LANDSCAPE AND MYTH IN NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE

BORDERS, BOUNDARIES, LANDSCAPES

Landscape and Myth in North-Western Europe

Edited by

Matthias Egeler

BREPOLS

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Myth and the Landscapes of Literature

Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape: Religion and History in *Imago mundi*, *Image du monde*, and *Delw y byd*

Natalia I. Petrovskaia

The primary aim of the present contribution is to examine how the redrawing of the conceptual landscape in two medieval adaptations of the same geographical treatise leads to the creation of two vastly differing texts. A secondary aim is to investigate the conceptual landscape as a mental image, embodied in a literary construct, and as the object of purposeful change and reinterpretation, subject to cultural and political pressures of the milieux in which its descriptions are produced.[1]

Throughout the present study, I use the definition of landscape as space and representation of space, as employed by Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan, who provide a useful framework for the examination of geography as description of landscape.[2] It sees geographical description, in its creation of an artificial representation of space, as creating a fully artificial landscape, often unintelligible to readers outside the cultural sphere and the unique set of socio-political circumstance that created that particular description.[3] Medieval geo-

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[1] For the notion of landscape as the product of cognitive action, see Schama, *Landscape*, pp. 6–7. For the importance of social and political pressures on landscape construction, see Schama, *Landscape*, p. 15. The issue is addressed throughout Schama's book, but for a discussion of Scottish and Welsh cases in particular, see pp. 467–70.

[2] Barnes and Duncan, 'Introduction', p. 4.

[3] The idea builds on the notion of 'agents of blindness', preconceptions that blind the reader to the 'real' (physical) landscape; see Duncan and Duncan, 'Ideology and Bliss', pp. 47, 64. See also Egeler, 'Landschaft und Religion', pp. 3–4, and Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind*.

Natalia I. Petrovskaia (N.Petrovskaia@uu.nl) is Assistant Professor in Celtic at Utrecht University and Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellow at Philipps-Universität Marburg.

graphical texts, in their description of the world as 'landscape', a conceptual landscape that can be physically scanned from a god's-eye-view, are intensely visual, whether or not the text is accompanied (as it often is in the later Middle Ages) by a *mappa mundi*, a 'world map'. These texts create, to use D. M. Mark's terminology, 'transperceptual spaces' (described by Mark as 'dominated by information from [...] wayfinding experience and inference').[4] The medieval geographical text, whether belonging to the genre of encyclopaedia or travel narrative (e.g., *itinerarium*), is almost by definition in itself a 'wayfinding experience', where the travel is of the armchair type: a virtual journey of the inner self through the described landscape.

To illustrate the difference in the conceptual landscaping of the same areas, based on the same source material, in differing cultural and linguistic milieux, two vernacular versions of the same medieval Latin text, *Imago mundi*, that have never been examined side by side before, are compared and contrasted in the present study: the Welsh *Delw y byd* (Image of the World) and the French *Image du monde* of Gossouin (or Gautier) de Metz.[5]

Both texts are based on the twelfth-century prose Latin encyclopaedia *Imago mundi* by Honorius Augustodunensis.[6] Treatises based on the *Imago mundi* survive in French, Castilian, Italian, Welsh, Hebrew, and Middle English, the latter being William Caxton's 1481 *Mirrour of the World*.[7]

Honorius appears to have produced several distinct versions of *Imago mundi*, the earliest version being the shortest, and the later versions showing

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[4] Mark, 'Human Spatial Cognition', discussed in Wood, 'Visualization'.

[5] For the Latin text, see Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint; or Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi*, ed. by Migne. Note that the two Latin editions differ in their chapter numbering systems; the present discussion follows Flint's numbering scheme. For the Welsh text, see *Delw y Byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres. Note that Lewis and Diverres's text follows Migne's chapter scheme. For discussions of the Welsh text, see Lloyd and Owen, *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol*, pp. 116–18, 123–27; Falileyev, '*Delw y Byd* Revisited'; Petrovskaia, '*Delw y Byd*'. Editions of the French text include, for the prose version, Gossouin de Metz, *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Prior; for the first verse version, see *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne (unpublished doctoral thesis).

[6] Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis', pp. 165–67, supplies a list of surviving manuscripts of *Imago mundi*. Hore more on Honorius, see *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 7–8; Flint, 'The Chronology of the Works', p. 215.

[7] *Semeiança del mundo*, ed. by Bull and Williams; *L'Ymagine del mondo*, ed. by Chiovaro; Finzi, 'Di un inedito volgarizzamento'; Neubauer, 'Les traductions hébraïques'; *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, ed. by Prior. For a discussion of Caxton's text, see Knapp, 'Translating for Print'. The French prose version was also printed in Paris by Antoine Caillaut in 1485.
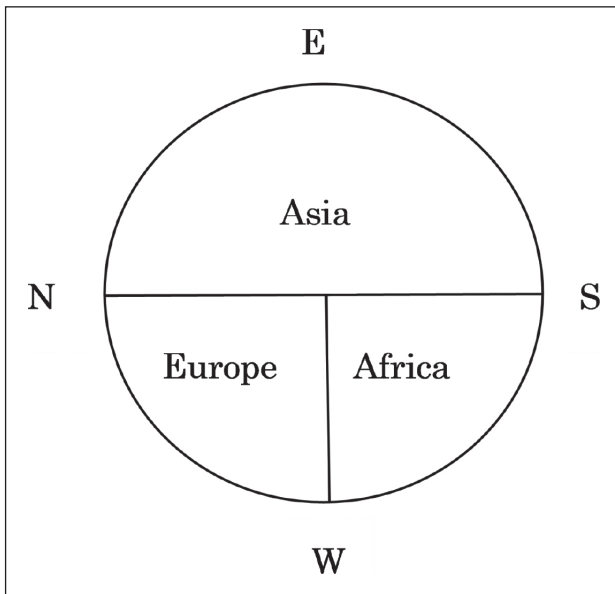
Figure 11.1:
The T-O-type *mappae mundi* tradition.
Figure by author.

evidence of elaboration and expansion.[8] The text consists of three books, the first of which was by far the general favourite.[9] Each of the vernacular adaptations mentioned above is based exclusively on this part of the text. It describes the known world, according to the four elements, in ascending order: earth (geography), water (oceans, water systems), air (aerial phenomena such as clouds and wind), and fire (astronomy). The sections on geography and cosmography dominate in size. The geographical section provides a description of the inhabited world in a format familiar to us from its visual depictions in the T-O-type *mappae mundi* tradition, wherein the circular inhabited world is divided into the three sections of Asia, Africa, and Europe (see Fig. 11.1).[10] Indeed, some of the manuscripts of *Imago mundi*, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 66 (Sawley, s. xii), are illustrated with *mappae mundi*.[11]

[8] *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 35–42.

[9] Book II is a treatise on the division and measurement of time, and Book III is a chronicle beginning with Adam and recounting the six ages of the world.

[10] For more on the T-O-type *mappae mundi*, see, for instance, Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', and among more recent works, essays in Talbot and Unger, *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*; for a catalogue of medieval *mappae mundi*, see Destombes, *Mappemondes*.

[11] Henceforth referred to as CCCC 66. For a digital facsimile, see *Parker Library on the Web* <https://parker.stanford.edu/> [accessed 22 September 2016].

The geographical information contained in the Latin treatise appears to be transferred almost intact, but with some important variation (discussed in greater detail below), into the new linguistic format in both the French and the Welsh cases.

Two separate prose translations of this text into Welsh, entitled *Delw y byd*, both probably from the thirteenth century, survive in fragmentary form, one based on the earliest (*c.* 1110) and shortest version, and one based on the second (*c.* 1120) version of the original Latin text. There are six fragments extant in five medieval manuscripts.[12] The Welsh texts represent a faithful translation of the original, with only minor variation, such as occasional omission of additional detail, somewhat more pronounced in the second Welsh version, or alterations made to passages where etymological explanations are given for Latin names or place-names which would not work in Welsh.[13] By contrast, the *Image du monde* uses the text as a core for a new encyclopaedia, and its tendency is to expand, with additional information being added from other sources, such as Alexander Neckham, Jacques de Vitry, Gervais of Tilbury, and Adelard of Bath.[14] There are three versions of the text, two in verse and the last in prose, of which the earliest appears to date to 1246.[15] All three versions use *Imago mundi* as the core of their text.[16] Seventy-one manuscripts of Version 1, twenty-four of Version 2, and nine of the prose version are known.[17] Further evidence of the popularity of the text lies in the survival of multiple

[12] Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 17 (s. xiii); Peniarth 5, ('White Book of Rhydderch' *c.* 1350); two fragments in Oxford, Jesus College, MS 111, ('Red Book of Hergest' 1382–1402); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.467 (*c.* 1400); Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, MS 8680 (1382–1402); for more, see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Guy, 'A Welsh Manuscript'.

[13] See the discussion in Petrovskaia, 'Disparition du *quasi*'.

[14] For instance, as Prior notes, II.7 of *Image du monde* is largely a translation of Jaques de Vitry's *Historia Hierosolimitana*, Chapter 93; *Image du monde*, ed. by Prior, p. 8. See also Duval, *Lectures françaises*, p. 201.

[15] *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, pp. 38–43; there is disagreement on whether there are three or four different versions of the text, based on whether London, British Library, MS Harley 4333 (s. xiii) is recognized as a unique witness to a separate version. The date of completion for the first version of *Image du monde* is commonly given as 1245, but as Connochie-Bourgne points out, this corresponds to 1246 in modern reckoning. See *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, p. 10; for a discussion of the number of verse versions, see pp. 27–30, 58–59.

[16] For the composition of these versions, see *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, and Centili, 'La seconda redazione'.

[17] *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, p. 9 n. 13, pp. 43, 46.

early printed editions.[18] Copies of the text can be found both on their own and incorporated into greater manuscript compilations, a context similar to that within which *Delw y byd* fragments are found.

Redrawing Europe and Africa

For our purposes of examining the 'conceptual landscaping' of geography in these texts, what is of particular interest are the aberrations and departures introduced in the process of translation and adaptation, which change the space being represented and, as will be argued below, give it a new set of cultural meanings. The most substantial changes concern the most significant area on the medieval T-O map, its eastern half, holding the most mythologized area of the perceived world space: the religiously significant Holy Land and the legendary (and heavily fictionalized and mythologized) India. Both areas are subtly redrawn in the medieval French adaptation and are discussed in detail below. The one alteration which has already attracted scholarly attention concerns the tripartite structure of the world: Gossouin attributes Jerusalem, Syria, Greece, a part of Italy, Spain, and Gascony to the region of Africa in the section entitled 'D'Aufrique et de ses contrees':[19]

> Ci aprés vous deviserons
> D'Aufrique et de ses regïons.
> [...]
> Jherusalem et le païs
> La ou Dieu fu et mors et vis,
> Gresce, Roumanie, Touscainne,
> Gascoingne, Lombardie, Espaingne[.][20]
>
> (After this we will explain to you
> Of Africa and of its regions.
> [...]
> Jerusalem and the country
> Where God was dead and alive,
> Greece, Romania, Tuscany,
> Gascony, Lombardy, Spain.[21])

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[18] Versions of the *Image du monde* were printed in 1501, 1520, and 1530; see Duval, *Lectures françaises*, p. 203.

[19] *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, p. 91.

[20] *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, p. 840, ll. 3003–04, 3007–10.

[21] Translations, unless marked otherwise, are my own.

Connochie-Bourgne suggests that this may be due to a conscious decision to show European Christianity shrinking and under threat, and points out the interchangeability of the terms *sarrazins* and *africains*.[22] The cultural and political context of the change made to the text, as analysed by Connochie-Bourgne, appears to be a crusading one. The change made by the French translator is thus a rereading of the religious landscape. The list corresponds roughly to the areas covered in Chapters 25–28 of the Latin text, in the beginning of the section on Europe. Greece is Chapter 25, Italy (with a mention of Lombardy and of Tuscany) Chapter 26, Spain Chapter 28. Southern France is covered in Chapter 27 ('Gallia'), but Gascony is not named, nor is *Roumanie*, referring probably to Byzantium.[23] The French writer appears to have added the toponym *Roumanie* in order to update the place-names in his text, as the majority of the terminology used in the *Imago mundi* is classical rather than medieval. This serves to support the suggestion that the change is a conscious decision.

The prose version of *Image du monde* was translated by Caxton into Middle English and published *c.* 1481, an indicator that the small number of surviving manuscripts (nine) should not be regarded as a sign of obscurity.[24] The temporal distance between Caxton's translation and the original appears to have been sufficient for a complete loss of context: the reasons of the change to the text discussed above appear to have been lost by that point. This is the occasion of one of Caxton's few authorial interventions:[25]

> And how be it that the Auctour of this book saye that thise countrees ben in Affryke, yet as I vnderstonde alle thise ben within the lymytes and boundes of Europe.

It is worth noting that none of the scribes copying the *Image du monde* appear to have had Caxton's problem with the text, as no manuscripts attempt to correct this apparent error. This phenomenon seems to support Connochie-Bourgne's interpretation that the cause of this specific feature of the French

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[22] Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le cas de l'*Image du monde*', pp. 91–93.

[23] It is possible that *Gascoingne* was used for the region corresponding to the Basque country; for the confusion in the terminology and possible common origins for both *Gascony* and *Basque*, see Pépin, 'Genèse et évolution du peuple gascon', esp. pp. 50–54.

[24] That the production of this book (the first English printed illustrated book) required a solid financial investment is apparent from the high quality of the paper used; see Twomey, 'Middle English Translations', p. 338 n. 7. See also Blake, *William Caxton*, pp. 110–11 for a discussion of the translation and production context.

[25] Caxton, *Mirrour of the World*, g.1v; discussed in Blake, *Caxton and his World*, p. 127. *Mirrour of the World*, ed. by Prior, pp. 93–94.

text was cultural/political. By the time the text reached Caxton in England (through Bruges) this context was lost, leaving the translator confused by the rewritten landscape. The text, for him, had lost its function as a guide.

Whilst a cultural and apparently time-specific context appears to be responsible for the cardinal change in the French adaptation in relation to the original Latin, the Welsh, otherwise quite faithful to the original, also permits itself a subtle change in the accents placed on local geography, also in relation to Southern France. The Welsh translation of the 1110 version of *Imago mundi*, preserved in the Red Book of Hergest, makes a number of subtle changes to the description of France found in Chapter 27 of the Latin text:

> Odyna y mae Gallia. Honno a gerda o vynyd Iubiter, ac yn erbyn y gogled y uor Brytaen y teruyna. Honn a elwyt Ffreinc o enw Ffanckus vrenhin; pan doeth hwnnw gyt ac Eneas o Tro, yd adeilwys ger llaw Renwm, a Ffreinc a dodes arnei. O honn y tu ar gorllewin y mae Ffreinc Liwn, a honno heuyt a elwir Comata. Odyna yrwng Rodwm a Liger y mae Gwasgwin.[26]

> (Thence is Gallia. That one stretches from mount Jupiter, and towards the north ends in the British Sea. This is called France from the name of King Francus; when he [lit. = that one] came together with Aeneas from Troy he built near the Rhine and called it France. From this in the direction of the west is French Lyons, and that is also called Comata. Thence between Rhône and the Loire is Gascony.)

It is the final sentence of this chapter (29 in the Welsh text) that is of particular interest. It translates the Latin 'versus occidentem Aquitaniam, ab aquis Rhodano et Ligere dictam' (towards the West Aquitania, [so] called from the waters [*aquis*] of Rhône and Loire). The Welsh *Gwasgwin* means Gascony. The two rivers in question are the Rhône and the Loire. Gascony and Aquitaine both lay between the two rivers. This passage appears to reflect rewriting on the part of the Welsh translators (or their exemplar), displaying a familiarity with this region. The rewriting is unparalleled in other geographical sections of *Delw y Byd*.[27] If we suppose that the familiarity displayed with the region and the substitution of Gascony for Aquitaine is a Welsh contribution to the

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[26] *Delw y byd*, ed. by Lewis and Diverres, chap. 29 (p. 43).

[27] The passage comes from the A version of *Delw y byd*, for which we have the corresponding Latin text from related manuscripts. The text is otherwise close to the Latin to the extent of occasionally being ungrammatical. The Latin text of CCCC 66, which is related to the Welsh version, also has *Aquitaine* rather than Gascony. The presence of the reference to Gascony in the French adaptation must be coincidental, since that text is related to a different version of *Imago mundi*. Gascony does not appear in any variants noted in *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 62.

text, a suitable cultural context that provides the explanation for the rewriting presents itself. This lies in the Welsh participation in Edward's Gascon campaigns in the years 1296–98, which marked a pivotal moment in the contest between the French and English crowns over the Duchy of Aquitaine.[28] If this supposition is correct, this passage, and possibly the whole of this version of *Delw y byd*, may have been produced after 1296, or in the years leading up to the campaign.[29]

The most marked point of divergence between the Latin and Welsh versus the French versions of the passage is that the authoritative discourse of the encyclopaedia is being used for different purposes, to carry a different set of cultural or political notions. The Welsh text maintains the reference to Troy present in the Latin original, thus subscribing to the Trojan myth, one of the most powerful symbols of political (historical and literary) discourse in medieval Europe.[30] The impact of the Trojan legend was felt throughout Europe and reached as far as Old Norse and Irish literature.[31] From this perspective, the retention of the reference in the Welsh text is unsurprising. The French text, by contrast, drops the reference to Troy and instead refocuses the geographical description according to a different set of co-ordinates by employing a crusading context. If it is indeed a crusade-related change, as Connochie-Bourgne suggests, the reorientation is literal, as identification with (eastern) Troy opposed to (western) Greece is replaced by identification with the shrinking West as opposed to the encroaching South/East.[32]

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[28] Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, pp. 22, 24–28. For more on the conflict, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 381–86.

[29] The other version of *Delw y byd* treats these regions in a much briefer way and does not have the equivalent passage.

[30] For the Troy legend in the European Middle Ages and a further bibliography on the subject, see Keller, *Selves & Nations*. For more on the Irish uses of the Troy story, see Poppe, 'The Matter of Troy', and Fulton, 'History'.

[31] Norse examples include *Trójumanna saga* as well as, importantly, references in Snorri Sturluson's Prose *Edda*; see *Trójumanna saga*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, and Snorri Sturlusson, *Edda*, ed. by Faulkes, Prologue § 3–4, 9, and *Gylfaginning*, § 53; for a discussion, see, for instance, Eldevik, 'What's Hecuba to Them?'.

[32] For a discussion of the problematics of Troy's position in the East, see Petrovskaia, *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient*, pp. 31–32.

Redrawing Asia

Whilst Connochie-Bourgne's culture-/politics-based solution may be satisfactory for the rewriting of Jerusalem, Syria, Greece, a part of Italy, Spain, and Gascony, it does not explain a similar confusion which occurs earlier on in the text, which Connochie-Bourgne does not mention and which has hitherto remained unexplored. The chapter begins 'En Ynde a maintes granz contrees | De genz et de bestes pueplees' (In India a many great countries | inhabited by people and animals).[33] The countries listed include Mesopotamia, Babylon, Chaldea, Tars, Assyria, Phoenicia, Damascus and Antioch, Palestine, Egypt, Albania, and Armenia.[34] While it could be suggested that the text has moved on to regions other than India tacitly, this suggestion is untenable because this chapter, entitled 'Des contrees d'Inde' (The Countries of India), is followed by the chapter 'Des genz d'Inde' (The Peoples of India). It is therefore clear that this text assigns Parthia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, Phoenicia, and others to India, possibly erroneously presuming these to be among the twenty-four regions of India referred to in a previous chapter.[35] In order to throw some light on the processes by which this rewriting might have come to be, it is worthwhile to compare the chapter divisions of *Image du monde* to those of *Imago mundi*.

Table 11.1 on the following page presents the sequence of chapters in this section of *Image du monde*, with, in the right-hand column, the corresponding chapters of *Imago mundi* (numbered according to Flint's edition). It is apparent from this table that the regions described in *Imago mundi* as lying outside India are incorporated into its description by Gossouin. In this recasting of geographical units, the region of India is simply superimposed on the Asia of T-O type representations. Analysing this alongside the shift observed by Connochie-Bourgne, it appears that 'Saracen' regions are being transferred in this text from Asia to Africa, and the rest of 'Asia' is relabelled as India. The question which remains to be answered, and has not been answered in relation to either of the two alterations of the French text, is whether these may have originated with the Latin exemplar used by Gossouin. Although, as can be

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[33] *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, p. 830, ll. 2619–23.

[34] For the passage in question, see *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, pp. 830–34, ll. 2619–2770.

[35] *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, p. 821, ll. 2233–34; cf. *Imago mundi* I.10, which gives the number of regions in India as forty-four. Note that Caxton accepts this without comment; *Mirrour of the World*, ed. Prior, chap. 8, pp. 81–88.

Table 11.1: Chapter sequences in *Image du monde* and *Imago mundi*

Image du monde	*Imago mundi*
De paradis terrestre et des .IIII. fleuves qui en issent	8. *De paradyso* 9. *De .iiii. fluminibus*
D'Inde et de ses choses	10. *De India* 11. *De Monstris*
De serpenz et des bestes d'Inde	12. *De bestiis*
Des pierres d'Inde	[12. *De bestiis*]*
Des contrees d'Inde	13. *De Parthia* 14. *De Mesopotamia* 15. *De Syria* 16. *De Palestina* 17. *De Egypto* 18. *De regionibus orientis*
Des genz d'Inde	19. *De Asia Minor* 20. *De regionibus Asie*
Des poissons d'Inde	—
Des arbres d'Inde	—

* The sum total of information on stones of India in *Imago mundi* can be found in the final sentence of Chapter 12 (present only in the later versions of the text); discussed in *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, p. 37. *Delw y byd*, therefore, following as it does the earliest version, does not contain this. The French text expands this reference to twenty-two lines, but refers the reader to the *Lapidaire* for more information; see *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, p. 830, ll. 2615–16.

observed from the extracts provided, the French text specifies that the regions in question are located within India, it is conceivable that this may derive from a particular regrouping of the material in a given manuscript tradition. It must be kept in mind that the chapter titles given in the table above are derived from Flint's edition, which follows 'in general', to quote the editor, the chapter divisions of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm. 536 (1143×47), a manuscript representing the final 1139 version of the Latin text.[36] Nevertheless, whilst in order to account for a possible variation of groupings in Gossouin's Latin exemplar one could offer an explanation building on an assumption of a diversity of chapter division patterns in the manuscript tradition of *Imago mundi*, there does not appear to be at present enough ground for such a sup-

[36] *Imago mundi*, ed. by Flint, pp. 25–26, 44–45.

position. For this purpose it suffices to compare the sequence for Asia in the Munich manuscript with the chapter headings given for the same section in a manuscript of the earliest (1110) version, of *Imago mundi*, CCCC 66. The chapter or section headings are marked in red in the manuscript itself, providing a detailed chapter division scheme. Table 11.2 (below) presents the two chapter sequences from Munich 536 and CCCC 66.[37]

Table 11.2: Chapter sequences in Munich 536 and CCCC 66

Munich 536	CCCC 66
De India	*De India*
De Monstris *De Bestiis*	*De monstris*
De Parthia	*De Parthia*
De Mesopotamia	*De Mesopotamia*
De Syria	*De Siria*
De Palestina	*De Iudea*
De Egypto	*De Egypto*
De Caucaso. De regionibus orientis	*De Caucaso. De regionibus orientis*
De Asia Minor	*De Asia Minore*
De regionibus Asie	*De Bithinia*

As can be seen from the table, the differences are minimal. CCCC 66, however, also has a chapter list at the beginning of the manuscript. For the relevant section, only two chapter titles are given, neither of which corresponds to the headings in the main text: 'De India et omnibus monstris eius' and 'De ceteris Asiæ partibus'.[38] It may be possible that the rearrangement in the French text is based on a misreading of a similar chapter list in a manuscript of *Imago mundi* and an error in assigning headings within the manuscript to correspond to chapter titles given in the table of contents. It is equally possible that only one title, 'De India et omnibus monstris eius', was given in the *Imago mundi* accessible to Gossouin. Until a detailed study has been undertaken determin-

[37] A digital facsimile of Munich 536 is available on the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *Digitale Bibliothek* website <http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/> [accessed 26 September 2016]. I am grateful to Matthias Egeler for bringing this to my attention. For the relevant chapter headings, see fols 4ʳ–7ᵛ.

[38] See CCCC 66, p. 3; see *Parker on the Web*.

ing the exact relation between *Image du monde* and *Imago mundi*, however, this can only remain a tentative suggestion.

The alternative interpretation is that these alterations are neither accidental nor unintentional but rather represent a comment on the perceived political and cultural realities of 'Europe'. A tentative suggestion for a political context of the unique expansion of India across the Middle East in *Image du monde* is that it may be a reflection of the Mongol expansion westwards, which began to be felt even in Europe in the 1230s and even more so in the 1240s, when our text is believed to have been composed.[39] This would work well with Connochie-Bourgne's suggestion of a crusading context for the other significant change observed in the text.[40]

Conclusion: Redrawing the Conceptual Landscape

The French text introduces significant changes in the layout of the world, assigning new values to two of the three labels of the traditional tripartite division: Asia and Africa. This programme of relabelling, or a redrawing of the conceptual landscape, which is unique to the French text, may well have been caused by the cultural and political context on the one hand and the new broader audience and the didactic aims of the *livre de clergie* on the other.[41] The introduction of the changes dictated by contemporary events and concerns would be uncharacteristic of the notoriously inert encyclopaedic tradition, and the explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the nature of the new work's genre. In the process of adaptation, *Image du monde* is no longer a scientific treatise but, as the prologue itself states, a *livre de clergie*. Its aim was a programme for the delivery of clerical learning to a new non-clerical and non-scholarly public rather than a faithful reproduction of the Latin, as can be seen from the introduction of additional material, such as information on eclipses and the *exempla*.[42] Thus the purpose of the author was didactic, and the rewriting of the religious and mythological conceptual landscapes was a crucial part of the recasting of the encyclopaedia as a work not only informative and

[39] See Jackson, *Mongols*, pp. 13, 60, 256.

[40] See p. 200 above and Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le cas de l'*Image du monde*', pp. 91–93.

[41] For more on *clergie* as learning, see Waters, *Translating Clergie*, p. 10.

[42] Beyer de Ryke, 'Le miroir du monde', pp. 1266–67; Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le temps qu'il fait', p. 31; Connochie-Bourgne, 'Pourquoi et comment réécrire une encyclopédie?', p. 152; *L'Image du monde*, ed. by Connochie-Bourgne, pp. 16–17; Duval, *Lectures françaises*, p. 202.

leading to learning but educational in the spiritual sense and, in the view of the author and his audience, leading to salvation. The rewriting of the world landscape here is thus, in this case at least, a didactic rather than necessarily directly political undertaking.

This does not appear to be a feature of the Welsh translations, which, by contrast, have a tendency towards abridgement. The redrawing of the conceptual landscape in the Welsh text appears to occur only in relation to Gascony, where it could be argued that immediate experience served to overwrite the encyclopaedic tradition. Yet even in this case the alteration to the conceptual landscape is done without interfering excessively with the original text. This appears to be a compromise between cultural relevance and the inertia of the medieval encyclopaedic tradition.[43] The change effected here, whether to present the area in terms more familiar to the audience or not, nevertheless represents a reappropriation of the conceptual landscape, its relabelling, and redrawing. Mapping the landscape, in images or in words, is an activity deeply connected with the 'appropriation of space'.[44] The differences observed between the French and the Welsh adaptations in the degree to which space is reappropriated appear to be largely due to the differences in the objectives of the 'translations' in question: the creation of a new didactic text propagating a particular type of spiritual learning to the laity in the *livre de clergie* on the one hand, and the faithful delivery of the substance of the Latin text into the vernacular learned corpus of the Welsh on the other.

[43] Compare the non-invasive alteration (through addition of detail pertaining to the physical world) in the ninth-century *De mensura orbis terrae*, written by the Irishman Dicuil, enriching the classical geographical tradition with information derived from travel accounts; for discussions, see, for instance, Marcus, 'The First Discovery', and Lozovsky, *The Earth is our Book*, pp. 28–29, 141, 147–52.

[44] Cosgrove, 'Prospect', p. 46.

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