

PREFACE

THE WORLD IMAGE
EXPRESSED IN THE
RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM

By Wesley A. Brown

PHILIP LEE PHILLIPS SOCIETY
OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES, NO. 3

GEOGRAPHY AND MAP DIVISION

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

2000

5000

MASHINGTON D.C.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

GEOGRAPHY AND MAP DIVISION

OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES NO. 3

PHILIP LEE PHILLIPS SOCIETY

By Wesley A. Brown

FUNDAMENTAL NOTIONS

EXPRESSED IN THE

THE WORLD MAP

PREFACE

Attempts to describe the world in printed cartographic form appeared relatively quickly in Europe following the introduction of movable type printing by Gutenberg in the mid-15th century. Those first examples, before the appearance of the Ptolemaic atlases, included the very first printed map, the mappamundi drawn by Isidore, the seventh-century Bishop of Seville, in his *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx* (Augsburg, 1472). A stylized Mediterranean-centered world appeared with only the Eastern Hemisphere represented. The earliest printed maps were mappaemundi, which depicted a cartographic vision of a European-known world based on competing intellectual forces from biblical, classical, and contemporary sources. As is thoroughly discussed in Mr. Brown's paper, the 1475 *Rudimentum Novitiorum* and its important mappamundi provided one vision of the world known to Europe on the eve of Columbus' historical voyage of 1492. It was a vision that no doubt deeply influenced expectations and later explanations of even the most experienced explorers as they ventured into "new worlds" not registered in the existing lore.

The *Rudimentum Novitiorum's* mappamundi and the supportive descriptive text provided perhaps one of the earliest and certainly most complete descriptions of Europe's view of the world. While earlier manuscript text and mappaemundi existed with similar views, the printed form of the 1475 text and later French editions of 1488 and 1491 brought these world views to a much broader audience. The intention of this early printed work was to systematically describe a world with less detail to geographic location and scientific accuracy and more emphasis on social and spiritual relationships. The central core, the Mediterranean world, served as the point of reference outward, ultimately reaching out to the lost Paradise on earth, the Garden of Eden, from which all humankind issued. For the merchant traversing distant roads and waterways or the practical navigator, this map and book form had little relative value as their needs were met by a growing use of portolan charts and other navigational aids. But to those segments of society entrusted with the duty of saving souls, the *Rudimentum Novitiorum* did have value and fulfilled a need to classify and order the world of the Renaissance.

As we review Wes Brown's study, we might consider other cartographic forms of the same period, those cartographic devices, in manuscript form, intended for sea travel, business exchanges, determination of possession, and even conquest. It is with these maps and charts that the era of European exploration and discovery expanded in the late 15th century. Even these latter contributions, however, contain references based on the biblical and classical world represented in the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*. And so, the precision with which the earth is defined in cartographic terms, increasingly vital as Europe shifts from a Mediterranean world view to one dominated by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and American New World dependence, has as one of its lingering influences the information arranged in the *Rudimentum*. It is in this context that we welcome Wes Brown's occasional paper. I believe that you will find it fascinating, compelling, and enlightening, as we strive to understand and to appreciate a time when much less was known about the whole world.

With this contribution by Wes Brown, we bring to three the number of occasional papers prepared in the Phillips Society series. Mr. Brown has offered to us a descriptive study of the world map in the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, believed to be the second earliest map to appear in a printed work. This edition of the *Rudimentum*, and its subsequent French editions of 1488 and 1491 (entitled *La Mer des Hystoires*) referenced in his work, are found in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress. The presentation of Wes Brown's fine research contribution in this series fulfills our desire with the Phillips occasional papers, which is to represent scholarly research on cartographic items in the collections of the Library of Congress.

John Hébert, Chief, Geography and Map Division

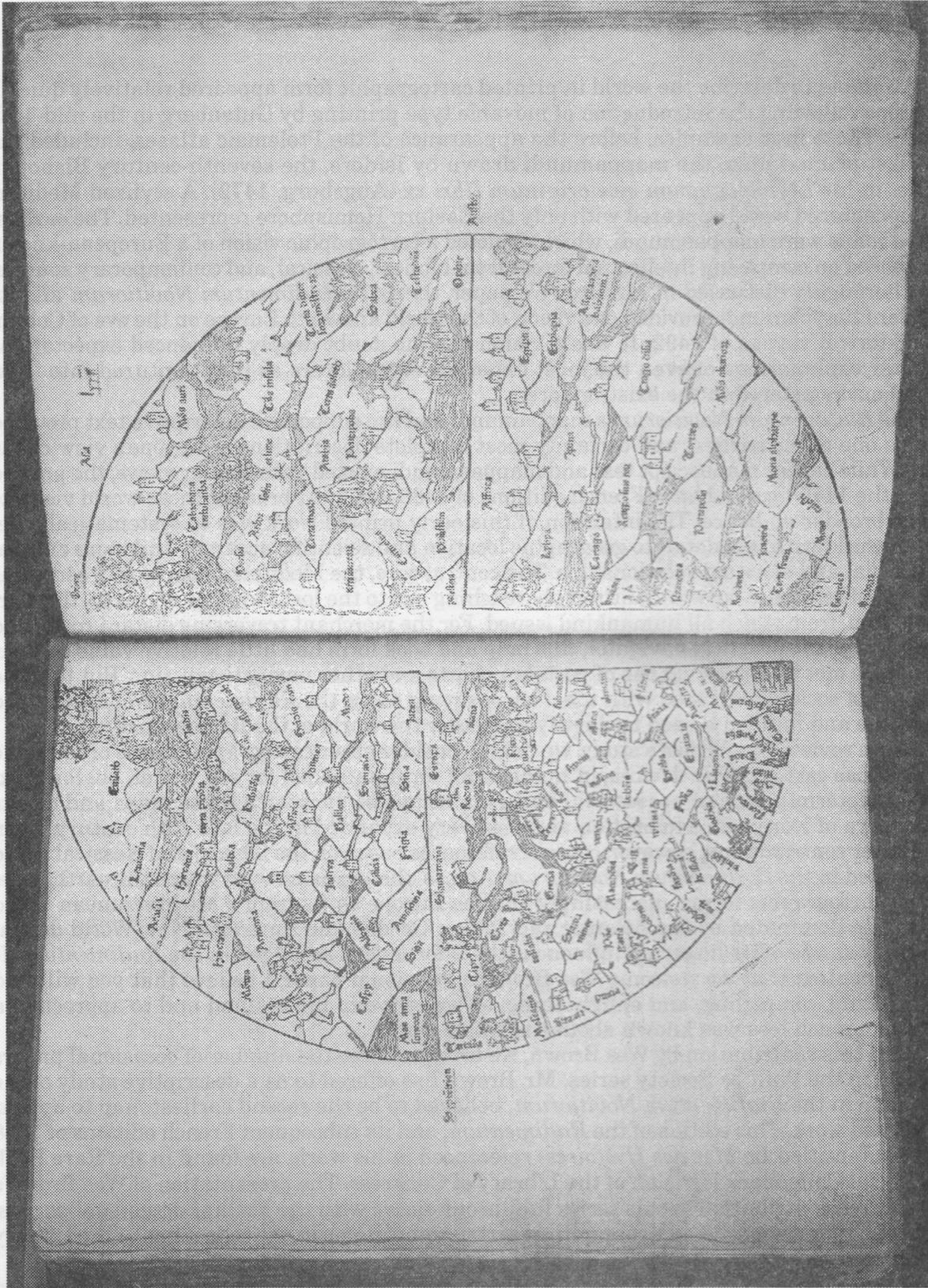


Figure 1. [Circular world map] in Rudimentum Novitiorum (Lubeck: Lucas Brandis, 1475). Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Rosenwald Collection, Incun. 1475.R8.

THE WORLD IMAGE EXPRESSED IN THE *RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM*¹

Wesley A. Brown

The *Rudimentum Novitorium*, printed in Lübeck, Germany, in 1475, contains a world map (figure 1) that is of primary importance to students of cartography for several reasons. First, the map appeared shortly after the publication of what is generally regarded as the first printed map, found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx* (1472). The Isidore world map (figure 2), however, is a simple diagram with only a few words, whereas the *Rudimentum* world map contains over 100 place-names and geographic features. The world map in the *Rudimentum* is the first detailed map that was printed, and therefore it can be considered the first true printed map in a modern sense. Second, the map is from a family of world maps following the Christian-based medieval model, known as mappae-mundi, which vary in detail from sketches with only a few legends to highly detailed designs of encyclopedic scope. Mappae-mundi were drawn from the late eighth century to around the time of the *Rudimentum* when a few printed examples were published.² Hence, the world map in the *Rudimentum* may be said to represent the conclusion of this very long tradition in cartography. Third, although the *Rudimentum* world map or its variants (printed through 1555) are very rare, examples are available for study in several major libraries and private collections.³ This is not true of the other maps of the medieval style which are unique or exist in only a few copies. Since the world map in the *Rudimentum* has been only briefly discussed in several books and articles, this paper provides a thorough and detailed analysis of this remarkable world map.

At first inspection, the world map (figure 1) appears to be a poor attempt to represent the geographic knowledge that was available toward the end of the 15th century. Outside the European quadrant, information came generally from ancient or biblical sources. More modern information from sources which could have been available to the mapmaker, such as the Latin manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geographia* which circulated after 1407, portolan charts of the early Renaissance, or 13th-century travelers' accounts to the East, were not incorporated in the map. Thus, the world map in the *Rudimentum* offers the student of cartography a printed map that is also a fascinating window into the mind of the medieval cartographer.

In addition to providing an overview of the book in which the map is contained, this essay also discusses the organization and contents of the map. First, it identifies several intriguing figures or images on the map. Because of the lack of geographic features, attention is then focused on the place-names; several appendixes have been added to assist in their review.⁴ To further explain the map, the essay explores not only the layout of the place-names, but also the history and myths the names evoke. The essay also reviews the identity of the book's author and mapmaker, concluding that the two were probably not the same. The mapmaker's sources are investigated, suggesting that his principal sources were works by Pliny, Isidore, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and John Mandeville. The map's similarity to other maps is explored without finding any close connection, substantiating the conclusion

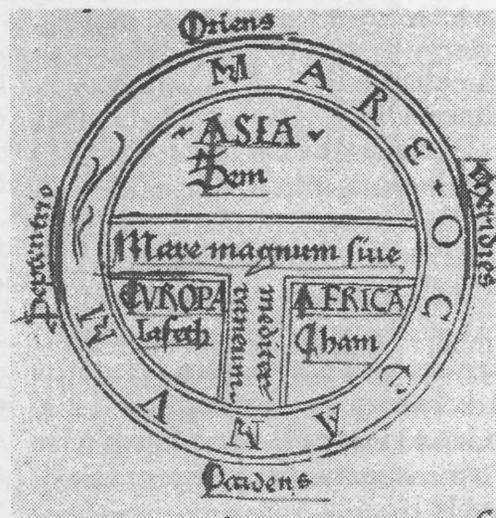


Figure 2. The classic example of a T-O world map is the earliest printed map, which appeared in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx* (Augsburg: Gunther Zainer, 1472). Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Vollbehr Collection, H9273.

that the mapmaker's sources were primarily textual rather than cartographic, which helps explain the unrealistic appearance of the map.

The *Rudimentum Novitiorum*

The work in which the map appeared is a large, very weighty folio volume.⁵ Some of the pages are illustrated with woodcuts, and blank spaces have been left for illuminators to add decorative initial letters. The authorship of the *Rudimentum* is unknown, but it was certainly created by a very learned man, probably a priest, given its theological orientation. August Potthast suggests that the author was a Franciscan, and Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken proposes a possible link with the Lübeck Minorite monastery.⁶ The detailed geographic description of the local topography and the characterization of the Germans as "strong, courageous and proud, handsome, fair of countenance, well-formed, with beautiful yellow hair . . . generous, gay and joyous,"⁷ indicates the author may have been from northern Germany. Edith Wright provides the following insights about the author:

A clerical view-point is reflected in the discussion of such problems as whether it is sinful to make use of tapestries and embroideries. The author decides that they may legitimately be employed as church ornaments, but that the low-cut embroidered blouses of Spain are an incitement to immorality. However, he is not puritanical; men and women should dress according to their position in life and the customs of the court. As for dice, chess, and checkers, they are "causes of perjury, blasphemy, and curses, of discord and anger," yet at times they may serve "to comfort human nature, pass the time, and drive away melancholy and sadness."⁸

The title *Rudimentum Novitiorum* [Elementary Book for Beginners] suggests that the work was written for the instruction of young clerics. The book contains helpful hints about decorum such as "Aesop's fables may sometimes be used in sermons to combat boredom, though care must be taken that they do not provoke laughter, instead of the tears and repentance which are appropriate in church. But the *Rudimentum* was not meant exclusively for the clergy. . . . [In the introduction, the author states] the book may teach wisdom and give examples of deeds to imitate or avoid. The recital of biblical events will serve the poor man who has no library, and the layman who objects to long accounts."⁹

Following the model of six ages or eras for the chronicles of history introduced by Isidore, the learned Bishop of Seville, the *Rudimentum* begins with the Creation. The second age opens with Noah, the third with Abraham, the fourth with David, the fifth with the destruction of Judea, and the sixth with the birth of Jesus. The book also includes a history of the martyrs, popes, kings, and scholars.¹⁰ Of particular interest for students of cartography are the second and third ages of the book. The second age contains a geographical dictionary and the world map, and the third age includes a long description of the Holy Land, based on the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1283) by Burchard of Monte Sion, and a map of the Holy Land (figure 3).¹¹

Although the *Rudimentum's* author is unknown, we do know that the work was printed by Lucas Brandis in Lübeck, Germany. According to the colophon, it was completed on August 5, 1475. It is not certain who created the maps of the world and the Holy Land, but it is possibly Brandis.

The *Rudimentum*, published in Latin, was never reprinted. However, *La mer des hystoires* [The Sea of History], a French translation largely of the *Rudimentum*, was first published in Paris in 1488 and in Lyon in 1491; it also contains versions of the world and Holy Land maps.¹² The 1488 French version is much more ornately illustrated than its Latin forebear. Indeed, A. Claudin, the expert on French illustrated books, calls *La mer des hystoires* "the most beautiful French illustrated book of the fifteenth century."¹³



Figure 3. [Palestine map] in Rudimentum Novitiorum (Lübeck: Lucas Brandis, 1475). Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Rosenwald Collection, Incun. 1475.R8.

The World Map of the *Rudimentum Novitiorum* and *La mer des hystoires*

The world map that appears in the *Rudimentum* is circular and is 374 mm in diameter. In the 1488 (Paris) edition of *La mer des hystoires*, where it also is found, it is 362 mm in diameter and in the 1491 and 1506 (Lyon) editions it is 309 mm (figures 4 and 5).¹⁴ The map follows the essential tenets of a T-O map as exemplified by the Isidore of Seville version (figure 2): it is circular; East is at the top; the three continents are in the T-O relationship with Asia the top half, Europe the bottom left quarter, and Africa the bottom right quarter.¹⁵ The circular form of the map is not inconsistent with either flat or spherical earth conceptions. However, as will be discussed later, John Mandeville and Pliny the Elder (probably prime sources for the map's creator) each describe the earth as spherical in shape. The author most likely viewed the earth in the same fashion.

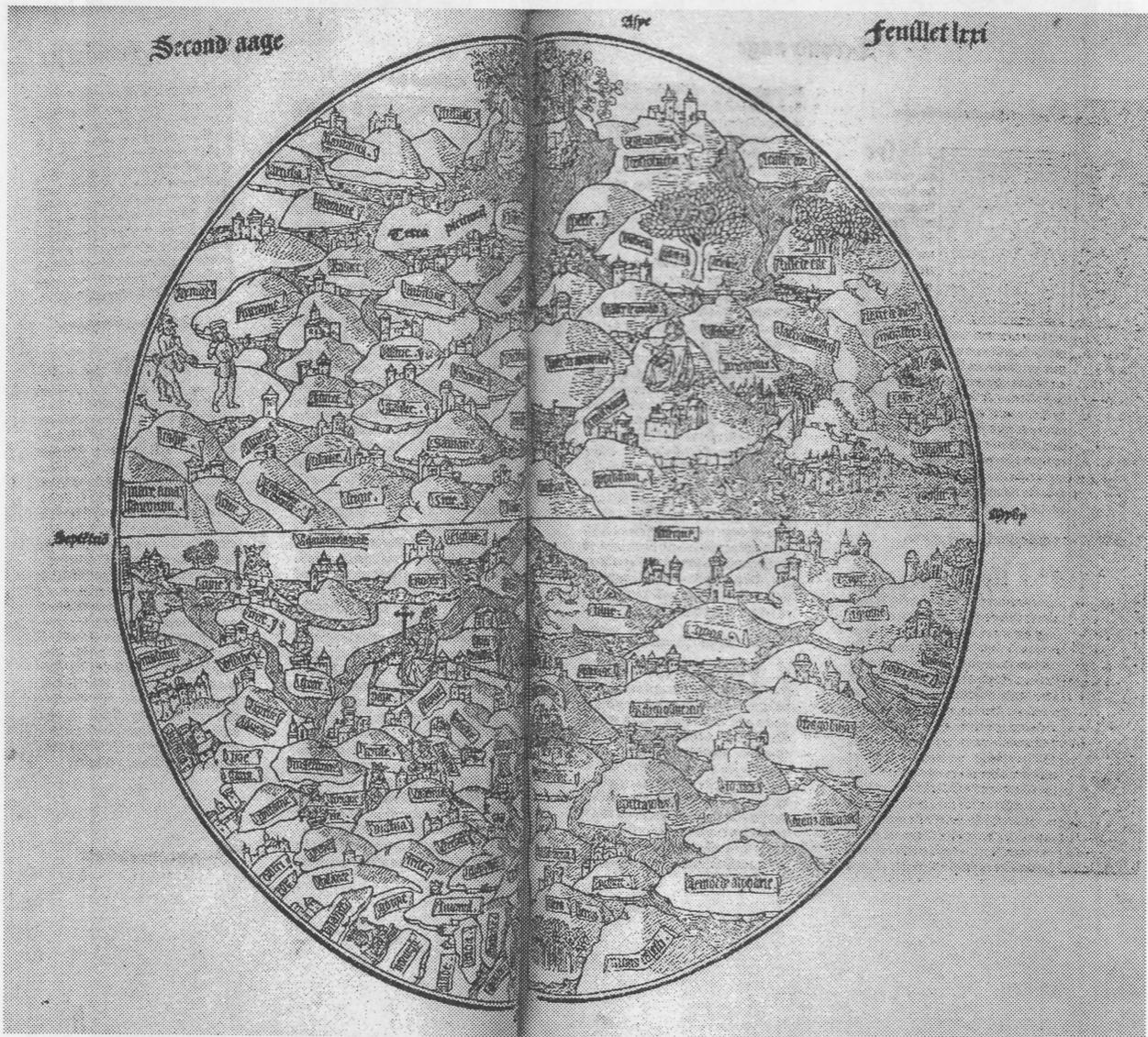


Figure 4. The circular world map, which appeared in the French edition of *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, first published in Paris in 1488. In *La mer des hystoires* (Paris: Pierre Le Rouge, 1488). Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Thatcher Collection, Incun. 1488.R8.

One would expect the *Rudimentum*, as a medieval encyclopedic work, to contain a traditional T-O map in the geographic section. It is, therefore, of interest that the author created an unusual map in which he attempted to put extensive geographical information within the strangling T-O confines. The names of countries are placed on what appear to be hills, almost every hill is identified by a woodcut legend, and many of the hills are surmounted by an architectural design, usually a simple tower or two but occasionally a group of buildings. In Europe, eight countries are adorned with busts, presumably of their sovereigns, and the Pope reigns in Rome, wearing what appears to be a tiara. Although the place-names are usually accurately organized by continent, the location in which they appear is often incorrect. For example, Crete is north of Rome.

The author omits the familiar dividing bodies of water of earlier T-O maps, yet keeps the three continents in the T-O land format. Although we do not see the Mediterranean, it is

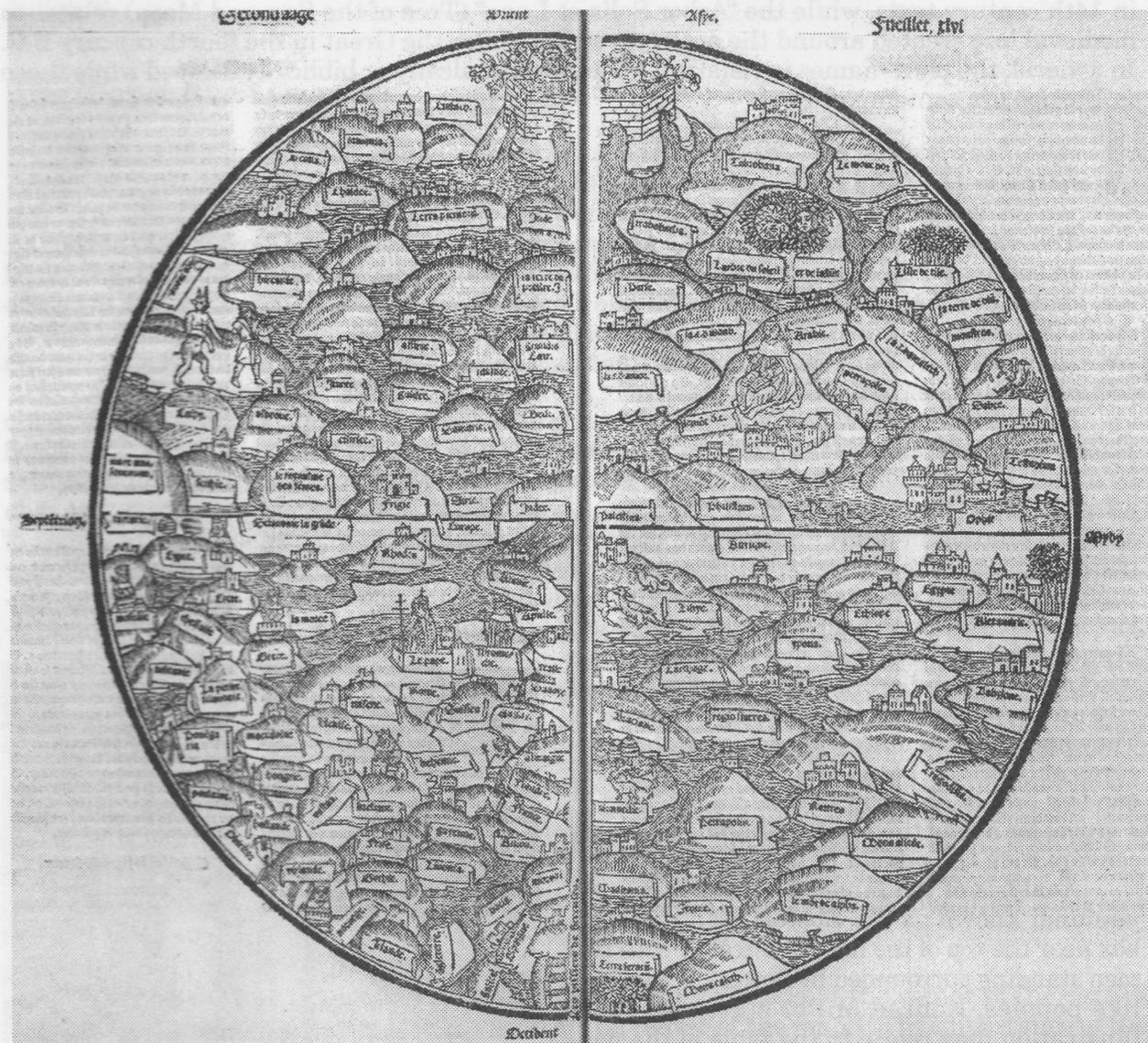


Figure 5. The circular world map, which appeared in subsequent French editions of *Rudimentum Novitiorum* first published in Lyon in 1491. In *La mer des hystoires* (Lyon: Imprime par Claude Daoust al's de Troye, pour J. Dymatier, 1506). Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Rosenwald Collection, D17.R4 1506.

imagined to divide Europe from Africa. On most other T-O designs, Europe is separated from Asia by the Don River north of the Black Sea, and Africa is separated from Asia by the Nile south of the Mediterranean. Despite the omissions of these seas and rivers, the map abounds in water; most of the countries are separated by large streams. The four rivers of Paradise appear to flow from Eden at the top, the eastern extreme of the map. But only one body of water is named: "Ma[r]e Amasoneorum."

As is common on medieval maps, particularly those illustrating chronicles of history such as the *Rudimentum*, place-names and marvels that existed at vastly different times in history are shown. Such maps may be thought of as visual or cartographic encyclopaedias. For example, on this map relatively modern place-names at the time of printing, such as "Prucia" and "Tartarea," are shown along with ancient names such as "Frigia," which refers to the ancient land of the Phrygians in Asia Minor whose communities only existed until about 550 B.C. The marvels on this map include the Devil, whose image relates to a tale which survives in 14th century texts, while the "Arbor Solis et Lune" (Tree of the Sun and Moon) relates to medieval lore created around the accounts of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. In general, the place-names in Asia and Africa are classically or biblically derived while those in Europe are contemporary.

Asia (Upper Half)

The upper half of the map depicts Asia, which is named just outside the circle at the top. The selection of place-names in these two quadrants provides evidence of the substantial knowledge of the time regarding the Middle East but the sketchy knowledge of what lay beyond. Of the 38 identified place-names in Asia, 30 are within 1,500 miles of the eastern Mediterranean coast. Only eight are in more distant parts of Asia, even though this area represents roughly 85 percent of Asia's land mass.

Following a medieval cartographical tradition based on Genesis, the image of Paradise is placed to the extreme East at the top of the map, its hierarchical apex.¹⁶ Paradise is enclosed by a wall, and also following Genesis, the four rivers (Ganges, Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates) are pouring out to fill the rivers of all nations. Although Adam and Eve are not shown, two men appear standing in a large castle-like enclosure, surrounded by plants and holding stems of plants (figure 6). The identity of these men and their significance remain a mystery. H. Winter suggests that the men are holding the olive branch of peace reflecting the writings of the Majorcan scholar Ramon Lull (b. 1235), who described a Christian and a Jew living in mutual tolerance. Lull writes, "two men of marvellous wisdom, a Jew and a Christian, lived in a great city and esteemed each other in glowing love. They undertook to unite themselves in the pleasures of (worldly) goods and the love of God in one law and in one road to wisdom . . . [and in a grove] for a long time they disputed in friendly conversation the advent of the Messias."¹⁷

Analysis of the famed 13th-century map-pamundi known as the Ebstorf map reveals a box near the top of the map illustrated with two men standing surrounded by flowers, which look like poppies. Konrad Miller states that this illustration may relate to the fable of the poppies that Darius sent to Alexander and the peppercorn that Alexander returned. According

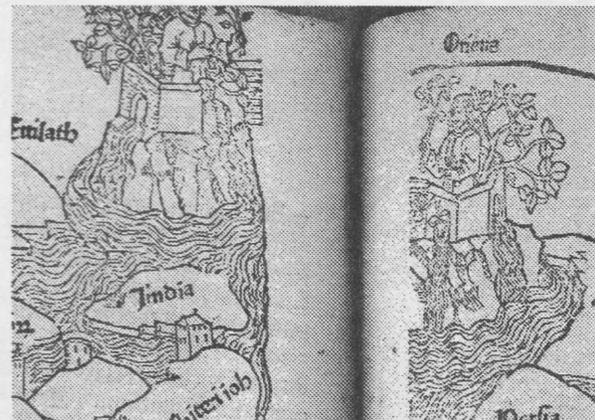


Figure 6. Detail showing the image of Paradise, circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

to Miller, the poppies represent the uncountable multitudes of people.¹⁸ Although it is possible that the two men in the enclosure surrounded by flowers in the *Rudimentum* are Darius and Alexander, this is unlikely because the Alexander legend clearly indicates that Alexander never made it to Paradise.¹⁹

There is a third and most likely explanation for these figures. Only two men in the Bible were so righteous as to be taken up by God without having to die: Enoch and Elijah.²⁰ According to some Christian texts, both men were transported to Paradise and many expected that Enoch and Elijah would return to the earth before the Last Judgement. Given the biblical orientation of the world map in the *Rudimentum*, these two men in the enclosure may well be Enoch and Elijah. Further support for this thesis comes from the manuscript world map of Lambert of Saint-Omer (c. 1120). A peninsula to the extreme East shows the four rivers flowing to the mainland, and a legend describes Paradise as the resting place of Enoch and Elijah.²¹

Asia (Upper Right Quarter)

To the right of Paradise in the upper right quarter (figure 7) is "Tabrobana" (either Sri Lanka or Sumatra), which was greatly exaggerated in size in early maps. The extreme southern location of Taprobana near the equator was described in early geographies. An example comes from Isidore: "One part is occupied by savage beasts and elephants and the other by men. They say that on this island, most years there are two summers and two winters, and the region is covered in flowers twice over."²² Near "Tabrobana" to the south is "Mons Auri," the only hill highlighted in yellow on the colored map of the *Rudimentum* which is in the British Library. This place-name is a reference to the Mountains of Gold located in the distant reaches of India near Eden. Isidore writes, "The mountains of gold are there where it is impossible for men to approach because of dragons, griffins and human monsters."²³ To the south is "Tile insula," the island near India. Shown just above is the great forest of Tile described by Isidore as "never without leaves on its trees."²⁴

Nearby in Asia is the "Arbor Solis et Lune" (Tree of the Sun and Moon) which derives from the ever-popular legend of Alexander the Great. According to Suárez, "This oracular tree was shown to Alexander the Great while far into his conquest of the East. At dusk, the Sun Tree (which was masculine) and the Moon Tree (which was feminine) spoke to Alexander in an Indian language. He ordered the townsfolk to translate the trees' words, but they refused, for the trees had foretold of Alexander's death. In another version of the story, the two trees also spoke Greek, and told Alexander that he would die in May in Babylon by the hand of one of his own people, but refused to alter fate by revealing the name of the traitor."²⁵ The essence of the prophecy was fulfilled; Alexander died in Babylon in 323 B.C. of fever at the age of 32. John Mandeville adds this note about the Tree of the Sun and Moon: "And men say that the folk that keep those trees, and eat of the fruit and of the balm that groweth there, live well four hundred year or five hundred year, by virtue of the fruit and of the balm."²⁶ John Mandeville, an Englishman and self-proclaimed world traveler, who may have been better read than traveled and whose very name may be an invention, allegedly produced a journal of travels around 1356, which was extremely popular in the later Middle Ages.

The map depicts the medieval belief that the Holy Land is at the center of the earth's landmass by placing "palestina" (Palestine) at the center of the map.²⁷ The importance of the Holy Land is indicated by the many related place-names nearby. In the upper right quarter, there is "Carmelus," referring to the group of mountains northwest of Israel near the Mediterranean; "Phylistiim," a southern coastal portion of Palestine; and "Terra Moab," a region east

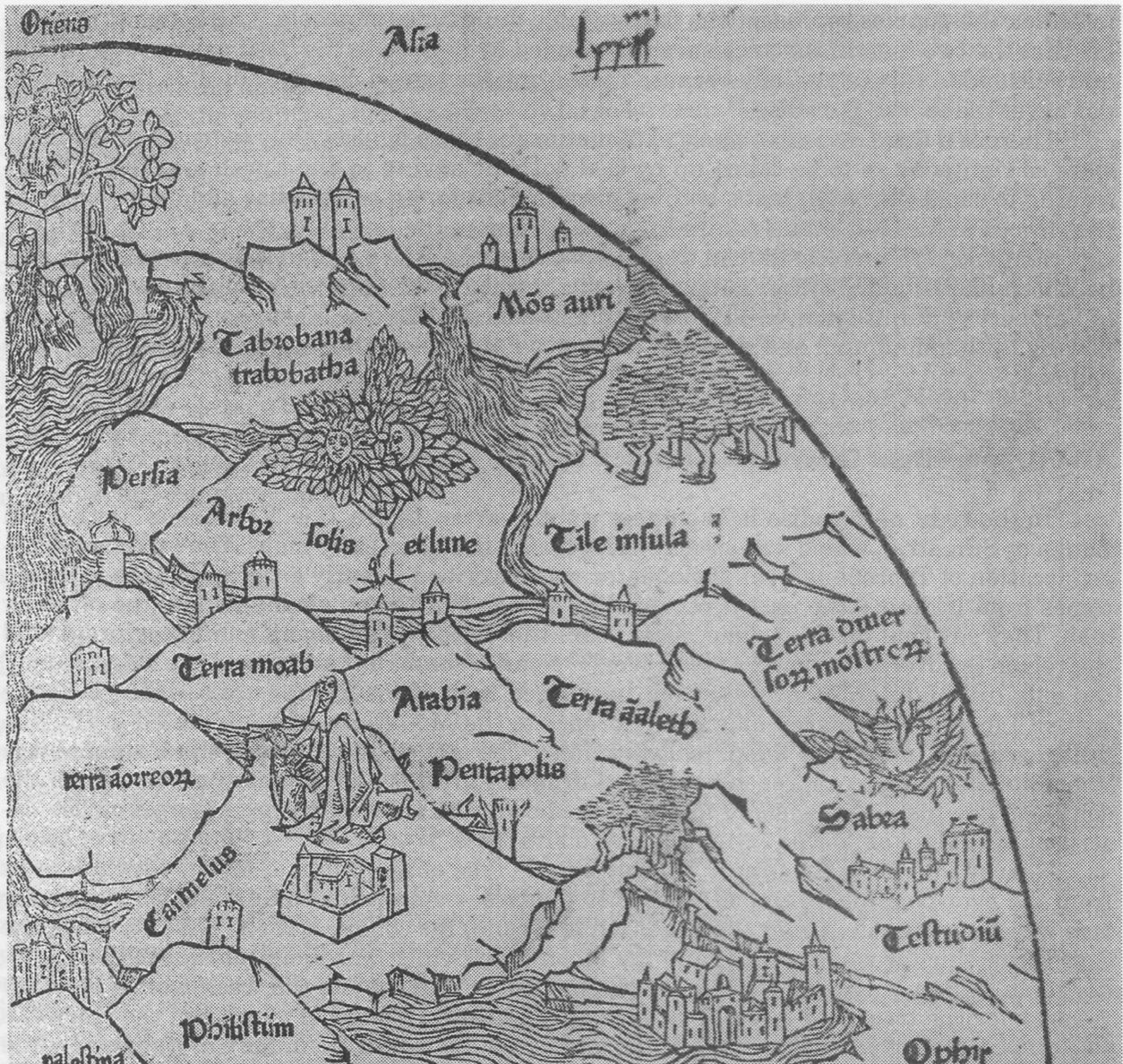


Figure 7. Upper right quarter (Asia), circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

of the Dead Sea now in Jordan and home of Semitic people descended from Lot. In the upper left quarter is "Judea," "Siria" (Syria), "Samaria," "Galilea," and "Idumea," a biblical land between Mount Sinai and Canaan. Indeed, of the 38 identified place-names in all of Asia, 20 are mentioned in the Bible, which is given as a geographical source in the text of the *Rudimentum*.

Between Palestine and Arabia is a large seated man in religious garb holding a book. This figure may represent Saint Jerome (347–420), a great biblical scholar of the early Christian church. He was a brilliant theologian, and expert in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. His translation of the early canonical writings produced the document that became the Latin Vulgate Bible, the standard version of the Bible until the Reformation. His placement on the map near Arabia may relate to his extensive travel in the Middle East, including several years spent in solitude in the desert before he founded a monastery at Bethlehem where

he and his followers applied themselves to translating and copying classical works and the scriptures.

In the lower right corner of the upper right quarter is "Ophir," a region famous for its gold and other precious goods during biblical times. King Solomon, David's son who is traditionally regarded as the greatest king of Israel, is reported to have traded there in the 10th century B.C.²⁸ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, writing in 1260, describes Ophir as "the golden land" but dangerous due to beastly hazards: "And so there dare no man come but in this manner: a ship standing near the cliff, and men go on land and gather the earth that lyons and other beasts dig with their claws, and take the earth to the ship. And if they see that beasts come they take to sea with haste."²⁹ Because there was uncertainty as to where Ophir was, the mapmaker placed it in the map's extreme south between Asia and Africa. Many locations on the Arabian Peninsula have been proposed as its site, as well as some in India, Southeast Asia, and places on the east coast of Africa.

Just above "Ophir" is the place-name "Testudinum" (Testudo means tortoise shell). This place-name probably relates to an obscure myth: "The Indian Ocean brings forth turtles, from the shells of which men make spacious dwellings for themselves."³⁰ These words can be found on the immense Ebstorf map of the mid-13th century and also in the text of the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis written around 1110.³¹ To the left (north) of "Ophir," we see a large city on the shore of the Mediterranean. This is probably Acre, a very important city early in the second millennium, which served as the principal port in the Levant for the Crusaders.³²

Just above and to the left of presumed Acre is a city named "Pentapolis." The Christian historian Orosius (ca. 418) described Pentapolis as an early name of a Middle Eastern region of five cities located between Palestine and Arabia: Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama, Soboim, and Zoar.³³ The region made poor use of its blessings for "an abundance of riches was the cause of evils . . . So God, becoming enraged, poured fire and brimstone down upon this land."³⁴ The city in flames is depicted sinking into the landscape.

To the right (south) of "Pentapolis" (near the edge of the circle), the phoenix, which was commonly thought to live in Arabia, can be seen amid flames. John Mandeville describes this scene: "And at the five hundred years' end, the priests array their altar honestly, and put thereupon spices and sulphur and other things that will burn lightly; and then the bird phoenix commeth and burneth himself to ashes. And the first day next after, men find in the ashes a worm; and the second day next after, men find a bird quick and perfect; and the third day next after, he flieth his way."³⁵

"Sabea," placed just below the phoenix on the map, refers to a region (often Saba) in eastern Arabia, or Persia. In his account, Marco Polo noted that in a town near Sabea, the inhabitants worship the fire of God. According to legend, after the three kings gave their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, the infant Christ gave them a little box, which he commanded them not to open. At first they obeyed, but as they approached home, they decided to look inside the box. In it, they found only a stone, which they cast into a well. Fire then descended from Heaven and burnt the well. The kings, seeing this, took the same flame to each of their countries where it burns to this day. But Polo insists that this legend represents "lies upon lies, as the vulgar people without knowledge are accustomed to do."³⁶

On the far right (south), just above the phoenix, is an open area labeled "Terra diversorum monstorum" in the 1475 edition and "Terre de divs monstres" in the 1488 edition. Both phrases translate as "land of diverse monsters" and probably refer to a common feature on medieval maps: an assortment of depictions of freaks based upon the writings of Pliny in the first century and Solinus in the third. In many mappaemundi, the freaks and horrors are shown along the right edge (southern extreme) of Asia and Africa, consistent with the placement on the *Rudimentum* map.

Asia (Upper Left Quarter)

The grouping of place-names in the upper left quarter (figure 8) may seem irrational today, but it does follow contemporary accounts. For example, in the lower left (extreme north-west) corner of Asia can be seen "Ma(r)e amaseonorum" (the Sea of the Amazons), "Casp" (Caspian Sea), "Albania," "Sicia" (Scythia, then Russia), and "Amasonia." All these places are described in a single paragraph by John Mandeville: "And toward the sea Ocean in Ind[ia] is the kingdom of Scythia, that is all closed with hills. And after, under Scythia, and from the sea of Caspian unto the flom of Thainy is Amazonia, that is the land of feminye, where that no man is, but only all women. And after is Albania, a full great realm; and it is clept [called] Albania, because that the folk be whiter there than in other marches there-about."³⁷

"Ma(r)e amaseonorum" and nearby "Amasonia" derive from the myth of a land peopled only by women. Columbus is responsible for transferring this myth to the new world when he described the island Matinina (presumably Martinique and also depicted on the Ruysch map of 1507)³⁸ in the log of his first voyage. Mandeville gives an interesting description of the tradition's origin.

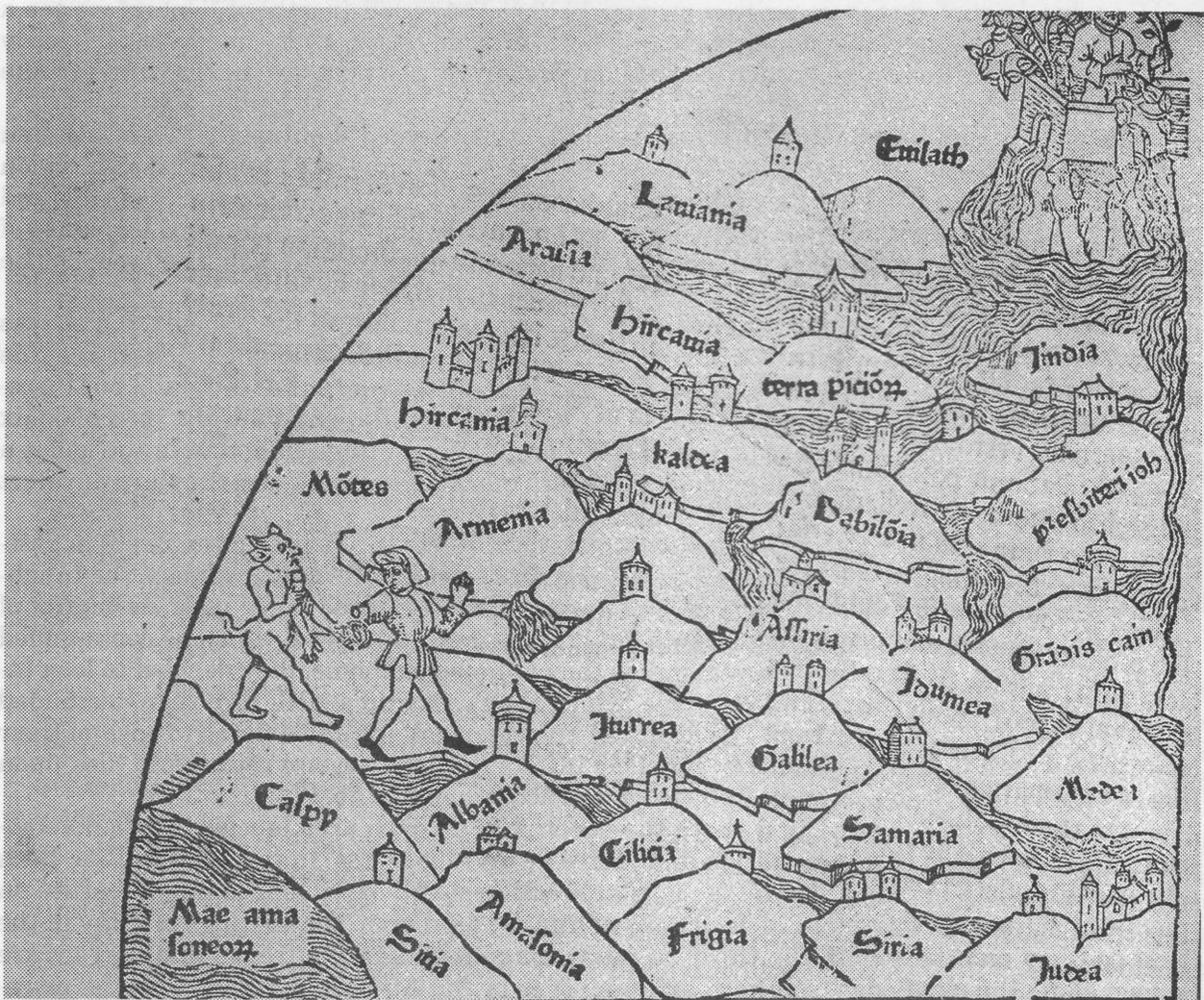


Figure 8. Upper left quarter (Asia), circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

For sometime there was a king in that country [Amazonia]. And men married, as in other countries. And so befell that the king had war with them of Scythia, the which king . . . was slain in battle, and all the good blood of the realm. And when the queen and all the other noble ladies saw that they were all widows, and that all the royal blood was lost, they armed them and, as creatures of wit, they slew all the men of the country that were left . . . And from that time hitherwards they never would suffer man to dwell amongst them longer than seven days and seven nights; ne that no child that were male should dwell amongst them longer than he were nourished; and then sent to his father.³⁹

The fierce warrior tradition of the Amazon women is amplified by Mandeville: "And always they make their queen by election that is most worthy in arms; for they be right good warriors and . . . wise, noble and worthy." Apparently the women would go to great lengths to enhance their military abilities: "And if it be a woman of great lineage they do away the left pap [breast] that they may the better bear a shield. And if it be a woman on foot they do away the right pap, for to shoot with bow turkeys: for they shoot well with bows."⁴⁰

One suspects that the body of water named "Ma(r)e Amasoneorum" with "Caspy" nearby is a representation of the Caspian Sea. Mandeville's description of Amazonia as an island near the Caspian supports this idea. "Caspy" could refer to the body of water, to Caspii (the ancient name of the tribes that lived near the Caspian Sea), or to Mt. Elbruz. However, the presence of "hircania" twice in the same quadrant is perplexing because Hyrcania is another name sometimes used for the Caspian, although neither "hircania" is near "Caspy" or "Ma(r)e Amasoneorum."⁴¹

The depiction of the open sea on the edge of the map leads one to question if the author intended the Caspian as an inland sea or a gulf from the great northern outer ocean. Most medieval maps before 1400 show the Caspian as a gulf; no doubt the map's creators were supported by such widely read authorities as Pliny, Strabo, Orosius, and Isidore. Friar William of Rubruck, in the mid-13th century, corrects this misconception from first hand exploration. According to William, "One can travel around the sea in four months. What Isidore says, to the effect that it is a gulf extending inland from the Ocean, is incorrect."⁴² Mandeville also describes the Caspian as a "lake, the greatest in the world."⁴³ Yet, it is the developing awareness throughout the 1400s of the Ptolemaic manuscripts, describing the Caspian as a sea, that probably brought this correct view onto most maps in the 15th century. Despite the map's date of 1475, it seems to be based on earlier traditional information, supporting the view that the map's creator believed the Caspian was a gulf. On the one hand, the open body of water on the edge could indicate his intent to show it as a gulf. On the other hand, in the *Rudimentum's* text, the Caspian is mentioned as a sea in the description of Hyrcania. Because the creator of the *Rudimentum* map relied on several contradictory sources concerning the shape of the Caspian and because the shape of the Caspian is unspecified on the map, we cannot be certain of his intent.

On the left edge of the Upper Left Quarter above the place-name "Caspy" is the Devil (figure 9). He is shown holding an arm, which he has just taken from the man standing in front of him. In medieval times, travelers greatly



Figure 9. Detail showing the image of the Devil, circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

feared the Devil. Mandeville noted that the Valley of Devils, or Valley Perilous, was in *Mistorak* (Armenia, shown just next to this scene). "And in summer . . . fall many tempests and many hideous thunders and leits and slay much people and beasts also full often-time . . . and it is the foulest country and the most cursed and the poorest that men know."⁴⁴ "This Val[ley] is full of devils, and hath been always."⁴⁵ In the *Rudimentum* and in each edition of *La mer des hystoires*, the Devil appears to be holding a ring toward his victim. Mandeville states: "And thus we passed the perilous vale, and found therein gold and silver, and precious stones and rich jewels, great plenty, both here and there, as us seemed. But whether that it was, as us seemed, I wot never. For I touched none, because that the devils be so subtle to make a thing to seem otherwise than it is, for to deceive mankind."⁴⁶ This scene likely depicts the fate of one who succumbs to the temptation of the Devil.

"Armenia," which has a long and colorful history, was founded by Haig, a descendant of Noah. The name refers to the kingdom in Asia Minor composed of eastern Turkey, modern Armenia, and parts of northern Iran. Armenia is believed to be the oldest Christian state, dating from the third century. Mandeville describes the tale of the fair lady who will give an earthly wish to whoever watches a certain sparrow hawk for seven days. The king of Armenia, having accomplished the task, asked not for an earthly thing, for he had enough worldly riches, but instead "for the body of the fair lady, to have it at his will . . . [And the lady answered] 'Sith that I may not withdraw you from your lewd corage, I shall give you your wishing, and to all them that shall come of you. Sir King! ye shall have war without peace, and always to the nine degree, ye shall be in subjection of your enemies, and ye shall be needy of all goods.' And never since, neither the King of Armenia nor the country were never in peace."⁴⁷

To the left of "Armenia" is a hill entitled "Montes," which possibly refers to Mt. Ararat, known during medieval times as the Mountain of Armenia, the biblical site where Noah's ark came to rest. Alternatively, based on adjacent place-names, it may refer to the Caucasus Range.

On the right edge of the upper left quarter is the legend "Grandis cain," a reference to the Great Khan in distant Asia. He is much written about in the Middle Ages and the wealth of this ruler is often described as in the following passage written by Friar Odoric recording his journey to the Orient in 1330. "When it pleases the Great Can to solemnize a feast, he hath about him 14,000 barons, carrying wreaths and little crowns upon their heads, and giving attendance upon their lord, and every one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious stones, which is worth ten thousand florins."⁴⁸ Odoric's description of one of the Great Khan's wealthy subjects is intriguing.

While I was in the province of Mancy, I passed by the palace of a certain famous man, which hath fifty virgin damsels continually attending upon him, feeding him every meal, as a bird feeds her young ones. Also he hath sundry kinds of meat served in at his table, and three dishes of each kind: and when the said virgins feed him, they sing most sweetly . . . His palace is two miles in circuit, the pavement whereof is one place of gold, and another of silver . . . It is accounted a great grace for the men of that country to have long nails upon their fingers, and especially upon their thumbs, which nails they may fold about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to have small and slender feet; and therefore the mothers when their daughters are young, do bind up their feet, that they may not grow great.⁴⁹

In the central part of the upper left quarter near "Babilonia" is "Kaldea." Although placed north of India, this place-name probably refers to Chaldea, a country adjoining the deserts of Arabia and included in the wider extent of ancient Babilonia. Friar Odoric gives a description: "From thence, I travelled into Chaldea, which is a great kingdom, and I passed by the

tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar unto itself, and there are beautiful men, and deformed women. The men of the same country use to have their hair kempt and trimmed like unto women: and they wear golden turbans upon their heads richly set with pearl, and precious stones. The women are clad in a coarse smock only reaching to their knees, and having long sleeves hanging down to the ground."⁵⁰

One might expect a reference to China in the upper left quarter near Paradise. The name Cathay was first used to describe northern China by John of Plano Carpini.⁵¹ Friar John was the first emissary of Pope Innocent IV sent after the rise of the Mongol Empire to establish relations with the Great Khan (traveled 1245 to 1247). The name Cathay does not appear on the map and rarely appears on any map of the 15th century since knowledge of the writings of Carpini, Rubruck, Polo, and Odoric was limited. "Laniaania," placed near the top of the map, may have a connection to China. Linchi was a medieval region and town at the confluence of the two major tributaries of the Chiang River. This important trade center received the status of an independent prefecture at various times in the late Middle Ages. Pliny describes Lanos as the third major river in China.⁵² Perhaps the author's place-name "Laniaania" is a reference to this region or all of China. Pliny describes the Chinese, whom he calls Seres, with this remark: "The Seres, though mild in character, yet resemble wild animals, in that they also shun the company of the remainder of mankind, and wait for trade to come to them."⁵³ The use of "Laniaania" instead of Seres is curious because "Laniaania" is not mentioned in the geographical dictionary of the text, but Seres is. "Laniaania" may instead derive from Mandeville who describes Lanteryn as a great city on the Yellow River in Cathay. "Laniaania" might also be a corruption of Lanna, which according to Thomas Suárez, is found on the Ruysch and other maps of the Renaissance. He has identified Lanna as Lan Na, the Old Kingdom in what is now the north of Thailand (Chiang Mai).⁵⁴

The place-name "Evilath" appears next to "Laniaania" just to the left of Paradise to the extreme east. This obscure place-name is also found far to the east on the Cotton "Anglo-Saxon" world map (ca. 995). A variant of this place-name is used by John Marignolli in his notes about his travels to the East around 1340. He describes Evilach as the region near the source of the Ganges as it goes from India into Cathay.⁵⁵ Indeed, on the map in the *Rudimentum*, India is depicted further down the river's course. Genesis describes the country of Havilah as the first watered by the Ganges as it leaves Paradise. "Evilath" is likely a corruption of Havilah and derived from this biblical source.⁵⁶

One cannot conclude a discussion of the Asian quadrants without reference to the place-name "Presbiteri joh" located between the "Grandis cain" (Great Khan) and "India" on the right side of the upper left quarter. This place-name is a reference to Prester John, of mythical fame, who founded the Christian kingdom of Kara Khita in some mysterious eastern land. The legend of Prester John appears in the writings of Otto of Freising, who in 1158 describes him as having won a great victory over the Persians; he presumably is referring to the battle won by Khan Ye-lu-ta-shih over the Sultan Sanjar of Persia in 1141. Although the Khan was not a Christian, it was assumed in Europe that he must be of the Christian faith because of his opposition to Islam. Otto knew of this victory from a Syrian bishop who reported that Prester John was the Nestorian king of a country situated in the Far East and that he possessed fabulous wealth. With this begins the myth of Prester John, a welcome ally in the fight against the infidel. If the crusaders could only join up with Prester John's armies somewhere in the East, the Islamic forces could be destroyed. The flames of the legend are fanned by the circulation of a famous forgery, a letter to Manuel I, emperor of Byzantium, from the mysterious Prester John, who was represented as ruling over the three Indias.⁵⁷ In it, the author states:

If indeed you wish to know the greatness and excellence of our majesty and what countries are subject to our lordship, understand and believe without

doubt that, as Prester John, I am lord of lords, I surpass under heaven in riches and in virtue and power other kings who are upon the whole earth. Seventy-two kings are our tributaries. Our magnificence dominates the Three Indias and extends to Further India . . . When we ride forth to war against our enemies we have carried before us in each wagon, in place of banners, thirteen great and lofty crosses made of gold and precious stones, and each of these is followed by ten thousand mounted soldiers and one hundred thousand armed foot-soldiers.⁵⁸

According to the apocryphal letter, not only was the might of Prester John great but other advantages benefited his patrons. "Our bed is of sapphire on account of its virtue of chastity. We possess the most beautiful women, but they do not approach us except four times in the year and then for the procreation of sons, and when they have been sanctified by us, as Bathsheba was by David, each one returns to her place . . . Thirty thousand men dine at our table daily, not counting those who come and go . . . This table is made of precious emerald, and two columns of amethyst support it. The virtue of this stone is that no one sitting at the table can become inebriated."⁵⁹ As for clothing, "There is a kind of worm there which in our tongue are called salamanders. These worms can only live in fire, and make a skin around them as the silkworm does. This skin is carefully spun by the ladies of our palace, and from it we have cloth for our common use. When we wish to wash the garments made of this cloth, we put them into fire, and they come forth fresh and clean."⁶⁰

These tales are indeed fanciful, but people with a tradition of limited inquiry, who had seldom been far from home and lived in a totally spiritually-based world, believed such stories for hundreds of years. So widespread was the myth of Prester John that more than one hundred manuscript copies of his "letter" are preserved in the libraries of Europe. Pope Alexander III resolved to make contact with Prester John so he dispatched his personal physician with a letter written September 27, 1177. The physician was never heard of again. One motivation for Henry the Navigator's voyages south along the African coast in the 15th century was to find Prester John, who by then was believed to reside somewhere in Africa. According to Suárez, even Martin Waldseemüller in 1507 noted in the introduction to his Ptolemaic atlas that Prester John rules both eastern and southern India.⁶¹

Africa (Bottom Right Quarter)

In the African quadrant (figure 10), near the Mediterranean, a hill labeled "Nicomedeia" is puzzling. Nicomedia was an ancient city, now Izmit, on an inlet to the east in the Sea of Marmara on the northwest coast of Turkey in Asia. Until it was replaced by Constantinople (founded in 324–330 A.D.), Nicomedia was a regional capital and an important port in Greek and Roman times. Once again we are faced with a duplication of a place-name on the map: "Nicomedeia" in Africa and "Nicomedia" in Europe.⁶² There seems to be only one well-known location in classical and medieval history that corresponds to that place-name; the one in Asia Minor. The placement of "Nicomedeia" in northern Africa was probably the result of an error on the part of the woodcutter. Numedia, which was most likely intended, is a region, now Algeria, frequently shown on medieval maps between Mauretania to the west and Carthage to the east. The text of the *Rudimentum* describes Numedia in exactly this position and where it appears on the map in Africa as "Nicomedeia." Further, "Nicomedeia" is never mentioned in the text. Assuming the African "Nicomedeia" on the map is indeed Numedia, the animals shown at this location may derive from this statement of Pliny. "The country produces nothing remarkable beside the Numidian marble and wild beasts."⁶³

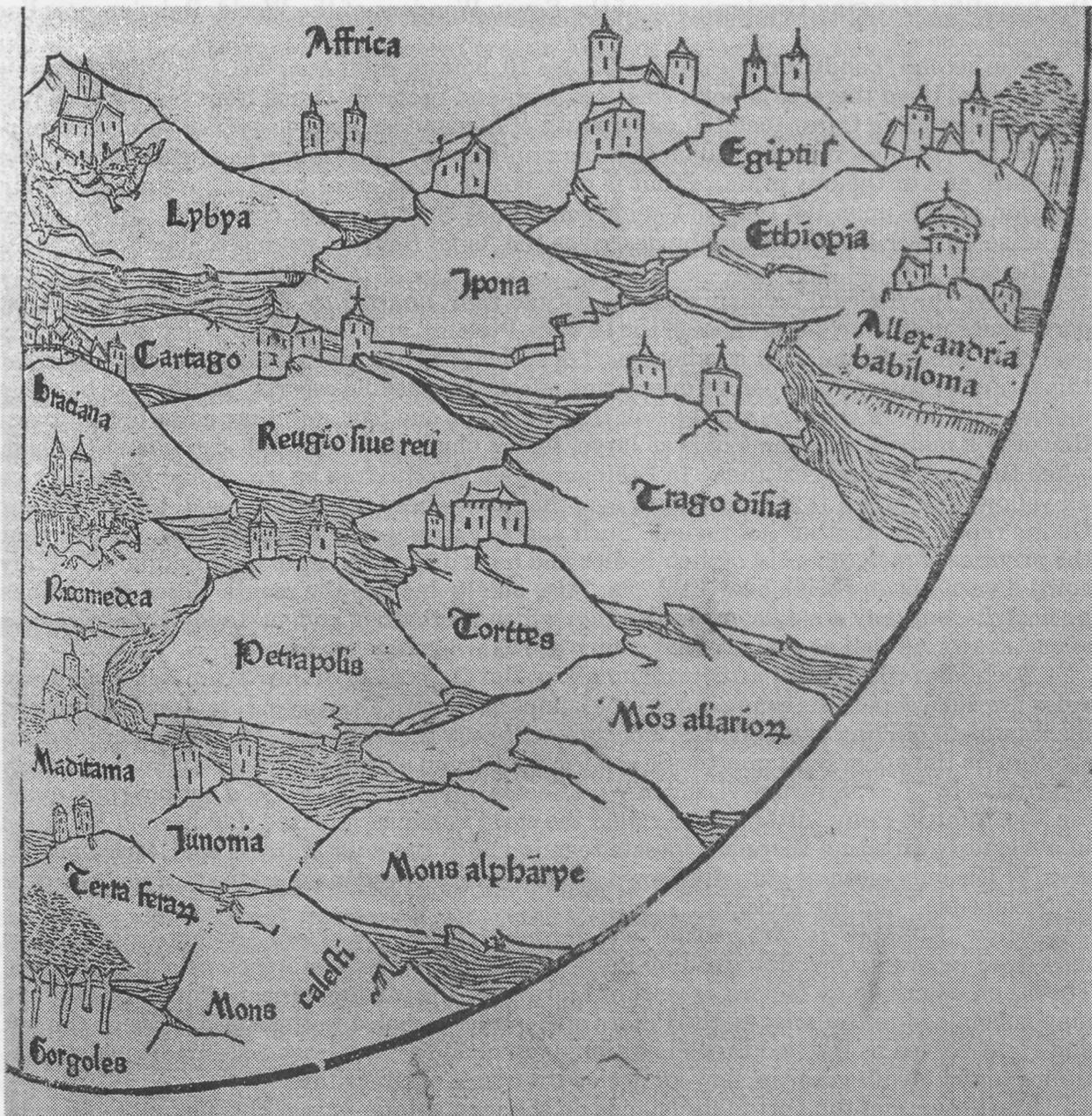


Figure 10. Bottom right quarter (Africa), circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

Unlike the mystery of both “Nicomedia” and “Nicomedeia” appearing on the map, the printing of the identical place-name “Babilonia” twice on the map has an obvious explanation (although it was omitted in Asia in the 1491 version). “Babilonia” appears in Asia in the top left quarter above “Assiria” (Assyria, the ancient country in what is now northern Iraq). This Babilonia refers to the truly ancient country that first became a political entity early in the second millennium B.C. The kingdom comprised southern Mesopotamia and part of Assyria. Babylon, its capital, fell to the Persians, led by Cyrus the Great, in 539 B.C., at which time, according to the Bible, he freed the Jews.⁶⁴ Herodotus, the Greek historian, called it the most splendid city in the world. Among Babylon’s marvels were the great 300-foot temple, commonly known as the Tower of Babel, with its golden image of Marduk, and

the beautiful Hanging Gardens, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Babylon now lies in ruins.

The second "babilonia" is in Africa (figure 10, bottom right quarter), immediately below Alexandria. Used there, it is not a classical term and probably stems from the common medieval reference to Cairo, just 100 miles south of Alexandria, as the new Babylon, or Babilonia. Mandeville describes two adjoining communities as "Babylon the less, where the soldan dwelleth, and at the city of Cairo that is nigh beside it, be great huge cities many and fair. Babylon sitteth upon the river of Gyson, sometimes clept [named] Nile, that cometh out of Paradise terrestrial." Elsewhere he describes the Asian Babylon extensively and refers to it as "the great."⁶⁵

Above the African "babilonia" in the bottom right quarter is "Ethiopia," which on most early world maps, including those of the Greeks, Ptolemy, and the medieval mappaemundi, is generally shown in the most southern part of Africa. The extreme heat believed to prevail at this latitude generated numerous interesting effects. Mandeville reports: "In Ethiopia be many diverse folk. . . . In that country be folk that have but one foot, and they go so blyve [great] that it is a marvel. And the foot is so large, that it shadoweth all the body against the sun, when they will lie and rest them. In Ethiopia, when the children be young and little, they be all yellow; and, when that they wax of age, that yellowness turneth to be all black."⁶⁶ Friar Odoric reports in another hot region: "Such and so extreme is the heat in that country, that the privities of men come out of their bodies and hang down even unto their mid-legs."⁶⁷ Pliny spins a yarn about a tribe near Ethiopia: "Also one [tribe] has the mouth closed up and has no nostrils, but only a single orifice through which it breathes and sucks in drink by means of oat straws, as well as grains of oat, which grows wild there for food."⁶⁸

Such tales often tempt artistic mapmakers. But the creator of the *Rudimentum* map provides few such depictions compared to other maps of the era. This paper has already discussed his treatment of Pliny's and Solinus' monsters with only the reference "Terra diversorum monstrorum" in the upper right quarter. So in Africa, the usual parade of strange animals is merely referred to by "Terraferarum" (Land of Wild Beasts) on the left side of the bottom right quarter. According to Pliny, "After sailing round the coast Polybius reported that beyond Mt. Atlas in a westerly direction there are forests teeming with the wild animals that Africa engenders."⁶⁹ The only animals actually shown are two winged dragons marking "Lybya," the deer of "Nicomedea," and the phoenix.

Below "Ethiopia" is "Tragodisia," which could refer to one of two African regions where men lived in caves. One, described by Pliny, is on the east coast of Africa near the Red Sea. The other, described by Isidore, is west of Libya near the Mediterranean. Further down, the map is bounded in the west by the Pillars of Hercules (labeled in the space between the left and right halves in the two French editions), named after the huge rocks marking the entrance to the Mediterranean, now known as the Strait of Gibraltar.

The absence of the Fortunate Islands on the map is interesting. The Fortunate Islands, a name used for the Canary Islands off the west coast of Africa, were known to the ancients and were first mentioned by Plato in *Timaeus* in the fourth century B.C. Indeed, both Marinus and Ptolemy drew the prime meridian through the Fortunate Islands. Knowledge of these islands was lost during the Middle Ages and rediscovered about 1336 by Lancelot Marcello, a Genoese explorer. Although the map's creator presumably did not have access to Marinus or Ptolemy, he still knew of the islands because they are mentioned in the geographical dictionary of the *Rudimentum*. What source might the author of the *Rudimentum* have used? Two appear likely. Orosius mentions the Fortunate Islands as the terminus of the west coast of Africa. Likewise, Isidore states the Fortunate Islands "are situated in the Ocean off the coast of Mauretania."⁷⁰ These works were widely read throughout the Middle Ages and both are mentioned as a source by the *Rudimentum*'s author. In addition, the Fortunate Islands

were often shown on world maps from the Middle Ages, including the Evesham, Hereford, Higden, and Beatus maps.⁷¹ If the map's creator knew of the Fortunate Islands from their description in the text of the *Rudimentum* and other works that likely served as source documents, why does the name not appear on the map?

For whatever reason, the mapmaker instead places two related place-names on the map. These intriguing place-names occur in the extreme western portion of the bottom right quarter: "Gorgoles" and "Iunonia." "Gorgoles," which only appears on the 1475 edition, is probably a reference to Pliny's Gorgades or Isidore's Gorgodes Islands. Pliny reports the islands are opposite the point "where the coastline begins to curve Westward in the direction of the Atlantic . . . These islands [he writes] were reached by the Carthaginian General Hanno, who reported that the women had hair all over their bodies, but that the men were so swift of foot that they got away."⁷²

The place-name "Iunonia" on the map is very obscure; it is not in the geographical dictionary of the *Rudimentum*. It is found in only one source available to the map's creator Pliny and his imitator Solinus. Pliny reports, "Some people think that beyond the islands of Maur-etania lie the Isles of Bliss . . . that the second island is called Iunonia, and that there is a small temple on it built of only a single stone."⁷³ Curiously, the mapmaker used the obscure name "Iunonia" rather than the more well-known place-name Fortunate Islands, as mentioned in the geographic dictionary of the *Rudimentum*.

Europe (Bottom Left Quarter)

In the bottom left quarter of the map (figure 11), which illustrates Europe, 46 place-names are shown, whereas there are 57 in the other three-quarters combined. For the place-names of Asia and Africa, the author relied on biblical, classical, and medieval travel narratives, but he must have used contemporary geographical knowledge in drawing Europe where the place-names are generally recognizable and modern. Furthermore, no mythical scenes or references are indicated. Regional names of north central Europe are especially well represented, providing evidence of the author's German heritage.

In the extreme upper left corner of this quarter is "Tartarea," which refers to the land of the Tartars (often Tatars), the name by which the Mongols were known in the Latin West. These nomadic Mongol people from Central Asia, of the same stock as the Turks, at one time ruled the greatest empire in history. Their dominance began early in the 13th century when Chinghiz Khan attacked the Chinese Empire from Mongolia and took Peking in 1214. By the time of the death of Mangu Khan in 1259, the Mongols had conquered territory from the Yellow River to the Danube and from the Persian Gulf to Siberia. Pope Innocent IV sent emissaries such as William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini to seek out the Great Khan, to attempt to learn about his forces, to establish trading arrangements, to convert him to Christianity, and to make inquiries of the whereabouts of Prester John. They both returned without success, but their journals expanded geographical knowledge of Asia, although they were not widely read. They also contained some amazing accounts such as William's tale of an abominable custom of the people of Teber: "Men which were wont to eat the carcasses of their deceased parents . . . unto this day they make fine cups of the skulls of their parents, to the end that when they drink out of them, they may amidst all their jollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance."⁷⁴

In the extreme northwest (bottom left), "vinland" is shown in the 1475, 1488, and 1491 editions (figure 12).⁷⁵ This word, which does not appear on another printed map until the late 16th century, is of great interest because of its use in the famed Vinland Map in the Yale University collection. This map, supposedly drawn about 1440, refers to an unknown land in the western ocean (possibly America) half a century before Columbus' voyage. The *Rudimentum*

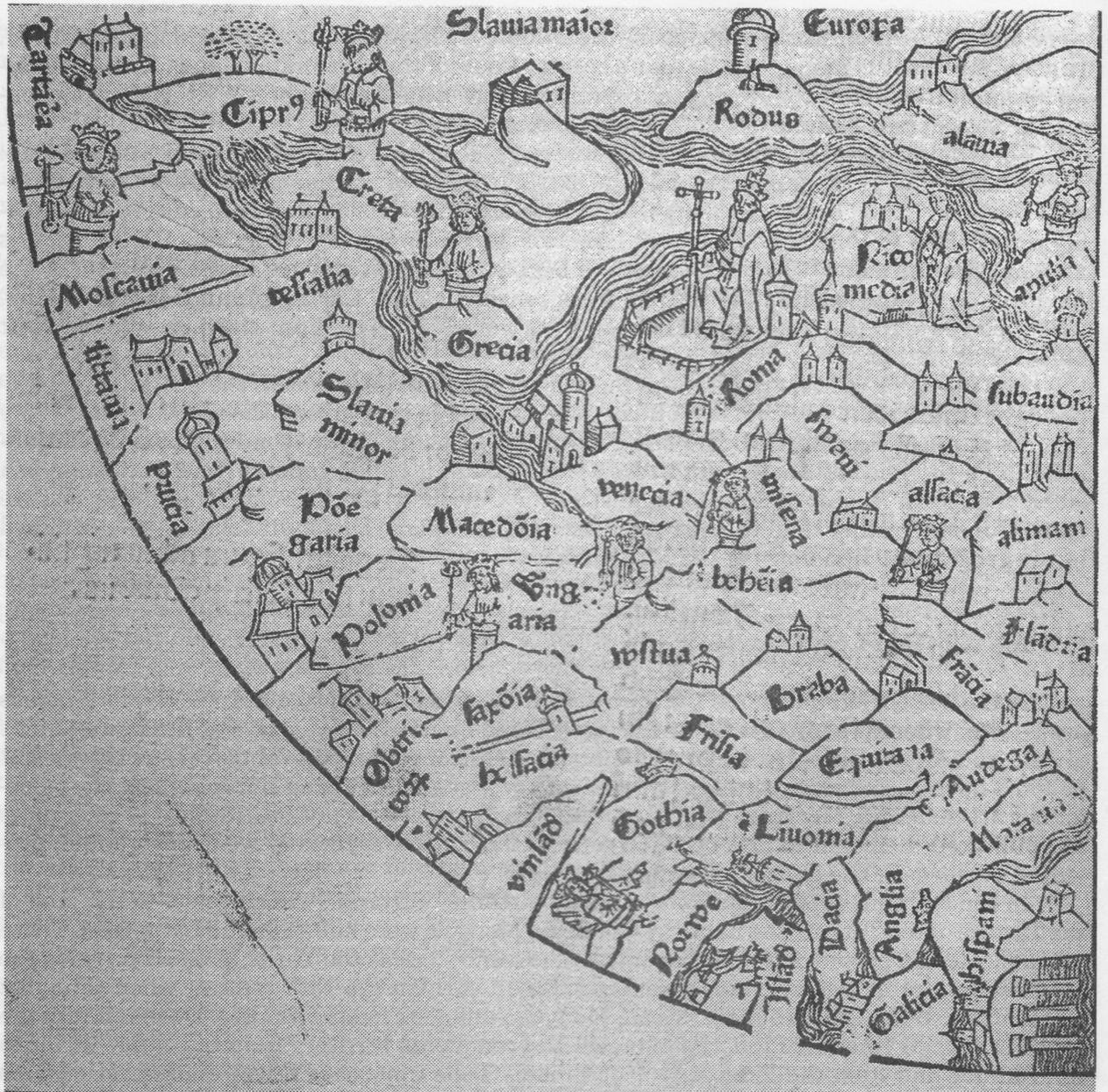


Figure 11. Bottom left quarter (Europe), circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

and the two editions of *La mer des hystoires* were printed before Columbus' journey. Could this word on these maps also relate to the New World? Suárez argues that Vinland is not a reference to a New World land but is an early depiction of Finland. He notes that the word Finland also is rare and does not appear on a printed map until 1532 on the Ziegler map of Scandinavia. As support for his contention that the name refers to Finland, he points out that the Hereford mappamundi of ca. 1290 "shows a group of three Baltic countries lying north of a bear representing Russia, of which the middle one is Finland, spelled the same as in the present [*Rudimentum*] map (*viland*)."⁷⁶ However, some believe that Vinland as a land-mass or large island of North America was known in the extreme northern climes of Europe. Because the *Rudimentum* was printed in Lübeck, a Baltic port city at almost 54 degrees north

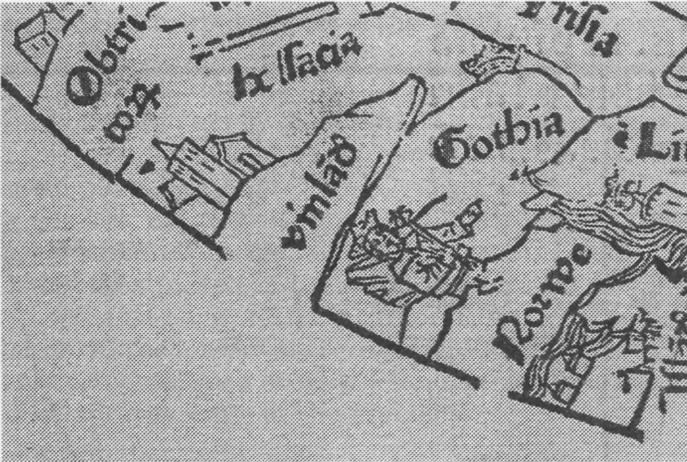


Figure 12. Detail showing "vinland," circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

latitude, it is the most northern printed map before 1500. If any mapmaker would have had this knowledge, it would have been one working in Lübeck.

This controversy can be partially settled by reading the geographic dictionary in the *Rudimentum* in which Vinland is described by the author, who indicates how it was generally perceived at the time. "Vinland is a country near the mountains of Norway lying to the East on the bank of the Oceanic Sea and is little fertile except grass and forest. The people are barbaric and cruel peasants and addicted to sorcery." It appears that researchers will have to look to other maps to find pre-Columbian evi-

dence of the New World.⁷⁷

Although it seems that the term does not refer to the New World, could it refer to Finland? Two problems arise. First, the people of the general area of modern Finland were not referred to collectively as "Finns" during the late middle ages from which heritage the map derives. The term did not begin to be applied to these people until late in the 15th century and nothing else in the map suggests the mapmaker to be on the "cutting edge." A second problem was that the people of the Finnish land had been Christian for a long time and not "barbaric," as the text suggests.

Noting that a medieval Icelandic itinerarium places "Vinland" right next to "Saxland," Kirsten Seaver proposes that the term Vinland as used on the map actually refers to Wendland.⁷⁸ The Wends were a Slavonic tribe in northeastern Germany on the Baltic with a reputation as wild and heathen people through the 13th century. This reputation would fit well the description in the text. Given the early character of the map, it seems plausible that the term was intended to refer to the land of the Wends.

A fully robed queen with a crown stands next to the country of "Nicomedia" in the European quarter, to the south and east of Rome (figure 13). She is one of the few figures fully represented in the 1475 edition. Also, unlike all the eight European kings' busts and the Pope, she is not holding a scepter.⁷⁹ All other figures in the map are clearly male; most have beards. Who is this prominently placed queen? She is probably Saint Helena, mother of Constantine the Great and an important cult figure in the Middle Ages. She was born of humble means in 248 A.D. in a town on the Gulf of Nicomedia, which Constantine named Helenopolis in her honor. She died in Nicomedia in 328 as she was returning from a pilgrimage. The placement of Nicomedia next to her in the European quadrant would thus explain an otherwise significant map error since Nicomedia is in Asia Minor. This extraordinary woman traveled to the Holy Land in her 80th year. She caused the building of churches, including the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which still exists. Legends developed that she discovered Christ's



Figure 13. Detail showing image of robed queen, circular world map, in *Rudimentum Novitiorum* (1475).

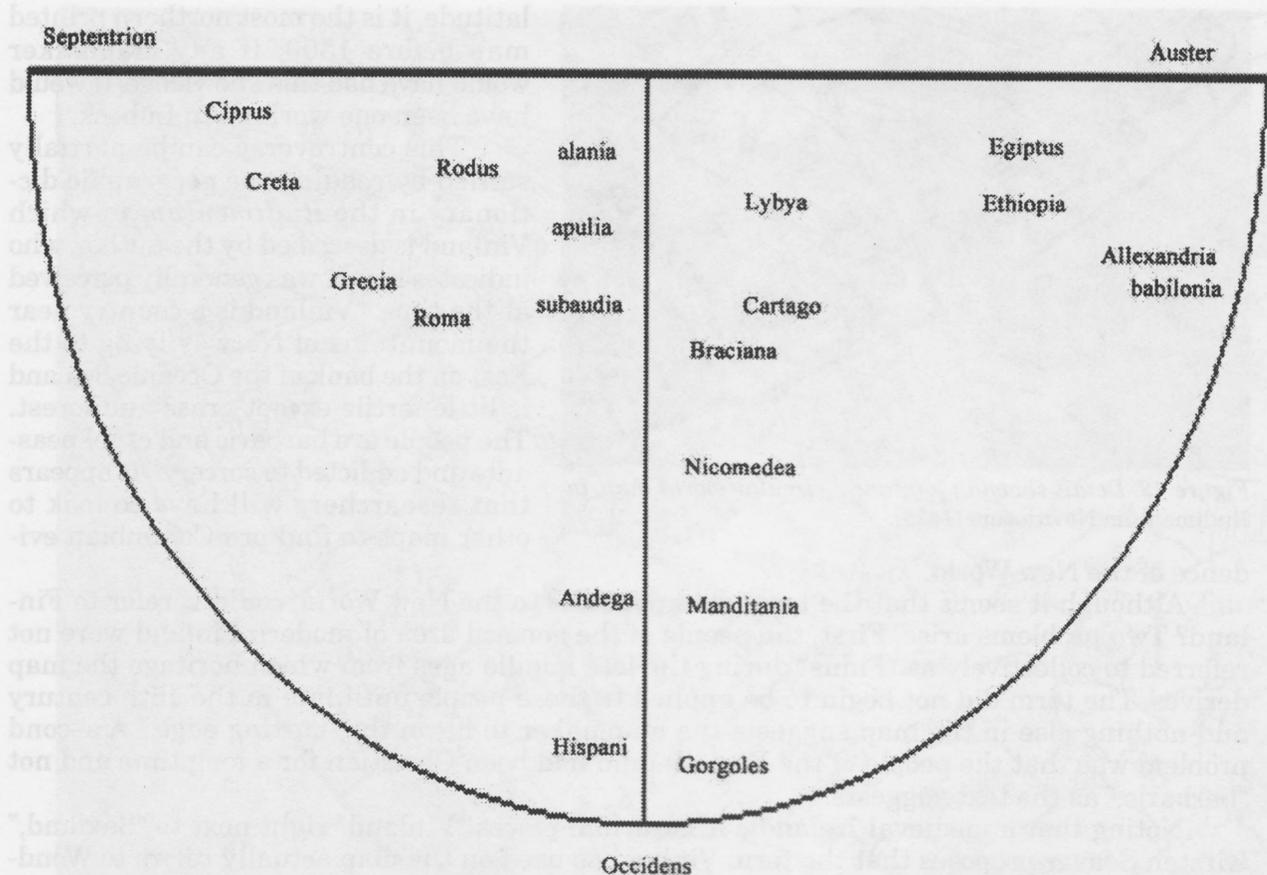


Figure 14. Placement of Mediterranean place-names.

cross during the construction of the church on Calvary. Mandeville reports that she found all three crosses (two belonging to the thieves), and not knowing which belonged to Christ, she set each cross upon a dead man, and when Christ's own cross was so placed, the dead man rose to life.⁸⁰

The Confusing Lay-out of the Place-Names

One of the unexplained puzzles of the map is the inaccurate location of numerous place-names. With a few exceptions, the place-names accurately fall within the appropriate continent; within the continent, however, place-names are often poorly located. Interestingly, the place-names are generally located as close to their geographic neighbor as they should be. For example, Greece, Venice, and Rome are near one another as are Libya, Egypt, and Alexandria. However, groups of names are often misplaced. For example, the grouping of Mediterranean place-names Cyprus, Crete, and Greece are situated in northeastern Europe. The problem seems to be more pronounced in Europe and Africa than in Asia, where relative placements are tolerably accurate.

How do we explain these gross inaccuracies? Perhaps the map's chief aim was not the geographic depiction of the known lands of the earth. Instead, the mapmaker's purpose may have been merely to inform the reader of a chronicle of history as to the general arrangement of the principal place-names of history. The mapmaker's strict use of the T-O format supports this view; although this format is impractical for accurate representation, it fits well into the

longstanding medieval view of the world. Yet, fitting the place-names into the restrictive boundaries of the quarter-circle quadrants caused problems for the mapmaker, especially because so many were along the Mediterranean Sea. One can imagine the mapmaker (or woodcutter) solved this problem by disbursing the names along both straight edges of the pie-shaped quadrant, thus greatly expanding room for the woodcutter. Thus in Europe, the eastern Mediterranean place-names such as "Cyprus" and "Crete" were situated in the northeastern edge of the quarter; other Mediterranean place-names are spread along the two edges culminating with "Hispania" in the southwest corner. Likewise in Africa, "Alexandria" and "babilonia" (Cairo) are situated in the south-east corner and other Mediterranean names wrap around the northeast edge of Africa culminating in "Gorgoles" (a name connected with the Fortunate Islands) in the northwest corner (figure 14). While this explanation does not address all of the misplacements, such as why "Flandria" is along the southern edge of the European quadrant, it does address some of the problems.

The Map's Creator and the Geographic Dictionary

In trying to determine who created this fascinating world map, one wonders whether the mapmaker might have been the same person who wrote the text of the *Rudimentum*. A comparison of the place-names on the map with those in the text of the book may help answer this question. A geographic dictionary, included in the text of the *Rudimentum* and in both editions of *La mer des hystoires* following the world map, describes 229 place-names. Countries and provinces, organized by the three continents, are listed first. Next are lists of mountains, islands, and rivers. Cities are not given as a separate group but some are included in the country sections. Table 1 shows the total number of place-names appearing on the world map in the *Rudimentum* and indicates which are in the geographic dictionary and which are not. Other words or phrases on the map that are not geographic place-names, such as "Grandis cain," are also tabulated.

Table 1. Number of Geographic Place-names on the *Rudimentum* World Map

	Asia Left	Asia Right	Africa	Europe	Total
Place-names:					
In dictionary	18 ^a	9	7	28	62
Not in dict.	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>43</u>
	24	16	19	46	105
Other words	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	27	18	20	46	111

^aHyrkania, printed twice in the Upper Right Quarter on the map, included only once.

Strong evidence that the map's creator did not write the text is given by the fact that fully 40 per cent of the place-names on the map are not described in the geographic dictionary. Numerous contradictions between the place-names on the map and those described in the text also suggest strongly that the map and the text were produced by different individuals. Examples of contradictions include "Gorgoles" and "Iunonia" on the map but Fortunate Islands in the text, "Lania" and "Evilath" on the map rather than Seres in the text, and

"Nicomedia" on the map in Africa rather than Numedia in the text. Also, three very obscure mountain names are placed on the map in Africa ("Mons aliariorum," "Mons alpharye," and "Mons calesti"), but the name Mons Atlas is used in the text. Three biblical lands, "Terra amalet," "Terra amoreorum," and "Terra moab," placed on the world map in Asia, are not listed in the geographic dictionary. Thus, the author and mapmaker were probably different.

Can we determine who was the author of the text? H. Winter argues that Johannes de Columpna (Jean de Columna), who lived in the late 1300s and early 1400s, might have produced the manuscript that was later printed as the *Rudimentum*.⁸¹ This would imply an Italian author of the original work, yet there is evidence in the text of German heritage. Perhaps a German printer added these German references to the primary work. Bagrow has suggested that Lucas Brandis, the printer of the *Rudimentum* in Lübeck, authored the work.⁸² Neither assertion has been proven.

What of the identity of the mapmaker? There has long been speculation that Brandis was the mapmaker. Brandis had worked in Merseburg before setting up shop as Lübeck's first printer. The *Rudimentum* was his first important product in Lübeck, and also his greatest work. Other works can be attributed to his workshop into the 1480s. Albert Schramm notes that Lucas Brandis was a skilled woodcut artist, as well as a printer, and attributes the world map block to his shop.⁸³ Although it seems plausible that the master would be responsible for the largest woodcut in the work, unfortunately, the mapmaker's identity remains uncertain.

The Map Creator's Sources

It is unlikely that the mapmaker traveled to the distant places shown on the map; therefore, he must have based his knowledge on other sources. What were these sources? The absence of geographic features on the map and the listing of place-names suggest that the mapmaker relied primarily on textual descriptions of world geography rather than actual maps. A comparison of place-names in Asia and Africa on the map with those of possible source documents that may have been available to the mapmaker is shown in Appendix III.⁸⁴ Place-names in the European quadrant of the map are presumed to be derived in part from the mapmaker's own knowledge rather than derived from textual sources and are, therefore, not included in Appendix III.

As with all maps of the Middle Ages of the mappamundi type, the Bible was a major source. Of 40 Asian place-names appearing on the map, 20 are mentioned in the Bible. It is interesting that the names of Noah's three sons, a common feature in medieval maps with a biblical orientation, are not found on the map.

A second source, which is mentioned throughout the text, would appear to be Pliny's *Natural History*, completed in 77 A.D. Of the 58 place-names on the map in the Asian and African quadrants, 39 can be traced to the fifth and sixth books of Pliny's *Natural History*. It is possible that the author used Julius Solinus' *Collection of Marvels* instead of Pliny. Solinus' work is also mentioned as a source in the text. The fact that the latter, smaller work was far more available and frequently served as a substitute for Pliny substantiates the argument that the mapmaker may have used Solinus. However, one of the place-names used by the mapmaker, "Terra Picinorum," can be found only in Pliny and not in Solinus or any other source.

A third source is Isidore, whose works are commonly referenced throughout the geographical section of the text. The basic layout of the map follows the T-O format widely found in Isidorean manuscripts. Of the 58 place-names on the map in the Asian and African quadrants, 40 can be traced to Isidore's *Etymologiarum*.

The popular encyclopedia by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, an Englishman, would seem to be a fourth source. Several unusual place-names are reproduced on the map in the exact spelling

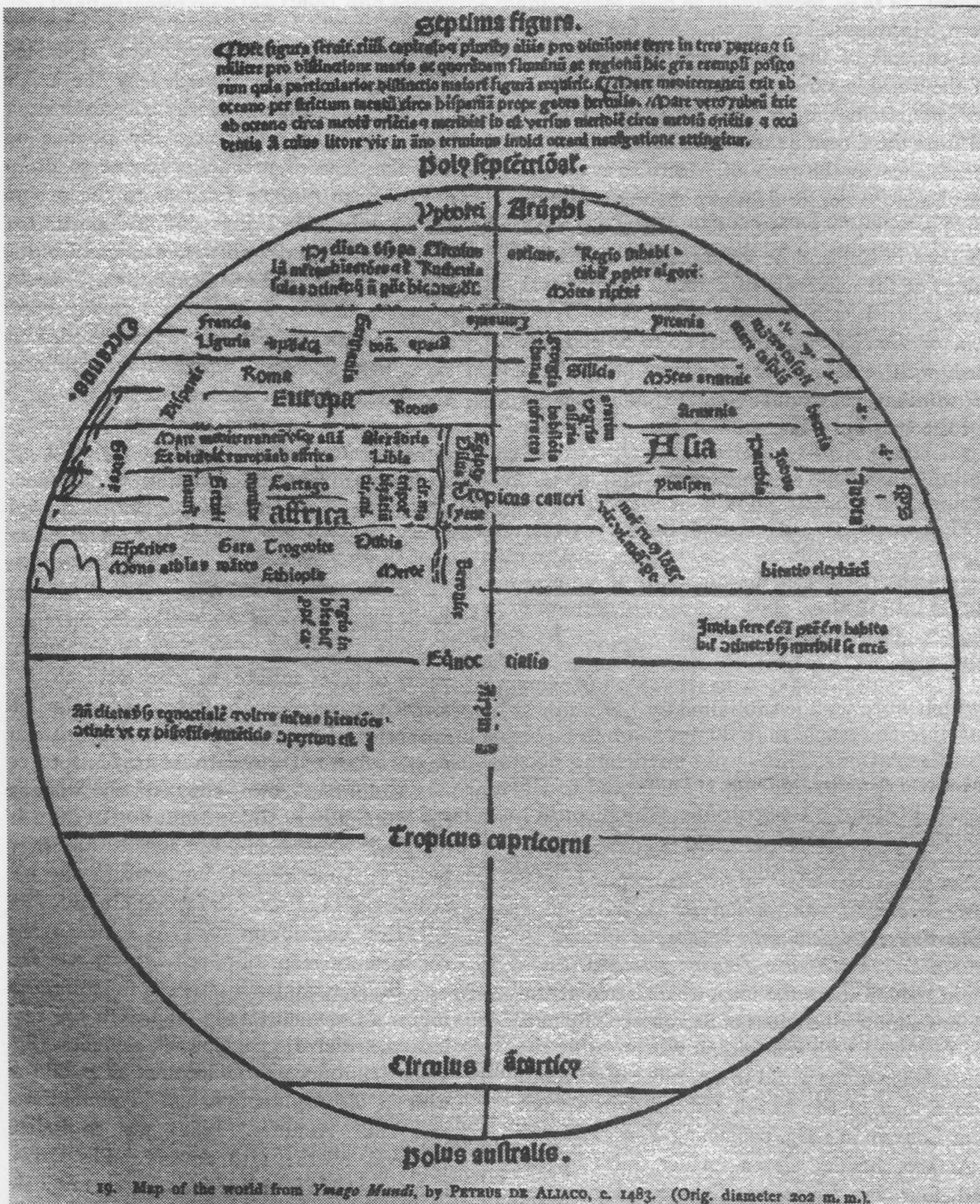


Figure 15. Map of the world from Pierre d'Ailly's *De imagine mundi et alii tractus* (c. 1483). Reproduced from A.E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1889). Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G1025.N72 1889.

as found in Bartholomaeus' work. One extremely rare place-name, "Braciana," has been identified only in his work; it has the identical spelling and his description seems to have been reproduced verbatim in the geographic dictionary in the *Rudimentum*. Of the 58 place-names on the map in the Asian and African quadrants, 39 can be found in Bartholomaeus.

Another source that seems to have influenced the mapmaker is *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, first available in manuscript in 1371, but widely available in the 15th century (at least 25 different editions were in print before 1500). So many place-names and interesting features on the map can be traced to Mandeville that it is tempting to conclude the work was a prime source for the mapmaker. Of the 58 place-names in Asia and Africa, 36 are mentioned in Mandeville. In addition, many of the marvels depicted on the map are described in Mandeville, including the two Babilonias, the Tree of the Sun and Moon, the Devil and Traveler, the phoenix, Mountains of Gold, and St. Helena. However, most of these features would have been well known to the mapmaker even without Mandeville. Incidentally, there appears to be no reference to Mandeville in the text of the *Rudimentum*. This fact, coupled with the observation that several place-names on the map that are in Mandeville are not in the text of the *Rudimentum*, would suggest that the mapmaker may have used Mandeville, but the author of the text did not.

Other works mentioned in the text of the geographic section of the *Rudimentum* that might have been sources for the mapmaker are the writings of Herodotus, Johannes Chrysostomes, Solinus, and Jakob of Vitry. The medieval Asian journals of Carpini, Rubruck, and Odoric, which were based on recent travels, were not well known. A review of them found few place-name similarities, and there was no mention of them in the text of the *Rudimentum*. Thus, they probably did not serve as sources for the map. Even Polo's *Travels* was little known until late in the 1400s and appeared in only five printed editions before 1500.⁸⁵ A review of place-names in Polo's work does not provide evidence that it was used as a source for the world map.

Portolan charts (mariners' manuscript maps showing tremendous coastal detail), which were well established by 1475, might have been a source. However, the place-names used in the world map do not seem to be based on portolan charts and there are no coastal configurations. This is not surprising because the portolan cartography of Italy and the Mediterranean had not transferred to Germany by the end of the 15th century.⁸⁶ Likewise, Ptolemy's *Geographia*, which could have been available to the mapmaker in manuscript form, seems not to have been consulted; there are no Ptolemaic place-names or concepts on the map.

Similarities to Other Maps

One of the most curious features of the world map is that place-names are arranged in the constraining outline of the T-O format. The only similar printed world map is that of Pierre d'Ailly found in *De imagine mundi et alii tractatus*, which also lists many place-names in a circular frame and also does not show significant geographic features (figure 15). D'Ailly's work, written in 1409 or 1410 and printed in 1483, was an important reference for Columbus. A manuscript copy of d'Ailly's map may have been available to the creator of the *Rudimentum* world map, but there are great dissimilarities between the two. In all of Asia and Africa, the works share only 10 place-names; d'Ailly's work gives prominence to climatic zones and illustrates the Southern Hemisphere. Further, d'Ailly is not mentioned in the geographic section of the text of the *Rudimentum*.

In rare instances medieval manuscripts include T-O diagrams sprinkled with place-names, so-called "list maps."⁸⁵ Examples are found occasionally in Sallust manuscripts, the verso of

the Psalter world map (ca.1265), and computus manuscripts such as manuscript 17 at St. John's College, Oxford. A comparison of the place-names and style of presentation of these manuscript list maps with the world map in the *Rudimentum* does not indicate a linkage.

The remarkable feature of the world map in the *Rudimentum*, the placing of geographic information in the T-O format, can be at least partially explained by the author's sources. The probable major sources (the Bible, Pliny, Isidore, Bartholomaeus, and Mandeville) are without maps, other than the T-O diagram. More realistic cartographic sources such as map-paemundi, portolan charts, and Ptolemaic maps do not appear to have been consulted by the mapmaker. Thus, the map's creator was free to imagine the remarkable places described in these geographic works in the T-O framework.

The casual observer is tempted to question why this seemingly early map was produced at a time when other far superior maps were being printed. In fact, this is not so. The revolution in printed maps begins with the first printed Ptolemy of Bologna in 1477. At the time of the printing of the *Rudimentum*, the only maps that had been printed were the simple T-O diagrams in Isidore's *Etymologiarum* of 1472 and 1473.

Conclusion

The world map of the *Rudimentum Novitiorum* is noteworthy not only because it is the first detailed printed world map, but also because it represents the end of an era in cartography. After its printing, essentially no new maps of the medieval or mappamundi tradition were published (other than d'Ailly's map discussed above). The map, although reproduced in *La mer des hystoires* and in an edition of Orosius, seems to have had little influence on other cartographers. This map represents the conclusion of a millennium of geographical thought based on the biblical dictates of Isidore. Interestingly, this representation of the end of an era of geographic thought was published in the same year as the first printing of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, which ushered in a new era of geographic thought based on the order and reason of Ptolemy and the accuracy of portolan charts.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank Roger Bohart, Rick Casten, Dick de Pagter, Arthur Holtzheimer, Ernie Moore, Ken Nebenzahl, Tom Suárez, Scott Westrem, and my father, Dr. Donald W. Brown, for their assistance and encouragement.

2. Pierre d'Ailly's map in his *Imago Mundi* (written ca. 1410; printed 1483) is significant but less detailed. There are also the separately printed broadsheet Rüst and Sporer maps, which exist in only one and two copies, respectively. These maps are described in Leo Bagrow, "Rüst's and Sporer's World Maps," *Imago Mundi* 7 (1950): 32-36; Klaus Stopp, "The Relation Between the Circular Maps of Hans Rüst and Hans Sporer," *Imago Mundi* 18 (1964): 81; and Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 79-84, 87-88.

3. All four maps reproduced in this essay, the *Rudimentum*, both editions of *La mer des hystoires*, and the 1472 Isidore T-O map, are in the Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, to whose staff I am indebted for making them available. These maps are described in Campbell, pp. 108-111, 144-151.

4. In Appendix I, I offer a transcription of the place-names of the map for modern readers. In Appendix II, I have attempted to identify each place-name. In Appendix III, I compare place-names in Asia and Africa on the map with those of possible source documents that may have been available to the mapmaker.

5. *The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection: A Catalog of the Gifts of Lessing J. Rosenwald to the Library of Congress, 1943 to 1975* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1977), p. 19 (entry 55).

6. Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Universalkartographie und geographische Schulkenntnisse im Inkunabelzeitalter: (Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des *Rudimentum Noviciorum* und Hartmann Schedels)," in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bernd Moeller, Hans Patze, and Karl Stackmann, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Folge 3, nr. 137* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983), pp. 404–405.

7. Edith A. Wright, "La Mer des Hystoires, Paris, 1488," *Boston Public Library Quarterly* 11 (April 1959): 64.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

10. See Brincken for more information on the *Rudimentum* and its position among world chronicles.

11. See Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Land: Images of Terra Sancta through Two Millenia* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986), pp. 60–62, for a discussion of the map of the Holy Land in the *Rudimentum*. Also, Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472–1700* (London: New Holland, 1993), pp. 1–2 (entry 2) provides a brief description of the world map.

12. The world map from the 1488 version of *La mer des hystoires* was also included in a 1491 Paris printing of *Les histoires de Paulus Orosius*. This work was written as a Christian history up through the year 417.

13. Wright, p. 59. Also, see Wright for more information on *La mer des hystoires*.

14. See Campbell, pp. 144–152, for a thorough review of editions and printings.

15. The prorating of the earth's land masses—half to Asia and one quarter each to Europe and Africa—is explained by Isidore: "The ancients did not divide these three parts of the world equally, for Asia stretches right from the south, through the east to the north, but Europe stretches from the north to the west and thence Africa from the west to the south. From this it is quite evident that the two parts Europe and Africa occupy half the world and that Asia alone occupies the other half." Isidorus of Seville, *Etimologias*, trans. Jose Oroz Reta and Manuel-A. Marcos Casquero (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982), 14.2.2–3.

16. "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the East; and there he put the man whom he had formed." Genesis 2:8 (RSV).

17. Heinrich Winter, "Notes on the Worldmap in *Rudimentum Novitiorum*," *Imago Mundi* 9 (1952): 102. Brincken, p. 408, reports that the only support for this speculation is the fact that the "RN wants itself to be understood as an aid for both the Old and New Testament."

18. Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi: die ältesten Weltkarten* (Stuttgart: J. Roth, 1895–98), 5:50.

19. Above the box in the Ebstorf map are the words "Prasias gens validissima proxima Taprobane insule" (The Prasias are a strong people near the island of Taprobane). The Hereford mappamundi, an equally famous and earlier large map, also locates "Prasias gens validissima" in the East near India. Many ancient geographers describe the Prasii as a powerful people dwelling in the richest part of India. On the *Rudimentum* map, Taprobane appears just southwest of the scene in question. The connection between the legend about the Prasii and the scene depicting the two men is unclear, except that both are placed in the distant east. Descriptions of both the Ebstorf and Hereford maps are found in Marcel Destombes, *Mappemondes, A.D. 1200–1500: Catalogue préparé par la Commission des Cartes Anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1964), pp. 194–202, and J.B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric*,

Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 291, 309–312.

20. Enoch, Genesis 5:24; Elijah, 2 Kings 2:11.

21. I am indebted to Alexandro Scarfi for the suggestion of Enoch and Elijah. The world map of Lambert of Saint-Omer is described in Destombes, p. 111–6, planche L; Harley and Woodward, pp. 353–4; and Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: The British Library, 1997), pp. 105–111.

22. Isidorius, 14.6.12.

23. *Ibid.*, 14.3.7.

24. *Ibid.*, 14.3.5. The isle of “Tile” described in Asia should not be confused with the Island of Thule (“Thile” in the geographic dictionary of the *Rudimentum*), an ancient and common reference to an island to the extreme north above the British Isles (usually identified as Iceland).

25. Thomas Suárez, *Shedding the Veil: Mapping the European Discovery of America and the World* (Singapore: World Scientific, 1992), p. 12.

26. Sir John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: The Version of the Cotton Manuscript in Modern Spelling, with Three Narratives, in Illustration of it from Hakluyt’s “Navigations, Voyages, & Discoveries”* (London: Macmillan, 1900), p. 196.

27. From the Bible, “This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her.” Ezekiel 5:5 (RSV).

28. I Kings 9:28; 10:11.

29. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum: A Critical Text*, ed. M.C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975–1988), p.787.

30. Miller, 5:52.

31. Honorius, *Imago Mundi*, ed. by Valerie I.J. Flint, Archives d’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge, tome 50 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1983), p. 55. Both references on the Ebstorf map and in Honorius probably stem from Pliny, the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), 6.24, or C. Julius Solinus, *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmannos, 1895), p. 199.

32. This identification is supported by a comparison of the image of Acre on the world map with the city shown and labeled on the Holy Land map also found in the *Rudimentum*.

33. Orosius and Isidore both describe Pentapolis as *both* an early name for the five cities including Sodom and Gomorrah in the Middle East *and* as an African region. In Africa, it refers to an association of five principal cities in Cyrenaica in the Roman maritime frontier of Libya. In the geographical dictionary of the text of the *Rudimentum*, the place-name appears in the Asian section but is described with both Asian and African meanings.

34. Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), pp. 23–24.

35. Mandeville, p. 32.

36. Marco Polo, *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. John Frampton with N. M. Penzer (London: Argonaut Press, 1929), p. 33.

37. Mandeville, p. 97.

38. Suárez, p. 45.

39. Mandeville, pp. 103–104.

40. Both quotes in this paragraph are from Mandeville, p. 104.

41. A question arises from the place-name “hircania,” which appears twice on the map also in the upper left quarter, both in the extreme east (only once in the 1491 edition). Mare hyrcanium was a frequent name for the Caspian Sea, and it appears to be used interchange-

ably by the ancient writers. Did the mapmaker intend to indicate the Caspian Sea with the place-name Caspy or hircania? Pliny states that the sea becomes the Caspian after one crosses west of the River Kura (which enters the Caspian from the southeast); the people nearby are Caspii, and it is called the Hyrcanium to the east where the people on its shores are known as the Hyrcani. The map's double references to Hircania appears to refer to the body of water near the edge and the people on its shores inland. How to reconcile this with Caspy further to the west? Perhaps the mapmaker used Pliny's description (there is other evidence of Pliny's influence). As further support for the belief that "Caspy" refers to the west shore of the Caspian, the ancient place-name Albania, which was on the west bank of the Caspian, is shown on the map next to the place-name "Caspy."

42. Willem van Ruysbroeck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson, Hakluyt Society Works, series 2, vol. 173 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), p. 129.

43. Mandeville, p. 185.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

45. Mandeville, p. 185.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 186–7.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

48. Odoric, "The Journal of Friar Odoric," in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville . . . with Three Narratives, in Illustration of it . . .* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), p. 349.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 355–6.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

51. See John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," in *Mission to Asia*, ed. Christopher Dawson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 21–22.

52. Pliny 6.20.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Suárez, Thomas, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Periplus Editions, 1999), p. 107.

55. "The second river is called Phison, and it goes through India, circling all the Land of Evilach, and is said to go down into Cathay . . ." Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, Hakluyt Society Works, [series 1], vol. 37 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1866), 2:349–350.

56. From Genesis 2:11: "The name of the first is Pishon [Ganges]; it is the one which flows around the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold." The statement shows a strong resemblance to Marignolli's statement, quoted in note 55. "Evilath," described in the geographic dictionary in the *Rudimentum*, was likely the source of this word for the mapmaker. It probably comes from the popular work of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things*, where it is spelled the same as on the map and described similarly in the geographical dictionary in the *Rudimentum*.

57. Medieval geographers often referred to India as having three parts: India Minor, India Major, and India Tertia; the first two were associated with Asia and the last with east Africa.

58. "Prester John's Letter," in *Mandeville's Travels, Texts and Translations*, ed. Malcolm Letts, Hakluyt Society Works, series 2, vols. 101–102 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp. 501–502.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 503.

60. Suárez, *Shedding the Veil*, p. 12.

61. *Ibid.*

62. The placement of "Nicomedia" in the European quadrant will be discussed below.

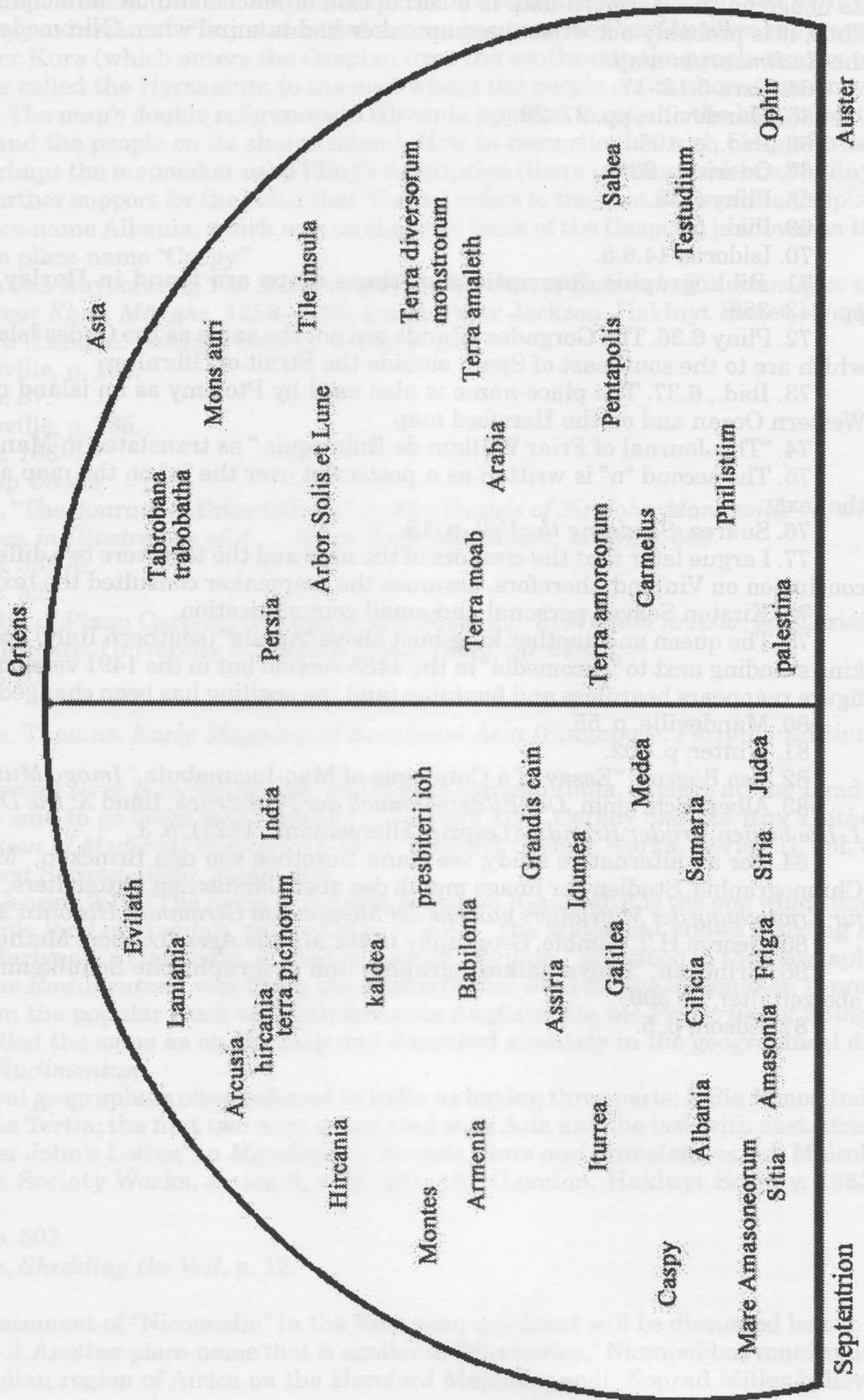
63. Pliny 5.2. Another place-name that is similar to "Nicomedia," Nicomadibus municipum, is in the Numidian region of Africa on the Hereford Mappaemundi. Konrad Miller believes

its usage on the Hereford map is a corruption of *Macomadibus municipium* (Miller, 4:43). Thus, it is probably not what the mapmaker had in mind when "Nicomedia" was placed on the *Rudimentum* map.

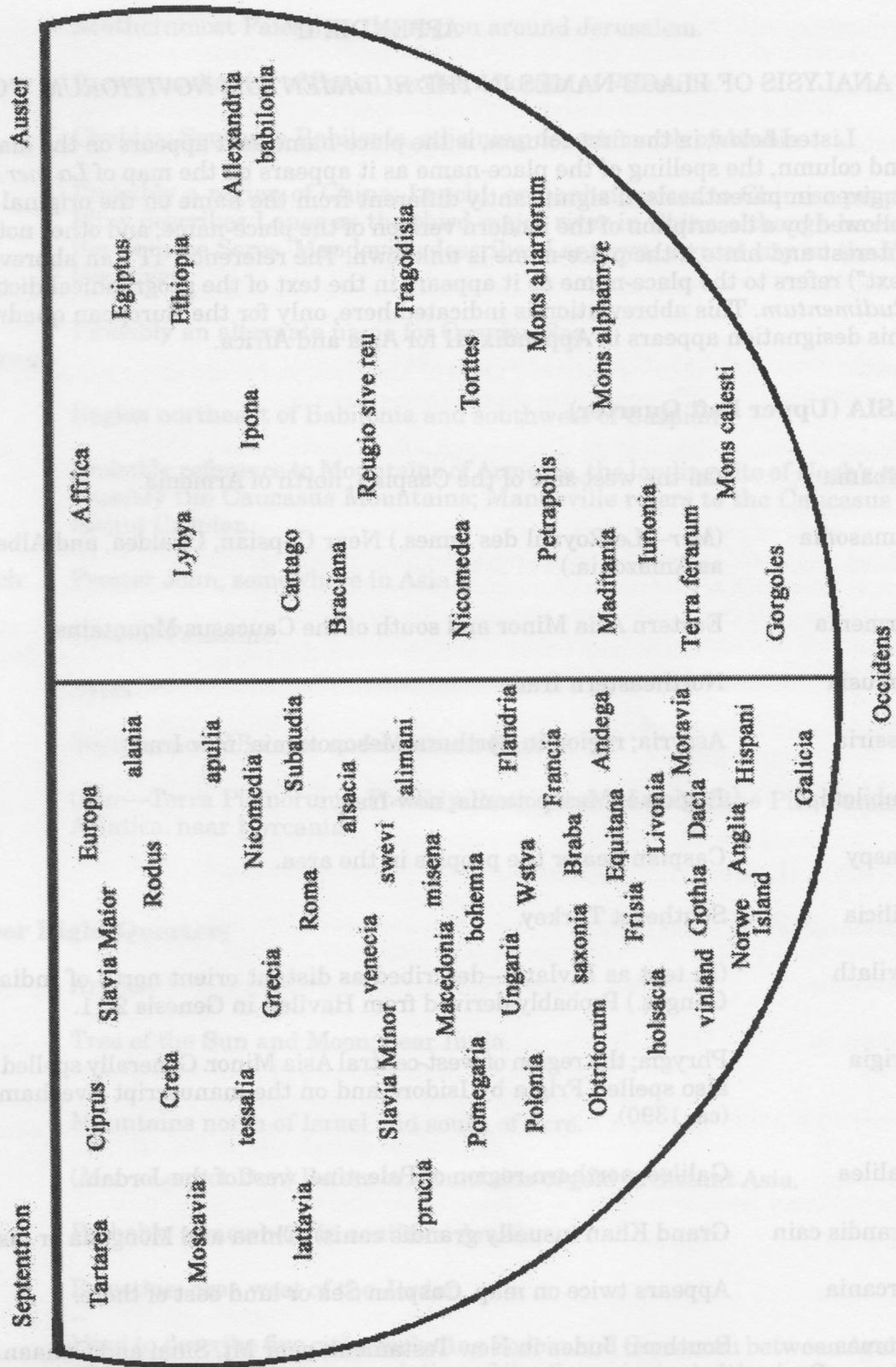
64. Ezra 5:12–17.
65. Mandeville, pp. 27–29.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
67. Odoric, p. 329.
68. Pliny 6.35.
69. *Ibid.*, 5.1.
70. Isidorus 14.6.8.
71. Bibliographic descriptions of these maps are found in Harley and Woodward, pp. 343–358.
72. Pliny 6.36. The Gorgades Islands are not the same as the Gades Islands (now Cadiz), which are to the southeast of Spain outside the Strait of Gibraltar.
73. *Ibid.*, 6.37. The place-name is also used by Ptolemy as an island near Libya in the Western Ocean and on the Hereford map.
74. "The Journal of Friar William de Rubruquis," as translated in Mandeville, p. 323.
75. The second "n" is written as a postscript over the "a" on the map and spelled out in the text.
76. Suárez, *Shedding the Veil*, p. 13.
77. I argue later that the creators of the map and the text were two different persons. My conclusion on Vinland, therefore, assumes the mapmaker consulted the text.
78. Kirsten Seaver, personal and email communication.
79. The queen and another king-bust above "Apulia" (southern Italy) are merged into one king standing next to "Nicomedia" in the 1488 version but in the 1491 version, the "Nicomedia" figure reappears beardless and feminine (and the spelling has been changed to "Nycomedie").
80. Mandeville, p. 55.
81. Winter, p. 102.
82. Leo Bagrow, "Essay of a Catalogue of Map-Incunabula," *Imago Mundi* 7 (1950): 107.
83. Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdruck*, Band X: *Die Drucker in Lübeck*, 1. *Die beiden Brüder Brandis* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1927), p. 3.
84. For an alternative study, see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Mappa mundi und Chronographia. Studien zur imago mundi des abendländischen Mittelalters," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters namens der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 24 (1968): 118–186.
85. George H.T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1938), p. 135.
86. Brincken, "Universalkartographie und geographische Schulkenntnisse im Inkunabelzeitalter," p. 399.
87. Edson, p. 5.

APPENDIX I

TRANSCRIPTION OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE *RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM* WORLD MAP



APPENDIX I
 TRANSCRIPTION OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE *RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM* WORLD MAP (CONTINUED)



APPENDIX II

ANALYSIS OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE *RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM* WORLD MAP

Listed below, in the first column, is the place-name as it appears on the map. In the second column, the spelling of the place-name as it appears on the map of *La mer des hystoires* is given in parenthesis, if significantly different from the name on the original map. This is followed by a description of the modern version of the place-name, and other notes of general interest and hints if the place-name is unknown. The reference "IT" (an abbreviation for "in text") refers to the place-name as it appears in the text of the geographical dictionary of the *Rudimentum*. This abbreviation is indicated here, only for the European quadrant, because this designation appears in Appendix III for Asia and Africa.

ASIA (Upper Left Quarter)

Albania	On the west side of the Caspian, north of Armenia.
Amasonia	(<i>Mer—Le Royaul des femes.</i>) Near Caspian, Chaldea, and Albania. (In text as Amazonia.)
Armenia	Eastern Asia Minor and south of the Caucasus Mountains.
Arcusia	Northeastern Iran.
Assiria	Assyria; region in northern Mesopotamia; now Iraq.
Babilonia	Region of Mesopotamia; now Iraq.
Caspy	Caspian Sea or the peoples in the area.
Cilicia	Southeast Turkey.
Evilath	(In text as Eivlath—described as distant orient north of India watered by Ganges.) Probably derived from Havilah in Genesis 2:11.
Frigia	Phrygia; the region of west-central Asia Minor. Generally spelled Phrygia but also spelled Frigia by Isidore and on the manuscript Evesham World Map (ca. 1390).
Galilea	Galilee; northern region of Palestine, west of the Jordan.
Grandis cain	Grand Khan (usually grandis canis); China and Mongolia or distant Asia.
hircania	Appears twice on map. Caspian Sea or land east of there.
Idumea	Southern Judea in New Testament, near Mt. Sinai and Canaan.
India	India.

Judea	Southernmost Palestine; the region around Jerusalem.
Iturrea	Ituraea; a district of Syria, northern border of Palestine.
kaldea	Chaldea; Southern Babilonia, adjoining deserts north of Arabia.
Laniaia	Probably a region of China; Lanchi, or Lanhsi, refers to Chinese people. Pliny describes Lanos as the third major river in China although he calls the Chinese Seres. Mandeville describes Lanteryn, a great city on the Yellow River.
Ma[r]le Amasoneorum	Probably an alternate name for Caspian Sea.
Medea	Region northeast of Babilonia and southwest of Caspian.
Montes	Probably reference to Mountains of Armenia, the landing site of Noah's ark. Possibly the Caucasus Mountains; Mandeville refers to the Caucasus as Mount Caspian.
presbiteri Ioh	Prester John, somewhere in Asia.
Samaria	Central Palestine.
Siria	Syria.
Sitia	Scythia; now Ukraine and southern Russia.
terra picinorum	(<i>Mer</i> —Terra Picinorum.) Possibly Paricinorum; Land of the Pici, Samatia Asiatica, near Hyrcania.

ASIA (Upper Right Quarter)

Arabia	Arabia.
Arbor solis et lune	Tree of the Sun and Moon; near India.
Carmelus	Mountains north of Israel and south of Acre.
Mons auri	(<i>Mer</i> —Le mot Dor.) Refers to mountains of gold in distant Asia.
Ophir	Probably somewhere in southern Arabia.
palestina	Palestine; area west of the Jordan.
Pentapolis	Used to describe five cities including Sodom and Gomorrah between Arabia and Palestine. Also an association of the five principal cities in Cyrenaica in the Roman maritime frontier in modern northeast Libya in Africa.

Philistiim	Southern coastal portion of Palestine.
Persia	Iran.
Sabea	City and district of Arabia on the Persian Gulf.
Tabrobana	Most likely Sri Lanka, possibly Sumatra.
Terra amaleth	(<i>Mer</i> —Amalec.) The descendants of the Amalek. A tribe of Edomite Arabs who occupied southern boundary of promised land between Canaanites on the west and Amorites on the east.
terra amoreorum	(<i>Mer</i> —Amorets.) Land of Amorites, one of the seven tribes of Canaan, generally occupying southeastern Canaan.
Terra diversorum monstrorum	Land of Diverse Monsters.
Terra moab	Kingdom east of Dead Sea in Jordan Valley.
Testudinum	Likely refers to myth: Indian Ocean brings forth turtles, from the shells of which men make spacious dwellings for themselves. On Ebstorf map and in Honorius Augustodunensis.
Tile insula	An island near India.
trabobatha	Possibly Java or Sumatra. (In text as Trapopatane.)

AFRICA (Lower Right Quarter)

Allexandria	Alexandria.
babilonia	In Africa, refers to Cairo, the New Babilon or Babilonia the "less."
Braciana	(<i>Mer</i> —Braciane.) Region of Constantine, now northeast Algeria. Roman capital of Numidia. City destroyed in 311 A.D. but rebuilt by Constantine the Great and given his name. Alternate name for Pliny's and Isidore's Byzacium. Braciana only in Bartholomeaus Anglicus, and there spelled same (p. 739.15).
Cartago	Carthage; capital of Phoenician Empire in north Africa.
Egiptus	Egypt.
Ethiopia	Ethiopia.
Gorgoles	(Listed as Gorgones in text of both 1475 <i>Rudimentum</i> and in 1491 <i>Mer</i> , both described as island.) (Excluded from maps of 1488 and 1491.) Likely Gorgades Islands off the western coast of Africa of Pliny and Isidore.

- Ipona Variation of Hippone, Roman name for port city in northeast Algeria, now Bone, which flourished under Romans and was an early center of Christianity.
- Iunonia (*Mer*—Iunonia Insula.) One of the Fortunate Islands (Pliny 6.202).
- Lybya Libya.
- Maditania Likely Mauretania, the northwest coast of Africa. Now Morocco and Algeria.
- Mons aliariorum (*Mer*, 1488, mons Aliarior; 1491, mons Alcide.) Unidentified mountains.
- Mons alphanrye (*Mer*, 1488, mons Alpharie; 1491, mons Alpha.) Unidentified mountains.
- Mons calesti (*Mer*, 1488, mons Caleste; 1491, mons caeth.) Unidentified mountains. Possibly "Mountain of the Stars" or related to Latin word for celestial, caelestis.
- Nicomedeia Northwest Turkey near present Izmit, earlier Bithynia. Owing to placement in Africa between Mauretania and Carthage and the fact that no Nicomedia is listed in text but Numedia is listed in text for Africa, its placement as Nicomedia is probably a woodcutter's error; Numedia was intended instead. Isidore described Numedia in same location in northern Africa between Mauritania and Carthagina (Isidorius, 14.5.17). Numedia is named in geographical dictionary of *Rudimentum*.
- Petrapolis Petra refers to several towns in Arabia. Strabo refers to as "*Petrametropolis of the Nabataeans*" in Arabia. This Asian word is possibly engraved on the map in Africa in lieu of Pentapolis, which had both Asian and African usage, according to Orosius and Isidore. Pentapolis was given the African meaning by Pliny. Pentapolis in Africa referred to the five cities of Berenice, Ceutria, Apolonia, Ptolomais, and Cyrene.
- Reugio sive reu (*Mer*—reg. sive rea.) Based on a place-name in Isidore (14.5.9) referring to Rusicadam, a town in Numidia, near Hippo where the Bishop St. Augustine lived. Rusicada is mentioned by Ptolemy.
- Terra Ferarum Land of Wild Beasts.
- Torttes (*Mer*—Rortres.) Probably Tortosa (Tortouse in Mandeville), a medieval fortress city on the Syrian coast.
- Tragodisia near Usually Trogodite, cave-dwellers country in either northeast coast of Africa the Red Sea or western portion of north coast of Africa.

EUROPE (Lower Left Quarter)

- alania Land of Alani; people found in both Asia (in the Caucasus) and in Europe (near the Maotis, Sea of Azov, and Don River). IT

alimani(a)	Alemanni; ancient name for Germania. (In text as Alemania.)
alsacia	Ancient area of northeast France.
Andega(vum)	Probably Andalusia, a historic region of southern Spain. (In text as Andegania.)
Anglia	England. IT
apulia	Southeast Italy. IT
bohemia	Bohemia.
Braba(ntia)	Brabant; feudal district near Loevain and Brussels. (In text as Brabancia.)
Ciprus	Cyprus. IT
Creta	Crete. IT
Dacia	Denmark. IT
Equitania	Derived from Equiturri, a tribe who lived in Gallia, now southwest France. (In text as Aquitania.) Pliny (5.106) describes as Aquitania, an equestrian colony.
Flandria	Flanders. IT
Francia	France. IT
Frisia	Friesland; northern Netherlands. IT
Galicia	Region of northwest Spain on the Atlantic, north of Portugal. (In text as Galicia.)
Gothia	Southern Sweden. IT
Grecia	Greece. IT
Hispani(a)	Spain.
holsacia	Probably Holstein, region of northwest Germany.
Island	Likely Iceland. In text as Yselandia, as it is mostly frequently represented in other works.
lattavia	Originally Latgale; now Latvia.
Livonia	Medieval German name of lands on eastern coast of Baltic Sea. IT
Macedonia	North of Greece. IT

misena	Province of Germany; east of Bohemia. (In text as Missena.)
Moravia	Medieval kingdom; now eastern Czech and western Slovak Republics.
Moscavia	Province of western Russia.
Nicomedia	Coastal area in southeast Turkey, near Izmit. Usage in Europe probably to indicate nearby woman as St. Helena, of Nicomedia.
Norwe	Norway. (In text as Norwegia.)
Obtritorum	(<i>Mer</i> —Obiritor.) Country of Obotrites, a slavic tribe on the Baltic coast, active in the Middle Ages.
Polonia	Poland.
Pomegaria	(<i>Mer</i> —Ponengaria.) Pomerania, Baltic region of northwest Poland.
prucia	From Prushe. Prussia, now western Germany.
Rodus	Rhodes. IT
Roma	Rome. IT
saxonia	Saxony.
Slavia Maior	Slovenia and Croatia.
Slavia Minor	Yugoslavia.
Subaudia	Region south of Aude River in southcentral France.
swevi	Swabia, southwestern region of Germany.
Tartarea	First northeast Mongolian peoples who spoke a Turkish language rather than Mongolian. Then general reference to Mongolian invaders into western Russia or Asia.
tessalia	Thessaly; northcentral Greece. IT
Ungaria	Hungary.
venecia	Venice. IT
vinland	Finland. IT
Wstva	Westphalia; Germany. (In text as Westvalia.)

APPENDIX III

RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM WORLD MAP: ASIAN AND AFRICAN NAMES ON THE MAP
COMPARED WITH USAGE IN OTHER SOURCES

Names appear as printed on the world map on the *Rudimentum Novitorium*.

ASIA (Top Left Quarter)

	Dictionary in R.N.	Bartholo. Anglicus	Bible	Ebstorf Map	Hereford Map	Honorius Augustod.	Isidore	Mandeville	Pliny	M.Polo	Ptolemy	Orosius	Rubruck	Solinus	Strabo
Albania	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Amasonia		x		x		x	x	x	x			x		x	x
Armenia	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Arcusia		x		x		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Assiria	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Babilonia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Caspy	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cilicia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Evilath	x	x													
Frigia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Galilea	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Grandis Cain (1)				x						x			x		
Hircania [twice]	x	x				x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Idumea	x	x	x			x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
India	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Iudea or Judea	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Iturrea			x									x			x
Kaldia	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Lanania															
Ma[r]e Amaseonorum															
Medea	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Montes (1)															
Presbiteri loh (1)										x			x		
Samaria	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Siria	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Sitia	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Terra Picinorum															
Total	18	19	12	17	12	19	18	20	21	5	17	18	9	17	19

(1) Not considered a place-name

APPENDIX III (Continued)

ASIA (Top Right Quarter)

	Dictionary in R.N.	Bartholo. Anglicus	Bible	Ebstorf Map	Hereford Map	Honorius Augustod.	Isidore	Mandeville	Pliny	M.Polo	Ptolemy	Orosius	Rubruck	Solinus	Strabo
Arabia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Arbor Solis et Lune (1)				x				x							
Carmelus	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x			
Mons Auri				x		x	x	x							
Ophir	x	x													
Palestina	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x
Pentapolis	x	x	x	x		x	x					x			
Philistiim			x												
Persia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sabea	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tabrobana	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Terra Amaleth			x												
Terra Amoreorum		x	x			x									
Terra diversorum monstroum (1)															
Terra Moab	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x					
Testudinum				x											
Tile Insula		x		x	x	x	x								x
Trabobatha															
Total	9	12	8	11	8	8	10	8	6	4	6	7	2	5	5

(1) Not a place-name

APPENDIX III (Continued)

AFRICA (Bottom Right Quarter)

	Dictionary in R.N.	Bartholo. Anglicus	Bible	Ebstorf Map	Hereford Map	Honorius Augustod.	Isidore	Mandeville	Pliny	M. Polo	Ptolemy	Orosius	Rubruck	Solinus	Strabo
Alexandria			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Babylonia				x	x	x									
Braciana	x	x													
Cartago	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Egiptus	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ethiopia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Gorgoles (1)				x		x			x						
Ipona (2)				x	x	x	x		x						
Iunonia					x				x						
Lybya	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Maditania (3)	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x					
Mons Aliariorum															
Mons Alphanrye															
Mons Calesti															
Nicomedeia (4)		x		x	x	x	x		x		x	x		x	
Petropolis (4)			x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x		x	
Reugio sive Reu							x								
Terra Ferarum (5)															
Torttes															
Tragodisia	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Total	7	8	5	11	10	12	12	8	12	2	10	9	2	11	8
Grand Total	34	39	25	39	30	39	40	36	39	11	33	34	13	33	32

Notes

- (1) Also Gargades and Gorgodes Islands.
- (2) Usually Hippo, Hippona Ypona or Ippone.
- (3) Assumed to relate to Mauritania. No Manditania or Maditania found in any source.
- (4) All sources utilizing the Asian meaning.
- (5) Not a place-name.