to the Rhine (outside Italy): sequence (1)–(2)–(3)–(4). The subsections (2.1)–(2.4) interrupt this northward trajectory with a counter-clockwise perambulation of the peninsula – or, from the perspective of the traveller, rightward. The whole reveals a complex, intricately structured design. The arrows in Figure 8 demonstrate the trajectory. The circuit echoes the overall counter-clockwise direction of the progression through the world in the *Imago mundi*.

If we look at the Corpus sequence, (1)–(4)–(3)–(2), in the Rhine in the middle of the sequence, it introduced what might appear to be an anomaly, if we assume that Flint's later manuscripts represent the 'proper' base sequence. This seeming anomaly, however, is susceptible to a ready explanation. It is possible that in the Corpus sequence, (4) *Rhenus* may have been thought of not as the Rhine but as Reno, the river flowing through Tuscany and Emilia Romagna, and a tributary of the Po. While Reno originates not in the Alps but in the Apennines, it does curve northwards part of its way, and can be described as *contra aquilonem uergens*. In that case, although there would be no northwards progression of the sections (since Po is further north than is Tuscany), the grouping Reno–Po would be in tune with the thematic trend in the passage. In that case the logic of the passage would not be

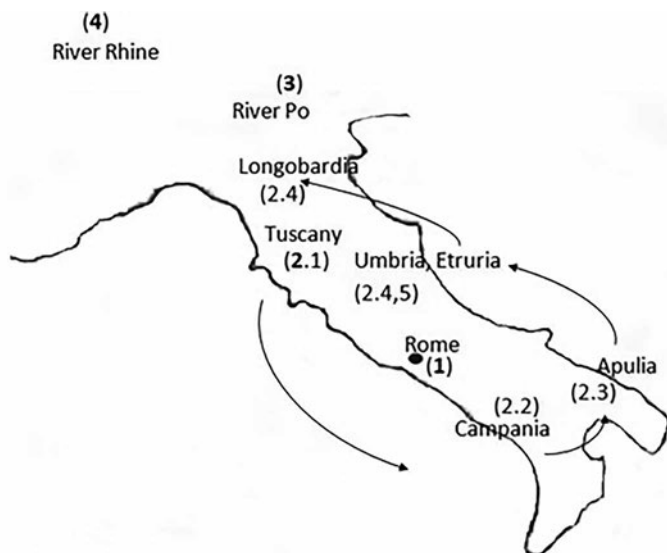


Figure 8: Map of Italy showing the position of Sections (1)–(4) of *Imago mundi* 1.26

hodoeporical but rather seen in terms of topographical features, to which each of the numbered section corresponds: (1) cities, (4) and (3) rivers, (2) regions. Within each section, multiple geographical locations are included:

- (1) Rome, Brindisi (+Carthage and Troy outside Italy);
- (4) Reno and (3) Padus;
- (2) This section preforms a counter-clockwise circuit of Italy, as in all versions of *Imago mundi*. Venice is the first item in this section, followed by Tuscany, Campania, Apulia, Umbria, Lombardy. (Since this sequence occurs in the 1110 version, it is probable that this was the original design of the passage.)

From Lombardy the text moves on to Gallia and Chapter 27. Here, the Corpus text agrees with that of the later versions, in Flint's edition: 'A flumine Reno est Gallia Belgica, a ciuitate Belgis dicta' ('From River Reno [=Rhine] is Gallia Belgica [=Belgic Gaul], named after the city Belgis').⁶¹

My argument here is that despite the apparent confusion between the Reno and the Rhine at the beginning of the chapter, it is the Corpus text, where the reference to Lombardy is followed by the reference to Gaul, that

⁶¹ The only difference is *Rheno* for *Reno*; Petrovskaja, 'Delw y Byd: une traduction', p. 267; Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 62.

contains the original composition. The description of Europe in this version is organised thematically, rather than hodoeporically (as an itinerary): the link between *Longobardia* and *Gallia* is not location, but etymology. Both place-names are derived in the text through characteristics of their inhabitants: the long beards of the Longobards, and the milky pale skin of the Gauls.⁶² The Isidoran inspiration is more visible in this earlier version. The changes enacted in the later versions seem to move away from this inspiration with its emphasis on etymology, and towards spatial links and the emphasis on hodoeporical organisation. One can think of this in terms of moving away from Isidore and towards *mappae mundi*. This appears to be part of the process that leads ultimately to the itinerary-like description of adaptations such as *Image du monde*, with its use of directional terminology guiding the audience's mental perambulation.

To illustrate this point, it is worth spending a little time on the Rawlinson sequence. Here, the Po and *Rhenus* are separated: (3) *Padus* + (2) *Tuscany* (and the circuit of Italy) are brought to the start of the passage, while (1) *Antiqui civitates* and the (4) *Rhenus* sections are left to the end. The Appenines, from which (3) states the Po descends, had been mentioned already at the end of 1.25, *De Graecia*, and thus bringing the section concerning the Po closer to the beginning of the chapter creates a hodoeporical link to the preceding itinerary. The Po–Tuscany link is geographical (Figure 8), while section (1) on the cities, headed with the reference to Rome, is an inserted vignette within the counter-clockwise sequence of (2). Whether *Rhenus* is, in this version, interpreted as the Reno or the Rhine is uncertain, but given it is found at the end of this sequence, and leads to the *Gallia Belgica* reference, it seems likely that in this case *Rhenus* is identified as the Rhine.

The changes Honorius made to the later versions yield an increasingly hodoeporical structure, using the Rhine as a connection between the discussion of Italy and the description of the various Gauls (*Gallia Belgica*, *Francia*, *Ludgunensis Gallia*, *Narbonensis Gallia*) in 1.27. Following the Rhine from the Alps, to the north, permits the author to continue the narrative north to south through Gaul, leading the reader via Aquitaine at the end of 1.27 to Spain in 1.28.

The fact that *Gallia* is already mentioned after the reference to Venice and before the reference to the Rhine, thus creating a doublet, echoes the double reference to the Appenines (in 1.26 and 1.27) and the double reference to the Rhine itself, discussed in relation to the Rawlinson sequence above. Two observations can be made here. In the first place, this doubling represents the same phenomenon as the overlapping fuzzy sets of the *Image du monde*

62 Flint ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 61–62.

discussed in Chapter 4. This reinforces my suggestion that Jostkleigrew's reading of the intentional overlap in *Image du monde* is applicable to other members of the wider tradition, and that the French text is not actually anomalous, as Jostkleigrew suggested. The second observation is that if we see this repetition of place-names in the hodoeporical description as overlaps between fuzzy sets, that explains why it is often difficult to see boundaries in the *Imago mundi* and its adaptations. The text moves through the world, from one region to another, but in doing so names the areas through which it passes (place-names, cities), rather than lines or boundaries that it might cross.⁶³

Such a way of reading the textual map might also throw some light on the absence of borders on medieval *mappae mundi*. This can be seen as a function of the difference between medieval and modern maps in terms of purpose. The medieval map, whether visual or textual, represents the physical aspect of the creation, synchronously, with reference to past moments (Jostkleigrew's historico-geographical model), through which the viewer travels, while the modern map often has a geopolitical function, and thus shows borders of political unities.

The Latin text's description of Europe and its regions, as demonstrated in the discussion of its Italy chapter and its itinerary style, is flexible and susceptible to re-organisation and rewriting, which do no more violence to the information contained in the text than a car GPS would to the road network schema when mapping an alternative route for the user.⁶⁴ The change to the organisation principles of the text in the description of Italy also shows that the *Imago mundi* (before one even approaches its vernacular adaptations) is a much more fluid text than had hitherto been assumed.⁶⁵ Once such a complete change in the organising principles of the text is observed in the Latin text itself, it becomes easier to see how the text was used and adapted in vernacular compositions where the organisational principles of the geographic description differ starkly from what might be expected of a faithful translation of the *Imago mundi*.

63 See the discussion of boundaries above, pp. 109–11, 120–22.

64 For a discussion of a medieval map, demonstrating that it was constructed on the principles of an itinerary, see Thomas O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin: A Window into the World of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Imago Mundi*, 51 (1999), 24–39, esp. pp. 28–31.

65 In her discussion of the differences between the versions of the *Imago mundi*, Flint refers to 'omission', 'expansion', and 'emendation', but does not give examples of the latter; *Imago mundi*, pp. 36–39. Confusingly, 'omission' in her discussion is often used in reference to the shorter earlier versions.

Local Interest

Since the main change to descriptions of parts of Europe in adaptations of the *Imago mundi* usually concerns those areas where the adaptation in question was produced, it is worthwhile examining what happens to the already flexible description of Italy in adaptations produced there. A useful starting point is provided by Brunetto Latini.

In Chapter CXXIII of Latini's *Trésor*, dedicated to Europe, Italy occupies a dominant part, taking up an amount of space proportional to the rest of the chapter.⁶⁶ The description of Italy commences by outlining its continental edge, west to east (it refers to the Alps being where Italy *finishe*, 'ends'), followed by reference to two of its most important rivers: Po (Brunetto also gives the Latin, *Padus*), and *Rosnes* (= Rhône, for which Brunetto does not give the Latin *Rhenus* found in the *Imago mundi*).⁶⁷ The geographical course followed by Latini's description of Italy is as follows: Tuscany, Rome, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, Romagna, Lombardy, Treviso, Sardinia and Corsica, and, facing Italy, Istria (Figure 9).

Figure 9 shows that the sequence of regions in Brunetto Latini's description of Italy follows a complex pattern. Comparison with the *Imago mundi* sequence in Figure 8 establishes that the Latin text served as the base for Latini's description, starting in the north-west, and moving south, east, and north again, but turning back west before doing so. The major difference introduced by Latini is moving Rome from its original position at the head of the sequence to a medial position dictated by hodoeporical considerations, placing it between Tuscany and Campania. In other words, this represents a further development in the hodoeporical structuring of the account. If we take the *Imago mundi* (Figure 8) section numbers and put them in the order in which we find the information in Latini, we get: (3)–(4)–(2.1)–(1)–(2.2)–(2.3)–[new additions]–(2.4)–[new additions]. The main interruptions in this sequence in Latini's text are constituted by the insertion of Calabria, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia into the sequence, which create a westward move before and after the return north, resulting in an 8-shaped trajectory. This is caused by a fundamental departure from the

66 To illustrate the point, we might consider the proportions based on Carmody's edition; Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Francis Carmody (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948). Following the introduction of the region of Europe, which occupies just under four lines of the printed text, the discussion of Italy takes up 70 lines; Brunetto Latini, *Tresor*, ed. Carmody, pp. 115–17. The rest of Europe, including Greece, Germany, France, Spain, and Britain, occupy the remaining 100 lines (pp. 117–19).

67 Brunetto Latini, *Tresor*, ed. Carmody, p. 115.

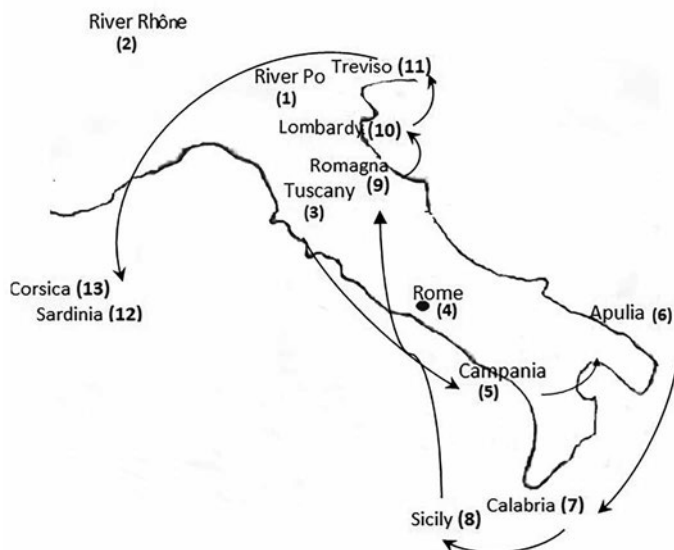


Figure 9: Map of Italy showing the order of description of its regions in the *Trésor*

basic structure of the Latin text, which – we must remember – had separated all Mediterranean Islands from its description of the mainland and had them as a separate fuzzy set.⁶⁸ Latini puts them back into Europe. Isolating all islands together into a separate section of the text, as in the *Imago mundi*, suited neither the purpose of Latini's new encyclopedia nor the new central focus that he introduced into his description of Italy.

It is tempting to read this trajectory in the context of the *Trésor*'s overriding obsession with ecclesiastical territorial structures (discussed in Chapter 3). While I would not wish to press the point too far, the 8-shaped trajectory through Italy resembles the movement of the hand making the sign of the cross, as if the territory is being blessed by the progress of the description. This interpretation of the trajectory is highly tentative, but given Latini's ecclesiastical focus in this text, perhaps not altogether fanciful.⁶⁹

Although, as has already been discussed above, medieval maps and geographical descriptions do not, as a rule, accord the same stress to borders and boundaries as modern descriptions do, the texts examined

68 See p. 121–27.

69 This special treatment of Italy in preference to other regions is not without parallel. One thinks in particular of the privileged depiction of Italy on the mural maps of the Vatican Terza Loggia, where it is one of only two regions in the world depicted entirely in gold. The other is the Holy Land. See discussion in Florio Bamfi, 'The Cosmographic Loggia of the Vatican Palace', *Imago mundi*, 9 (1952), 23–34 (p. 25).

in this chapter display an awareness of the distinction between different regions and areas. This awareness appears to be articulated primarily by means of hodoeporical description where different areas form re-orderable components in the itinerary across the world. The manipulation of this hodoeporical order, made possible by the flexible structure of the original text, appears to reflect regional interests and the context of production of each adaptation. The re-ordering of regions discussed is usually not the only change implemented and often goes hand-in-hand with other alterations, as with Latini's switch from the Roman imperial terminology of the *Imago mundi* to ecclesiastical terminology.

All texts examined here, apart from the fourteenth-century German translation of *Imago mundi*, demonstrate predilections towards particular regions through the process of rewriting the description to fit the home area of the text and its audience, which is likely to be connected to senses of regional identity.

