Europe and the Holy Land in the British Branch of the *Imago Mundi* Tradition

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Introduction

It is something of a commonplace to say that to the medieval Europeans, the Holy Land was central not only in geographical terms, but also in cultural. The medieval European image of Jerusalem has been the subject of many recent studies, which have shown that it could carry a multitude of meanings and associations that could be, and were, used in constructing identity.[2] As Bianca Kühnel observes, 'What is peculiar to the relationship between Jerusalem and Europe is the continuity of Jerusalem's presence and the extent of its share in the formation of European cultures'.[3] The significance of the geographical aspect of the European perception of Jerusalem within this framework is particularly aptly illustrated by the metaphor of Jerusalem as the navel of the world, *umbilius mundi*, in geographical, historical and fictional medieval texts from medieval Europe (though these genre distinctions are modern), and the corresponding expression of this centrality in its central position in

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[2] The bibliography is too vast to be reproduced here, but for references to the multitude of significances of Jerusalem in medieval European eyes, see, for instance, Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1–2; Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, 'Préface', to E. Berriot-Salvadore, ed., *Le mythe de Jérusalem du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance* (Paris: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1995), p. 9. For a study of the representation of Jerusalem in a cartographic context, see Ingrid Baumgärtner, 'Die Wahrnehmung Jerusalems auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung – Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. by Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Nikolas Jaspert (Frankfurt: Campus, 2001), pp. 271–334

[3] Bianca Kühnel, 'Virtual Pilgrimages to Real Places: The Holy Landscapes', in Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, ed., *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, Proceedings of the British Academy 175 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012), pp. 243–64 (p. 243).

European world maps of the crusading period, the *mappae mundi* of the T-O type.[4] The

contrast between the centrality of the Holy Land and the marginality of European countries in

the worldview expressed in these images and related texts have formed the focal point of a

number of recent discussions.[5] In particular, that in the medieval geographical discourse

Britain was perceived as marginal whilst the Holy Land occupied a central place is a much-

discussed *topos*.[6] However, the contrast might be taken more broadly, for, as Michael Wintle

observes in relation to the relative importance ascribed to Europe and Asia in the medieval

cartographic T-O tradition: 'these early maps do not laud Europe in any way; if anything it is

Asia which has pride of place, being larger and at the top, honoured with the location of the

rising sun and the Garden of Eden'.[7] The objective of the present chapter is to present the

interplay in the geographical descriptions of Jerusalem and the Holy Land on the one hand,

and of the regions of Europe on the other, in texts of a single encyclopaedic tradition.

As the title of this chapter suggests, its focus is on the British branch of the wide

encyclopaedic tradition based on the twelfth-century treatise *Imago mundi* 'Image of the

World' (also known as *De imagine mundi* 'On the Image of the World' or *De imagine mundi*

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[4] David Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', in David Woodward and John Brian Harley, ed., *The History of Cartography. Volume I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 286–370, (pp. 341–42). See also Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Asa Simon Mittman, 'Seeing Jerusalem: Schematic Views of the Holy City, 1100-1300', in Matilina Cesario and Malte Urban, ed., *Aspects of Knowledge: Preserving and Reinventing Traditions of Learning in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 116–41, (pp. 122, 134).

[5] See Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 50–66; Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World. Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000–1534* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006); Robert Bartlett, 'Heartland and Border: The Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. by Huw Pryc and John Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 23–36. As Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Asa Simon Mittman observe, the orientation of medieval maps itself has also been interpreted as according extra significance to the Holy Land; see Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Asa Simon Mittman, 'Seeing Jerusalem', p. 121.

[6] See, in particular, the extensive discussion dedicated to the subject in Lavezzo's *Angels on the Edge*.

[7] Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe. Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 165.

libri tres 'Three Books on the Image of the World').[8] By the 'British Branch' here I mean the vernacular adaptations and translations based on this text produced and circulated in Britain (both in England and in Wales, in French, English, and Welsh). Despite the disparate origins of these adaptations and translations, the tradition discussed here shows a degree of continuity. The texts discussed range from the mid-thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth centuries.[9] Despite their differences, these texts show a number of common trends, of which one is the relative stability in their rendition of the description of the Holy Land as found in the *Imago mundi*, compared to a relative fluidity observed in their descriptions of Europe.

The present article provides a brief overview of the British branch of the *Imago mundi* tradition, followed by a discussion of the ways in which the stability in the description of the Holy Land in these texts contrasts with the fluidity in the descriptions of Europe. It will be suggested in the conclusion that this phenomenon might be explained through the application of the 'three Orients' theory, which proposes that the medieval conception of westward historical progression articulated in the *translatio studii et imperii* separated out the timeless and eternally important 'biblical' Orient, from the 'historical' Orient firmly located in the past, and, finally also from the 'contemporary' Orient of the present, which the process of *translatio* had left behind.[10] The latter is absent from these texts, which focus on the 'contemporary' Europe, the description of which therefore is subject to being updated and therefore more susceptible to change.

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[8] For editions of the text, see Valerie I. J. Flint, ed., *Honorius Augustodunensis, Imago mundi*, Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen Âge 49 (Paris, 1982) https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/44403737 (accessed 03 October 2018) and Jean-Paul Migne, ed., *Honorii Augustodunensi De imagine mundi libri tres*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina 172 (Paris, 1895). The only translation into modern English currently available appears to be in Nicholas Ryan Foster, 'The *Imago mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis', unpublished MA thesis, Portland State University Department of History, 2008, online DOI: 10.15760/etd.5974 (accessed 3 October 2018).

[9] For details, see the following section.

[10] For more on the 'Three Orients' theory, see 'Introduction' to Natalia I. Petrovskaia*, Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient*.

The *Imago mundi* and Its Adaptations

The *Imago Mundi* is commonly described as a twelfth-century encyclopaedia. While the anachronism of the term 'encyclopaedia' in relation to medieval texts is widely acknowledged, so is its usefulness as a category, and in this article I follow the established use of this label.[11] I adopt the definition provided by Bernard Ribémont in his description of the 'Encyclopedic model' of writing, who observes that 'Encyclopaedic writing implies a philosophical and theological question about the system of the world and/or the way in which it can be apprehended through knowledge conditioned by its very organisational modes'.[12] The *Imago mundi* and texts based on it follow this pattern, as they represent a systematic representation of knowledge concerning the world.[13] The information presented in this group of texts is, as we shall see, partly adaptable to the circumstances of the texts' circulation but nevertheless largely dependent on the original structure and organisation of the material presented.

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[11] See, for instance, discussions in Bernard Ribémont, 'On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages', in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 47–61; Bernard Ribémont, 'L'encyclopédisme médiéval: de la définition d'un genre à son évolution sur la pertinence des notions d'apogée et de décadence', *Apogée et déclin. Actes du Colloque de l'URA 411, Provins, 1991*, ed. by Claude Thomasset et Michel Zink (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1993), pp. 27–68; Jacques Le Goff, 'Pourquoi le XIIIe siècle a-t-il été plus particulièrement un siècle d'encyclopédisme?', *L'enciclopedismo medievale*, ed. by Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo, 1994), pp. 23–40; Michael W. Twomey, 'Middle English Translations of Medieval Encyclopedias', *Literature Compass* 3 (2006), 331–40 (p. 331); Isabelle Draelants, 'Le « siècle de l'encyclopédisme » : conditions et critères de définition d'un genre', in Arnaud Zucker, ed., *Encyclopédire: Formes de l'ambition encyclopédique dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*, Collection d'études médiévales de Nice 14 (Tunrhout: Brepos, 2013), pp. 81–106, esp. p. 82–85. For use of the term in relation to texts of the *Imago mundi* tradition, see also Katherine A. Brown, 'The Vernacular Universe: Gossuin de Metz's *Image du monde*, *translatio studii*, and Vernacular Narrative', *Viator* 44 (2013), 137–58, esp. p. 137.

[12] Ribémont, 'On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre', p. 54.

[13] For a different approach to the analysis of *Imago mundi*-type texts, see Robert Luff, *Wissensvermittlung im Europäischen Mittelalter*, Texte und Geeschichte 47 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), esp. pp. 6–8.

The *Imago mundi* was composed by Honorius Augustodunensis (*fl.c*. 1090–*c*.1140), an author as mysterious as he was prolific.[14] The work has a tripartite structure. The first book concerns the physical world, the second the divisions of time, and the third is a historical text. It is the first of the three books that proved particularly popular in the medieval period. The text, which survives in over a hundred medieval manuscripts, was enormously influential in the Middle Ages and similar in popularity and extent of dissemination to Honorius's other encyclopaedia, the *Elucidarium*.[15]

The *Imago mundi* was a widely popular medieval text, translated into several vernacular European languages, including Anglo-Norman, French, Spanish, and Welsh.[16] The British tradition of this text forms a significant proportion of the surviving corpus, for not only did the Latin and French versions both circulate in the Insular context, but the text had found translation both into Anglo-Norman (twice) and into Welsh (also twice).[17] It is also

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[14] For an overview of the discussions surrounding the authorship of the text, see Garrigues, 'L'oeuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis. Inventaire critique', *Abhandlungen der braunschweiischen wissenschaftlichen Gesselschaft* 38 (1986), p. 7–138, (pp. 27–28). Online bibliographies for Honorius Augustodunensis and his works, including lists of manuscripts, are available at *ARLIMA: Archives de littérature du moyen âge* https://www.arlima.net/eh/honorius_dautun.html# (accessed 14 September 2018) and, for the *Imago mundi* in particular at the Entry for *Imago mundi* in the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften database *Repertorium. 'Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters'* https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_02846.html (accessed 19 September 2018).

[15] See Graeme Dunphy, 'Historical Writing in and after the Old High German Period', in *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Brian Murdoch (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), p. 210; Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 18. For more on the *Elucidarium*, see Yves Lefèvre, *Contribution, par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 180 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954); Valerie I. J. Flint, 'The Original Text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the Twelfth Century English Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 18 (1964), 91–94; Dagmar Gottschall, *Das 'Elucidarium' des Honorius Augustodunensis. Untersuchungen zu seiner Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum mit Ausgabe der niederdeutschen Übersetzung*, Texte und Text- geschichte 33 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992).

[16] A searchable database of all known manuscripts of the *Imago mundi* and its vernacular adaptations was produced in the course of the 'Defining "Europe" in Medieval European Geographical Discourse' project; see Natalia I. Petrovskaia and Kiki Calis, '*Images of the World*: Manuscripts Database of the Imago Mundi Tradition', online at https://imagomundi.hum.uu.nl/ (accessed 26 January 2021).

[17] For references to editions and discussions of the Anglo-Norman versions, see below. For the Welsh versions, see Natalia I. Petrovskaia, *Delw y Byd: A Medieval Welsh Geographical Treatise* (Cambridge: MHRA, 2020); for discussions of the Welsh versions, see the introduction to this edition, and also Natalia

possible, though not certain, that the text was composed by Honorius during his stay in England (possibly with St Anselm in Canterbury).[18] The first adaptation of Book I of *Imago mundi* into Anglo-Norman French, known as *La Petite Philosophie*, was produced towards the beginning of the thirteenth century (*c.* 1230).[19] The second Anglo-Norman version was made on the basis of a French adaptation of the text (Pierre de Beauvais's early-thirteenth-century *Mappemonde*) in the fourteenth (or perhaps as early as the thirteenth) century under the title *Divisiuns del mund* or *Divisiones mundi*.[20] Although this text is thought to be based on the Latin text and does seem to have used it at least partly, it appears to have largely copied the *Mappemonde*.[21] Sometime in the thirteenth century, at least two translations of the *Imago mundi* into Welsh were produced independently of each other. These appear to have

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I. Petrovskaia, '*Delw y byd*: une traduction médiévale en gallois d'une encyclopédielatine et la création d'un traité géographique', *Études celtiques* 39 (2013), 257–77; Alexander Falileyev, '*Delw y Byd* Revisited', *Studia Celtica* 44 (2010), 71–78. Information on the provenance and circulation of the texts is available on the '*Images of the World*' manuscripts database. The Francophone texts are introduced briefly in Adrian Armstrong, Sarah Kay et al., *Knowing Poetry*. *Verse in Medieval France from the* Rose *to the* Rhétoriques (Itaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 104–105.

[18] Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, pp. 8–9. There have also been suggestions that Honorius may have been an Englishman, or an Irishman; see William H. Trethewey, ed., *La Petite Philosophie, An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Thirteenth Century, text with introduction, notes and glossary*, Anglo-Norman Texts I (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1939), p. liii n. 2; Roger E. Reynolds, 'Further Evidence for the Irish Origin of Honorius Augustodunensis', *Viviarium*7 (1969), 1–7.

[19] Trethewey, ed., *La Petite Philosophie*; Michael W. Twomey, 'Medieval Encyclopedias', in Robert E. Kaske, *Medieval Christian Literary Imagery. A Guide to Interpretation* (University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 182–215, p. 190.

[20] Annie Angremy, 'La *Mappemonde* de Pierre de Beauvais (I)', *Romania* 104 (1983), 316–50 https://www.persee.fr/doc/roma_0035-8029_1983_num_104_415_2158 (accessed 03 October 2018), p. 319; see also George L. Hamilton, 'Encore un plagiat médiéval: la *Mappemonde* de Pierre de Beauvais et les *Divisiones mundi* de Perot de Garbelai', in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: E. Droz, 1928), pp. 627–38. Oliver H. Prior, ed., *DivisionesMundi*, in *Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), pp. 33–62; Twomey, 'Medieval Encyclopedias', p. 190. See also Georg Jostkleigrewe, 'L'espace entre tradition et innovation. La géographie symbolique du monde et son adaptation par Gossouin de Metz', *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, 37ᵉ congrès, Mulhouse, 2006. Construction de l'espace au Moyen Age: pratiques et représentations* (2006), 369–78, (p. 372). For an edition of the *Mappemonde*, see Annie Angremy, 'La *Mappemonde* de Pierre de Beauvais (2ᵉᵐᵉ article)', *Romania* 104 (1983), 457–98. The thirteenth-century date was proposed by Alexander Bell in 'Notes on Perot de Garbelei's *DivisionesMundi*', *PhilologicalQuarterly*10 (1931), pp. 36–46.

[21] On the relationship of this with the translation of Pierre de Beauvais, see Hamilton, 'Encore un plagiat médiéval' and Angremy, 'La *Mappemonde* (I)', pp. 331–35.

had a parallel circulation, and, indeed, can be found together (though not as consecutive

texts) copied by the same hand in a large manuscript compilation of the end of the fourteenth

century, the famous Red Book of Hergest.[22] Finally, in 1480 William Caxton produced a

translation of the *Image du monde* into Middle English as *Mirrour of the World*.[23]

The Insular tradition of *Imago mundi* translations and adaptations appears to have

been fairly continuous: from the production of the Latin *Imago mundi* text in the twelfth

century, the continued copying of the text in England (the earliest surviving manuscripts of

the Latin text are from the thirteenth century), to the translation of the text into Anglo-

Norman and Welsh in the thirteenth century, the production of the *Divisiouns du monde* on

the basis of Pierre de Beauvais's adaptation in the fourteenth, and the Middle English edition

by Caxton on the basis of the French adaptation at the end of the fifteenth.[24]

It is important to note that all of these Insular translations and adaptations of *Imago*

mundi are based on different immediate sources: the two versions of the Welsh *Delw y byd*

translate two versions of *Imago mundi*, the *Divisiouns du monde* adapts/translates the

Mappemonde (itself an adaptation of *Imago mundi*), and the *Mirrour of the World* is in turn a

translation of Gossouin de Metz's adaptation of the Latin text. Nevertheless, there is a pattern

in this sequence of re-adaptations and re-appropriations. In each case, the source is positioned

as an external authority. The Welsh texts translate the authoritative Latin, the Anglo-Norman

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[22] For more, see introduction to Petrovskaia, ed., *Delw y Byd.*

[23] He printed his text twice, and Norman F. Blake suggests that the reason may lie in the availability of woodcuts for re-use; Norman F. Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 111–12. The illustrations for the *Mirror of the World* were based on the illuminations of British Library MS Royal 19.A.ix (Bruges, 1464), the French text of which Caxton had translated for this edition; Blake, *William Caxton*, pp. 26, 110.

[24] There is furthermore some evidence for the continual circulation if not necessarily reading or use of the *Imago mundi* and related texts in an English context in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. For instance, copies of the *Imago mundi* can be found alongside those of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum maius* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* in bequests to Merton College, Oxford, in this period, though, as Michael W. Twomey notes, there is no reference to these texts in reading lists for university curricula of the time; Michael W. Twomey, 'Towards a Reception History of Western Medieval Encyclopaedias in England Before 1500', in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1–4 July 1996* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 329–62, (p. 341).

text pretends to translate the authoritative Latin, and the comments of Caxton in relation to his French exemplar suggest a questioning attitude towards what would otherwise have been perceived as 'authority'.[25] These multi-layered connections of the *Imago mundi* tradition with the Insular world have yet to be fully explored.[26] It may be significant, however, that the period of the composition of the *Imago mundi* and its translation into Anglo-Norman and into Welsh corresponds to a *floruit* in cartographic production in England, characterised by a particularly 'global perspective'.[27] In the thirteenth century, when the *Petite Philosophie* and *Delw y byd* were produced, some of the most famous and elaborate *mappae mundi* (world maps) were created in England.[28] This also overlaps with the period of the flowering of medieval encyclopaedism (*c.* 1190–1260).[29] This may well represent what Peter Damian-Grint describes as 'The enthusiasm of twelfth-century audience for treatises translated into the vernacular on any subject, no matter how recondite (just as long as they were in verse, apparently)'.[30] The enthusiasm of the Welsh audiences appears to have been for prose versions of texts, however, while the Francophone public preferred verse.

Despite their apparent popularity in the medieval period, translated texts have traditionally attracted less scholarly attention, and often more criticism, than original compositions.[31] The author of *La Petite Philosophie*, for instance, has been described as 'un

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[25] See discussion below, pp. .

[26] This phenomenon is of particular interest in the context of the similar trends observed in the production and dissemination of Honorius's other encyclopaedic work, the *Elucidarius*, also apparently produced in England and showing predominantly English manuscript provenance for the earlier part of the manuscript tradition; for discussions and further bibliography, see, for instance, C. William Marx, 'An Abbreviated Middle English Prose Translation of the *Elucidarius*', *Leeds Studies in English* 31 (2000), 1–53 and references in note above.

[27] Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge*, pp. 46, 50.

[28] Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', p. 306.

[29] Draelants, 'Le « siècle de l'encyclopédisme »', p. 81.

[30] Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 7.

[31] For the invisibility of the translation in modern culture, see José Lambert, 'Medieval Translations and Translation Studies: Some Preliminary Considerations', in *Science Translated: Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Michèle Goyens, Pieter De Leemans, and An Smets (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), pp. 1–10 (p. 4).

des plus mauvais écrivains que conaisse la littérature anglo-normande', which may go some way towards explaining the relative scarcity of studies of this text.[32] It may be well, however, in this instance, to take our cue from Seneca the Younger: *Numquam me in voce bona mali pudebit auctoris* 'I shall never be ashamed to go to a bad author for a good quotation', for reading and understanding these translated texts is necessary if we are to establish a full picture of the intellectual context of the period.[33]

The Welsh translation (or more correctly translations, since two translations at least were produced on the basis of two different versions of *Imago mundi*), *Delw y byd*, for instance, attests not only to the early circulation of *Imago mundi* manuscripts in Britain, but to interest in Wales in encyclopaedic and geographical material. A visual equivalent is found also in the Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3514 (Whitland, s. XIII[2]), which contains a *mappa mundi* on p. 53, and Oxford, Jesus College MS 20 (s. XIV[ex.]/XV), containing a related map on f. 32v.[34] Echoes of the geographical information carried in this text can be found in literary texts, such as poetry.[35] While direct influence of *Delw y byd* on the poetic texts cannot be demonstrated, it provides the necessary context for understanding these references. It is not the purpose of the present enquiry to engage with criticism of style and language or to

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[32] For the sentiment, see Johan Vising, 'Trethewey, W.H., *La petite philosophie* (Review)', *Medium Aevum* 9 (1940), 95–96 (p. 95). See also Bateman Edwards, 'Review: An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Thirteenth Century', *Modern Philology* 37 (1940), 309–14 (p. 310).

[33] Seneca the Younger, *Ad Serenum. De Tranquillitate Animi*, xi.8, in John W. Basore, ed., *Seneca, Moral Essays, Volume II*, Loeb Classical Library 254 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 258 10.4159/DLCL.seneca_younger-de_tranquillitate_animi.1932; tr. in C. D. N. Costa, trans., *Seneca. Dialogues and Letters* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997), p. 49.

[34] Julia Crick identifies one of the scribes in this manuscript as active *c*. 1266 and another *c*. 1285, with the *Imago Mundi* scribe active somewhat earlier than the 1266 scribe; Julia Crick, 'The Power and the Glory: Conquest and Cosmology in Edwardian Wales (Exeter Cathedral Library, MS. 3514)', in *Textual Studies: Cultural Texts*, ed. by Elaine Treharne and Orietta da Rold (Cambridge; D. S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 21–42 (pp. 24, 33, 40). For the Oxford manuscript, see Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2000), pp. 43, 60. The Oxford manuscript is available in digital facsimile form online at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/d14ae34a-351c-4613-913f-4ea5c9f0dc31 (last accessed 30 April 2019).

[35] See, for instance, the 'Greater Song of the World' in Marged Haycock, *Legendary Poems from theBook of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications 2007), p. 518.

rehabilitate these translations as great literary productions, but rather to explore the information conveyed by these texts. The British vernacular translations and adaptations of the *Imago mundi* can provide us with the necessary context for understanding the worldview of authors working in Britain in that period. It would therefore be particularly interesting to examine their references to the Holy Land and Europe to see if any telling alterations to the text have been made.

Stability and Changes in *La Petite Philosophie, Mappemonde*, and *Divisiones Mundi*

   The most striking aspect of the section of these texts dealing with the Holy Land is the stability of the description. The *Petite Philosophie* follows the *Imago mundi* nearly verbatim in this section of the text.[36] The minor variations, listed by Trethewey in his introduction, concern side comments on the regions discussed, e.g. comment in l. 798 on the conquest of Phoenicia for its treasure and in l. 830 on nobility of Samaria (*Une realme de noble afeire*).[37] Although, Pierre de Beauvais shortens the Europe and Africa sections considerably in his *Mappemonde*, as will be discussed in greater detail below, the section of the text concerning the Holy Land retains most of the information found in the *Imago mundi*, and the *Divisiones*, in this instance, follows suit. In their account of the history of Jerusalem and its name, of Samaria and Galilee, for instance, the *Divisiones* and *Mappemonde* are almost identical. The only exception to this is the mention of Pentapolis in the *Divisiones* (l. 745) between the reference to Galilee and the account of the mystical apples. The *Mappemonde* does not mention Pentapolis in this location. Pentapolis is, however, mentioned, as in the *Divisiones*,

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[36] Trethewey, ed., *La Petite Philosophie*, p. 27.
[37] For discussion, see Trethewey, ed., *La Petite Philosophie*, p. liv, n. 7.

immediately after the references to Galilee, Nazareth and Mount Tabor in the *Imago mundi* (I.16).[38]

The lack of variation in the descriptions of the Holy Land in these texts might lead us to conclude that the translators simply followed their exemplar closely. This would fit with the general view of medieval encyclopaedias as conservative texts, focused on the transmission of established knowledge.[39] However, a close investigation of other sections of the text, shows that this is not the case, and that only the descriptions relating to the Holy Land are fixed in nature. The European section of these translations shows a more fluid text.

The description of Europe in *La Petite Philosophie* follows the *Imago mundi* relatively closely, retaining some elements removed by Pierre de Beauvais in the *Mappemonde*. Since the whole Europe section is rather extensive, we may concentrate on the chapter dedicated to Italy, which, for the Latin tradition of the text, has provided significant variants distinguishing between different versions of the text.[40] The *Petite Philosophie* retains the extensive description of the ancient cities of Italy symbolically linking them to animals: Rome to the lion, Brundisium to a stag, Carthage to a bull, and Troy to a horse.[41] The information presented in the Latin text is reproduced without abridgment. The later *Divisiones mundi*, however, in a comparable passage, reduces the material considerably.[42] It covers Europe in a few verses and condenses the information concerning Italy, France, Spain and Britain.

In comparing the two Anglo-Norman adaptations of the *Imago mundi*, their different origins and date must be kept in mind. The later text, *Divisiones Mundi*, is based not on the

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[38] Flint, ed., pp. 56–57. As pointed out by Prior in his edition of the *Divisiones*(p. 57), the description is very close to that found in Isidore's *Etymologiae*XIV.iii.24–25.

[39] See, for instance, Ribémont, 'On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre', p. 49.

[40] For discussion of the variants, see Petrovskaia, '*Delw y byd*' and Natalia I. Petrovskaia, 'La disparition du *quasi* dans les formules étymologiques des traductions galloises de l'*Imago Mundi*', in Elise Louviot, ed., *La Formule au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 123–141.

[41] Trethewey, ed., *Petite Philosophie*, p. 36; cf. Flint, ed., *Imago mundi*, p. 61.

[42] See quotation below, p. .

Latin but on its French adaptation, and follows the *Mappemonde* of Pierre de Beauvais very closely throughout.[43] Its treatment of Europe and Africa is curtailed compared to what we find in the *Imago mundi*, but the abridgement of these sections is the work of Pierre de Beauvais. As Anne Angremy notes, the corresponding chapters of the *Imago mundi* are barely recognisable in this text, which limits itself to listing a selection of regions of Europe and Africa.[44] The shorter treatment of these regions compared to Asia, however, appears to be part of a broader trend rather than a phenomenon unique to the *Mappemonde*, for a similar trend can be observed in the French adaptation of the *Imago mundi* produced by Gossouin or Gautier de Metz in 1245, the *Image du monde*.[45]

The Europe section of the *Divisiones mundi*, while short, does present some curious variations which bear further investigation. Most occur towards the end of the section, in the discussion of the regions from Italy to Britain. The text is reproduced below, alongside Pierre de Beauvais' *Mappemonde* (Table 1). The aberrations in both texts are underlined.

Table 1.

Divisiones mundi (870-81)	*Mappemonde*(875-86)

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[43] Hamilton, 'Encore un plagiat médiéval'. See also references in note 18 above.

[44] Anne Angremy, 'La *Mappemonde* (I)', p. 324. Pierre de Beauvais also on occasion introduced information not present in the *Imago mundi*. Some of the instances of this are discussed below. A different example of an addition introduced by Pierre de Beauvais and maintained in the *Divisiones mundi* is discussed in Dinu Luca, *The Chinese Language in European Texts. The Early Period*, Chinese Literature and Culture in the World (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 22–23.

[45] Angremy, La *Mappemonde* (I)', p. 324. For the text of the *Image du monde*, see *L'image du monde de maître Gossouin, rédaction en prose. Texte du manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, n° 574 avec correction d'après d'autres manuscrits*, ed. by Oliver H. Prior (Lausanne and Paris: Payot, 1913) and *L'Image du monde, une encyclopédie du XIIIe siècle. Edition critique et commentaire de la première version*, ed. by Chantal Connochie-Bourgne (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Paris, Sorbonne, Paris IV, 1999). For discussions, see, for instance, Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, 'Pourquoi et comment réécrire une encyclopédie? Deux rédactions de l'*Image du monde*', in Bernard Baillaud, Jérôme de Gramont et Denis Hüe, ed., *Discours et savoirs: encyclopédies médiévales*, Cahiers Diderot 10 (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1998), pp. 143–154; Sara Centili, 'La seconda redazione in versi dell'Image du monde: una riscrittura didattica', *Cultura neolatina* 66 (2006), 161–206; Natalia I. Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape', in Matthias Egeler, ed., *Landscape and Myth in North-Western Europe*, BBL 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 195–211.

Italle aprés chet,	Itailles delés lui se siet
U Tusce, une pais, siet,	Ou il païs de Tuce siet,
E Apuille e <u>Hungrie</u>,	Et Puillë aprée et <u>Hongrie</u>
E aprés Lumbardie,	Et delés s'estent Lonbardie
E pus Venice e France,	Et puis Venicë, et puis France.
Ce sachet, sanz doutance,	Einssi sïent par ordenance
Aquitaine e Espaine	Aauitaine aprés et Espaigne,
E <u>Gascoine</u> e Britaine,	Et puis Terragone et Britaigne.
Engletere, e Hymberne	Engleterre est de la sanz faille,
Ou plus de l'an yverne.	Illande aprés et <u>Cornouaille</u> ;
Outre icele cuntrée	Outre Illande, cele contree,
Si est la mer gelée.	Est por voir la mer engelee.

The reference to what appears to be Hungary (*Hongrie*) in both texts, should, following the *Imago mundi*, have been Imbria.[46] The reference to Gascony in the *Divisiones* is somewhat more difficult to explain. The corresponding line in the *Mappemonde* refers to *Terragone*, which does feature in the *Imago mundi*. The order of countries in the *Mappemonde* list follows Honorius's text accurately where Tarragona (a city in northeastern Catalonia) features in the list of the six provinces of Spain at the end the chapter dedicated to *Hispania* (Ch. 28), which is followed by the chapter on *Britannia* (Ch. 29).[47] The six provinces listed in *Imago mundi* are: *Terracona* (Tarragona, Catalonia), *Kartago* (Cartagena, Murcia), *Lusitania* (Roman province encompassing Portugal and neighbouring parts of modern Spain)[48],

[46] *Imago mundi*, I.26, Flint, ed., p. 61.
[47] *Imago mundi*, I. 28, 29, Flint, ed., p. 62.
[48] A marginal gloss identifies Lusitania as the region *in qua est Lisebona* 'in which Lisbon is' in at least one manuscript of the *Imago mundi*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 66 (s. XII). Images of this manuscript are accessible on the *Parker on the Web* site at https://parker.stanford.edu/ (last accessed 4

Galicia, *Betica* (Roman province, corresponding roughly to modern Andalucía), and

Tinguitania (uncertain, possibly the Roman province of Mauretania Tingitana, corresponding

roughly to modern Morocco). We will return to the question of why the *Mappemonde* retains

only the reference to Tarragona below.

Beyond the major aberrations, some minor variation between the two texts may be

observed, such as, for instance, the use of *Hymberne* for Ireland in the *Divisiones* where

Mappemonde uses *Illande*. While *Hymberne* is a derivation from the Latin form which seems

to indicate a Latin source, *Illande* is the form traditionally used in the *Chansons de geste*

tradition, and also in romances.[49] Although a further study of the terminology used for Ireland

in medieval French literature is needed before any firm conclusions can be drawn, one might

tentatively suggest that the difference between the two texts here might indicate a desire to

indicate affiliation with different traditions: that of Latinate learning in the *Divisiones*, which

claims to be a translation from Latin sources, and that of the Francophone vernacular literary

culture in the *Mappemonde*.[50]

April 2019). For Anglo-Norman involvement in Lisbon, see Lucas Villegas-Aristizabal, 'Norman and Anglo-Norman Participation in the Iberian Reconquista *c.* 1018–*c.*1248', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham 2007, pp. 160, 166–68, 176–85.

[49] See Ernest Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), s.v. *Illande, Ilande*, p. 359. Note that *Hymberne* or *Hyberne* is not attested in this list. In romances, the term Illande, occurs, for instance, in the *First Continuation* of Chrétien's *Perceval/Le Conte de Graal* (l. 5417); *The Continuations of the Old French Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes, II: The First Continuation, Redaction of Mss EMQU*, ed. by William Roach, Robert H. Ivy, Jr (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950); quoted and translated in Keith Busby, *French in Medieval Ireland, Ireland in Medieval French. The Paradox of Two Worlds* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), p. 310.

[50] There does not appear to be a full study dedicated specifically to the subject of the medieval names of Ireland in medieval French. For a similar study for the medieval German tradition, see Nathanael Busch and Patrick Lange, '"Von Îbern und von Îrlant" Ireland in Middle High German Literature', in Wolfram R. Keller and Dagmar Schlüter, ed., *"A Fantastic and Abstruse Latinity?" Hiberno-Continental Cultural and Literary Interactions in the Middle Ages*, Studien und Texte zur Keltologie 12 (Münster: Nodus, 2017) pp. 183–204. For a more general examination of Ireland in medieval French literature, see Keith Busby, *French in Medieval Ireland, Ireland in Medieval French*.

The stability of the description of the Holy Land, compared to the relative presence of variation in the description of Europe in the texts examined, suggests a difference in the treatment of the two regions in these geographical treatises. It may be relevant here that in the Welsh translation of *Imago mundi*, *Delw y byd*, which otherwise follows the Latin quite closely throughout, substitutes *Gwasgwin* ('Gascony') for Aquitaine of the Latin text in the Europe section.[51] I have previously suggested that this substitution, if it is the work of Welsh translators, may reflect first-hand knowledge of that region of France.[52] The sequence in the thirteenth-century French *Mappemonde* retains the sequence of countries as in the *Imago mundi*, including the reference to Tarragona, and the fact that the Anglo-Norman *Divisiones* introduces the reference Gascony, just as the Welsh text does, despite the fact that it is not in either of these translations' exemplars, might not be coincidental. In the *Divisiones*, Gascony is mentioned alongside Aquitaine, and the sequence of countries can be read in the context of Plantagenet imperial ambitions. The sequence, ll. 876-79 is as follows:

> *Aquitaine e Espaine*
>
> *E Gascoine e Britaine,*
>
> *Engletere, e Hyberne*
>
> *O plus de l'an yverne.*[53]

As observed by Margaret Wade Labarge in her study of the English rule in Gascony, the terms Gascony and Aquitaine are largely synonymous and used interchangeably in most medieval chronicles.[54] Whilst it is dangerous to read too much into word proximity in verse, the fact that the geographical text largely follows the sequence of place-names in its exemplar suggests that the juxtaposition of *Gascoine* and *Britaine* is not accidental. Whilst from the

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[51] Quoted and discussed in Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape', pp. 201–02.

[52] Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape', pp. 201–02.

[53] Prior, ed., *Divisiones mundi*, p. 60.

[54] Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204–1453* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980), pp. 1, 5.

point of view of modern understanding of geography this proximity does not lend itself to easy explanation, it acquires significance if we consider the countries in the list from the perspective of the Anglo-Norman political realm and real-world logistics: Gascony and Britain were linked directly by a searoute.[55] It is tempting, though perhaps fanciful, to argue that this passage of the fourteenth-century *Divisiones* reflects contemporary concerns, and in particular the conflict of political interests between Britain and Spain (as part of the 1368 Franco-Castillian alliance) in Gascony.[56]

The fourteenth-century text of the *Divisiones* and the fourteenth-century date of the earliest Welsh manuscripts of *Delw y byd* bring us closer to the end of the Middle Ages and the watershed of literary production, the printing press. It is in printed form in the following century that the first English translation of the *Imago mundi* was produced.

William Caxton's *Mirrour of the World*

William Caxton's *Mirrour of the World* (first edition 1480/1, second edition 1490) is one of only two translations of encyclopedias into Middle English.[57] Thirty-three copies are known to survive of the first edition, and nineteen appear to survive of the second.[58] Unusually for early translations, we happen to have Caxton's exact exemplar: British Library MS 19.A.ix, the text of which he had translated and which he may have even owned.[59] As Twomey points out, this gives us the immense advantage of comparing Caxton's text with his exemplar, and as a result we can see that though, to quote Twomey's words, 'there is no

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[55] Labarge, *Gascony*, pp. 12–13.
[56] Labarge, *Gascony*, p. 167.
[57] The other was John Trevisa's translation of *De proprietatibus rerum* 'On the properties of things' by Bartholomeus Anglicus; Twomey, 'Middle English Translations', p. 332.
[58] R. D. S. Jack, 'Caxton's "Mirror of the World" and Henryson's "Taill of the Cok and the Jasp"', *The Chaucer Review* 13 (1978), 157–65.
[59] Twomey, 'Middle English Translations', p. 335.

perceptible stylistic difference between Caxton's own prose and his translation of Gossouin', he does signal switches by referring to himself.[60]

William Caxton, in his translation of Gossouin's *Image du monde*, dos not spend much time on Europe. The short description, corresponding to less than two pages in O. H. Prior's edition, can be reproduced in full here:

> Syth we haue deuysed to you of Asye and of his contrees and regyons, I shal saye to you of Europe and his condicions shortly, ffor as moche as we may ofte here speke therof.
>
> The first partye of Europe is Romanye and a parte of Constantynoble, Trapesonde, Macedone, Thesalye, Boheme, Sapronye, Pyrre, & a moche holsom contre named Archade. In this contre sourdeth & spryngeth a fontayne in whiche men may not quenche brennyng brondes, ne cooles on fire and brennyng.
>
> In Archade is a stone whiche in no wyse may be quenchyd after it is sette a fyre tyl it be alle brent in to asshes.
>
> After Archade is the Royame of Denemarke, and thenne Hongrye, & sythe Hosterich ; and thenne foloweth Germanye, whiche we calle Almayne, whiche conteyneth a grete pourprys toward thoccident, in whiche pourprys ben many grete & puissaunt Royaumes.
>
> In Allemayne sourdeth a grete flood & ryuere named Dunoe, the whiche stratcheth vnto in Constantynople, and there entreth in to the see ; but erst it trauerseth vii grete floodes by his radour & rennyng, &, as I haue herd saye, the hede of this Dunoe begyneth on one side of a montayne, & that other side of the same montayne sourdeth another grete ryuer which is named the Riin and renneth thrugh Almayne by Basyle, Strawsburgh, Magnounce, Couelence, Coleyn, & Nemyng where fast by it departeth in to iiii ryuers & renneth thrugh the londes of Ghelres, Cleue and Holande, and so in to the see. And yet er this ryuer entre in to the see, he entreth in to another ryuer named the Mase, & than loseth he his name and is called the Mase, & mase depe xl myle longe in the see.
>
> In Europe is also Swauen, Basse Almayn, Ffraunce, Englonde, Scotland and Irlonde, and aboue this many other contrees whiche endure vnto the mount Jus; & thus moche space holdeth the partye of Europe.[61]

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[60] Twomey, 'Middle English Translations', p. 335.

[61] The passage is quoted from Oliver H. Prior, ed., *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, Early English Text Society, Extra Series CX (London: Kegan Paul 1913), pp. 92–93.

Here, Caxton follows the French text almost verbatim.[62] The major digression is his addition of information on the Rhine and the Mosel, which is absent from the French text. This addition may well be Caxton's own interpolation, marked, as his additions tend to be in this text, with a reference to himself (*I haue herd saye*).

The only additional information concerning Europe in Caxton's *Mirrour* is presented in Chapter XIIII, 'Of dyuersytees that ben in Europe and in Affryke', which lists marvels of the West, starting with the words: 'We haue in thise parties many thinges that they of Asye and of Affrykehaue none', setting Europe apart as a land of marvels, which also follows the French text closely.[63] The following sentence begins, unsurprisingly, with a reference to Ireland, and indeed, according to O. H. Prior, the information in this chapter appears to have been taken directly from Gerald of Wales, *Topographica Hibernica* (I.15, 28-31 and II.4, 5, 7).[64] It must be noted, however, that while the ultimate source of the French text may indeed have been Gerald, Caxton simply translates the information given by Gossouin, apart from, once more, a single paragraph following on the description of St Patrick's Purgatory, which refers to his own experience: '*I have spoken with dyuerse men that haue ben therin*'.[65] This addition, according to Twomey, supplements a more subtle change worked by Caxton — a shift in the emphasis of the passage.[66] The information Caxton gives in this passage is of some interest and it is reproduced here in its entirety:

> His may wel be that of auncyent tyme it hath ben thus as a fore is wreton, as the storye of Tundale & other witnesse, but I haue spoken with dyuerse men that haue ben therin. And that one of them was an hye chanon of Waterford whiche told me that he had ben therin v or vi tymes. And he sawe ne suffred no suche thynges. He saith that with procession the Relygious men that ben there brynge hym in to the hool and shette the dore after hym; and than he walketh groping in to it, where, as he said, be places and maner of cowches to reste on. And there he was alle the nyght in contemplacion & prayer, and also slepte there; and on the morn he cam

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[62] Compare the text of the French prose version in Prior, ed., *L'image du monde*, p. 129.
[63] Prior, ed., *Mirrour of the World*, pp. 98–99.
[64] Prior, ed., *Mirrour of the World*, p. 98, n. 1.
[65] Prior, ed., *Mirrour of the World*, p. 99.
[66] Twomey, 'Middle English Translations', p. 335.

out agayn. Other while in their shepe somme men haue meruayllous dremes. &
other thyng sawe he not. And in lyke wyse tolde to me a worshipful knyght of
Bruggis named sir John de Banste that he had ben therin in lyke wyse and see
none other thyng but as afore is sayd.

Caxton refers to two witnesses here: a canon of Waterford, and a knight from Bruges by the name of John de Banste. He also adds a reference to the 'story of Tundale'. This is a reference to the story first recounted in the *Visio Tnugdali* (1149) by an Irish monk named Marcus.[67] The text, although circulating primarily in Latin, enjoyed some considerable popularity, with adaptations into German, Dutch, and French.[68] One translation was made for Margaret of Burgundy around 1475 and one wonders, given Caxton's demonstrated connections to the library of the Burgundian court, whether that may not have been the source of his knowledge.[69] The history of the representation of Ireland as a land of *mirabilia* has recently received thorough coverage in Keith Busby's monumental study of the interrelationship of Ireland and Francophonia.[70] It appears that the topos of the marvels of Ireland remained popular with audiences, prompting Caxton to expand on his text.

After the section on Europe, Caxton then continues to discuss Africa in the following chapter (Chapter XII). Following the French text, he lists Grece, Cypres, Sicily, Tuscany, Naples, Lombardy, Gascony, Spain, Catalunia, Galicia, Navarra, Portugal and Aragon as parts of Africa.[71] Uncharacteristically for Caxton, in a much-quoted and much-discussed phrase, he

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[67] For an overview of this text and its medieval impact, see Busby, *French in Medieval Ireland*, pp. 234–45.

[68] Busby, *French in Medieval Ireland*, p. 239.

[69] Busby, *French in Medieval Ireland*, p. 239. Caxton had enjoyed the patronage of Margaret of Burgundy; see N. F. Blake, 'William Caxton: His Choice of Texts', *Anglia. Journal of English Philology* 83 (1965), 289–307.

[70] Keith Busby, *French in Medieval Ireland*, esp. part II.

[71] Prior, ed., *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, p. 93. This transposition has been the subject of several studies. See Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le cas de l'*Image du monde*: une encyclopédie du XIIIe siècle, ses sources antiques, l'apport médiéval', in *La transmission des connaissances techniques : tables rondes Aix-en-Provence, avril 1993-mai 1994*, ed. by Marie-Claire Amouretti and Georges Comet, Cahier d'histoire des techniques, 3 (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1995), pp. 87–98, Jostkleigrewe, 'L'espace', pp. 375–77; Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape'.

comments on this: 'And how be it that the Auctour of this book saye that thise contrees ben in Affryke, yet as I vnderstonde, alle thise ben within the lymytes and boundes of Europe'.[72] The comment concerning the European lands assigned to Africa is preceded by a less-frequently cited reference to the Holy land: 'After [Lybia] cometh the royamme of Surrye, Jherusalem and the contrey aboute. This is the holy londe where Our Lord Jhesu Cryst receyuid our humanyte and passyon, and where he roos fro deth to lyf. After thoppynyon of somme is that this holy londe longeth to Asye.'[73] As observed by O. H. Prior, the text's editor, this last comment is not in Caxton's French exemplar, and therefore we may consider it to belong to the same type of interpolation as the comment about European countries in Africa. Caxton is attempting to reconcile his exemplar with general categorisations familiar to him.

These re-attributions of countries and continents that so confused Caxton appear to be a stable feature of the *Image du monde* manuscript tradition, and has been extensively discussed.[74] Oliver H. Prior suggested that, given that this apparent 'mistake' is present in all of the manuscripts of the *Image du monde*, it may have represented a perception of Africa 'as merely a province of Europe'.[75] Authorities Prior cites in illustration of this include Varro,

[72] Prior, ed., *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, pp. 93–94. For discussions, see, for instance, Meg Roland, '"After poyetes and astronomyers": English Geographical Thought and Early English Print', in Keith Lilley, ed., *Mapping Medieval Geographies. Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 127-151 (p. 140); and Lluís Cabré, 'British Influence in Medieval Catalan Writing: An Overview', in M. Bullón-Fernández, ed., *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th–15th Century: Cultural, Literary, and Political Exchanges*, The New Middle Ages Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 29–46 (p. 40); Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape', p. 200.

[73] Prior, ed., *Mirrour of the World*, p. 93.

[74] Prior, ed., *Mirrour of the World*, p. xvi. The passage is also discussed in Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le cas de l'*Image du monde*'; Jostkleigrewe, 'L'espace' ; Jostkleigrewe, 'Zwischen symbolischer Weltdeutung und erfahrungsbasierter Raumdarstellung. Die Geographie des europäischen Raumes bei Rossuin von Metz, Rudolf von Ems, Brunetto Latini und anderen volkssprachlichen Autoren', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 91 (2009), 259–95; Klaus Oschema, *Bilder von Europa im Mittelalter*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 43 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2013), pp. 211–212, available online at https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.34759; Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape'.

[75] Prior, ed., *Mirrour of the World*, p. xvi.

Sallust, Orosius, Gervase of Tilbury and Ranulph of Hidgen.[76] Chantal Connochie-Bourgne proposes an alternative interpretation, suggesting that the re-writing was due to the influence of the crusades, and that its objective was to show a shrinking Christendom.[77] Her argument is based on the identification of *africains* and *sarrazins* in medieval texts.[78] According to this reading, regions placed in Africa would be identified as non-Christian.[79] If this were the case, it would mark a point of divergence between the cartographic tradition of the *mappaemundi* and the geographic textual tradition of the *Imago mundi*, if David Woodward's observation that the crusades had little impact on the *mappae mundi* contents is accurate.[80]

The re-organisation of the world by Gossouin is unusual for the era, as Jostkleigrewe observes.[81] As we have seen here, it is not mirrored in the Anglo-Norman translation of the *Imago mundi*, nor in the Welsh, and it is not understood by Caxton. However, we must keep in mind that although Caxton was surprised by the 'reorganisation', and so is the modern reader, this reaction may be the result of pre-conceptions on the part of the text's audience rather than of an aberration on behalf of the author. Boundaries and borders between the various regions were much more fluid in the earlier tradition. One of such instances we have already observed in the twelfth-century *Imago mundi*, where the list of the regions of Spain includes *Tinguitania*, which most probably refers to the Roman province of Mauretania Tingitana. Geographically, this region corresponds to modern Morocco, and in the modern

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[76] With quotations of relevant passages in Prior, ed., *Mirrour of the World*, p. xvi, n. 2. See also comments in Oschema, *Bilder von Europa*, pp. 211–212.

[77] Chantal Connochie-Bourgne, 'Le cas de l'*Image du monde*', pp. 91–93. See also discussion in Petrovskaia, 'Mythologizing the Conceptual Landscape', pp. 199–202, 206.

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

[79] This reading echoes Denys Hay's thesis that the direct precursor of the modern concept of Europe was the medieval concept of Christendom; see his influential *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957).

[80] Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', p. 304. See, however, his observations regarding increased centrality of Jerusalem on pp. 341–42.

[81] Jostkleigrewe, 'L'espace', p. 377.

geographical conception this belongs to a different 'continent' than Spain — Africa rather than Europe.

The ambiguity of what we perceive as intercontinental boundaries should not be so surprising if we take into account two facts.[82] The first is that bodies of water may not be necessarily seen as boundary. Studies of the medieval Mediterranean, for instance, have demonstrated the sea should be regarded as a link rather than boundary.[83] The second fact is that the notion of an intercontinental boundary itself is not as unambiguous or scientific as might at first appear, as demonstrated by the ambiguous and fluid position of the Eurasian boundary.[84]

An alternative theory to Prior's or Connochie-Bourgne's was put forward more recently by Georg Jostkleigrewe, according to whom the re-ordering of the world in the *Image du monde* can be interpreted in the light of a 'historio-geographical model' (Jostkleigrewe's term), wherein Asia is the realm of the Old Testament, Africa corresponds to the New Testament, while Europe is the 'continent of contemporary history'.[85] This explains not only the re-attribution that so puzzled Caxton but also the phenomenon of the attribution of Greece by Gossouin to all three continents: 'Compte tenu de cette dimension historique, la Grèce d'Alexandre le Grand, la Grèce de l'apôtre Paul et la Grèce des empereurs constantinopolitains sont des entités bien distinctes et, dans la logique d'une géographie historique médiévale, il est certainement possible de les attribuer à des continents différents'.[86] This not only explains the occurrence of Greece in descriptions of different regions of the world in this text, but can be read in tangent with Connochie-Bourgne's

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[82] For a discussion of the concept of frontier in the medieval context, see David Abulafia, 'Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity, *c.* 1100–*c.*1500', in David Abulafia and Nora Berend, ed., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1–34.

[83] See, for instance, David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[84] Wintle, *The Image of Europe*, pp. 37–38, 41–43.

[85] Jostkleigrewe, 'L'espace', p. 377.

[86] Jostkleigrewe, 'L'espace', p. 377.

crusades-based explanation, if the conflict of cultures is perceived as lying in the past. The temporal distance is then reflected in artificial spatial distancing through the re-labeling of regions.

Jostkleigrewe's theory fits particularly well with what we know of the medieval historio-geographical framework of *translatio studii et imperii*. The presence of the historical progression from east to west, commencing with the Earthly Paradise and culminating conventionally in the medieval author's or cartographer's own time and location, has been observed in *mappae mundi*.[87] It is not surprising, therefore, to find it also in the corresponding textual forms.[88] One might regard this phenomenon through the prism of the Three Orients theory, according to which the medieval representations of the Orient broadly fall into three categories: the 'biblical', 'historical' (which we might also term 'classical') and 'contemporary' Orients. Mapped onto the *translatio studii et imperii* trajectory, the biblical and the historical retain their significance, though located in the past.[89] It is only the historical and biblical Orients, of which the first belongs firmly in the past and the second is timeless, that are described in these geographical texts, and it is worth noting that, *pace* Chantal-Bourgne, these geographical treatises do not make overt reference to the contemporary Orient (or any references to a crusading context).

Conclusion

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[87] See, for instance, the discussion in Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World* (London: British Library, 1997); Patrizia Licini, 'A Full Image of a Cultural Space: The Sawley *Mappa Mundi* as a Global Memory Hypertext', in *Grenze und Grenzüberschreitung im Mittelalter. 11. Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes vom 14. bis 17. März 2005 in Frankfurt an der Oder*, ed. by Ulrich Knefelkamp and Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007) pp. 470–489.

[88] In some manuscripts, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 66 (s. xii), the text of the *Imago mundi* is accompanied by *mappaemundi*; for discussions, see Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', p. 312 and Paul D. A. Harvey, 'The Sawley Map and Other World Maps in Twelfth-Century England', *Imago mundi* 49 (1997), 33 –42.

[89] For a summary, see Petrovskaia, *Medieval Welsh Perceptions of the Orient*, pp. 5–6.

The contrast between the historical (biblical) past of the Holy Land and Jerusalem, virtually immutable in the medieval texts, and the changeable, and changed, descriptions of Europe, seems to echo the distinction observed in recent studies in relation to the Hereford *mappa mundi*.[90] As Patrick Gautier Dalché has argued, medieval maps were fluid constructions, modifiable in response to the type of function it was intended to perform, whether exegetical historical or cosmographical, but also subject to modification in response to 'historical evolution'.[91] I would venture to tentatively suggest here that the geographical texts of the *Imago mundi* tradition, being as they are the textual equivalent of such maps, were also adjustable in response to new developments, and that the differences between the various vernacular adaptations derived from the *Imago mundi* are the result of precisely this type of modification. The timelessness of the 'biblical' Orient ensured that descriptions of the Holy Land remained more stable than those of the 'contemporary' Europe. The depiction of Europe in these texts would be more likely to be influenced by current political events and, perhaps most importantly, the author's self-position in relation to the *translatio studii et imperii*. One might read the 'marvels of Europe' addition in Caxton's *Mirrour of the World* as an indication of the historicization of Europe, suggesting that that Europe was becoming as much of a historical past as Asia was.[92] The fact that descriptions of the Holy Land itself, by

[90] See Asa Simon Mittman, 'England is the World and the World is England', *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 9 (2018), 15–29 (p. 19), with reference to a conference presentation by Debra Strickland. For similar remarks, see also Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', p. 288. For a recent discussion of the Hereford *mappa mundi* and further bibliography, see Thomas de Wesselow, 'Locating the Hereford *Mappamundi*', *Imago mundi* 65 (2013), 180–206, esp. n. 4 on p. 199 for a bibliography of previous studies of the map.

[91] Patrick Gautier Dalché, '*Hic mappa mundi considerata est:* lecture de la mappemonde au Moyen Age', in Cristina Cocco, Clara Fossati, Attilio Grisafi, Francesco Mosetti Casaretto and Giada Boiani, ed., *Itinerari del testo per Stefano Pittaluga*, vol. 1, Pubblicazioni del D.AR.FI.CL.ET. "Francesco della Corte", 3rd ser, 254 (Genova: Dipartimento di Antichitàm Filosofia e Storia, 2018), pp. 495–515 (p. 509). For relationship between cartographic representations and the circumstances of production, see also Simone Pinet, *Archipelagoes: Insular Fictions from Chivalric Romance to the Novel* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), p. 32.

[92] For a discussion of the interrelation between history and geography in medieval texts, see, for instance, Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences. A Study on the Reception of the* Book *of Sir John*

contrast, remain strikingly stable, attests to the inertia of the tradition. It has been observed before that medieval geographical texts tended towards an antiquarian representation of the world, which already at the time of production was distinctly outdated. The *Imago mundi* is a striking example, referring to the various regions not by their twelfth-century designations but by the names of Roman provinces. The evidence presented above suggests that this antiquarian nature of the material is a particular characteristic, within at least the texts of this tradition, of descriptions of some but not of all parts of the world: the Holy Land but not consistently Europe.[93]

The changes made to the material examined here by the adaptators or translators, and their attitude to their sources is typical of the attitudes observed by Karen Pratt in her study of medieval translators.[94] Yet, despite seemingly following closely the authority of their respective exemplars (and we must note that the exemplar, whether real of claimed, is always an external, Continental or Latin, authority) these translations subtly alter their texts in ways that help inform our understanding of their cultural circumstances. In many ways, what they show us is unsurprising. The stability of the representations of the Holy Land, for instance, is exactly what recent research on the subject has led us to expect of texts that guide spiritual, armchair pilgrimages. The contrast between the fixed nature of these descriptions and the fluidity of the descriptions of Europe suggests a contrast in the attitude towards these regions. Jostkleigrewe's interpretation, placing the Holy Land in the past and Europe in the present, prompts us to read these geographical text in the context of the historical framework of

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Mandeville (1371-1550) (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 83, with reference to the influential early study by J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. A Study in the History of Medieval Science and Travel in Western Europe* (1925), p. 127.

[93] It is interesting that scepticism of his description of accounts of St Patrick's purgatory discussed above is reminiscent of the tone of some of the pilgrimage accounts to the Holy Land, a similarity which perhaps merits further exploration.

[94] Karen Pratt, 'Medieval Attitudes to Translation and Adaptation: The Rhetorical Theory and the Poetic Practice', in Roger Ellis, ed., *The Medieval Translator* II (London, 1991), pp. 1–27.

translatio studii et imperii. I would suggest that the Holy Land descriptions are stable because they describe the past (Historical Orient and Biblical Orient) while those of Europe are not because they refer to the medieval present, and the present is still in the process of formation.