

BIBLICAL, MYTHICAL, AND FOREIGN WOMEN IN THE TEXTS AND PICTURES ON MEDIEVAL WORLD MAPS

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INTRODUCTION

On the mappamundi of Hereford Cathedral, which dates back to the late thirteenth century, Richard of Holdingham or Sleaford, who is thought to have designed the map, portrayed several women who rarely receive attention.¹ These figures can be classified as belonging to one of three types of femininity: biblical, mythical, or foreign women. All three categories manifest themselves on the map in several single figures. The first type, biblical women, is most notably embodied in Eve, who succumbed together with Adam to the snake's temptation in Paradise before both were driven out of Eden by the angel with the flaming sword (figs 1a, 1b). Another biblical motif is obvious in the story about Lot's wife, who, while fleeing, looked back at the destroyed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah on the shores of the Dead Sea and was turned into a pillar of salt.² The second type, mythical women, is exemplified on the map by a mermaid west of the Greek island of Naxos (fig. 2). Others include a sphinx with feathers, a snake's tail, and a girl's head, shown close to the Nile, and the explicitly drawn Blemmyes, depicted with penis and vulva on the outermost edge of Africa.³ The third type of femininity on the map comprises the women who violate European norms of behaviour. Among them are the dominant women in India who are shown in the Far East below Paradise, as it were at the end of the world (fig. 3). The women of the *Psyli* on the southern rim of Africa, whose husbands test their faithfulness by exposing the new-born children to snakes, also belong to this group.⁴

Pictures of feminine figures and corresponding texts appear not only in the Hereford map but also in several other mappaemundi from the late tenth to the mid-fifteenth century. As the intention of the maps was encyclopaedic, cartographers necessarily included female figures in the symbolic and well-structured divine order. This involved transferring into the complex and interlaced medium of the map a deliberate selection of female characters as they are described in the Bible, in myths, and in travel reports. Certainly the richest and most varied source was the accounts of voyages to East Asia for they describe love and birth rituals, marriage and funeral ceremonies, in an entertaining way. The authors of these accounts, who were usually male, also described women rulers, polygamy, and the treatment of widows, as well as commenting on prostitution, jewellery, clothing, and virginity.⁵ But, as might be expected, the first

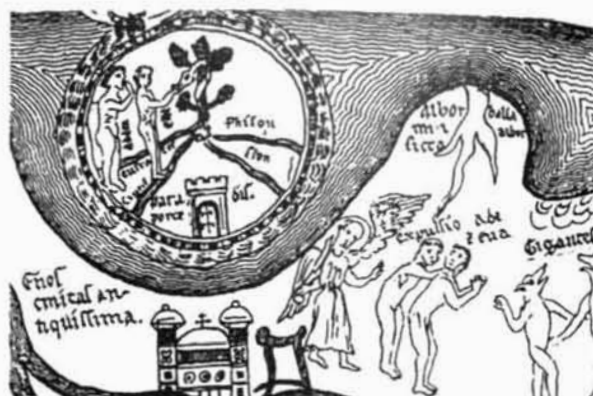


Fig. 1a. *Left*: Expulsion from Paradise on the Hereford map.

Fig. 1b. *Above*: Expulsion from Paradise on the Hereford map, redrawn.

Fig. 2. *Below left*: Mermaid in the Mediterranean on the Hereford map.

Fig. 3. *Below right*: Woman in India on the Hereford map.



portrayals of women on world maps were the pictures of Eve in Paradise on several copies of the *mappamundi* by Beatus of Liébana, from the tenth century to the early thirteenth. As a next step the authors then began to insert into their maps the lands ruled by female, in the first instance the lands of the Amazons. These appear for instance in the hemispheric map of Lambert of Saint-Omer at Wolfenbüttel, drawn in 1180 with great attention to detail, in the map which was drawn in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century in a manuscript kept at Sawley Abbey and which has been wrongly attributed to Henry of Mainz, and in the London Psalter map that was presumably drawn after 1262.⁶ Again, the regional maps by Matthew Paris, chronicler, artist, and cartographer of the mid-thirteenth century, include texts about women as well as a picture of Lot's wife.⁷

Greater variety of women on maps did not appear until the later Middle Ages – on the Hereford map of about 1300 and on the Ebstorf world map, drawn probably towards the end of the thirteenth century, which measured an amazing 358 × 356 cm.⁸ Later maps often tell us about women in a very detailed and individual manner, among them two fourteenth-century world maps which we shall look at later: the individually shaped versions of the map by Ranulf Higden, who died in 1363,⁹ and the richly embellished Catalan Atlas drawn in Majorca around 1375 that we know only from the lavish copy made for King Charles V of France.¹⁰

Maps including motifs from the female world continued to be drawn in the fifteenth century. Examples are the Borgia map of around 1430, engraved on metal with niello, the world map of 1448 by Andreas Walsperger, a Benedictine monk from Salzburg, which he drew in Arabic style with south at the top, and the almond-shaped Genoese *mappamundi* of 1457.¹¹ The way cartographers dealt with material concerning women changed distinctively in the course of time and, in particular, pictures of women at first increased in number but later disappeared almost completely. But even then, short textual references to female peculiarities or female spheres of influence enlivened the maps. We see this already in the world map by Fra Mauro, a Camaldulian monk from Venice, which was finished in 1459 and sent to the Portuguese court but which we know only from a Venetian copy; its size of 196 × 193 cm made it possible to include many extensive legends.¹²

This summary gives no more than an outline of the appearances of women on medieval world maps. Many maps have little text and few illustrations, and here we often find pictures of people who are neither men nor women but simply sexless human beings.¹³ Maps of this kind come from all periods of the Middle Ages; among them are the rectangular world map by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the numerous diagrammatic Sallust maps, the two regional Jerome maps, the several Macrobius zonal maps, the unconventional map in a manuscript at Albi of a geographic text by Orosius, and finally the Europe-centred rectangular Cotton map, notable for its wealth of detail. Even many of the world maps dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century show no woman-dominated areas. Among these are the colourful Guido of Pisa map of 1118, the simple T-O drawing in William of Tripoli's work from 1273, the picturesque map at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Généviève in Paris that dates from between 1364 and 1372, and the richly coloured sketches in the chronicle by the Franciscan Johannes Utinensis, which was written in 1344. A lack of attention to women also characterized many portolan charts drawn in Italy between the productions of Pietro Vesconte (around 1320) and

Andrea Bianco (1436), although this type of map, produced for practical reasons, was not necessarily biased against female figures and concepts in general.

Looking at these maps and their perceptions of the world, it becomes clear that women, much like men, appear on medieval mappaemundi in three different roles: as characters from the Bible or from Christian history; as mythical, historical, or pseudo-historical individuals; or as foreign people who differ from European norms of behaviour. We shall look in detail at these different roles of women in the pictures and texts on maps between the tenth century and the fifteenth, not to develop a comprehensive theory of differences in perception or in behaviour towards gender – for this, descriptive travel accounts would be much more suitable. All the same, world maps are part of the reception of these accounts. They are the pictorial expression of a perception of gender roles that was developed by male European observers and was now applied to foreign women in worlds that were difficult to reach and difficult to comprehend.

The aim of this article is thus to analyse with the help of examples the traditions of the genre and the strategies of presentation used in medieval maps; it will examine the variety of cartographic representation of the way women were perceived and, finally, comment on the various strategies used in maps – a highly selective and tradition-based medium – to purvey information about foreign women in the high and late Middle Ages. In all this, the many variations, combinations, and permutations of approach and method can only be hinted at; the survey does not claim to be comprehensive.

FEMALE CHARACTERS FROM THE BIBLE OR FROM CHRISTIAN HISTORY

The Bible and Christian traditions contribute less to our theme than we might expect. Often only Paradise is shown from these sources. Arguably the most characteristic feature of medieval mappaemundi, Paradise in the high Middle Ages was inextricably linked with Adam and with Eve, the first woman in history, who with her fall from grace introduced sexuality and death into the world. The picture of Eve next to Adam and the serpent that is coiled around the tree of knowledge had already appeared in many of the fifteen more or less divergent versions of the world map by Beatus of Liébana. All but one are in copies of his commentary on the Apocalypse, where they generally occupy a full opening.¹⁴ Paradise in these Beatus maps is represented in two different ways, either with figures showing Adam and Eve as the archetypal human beings, or else more abstractly, showing the four rivers of Paradise.

The first type emphasizes Paradise, with the first human couple and a fig or apple tree with the serpent coiled around its trunk. It shows us the Garden of Eden as the scene of the creation of mankind and the later expulsion, thus epitomizing the beginning of history and of life on Earth. In the so-called *Maius Beatus*, one of the oldest of these manuscripts, produced apparently in 962 or earlier, Eve stands at Adam's left and both are using a large fig leaf to cover themselves.¹⁵ This scene is immediately after the fall from grace and before the expulsion from Paradise: the serpent is still winding around the stylized fruit-tree next to Eve. We see a similar arrangement in the early copy from Valladolid in about 970: only the additional tree next to Adam is missing.¹⁶ It can be found also in the uncoloured sketch from Seu d'Urgell that dates from the last quarter of the tenth century, where Paradise, drawn as a rectangle with the serpent coiling

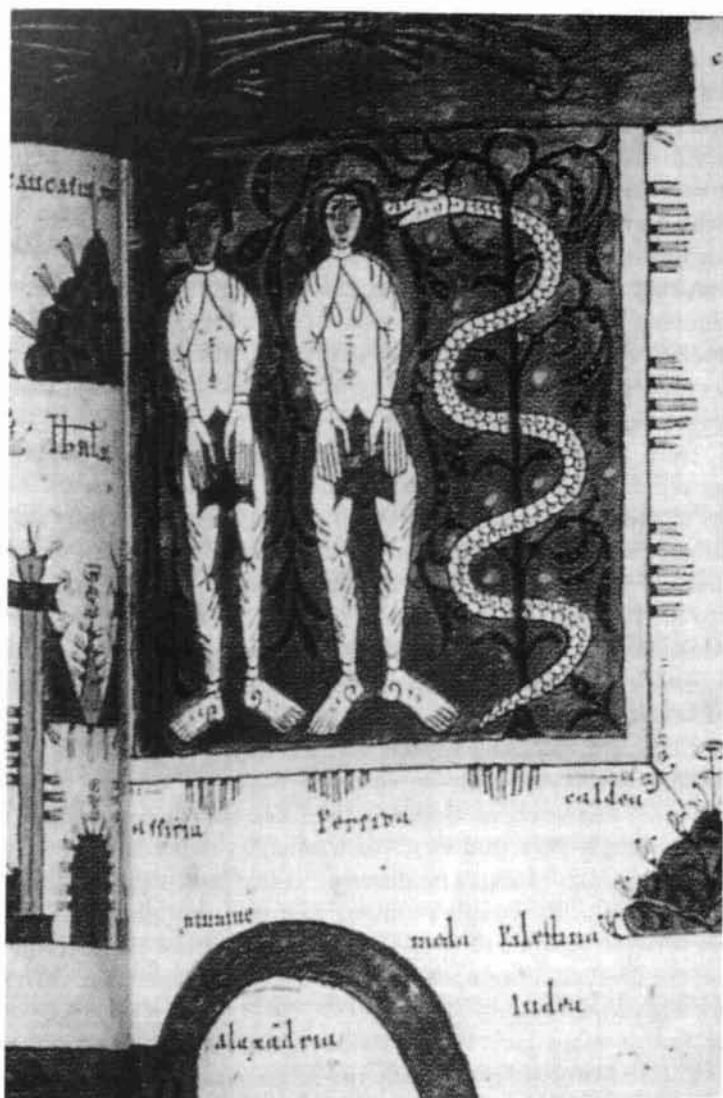


Fig. 4. Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden on the Silos Beatus map.
BL, Additional MS. 11695, fols 39^v-40^r.

around an imaginary tree, was moved closer towards Africa.¹⁷ The Maius tradition continued in the Facundus Beatus of 1047; here the right half of the map is dominated by an enlarged Paradise and by Eve and Adam, whose ribs are distinctively emphasized. The scene shows the fall from grace, and, intensified by a conspicuous snake's head next to Eve's, points to the imminent expulsion they have to face through their own fault.¹⁸ Even the much later Silos Beatus map in London, which was not finished before 1109, presents this picture of the first couple next to a tree with the serpent, its posture suggesting that it lured Eve into temptation (fig. 4).¹⁹

The painstakingly detailed oval world map from Saint-Sever that was drawn between 1028 and 1072 is the only Beatus map that really shows Eve's sin in Paradise.²⁰ Here Eve, portrayed as a blonde long-haired seductress, unmistakably in the moment before eating the apple, is picking it off the tree with the serpent, while Adam rests in a state of innocence still without a fig leaf. This outstanding representation of Paradise is attributed to Stephanus Garsia Placidus, the principal illustrator of the manuscript; he was the head and chief artist of the much-respected workshop and evidently was responsible for drafting the most important parts of the world map.²¹

In a few versions of the Beatus map Paradise was reduced to Adam and Eve with the serpent climbing its right border. The earliest example is in a manuscript of 975 at Gerona.²² Others are a map at Turin drawn in the eleventh or early twelfth century and the strikingly colourful map in a manuscript from Manchester dating from the second half of the twelfth century, in which Eve changed places with Adam and thus has oddly moved away from the serpent.²³ This change of place can be explained only by assuming that the mapmaker either had a different conception of the world or had simply used as a model some other source that placed Adam, and thus also Eve, in this different position. However, it reappeared in the Arroyo Beatus map, which was drawn in the first half of the thirteenth century, the latest of these maps.²⁴ In this over-decorated map the tree with the serpent was moved so far to the right that it lies quite outside the Garden of Eden. Adam, who is covering his genitals, is pointing at the guilty Eve who, with a leaf concealing her pudenda, reacts with a defensive gesture. The sinfulness of Eve as the representative of all womankind was emphasized in a new way, and this new concept of accusing Eve conformed to the changed way of thought of people at that time. In this context it would be interesting to see how far cartographers, in representing other female characters from the Bible and Christian tradition, adopted theologians' increasingly polarized views of women as either sinners or virgin saints. The world map in the Las Huelgas manuscript, completed only in 1220, might point the same way because of the couple's moving gestures, though here the tree with the serpent stands between Adam and Eve.²⁵ It is only in this last manuscript that we find this concept in the Beatus tradition, but it is not uncommon in other representations of Paradise in the high Middle Ages.

Only three Beatus maps lack the personal element in their representation of the beginnings of human history, showing only the single source from which the four rivers flow from Paradise to the four parts of the world.²⁶ This emphasizes the Creation and the world's origin in God instead of human or, rather, female disobedience. The Garden of Eden is portrayed with its four rivers both on the artistically decorated Osma map of 1086, and on the Oña map at Milan, which dates from the end of the twelfth century.²⁷ The apparently muddled and unsystematic Beatus map in Paris also belongs to this group, showing the ancient rivers with Paradise shaped like an octopus.²⁸

This short account of the changing role of Eve in Paradise on successive Beatus maps shows the cartographers' efforts to transfer the changing contemporary perception of Eve into pictures, modifying what appeared on previous maps to accord with this. In these maps Eve's change of role, from a visually almost equal partner at the start to someone who in the end is openly accused by Adam for flouting divine command, is especially striking.

We have seen that the Hereford map portrays Paradise with Adam and Eve in two

consecutive phases (figs 1a, 1b).²⁹ First is the temptation in a Paradise that is separated from the world by a wall and a moat. The serpent coils around the tree of knowledge positioned in the centre of Eden and, pushing its head towards Eve, passes her the forbidden fruit while Adam, standing behind Eve, is already biting into his apple. From the roots of the central tree rise the four rivers of Paradise: Euphrates, Tigris, Nile ('Gion'), and Indus ('Phison'). The second phase is outside Paradise, on the right below the tower-like gate, and shows the expulsion: the angel, holding a raised sword in his right hand, with his left hand pushes the sinful couple out of Eden. The text, 'The expulsion of Adam and Eve', written above them, as they both sag under the new burden, is a sufficient comment on the scene.³⁰ The message seems obvious. The two expellees forfeited their right to return to Paradise and have to do penance with their descendants. However, what is not depicted is the theologians' further interpretation that the sinful woman has to obey the man in the future to regain the lost salvation by subordination.

Iconography is exceptionally worked out in the Hereford map with its encyclopaedic variety of motifs that reflect divine will. For example, the theme of female disobedience is picked up again in the illustration of Lot's anonymous wife: according to the book of Genesis she looked back at Sodom and Gomorrah and turned into a pillar of salt for this forbidden glance.³¹ The scene is shown on the map with the words 'Lot's wife, turned into a rock of salt' (fig. 5).³² This motif had already appeared in contemporary travel reports. In 1172-73 Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who travelled to Palestine in 1168 and 1169, wrote in his *Book of Travels*, based on his diary, about the view from the Mount of Olives to the sea of Sodom – the Dead Sea – close to which the pillar of salt that had been Lot's wife was supposed to have stood: 'and the sheep and goats lick at her, but she grows again and is just as she was before'.³³ Female refractoriness and continuing punishment could not have been better exemplified. Though not all travellers were willing to believe in the continued existence of Lot's wife in the desert area surrounding the Dead Sea, they at least mentioned her. Here Petachja of Regensburg comes to mind in telling his readers of his personal doubts some ten years later.³⁴ Again the Dominican Burchard of Mount Zion, after many years in Palestine, mentioned in his detailed and widely read *Description of the Holy Land* that this was one of the problems to investigate in Saracen territory.³⁵

Despite these uncertainties at least two English cartographers decided to mark the site on their maps: the author of the Hereford map and Matthew Paris, a monk from the Benedictine abbey of St Albans in Hertfordshire, who marked on his mid-thirteenth-century map of Palestine, now at Oxford, most of the places mentioned by Benjamin. Among those is 'Lot's wife' as a 'pillar of salt', portrayed in woman's shape on a hill close to Sodom and Gomorrah and not far from the crusader fortress of Kerak on the other side of the Dead Sea.³⁶ Both maps probably provided information for pilgrims. This is obvious for Matthew Paris's map of Palestine, but it was no less true of the graphic eschatology of the Hereford map that might serve exceptionally well as the centre of a triptych adorning the church.³⁷ The map might have decorated the wall that numerous pilgrims passed when they visited the chapel with the shrine of St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford from 1275 to 1282, who was canonized in 1320.³⁸ One can easily imagine the pilgrims first going past this encyclopaedic instruction on the transience of earthly existence, before entering the chapel of the saint in due humility.



Fig. 5. Lot's wife on the Hereford map.

Expressing longing for the lost Paradise and reminding people of human disobedience could not have been done in a more propagandist way.

There was only limited space on the maps for any expression of individuality by the mapmaker, so the artists rarely departed from the norms of the biblical tradition concerning women. Mostly they concentrated on the portrayal of Paradise with Adam and Eve. However, the images seldom represent a one-sided accusation of the woman. The large Garden of Eden on the Ebstorf world map shows the fall from grace in detail, but the white-haired Adam and the brunette Eve stand almost as equal partners on each side of the tree in fruit (fig. 6). A snake coils around the tree-trunk and its human head close to Eve's gives the impression that the serpent is whispering evil to her. Both

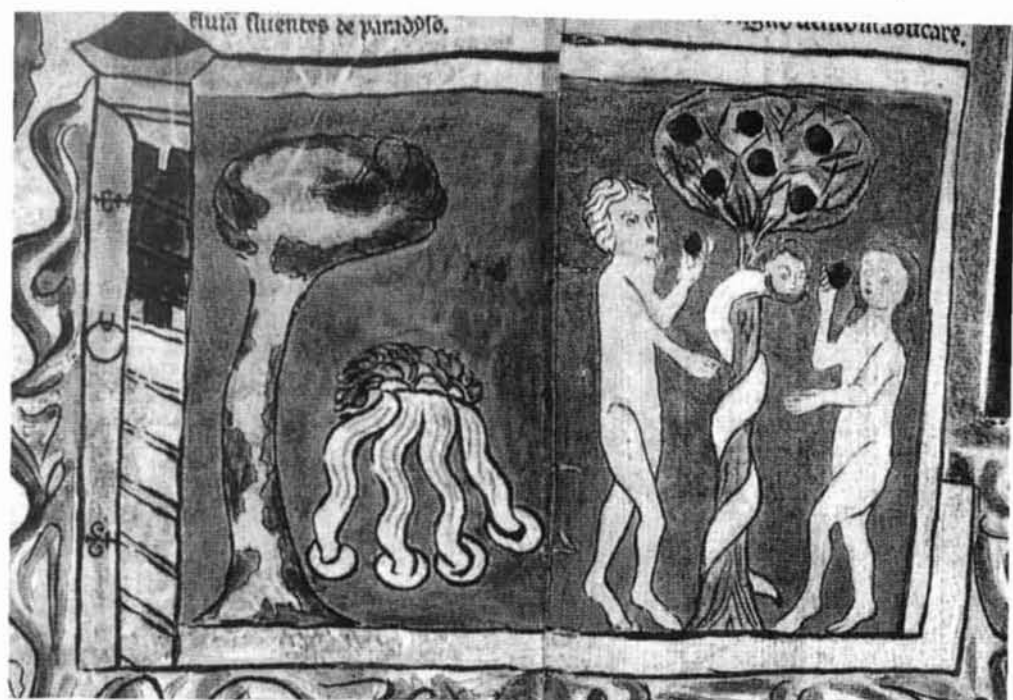


Fig. 6. Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden on the Ebstorf map.
Ebstorf, Kloster Ebstorf (facsimile).

partners have a red fruit in their hands, so that this portrayal emphasizes not the forbidden picking of the fruit but rather the two harmoniously eating it. The joint deed of Adam and Eve is reflected in the accompanying text above Paradise that only tells of the serpent's deception of the couple and does not even hint at Eve's leading role in the fall from grace.³⁹

Paradise was a standard theme of medieval maps. However, in its representation on different maps we see differing perceptions of gender roles. Among the three Jerusalem-centred maps of the thirteenth century the London Psalter map is an exception. Here, Paradise is adorned with the faces of Elias and Enoch, whose piety, according to old Christian beliefs, was rewarded by admission to Eden.⁴⁰ Another new element is a fifth river, the Ganges, flowing from Paradise. The thirteenth century marked the peak of these varying representations of Paradise on maps and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Paradise appears uniformly on maps as a fortified and thus inaccessible Gothic castle. Nevertheless, the traditional portrayal of Adam and Eve after the fall from grace, with the serpent coiling around a central tree, still appears on the oval world map which was drawn at Evesham Abbey probably between 1390 and 1392 and which may have been displayed on the wall behind the altar there.⁴¹ Paradise, on this map in a frame like the artistically carved back of a throne, simultaneously symbolizes the beginning and the end of human time, for it is shown as the place where the fall from grace occurred and where the Last Judgement will take place.

Otherwise, the Creation and biblical themes were now usually transferred to accom-

panying texts which offered more opportunities for comment and explanation. There is a lot of text, for example, on the first opening of the Catalan Atlas of 1375. Here, the story is told of Isaac's wife Rebecca, who induced her favourite son Jacob to cheat his brother Esau out of the paternal blessing; she is described in the text as 'a depraved woman, malicious and sluttish'.⁴² But accusations like this were rare and they had little effect on cartographers, who, in the late Middle Ages, became more and more cautious in illustrating biblical stories and looked rather for new motifs.

Fra Mauro from San Michele in Isola introduced an innovation which excluded the Garden of Eden from his world map, placing it instead as an inset in a corner between the central circle of the world and the square frame.⁴³ It is striking how complex and erudite his notion of Eden is. Paradise, after the fall from grace unattainable by mankind, is surrounded by a large wall and the tree of knowledge is growing in its centre. Turned towards the world, Eve stands almost hidden behind Adam next to the tree, and they both have their arms crossed over their chests as though frightened or ashamed. The other side of the tree is dominated by a figure representing God. The angel guards the entrance to Paradise, and the waters originating in the spring of life under the tree flow beneath his feet into the four rivers of Paradise – Ganges, Tigris, Euphrates, Nile – to irrigate the earth.⁴⁴ All this is described in a long accompanying text which, referring to St Augustine, Albertus Magnus, and Bede, reminds us only of the disobedience of Adam, who brought about his expulsion from Paradise by eating the fruit. Curiously, Eve's part in the expulsion is not mentioned at all: clearly, despite her sin, the woman was no longer relevant and was thus ignored.⁴⁵

At the same time, mapmakers liked to take account of the needs of pilgrims. They had long depicted graves of Christian saints which became the sites of important monasteries and which could be easily identified from travel reports. These dominated some regions on the maps, serving as a kind of orientation for pilgrims. Both female and male saints appear in similar roles. Fra Mauro showed on his map the grave of St Bridget in Norway, and the Genoese world map of 1457 has a picture of the monastery on Mount Sinai – which, however, was no innovation of the fifteenth century, for it appears too, with the words 'Here is the body of Catherine, virgin', on the fourth opening of the Catalan Atlas (fig. 7). The monastery was visited by many pilgrims to the Holy Land and is described in many travel accounts.⁴⁶ But apart from Catherine's virginity no peculiarities of gender are mentioned. In this context, male and female saints appear indifferently.

HISTORICAL AND MYTHICAL WOMEN

The historical and mythical women who appear on medieval maps owe much to classical texts and legends that were reflected and commented upon in reports of travels to the Near East and south-western Asia. Cartographers found a place for famous women with outstanding achievements in their view of the world, just as they included great men, as well as exciting fantasies of women from childhood dreams and continents and islands personified as women. They liked to banish legends and myths to the borderlines of knowledge, that is to northern Europe, Asia, and Africa, and they carefully evaluated the beasts and strange creatures that came to their notice before placing them on their maps as symbols of the alien and unknown.

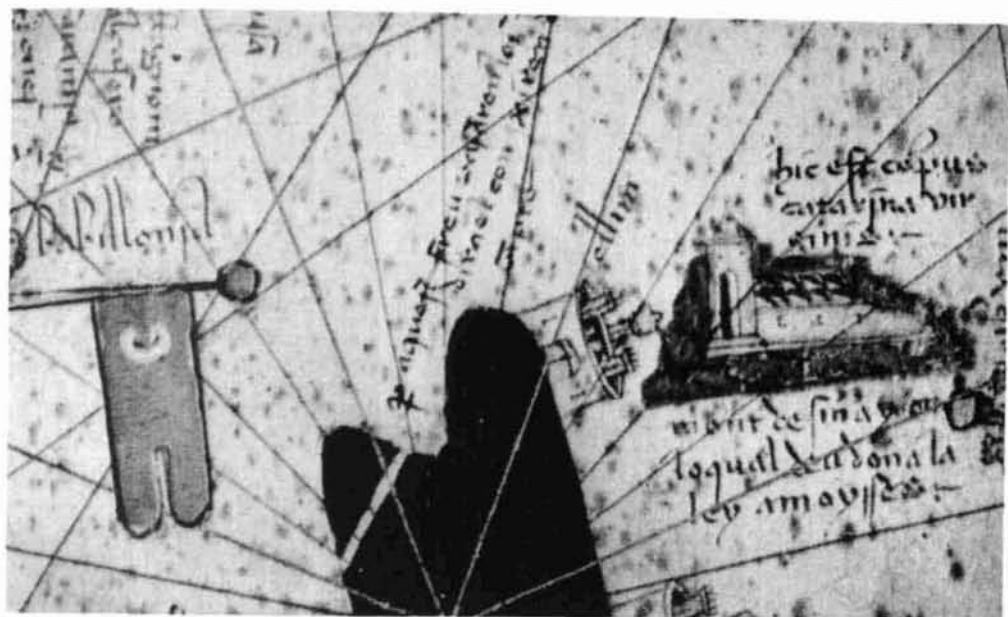


Fig. 7. The Holy Land and the convent of St Catherine on the Catalan atlas, 1375. BnF, ms. esp. 30, fourth opening.

Some famous women adorned maps of the world between the late thirteenth century and the fifteenth. The legendary Queen of Sheba dominates the south Arabian province 'Arabia Sabba' on the fifth opening of the Catalan Atlas (fig. 8). The accompanying text praises the province's pervasive scent of incense and myrrh and its abundance of gold, silver, and precious stones.⁴⁷ The splendid image of the queen is as large and as lavish as those of other rulers on the map. While the Kings of Persia and India rest on cushions with their legs crossed, the Queen of Sheba sits enthroned in an almost European way and holds a globe. Two centuries earlier, on his *mappamundi* now at Wolfenbüttel, Lambert of Saint-Omer had dispensed with any illustration to show where the queen came from, simply writing 'Saba Ethiopie'.⁴⁸ Not until the fifteenth century did any world map question the existence of the famous queen. The sceptical Fra Mauro prudently placed her, without a picture, in the Jerusalem of the age of Solomon, but at the same time expressed his doubts with the comments 'it is said' and, elsewhere, 'I cannot confirm this.'⁴⁹

Besides biblical queens, holy female rulers had, so to speak, a double claim for inclusion on a map. In the first edition of the *Rudimentum Noviciorum*, a world chronicle of 1475 from Lübeck, an early and still very rudimentary woodcut of a world map oriented to the East shows a praying woman with a crown close to Nicomedia, the old capital of Bithynia on the south-eastern rim of Europe. Unlike the many kings in Europe, she is portrayed as a full-length figure and without a sceptre; the Pope in Rome is the only other figure on the map also shown full-length. This woman is probably Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great.⁵⁰ Her place of birth was supposed to be the town of Drepanon in Bithynia that was elevated to city status by Constantine with the new name Helenopolis; it lay on the south shore of the Gulf of Astakos. Late in life

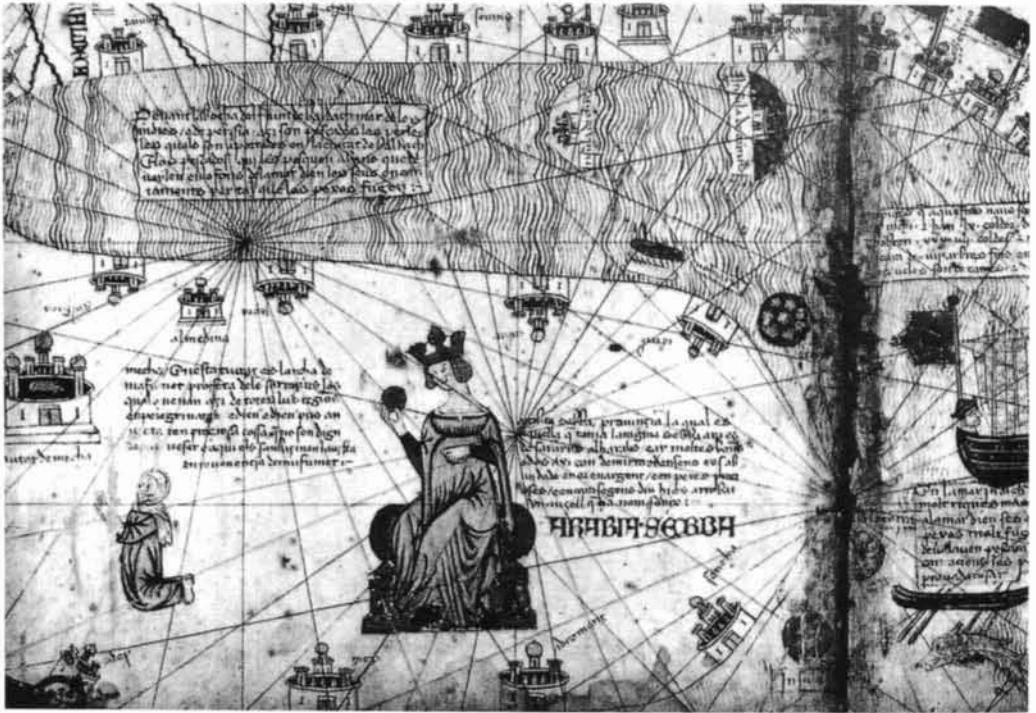


Fig. 8. Queen of Sheba on the Catalan atlas, 1375. BnF, ms. esp. 30, fifth opening.

her piety led Helena to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where she was supposed not only to have promoted the building of churches but to have helped in finding the true Cross as well. This is why, on the map, Helena looks towards the large cross standing in front of the Pope. Female greatness and piety could not have been better displayed on a map.

Though research has seldom pointed to this, cartographers again and again showed the achievements of great women just as they showed those of important men. The Ebstorf world map emphasizes the praiseworthy effort of Semiramis, Queen of Assyria, to enlarge the massive city wall of Babylon, but, interestingly, the hanging gardens that are usually attributed to her are not even mentioned.⁵¹ Certainly the late-medieval approach to history did not attain modern standards. Fra Mauro correctly saw the Lombards, who invaded Italy from Pannonia and conquered large parts of the peninsula, as coming from Scandinavia. What fascinated him, however, was the role played by the perfidious Sophia, wife of Justin II, the eastern emperor; allegedly it was her intrigues that brought about the dismissal of the commander and eunuch Narses from Italy in 567.⁵² Despite his critical approach, Fra Mauro did not manage to integrate women on equal terms into his concept of the world, nor did he succeed in honouring their achievements in the same way as those of male rulers like Tamerlane and Alexander.

Unlike most other cartographers, who were less critical in their approach, Fra Mauro did not like mysterious creatures belonging to the realm of fantasy, like the mermaids



Fig. 9. Sphinx on the Hereford map.

or sirens that dwelt in unknown oceans on earlier maps. The author of the Ebstorf map, for example, used small remote Atlantic islands in the far north of Europe to bring sirens into his world picture.⁵³ On the Hereford map the mermaid was drawn in the eastern Mediterranean close to the Greek island of Naxos (fig. 2), while the bizarre sphinx with its strange combination of a girl's head wearing a helmet, the wings of a feathered bird, talons, and a reptile's tail (fig. 9) was to be found in the unknown expanse of Africa.

The Catalan Atlas is the first map to show hybrid creatures in the Indian Ocean (fig. 10). Here, west of Sumatra, the *Tabrobana* of classical writers, we see a *sarena* with a sexually suggestive divided tail (in contrast to the simple tail of the siren on the Hereford map). The upper part of her body is that of a long-haired, desirable woman, but the cartographer had only limited success in portraying her beauty.⁵⁴ In the text above the illustration the author distinguishes two kinds of siren: both have a woman's upper body, but they otherwise look like either a fish or a bird.⁵⁵ The impressive siren on the Genoese map is also shown in the Indian Ocean; it is an enormous creature with a woman's head and a fish's body covered with spines, but the illustration differs somewhat from the accompanying text, which is adapted from Pliny.⁵⁶ Clearly, sirens on maps were kept on the outermost border of the known world, a line that moved with



Fig. 10. Sarena in the Indian Ocean on the Catalan atlas, 1375.
BnF, ms. esp. 30, sixth opening.

increasing knowledge further into the depths of Asia, Africa, and the Indian Ocean. Only on the Hereford map, astonishingly at this early stage of mapmaking, are the headless Blemmyes, living on the southern rim of the earth, already portrayed in explicitly female or male form. This contrasts with the usual sexlessness of the people shown in the outermost parts of the world.⁵⁷

What led cartographers to include mythical creatures like these in their maps? Were they inspired by their mysterious fairy-tale beauty or by the erotic effect of imaginary seductresses? Did these women function as an allegory of pernicious female lust or did they represent adventure in the enticing expanse of the world?⁵⁸ These ambiguous creatures appear on world maps in an unobtrusive manner and without a moralizing message. By inserting them into their maps, cartographers were trying to bring to life dangerous and unknown parts of the world which people looked at longingly despite the possible hazards of getting there. How observers of a map read the function and the significance of such a creature depended on their own imagination.

The common habit of endowing islands, countries, and continents with feminine personifications offered similar opportunities for interpretation. According to the Ebstorf map, the name Corsica derives from a woman named Corsa, and Libya from a niece of Jupiter who once ruled Africa, while Asia is named after a woman who ruled the continent in ancient times.⁵⁹ On this map, as in the works of Homer and Isidore of Seville, the name of Europe is traced back to King Agenor's daughter who was abducted by Jupiter.⁶⁰ Fra Mauro alone gives a different explanation of the name Europe,

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deriving it from a king called Europo, but all the same he mentions the possible female origin as well, leaving the choice to the reader of the map.⁶¹ Idiosyncratic definitions were clearly part of his personal style: at another point on his map he derives the name of England, 'insula Anglia', from a fictitious queen named Angela.⁶²

All these examples illustrate the cartographers' tendency to derive names of islands and continents from those of mythical, historical, or fictitious women – and this long before the New World was discovered. Did the new 'virgin' land then also require a female name? There has been a long tradition of attributing female names to foreign regions. The Greeks and Romans personified cities, provinces, and continents as women, having regard to the universal adaptability of womankind. Artists of the late Middle Ages consistently attributed female bodies to Europe and the other continents. This happened at the latest by 1336 when Opicinus de Canistris (born in 1296, died between 1350 and 1352), a clerk of the papal Curia at Avignon, produced a manuscript that included twenty-five symbolic maps among fifty-two illustrations. In some of these strange maps he showed Africa as the figure of a woman next to a hunchbacked man named Europe whose head represents Spain and whose legs end in Italy and Greece; combining these two parts of the world on these maps might be considered risqué because the right ear of the old man rests at the opened mouth of the woman, a pose often interpreted as an expression of sensuous desire and a symbol for obscene sinfulness.⁶³ But it is the personification of a continent as a woman that is important to our theme, the subtle overlapping of the female body and the geographical region. The cartographers of the sixteenth century continued to identify continents with women in their geographic concept of a 'Queen of Europe', as we see in maps by Johannes Putsch, Matthias Quad, and Sebastian Münster.⁶⁴

FOREIGN WOMEN AND FOREIGN CUSTOMS

The European view of sex and gender roles could be turned completely upside down in foreign regions, and the reports of travellers who had been to Asia inspired mapmakers to illustrate foreign women and their customs in texts and images. In this, their understanding of female spheres of activity clashed with what now emerged of the geographical, cultural, and physical experience of the unknown. This resulted in a vague and confused concept of a changed, sometimes even reversed, order of gender roles arising from cultural differences. Attitudes were less clear-cut than they were later in the New World, where colonization seems to have consisted in male sexual dominance in the conquest of a 'virgin' continent.⁶⁵

For example, we can see the women of the Psylli, on the southern rim of Africa, as representatives of the female Other in medieval cartography. The men of this race tested their wives' faithfulness and the legitimacy of their offspring by exposing the new-born children to the verdict of snakes which decided on life or death.⁶⁶ This strange test of faithfulness is depicted on the Aslake map in the second or third quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶⁷ But the seemingly strange and exotic test of the Psylli clearly demonstrated European virtues – female faithfulness and legitimate birth – in a distant part of Africa, and this appealed to European mapmakers. In the oldest French version of John Mandeville's *Travels* it is explained in even more detail that only children of legitimate parentage were not bitten by the snakes.⁶⁸ This scene is portrayed on the

Hereford map in masterly fashion: the frightened mother, meek and self-absorbed in a posture almost of prayer, sees how her child, still merrily holding up its hand, is clasped by dangerous-looking and menacing snakes with long tongues, while the accompanying text between the two figures comments on the scene. There is a similar picture on the Ebstorf world map, where a mother, her child, and a snake illustrate the Ethiopian people on the edge of the world, while the text, adapted from Solinus and Pliny, describes how those fathered and born legitimately are immune to snakes' poison.⁶⁹ The alternative worlds of the mapmakers could thus show strange ways of maintaining standards of morality that were Christian and European.

The ruling women shown on the Hereford map in India, 'Pandeia, a people of Yndia ruled by women', represent the type of foreign womanhood that most strikingly violated European norms (fig. 3).⁷⁰ European observers, and the authors of several other world maps, were particularly interested in these dominating women in the Far East, close to Paradise, who were seen as masculine in character. The author of the Ebstorf map included the same nation ruled by women when he portrayed what he called the Pangea.⁷¹ In early Christian literature becoming man-like represented a move towards moral and intellectual perfection. According to Christian anthropology a woman that became male could even rise to become a model man, whereas a man who turned into a woman unmistakably symbolized moral deterioration.⁷² The spatial proximity to Paradise of these ruling women in the two large world maps could thus hint at the transcendent nature of earthly gender in achieving salvation.

However, since classical antiquity these masculine or man-like women had simultaneously been both fascinating ideals and frightening curiosities. The Amazons that were referred to in such varied ways during the Middle Ages are the best example to appear on maps of this contradictory perception.⁷³ Isidore of Seville pointed the way by referring to this old legend in his *Etymologies*.⁷⁴ But the murderous Amazons living in an inaccessible region were seen not only as a relic of times long gone; they were included in medieval maps as the fantasized personification of a deep conflict stemming from the alien, from the Other that was difficult to understand, from the dangers arising from cultural clashes, and from processes of cultural assimilation.⁷⁵ Cartographers expressed this by placing Amazons on the periphery of the known world. The European order was turned upside down in this area, the frontier zone between the Christian realms of the west and the undiscovered non-Christian expanse of Asia. It was the border between the known world and the rest. It appeared on maps in some such form as 'Region of the Amazons' on the twelfth-century Isidore map at Munich, 'Province of the Amazons' on the world map by Lambert of Saint-Omer, or simply 'Amazonia' on the Sawley map, which bears more than two hundred place-names and other inscriptions.⁷⁶ A mythical state, 'Aviazonna', completely ruled by women, still appears on the Evesham map of the late fourteenth century.⁷⁷

Cartographers used the territorial location of the Other to separate their own world from anything that was alien or unknown. They devised a counter-world to assure their own position in the world, but rather than draw separate territories or regions on their maps they used personal concepts like the Amazons to differentiate the Other from the known world. The Psalter map has the short text 'Here the Amazons dwell'.⁷⁸ On the Ebstorf map there are two entries: a text on pugnacious women on the northern border between Asia and Europe close to the Caucasus,⁷⁹ and a picture of two armed queens

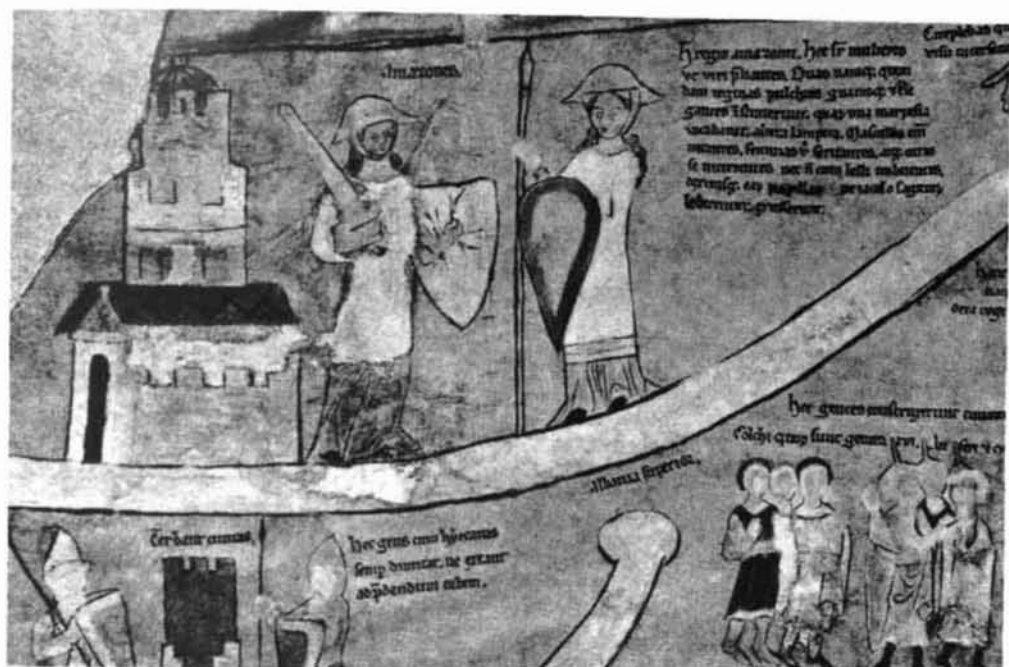


Fig. 11. The armed Queens Marpesia and Lampeta on the Ebstorf map.
Ebstorf, Kloster Ebstorf (facsimile).

named Marpesia and Lampeta next to a battlemented tower in Asia (fig. 11).⁸⁰ These figures wear helmets and carry shields, and one holds a sword, the other a pike, while the accompanying text describes them as stunningly beautiful women but also as experienced warriors who fight like men; it was also said that they ruthlessly killed their new-born sons and sacrificed their right breasts, cutting them out to improve their archery. These women were said to live in Themiskyra, a strongly fortified town shown on the map isolated inside the circle of the 'Lacus Cimericus', probably the Sea of Azov.⁸¹ Their terrifying equipment even became a standard for comparison: according to a text on India, written under Christ's face, fig-trees grew so big that their leaves reached the size of the Amazons' shields, and this may be why a gigantic tree is drawn above the two queens.⁸² Nevertheless, both figures are unquestionably shown as women, and their long hair and gathered skirts contrast charmingly with their knee-length coats of mail and, at the same time, stress a foreign but yet, to some extent, familiar femininity. Their dainty beauty could hint at a courtly lifestyle were it not for the description of their ferocity and their military appearance.⁸³

Obviously, women could make their mark only if they hid their sex with a behaviour usually attributed to men, demonstrating strength and bravery, and this behaviour was often linked to mutilation of the female body. Did the loss of one breast particularly enable a woman to perform men's tasks? On medieval maps, differences in customs and traditions often related to bodily characteristics. Ranulf Higden mentioned on his mid-fourteenth-century map that the lack of a right breast was a particular characteristic of the Amazons of Asia, besides their manly style of fighting.⁸⁴ He also depicted the



Fig. 12. Amazons named on the world map by Andreas Walsperger, 1448.
BAV, ms. Pal. lat. 1362 B.

hermaphrodites, creatures each of both sexes, who, according to Pliny and Isidore, had the same defect.⁸⁵ On the Hereford map, creatures that are both male and female are among the peoples living at the edge of the world; they appear in Ethiopia, not far from the Psylli, but without any detailed account of their bodily characteristics.⁸⁶

In spite of growing scepticism, Amazons continued to appear on mappaemundi until the fifteenth century. The Borgia map places Amazons in the north-east and counted them among famous women, reminding the reader particularly of Penthesilea, a female warrior who appears in every medieval story about the Trojan War.⁸⁷ Andreas Walsperger placed the Amazons on his map in their own area of Asia ('Region of Amazon women');⁸⁸ he included no picture, but inserted a short text halfway between Jerusalem and Paradise (fig. 12). He also included another even more spectacular type of woman in his map: bearded women who lived on a peninsula in the Indian Ocean. He might have learnt about them not only from classical writers but also from the work of Adam of Bremen, Archbishop of Hamburg, who wrote on history and who was interested in ethnography.⁸⁹ Even Fra Mauro could not help marking a 'Province of the Amazons' despite his general scepticism, though it was admittedly drawn rather small.⁹⁰ A 'Region of women' is still illustrated in the Catalan Atlas as an isolated island empire on 'Illa Jana', that is, Sri Lanka (fig. 13). Here, a long-haired female ruler sits enthroned, but only the outsized sword in her right hand reminds us of an Amazon queen; otherwise she appears in the medieval European style with a golden crown on her head and an orb in her left hand, wearing a splendid blue and red gathered robe.⁹¹



Fig. 13. Queen of Illa Jana on the Catalan atlas, 1375.
BnF, ms. esp. 30, sixth opening.

The concept of a land of the Amazons, or ruled by women, that reverses the cultural and social gender roles of Europe appears on almost all medieval world maps drawn between the twelfth century and the fifteenth. The female rulers' clothes, weapons, and insignia of government were adapted to contemporary European styles. The women warriors were at last transferred to south America on sixteenth-century maps and here they represented the growing threat of the Other to the European order. An example is the map of 1599 by Theodor de Bry, a Calvinist citizen of Frankfurt and copperplate engraver; he associated the name of the River Amazon with the Amazon tribe, a people of women who live with men only for one month a year to keep the tribe from extinction.⁹²

The struggle of native women against the European conquerors is thought to explain the Amazons' transfer to south America on world maps.⁹³ Earlier, cartographers had moved the Amazons further and further to the north of Europe to link them with the cruel and barbaric peoples there. Next they moved them to the Asian steppe or the African continent before finally placing them on the banks of the River Amazon. Other hideous creatures that were first placed in India underwent similar migrations.⁹⁴ Where the Amazons and other strange beings were placed on the maps depended on contemporary knowledge, travellers' accounts, or the literary tradition that had brought them into existence. Amazons probably appeared on maps because travellers noted with astonishment the phenomenon of women warriors that they first came upon when they met Mongolians in central Asia. Their strong-minded women took part in battle and

amazed European observers with their horsemanship and their skills in archery.⁹⁵ Gaspar de Carvajal, who took part in an expedition along the River Amazon in 1542, gave similar reports from south America when he described a skirmish with ferocious women.⁹⁶ We thus see that reported personal experience might well determine where the Amazons were placed on maps.

The myth of the Amazons also contributed to the fear that independent women lived apart from the civilized world, especially on some lonely island in the Indian Ocean. Ranulf Higden, who portrayed women living on their own on the island of Gorgades,⁹⁷ did not explain how these women reproduced, but later cartographers tried to answer this question. Fra Mauro described how men and women lived separated from each other on the islands in the Indian Ocean, but lived together for three months each year.⁹⁸ Europeans were astonished and fascinated by this combination of womanliness and independence that reversed the patriarchal European order they were accustomed to, and on their maps they placed these women, whom they regarded as odd and strange, in regions on the constantly changing frontiers of their world.

The mapmakers' imaginative examination of foreign realms dominated by women included also forms of giving birth that were strange to male cartographers in a double sense, being alien both to their gender and to their culture. The enormous power that women wield in human reproduction may have stimulated male thinking and perception, and may explain why mapmakers so often described different attitudes towards giving birth and the age when women reached reproductive maturity in different cultures. Their most remarkable idea was the almost unlimited fertility that they attributed to the women of certain peoples. Inspired by Pliny's *Natural History* and the *Collections of Memorable Things* by Gaius Julius Solinus, based on Pliny's work, Ranulf Higden and the unknown author of the Ebstorf map both reported a tribe on the border of Africa and Asia where the women gave birth to their children at the age of five and died at the age of seven or ten.⁹⁹

The birth of children, which usually took place in private, hidden from the public and especially from male observers, is hardly ever shown on maps. However, on the third opening of the Catalan Atlas the author wrote a long text beside Ireland referring to an old custom of taking pregnant women away from the island just before giving birth.¹⁰⁰ The idea of secluding the mother before the child is born separates birth from daily life and shows it as a female affair. On the maps birth appears as a closed-off female domain, falling outside the control of people from the particular community and without male protection of the new-born child and its mother.¹⁰¹ The common belief that women who had just given birth were dangerous underlay this exclusion of expectant mothers, common to almost every ancient culture. Exclusion ended only after a long transitional period and a ritual ceremony of readmittance to reintegrate the young mother into society. But the idea of totally isolating pregnant women on another island flies in the face of Europeans' belief that expectant and young mothers needed special protection.

Tales like this reflected a world of matriarchal power and female independence. Another example is the matriarchy of the Garamantes, described by Solinus and placed on the Ebstorf map in Libya, next to the peoples living on the edges of the world and close to the wild animals of Africa. It was supposed that children here revered their mothers and not their fathers.¹⁰² At a similar location in southern Africa the author of

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the Borgia map showed wild women giving birth close to Abimichabal, king of the dog-headed people, the Cynocephali, without their husbands being present.¹⁰³ In European eyes such an extraordinary society, in which people violated all civilized norms, could exist only in the extreme heat of Africa.

Male cartographers were more at ease in examining marriage customs that differed a lot from region to region, and they offered very varied interpretations of what they described. According to the Genoese world map of 1457 the sinful and dirty men of Java lived polygamously with as many women as they liked, whereas people in the rich province of south China ('Macina') lived monogamously.¹⁰⁴ It followed that the number of wives was evidently a measure of how developed and civilized a society was: a monogamous society congruous with European standards was judged superior to others. But mapmakers did not always follow such a strict programme of moral standards. The Benedictine monk Matthew Paris is an example. On one of his Palestine maps he saw polygamy as a sign of great prosperity, referring to rich traders who travelled from Acre to Damascus through Bedouin territory and who possessed not only gold, silver, silk, spices, horses, oil, almonds, figs, and sugar but also as many wives as they could maintain.¹⁰⁵ Here we see clearly the antagonism between the longing for sexual pleasures and Christian moral constraints.

Travellers to Asia and the mapmakers who drew on their reports were especially impressed by the practice of suttee: widows had to follow their deceased husbands to their deaths in a prescribed ritual that was publicly sanctioned and accepted by society.¹⁰⁶ This custom, based on a particular belief concerning life after death, was already known in classical antiquity. This sex-specific ritual was most widespread in India, and medieval travellers like Ibn Battuta, Marco Polo, Odoricus de Pordenone, and Nicolò de' Conti reported it eagerly.¹⁰⁷ The voluntary burning of women especially from the warrior caste could be interpreted either as a symbol of total submission even after death or as heroic steadfastness and resolution on the part of the wife. Differing interpretations thus led people either to hero-worship these women or to view them as the unrestricted possession of the husband who alone could demand their company after death.

The cremation of a deceased husband is shown strikingly in the Catalan Atlas (fig. 14). The old man's corpse lies curled up in a kind of basin looking like a baptismal font; next to it three musicians are playing merrily on a lyre, a viola, and a flute while a bearded guardian lights the fire. The accompanying text describes the relatives' grief and mentions that sometimes widows even plunged into the flames whereas husbands never followed their deceased wives.¹⁰⁸ This vivid picture conflates two passages from the book of Marco Polo.¹⁰⁹ The first describes a cremation ceremony accompanied by music on the edge of the Gobi Desert in central Mongolia, and the second describes the suttee ritual he observed in travelling through Maabar province in India. Marco Polo reported that people praised suttees and despised and insulted women who refused to follow their husbands in death. The authors of travel reports probably collected this kind of information from local people who accepted and idealized this custom, but the Franciscan friar Odoricus de Pordenone and the Venetian trader and traveller Nicolò de' Conti began to question this macabre rite, recognizing the social pressure behind it.¹¹⁰ Over the years, cartographers began to transfer these more sophisticated views to their world maps, and the mid-fifteenth-century Genoese map hints at the social



Fig. 14. Cremation in India on the Catalan atlas, 1375. BnF, ms. esp. 30, sixth opening.

constraints underlying the Indian ritual.¹¹¹ However, the statements are short, factual, and non-judgemental, though certainly only a well-informed and well-read observer could in fact have formed a proper judgement.

This way of adapting reports also affected other fantastic tales that reversed, altered, or sometimes simply confirmed European views on the relationship between the sexes. The fountain that turned men into women, shown on the Ebstorf map, is characteristic of the ambiguity of many entries on maps.¹¹² On one hand it symbolizes the early Christian belief in moral decline and the growing distance from salvation, but on the other it could have a positive connotation because of the many strong-willed women whom we are called upon to admire on world maps. Cultural differences were drawn upon to confront strict European moral standards with an ambiguous and open counter-world in which a lack of civilization, physical ugliness, and barbaric customs were linked to women possessed of male characteristics such as courage, independence, and intelligence. The myth of wild femininity served a double purpose. Besides showing wildness as both good and evil, what people feared but nevertheless envied, cartographers began to portray the other sex as free from conventions and constraints: women living in the unknown world beyond the borders of western civilization could adopt male duties, male responsibilities, and male behaviour without disturbing the European order in the matter of gender roles.

Cartographers mostly used ancient sources for what they put on their maps, and thereby introduced motifs that offered a variety of interpretations. It was against this background that they sometimes felt obliged to introduce material from more original

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sources and to include more recent reports of women and of the places they lived in. Nevertheless, they deliberately emphasized certain aspects of these reports; new themes were added from the late thirteenth century to the fifteenth, and, in the course of time, the mapmakers raised more and more doubts over long-accepted traditions and interpretations.

CONCLUSION

Finally I should like to examine the various principles medieval cartographers followed in choosing what to put on their maps and how they dealt with the information at their disposal about biblical, mythical, and foreign women. We must look for the motifs they used when working on their paradoxical pictures that mixed fantasy, myth, and fact; space on maps was limited, and therefore the authors had to decide what was most important and what, thus, had to be included. Old traditions and new empirical knowledge had to be weighed up against each other. The results can be summed up in four statements.

First, femininity in medieval cartography focused on a relatively small number of themes that were deliberately chosen. Besides Eve in Paradise and some female saints, texts and images on the world maps presented pseudo-historical queens, siren-like fabulous creatures, and women rulers and warriors who resembled men. In addition, cartographers dealt with matriarchy, female subordination, birth, and marriage customs. They took their central themes from biblical, classical, or early Christian traditions that could be individually used, but they paid little attention to the reports and misogynistic opinions of medieval writers. Authors relied on authoritative motifs like Lot's wife or the suttee ritual because their meaning could be easily linked to everyday contexts. Nevertheless, empirical travel reports were seldom preferred to old traditions that survived even in the face of new knowledge.

Second, cartographers selected their themes mainly from traditions and concepts that were deeply rooted in their society. They rarely included or commented on anthropological information. Space was limited and mapmakers were thus restricted to short and not very complex sentences. Often these were indirect quotations which the cartographers could seldom alter to express their own opinions.

Third, this was why cartographers preferred motifs that were open to interpretation and did not need to be put in concrete terms in the accompanying texts. Biblical and classical concepts as well as contemporary travel reports could thus be used in many different ways. They served not only to broaden the geographical and ethnographical knowledge of western readers but also reflected western Christian ideas of order and moral standards. They expressed people's longing for the unknown and also served as a starting point for European self-interpretation. The fact that illustrations and texts were to a large extent open to interpretation helped to emphasize the antagonism of biblical, mythical, and foreign women and to stimulate the imagination of contemporary observers.

Fourth, there was no single line of development. Cartographers depicted Eve in Paradise and the myth of pugnacious Amazons together on maps. Graves of female saints appeared along with the Indian suttee ritual. Nevertheless, certain aspects can be stressed. Early maps accepted women only in a biblical context, but maps from the later

Middle Ages show a much broader spectrum of themes. Here, the mapmakers drew more from classical antiquity and used many more classical motifs for texts and images. Finally, cartographers of the fifteenth century began to question tradition. Pictures became less significant and narrative texts grew in importance. This is equally true for biblical, mythical, and foreign women.

NOTES

- 1 For an account of the Hereford map, with a brief bibliography, see above, pp. 27-30.
- 2 Illustrated in Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, p. 43.
- 3 My thanks are due to Dr Margriet Hoogvliet for drawing my attention to this illustration.
- 4 Peter Barber, 'Visual Encyclopaedias: The Hereford and Other Mappae Mundi', *The Map Collector*, 48 (Autumn 1989), 2-8 (illustrated on p. 3).
- 5 On the perception of gender roles in travel reports see Folker E. Reichert, 'Fremde Frauen: die Wahrnehmung von Geschlechterrollen in den spätmittelalterlichen Orientreiseberichten', in *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten: Kongressakten des 4. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlass des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. by Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), pp. 167-84.
- 6 For accounts of the Sawley and Psalter maps, with brief bibliographies, see above, pp. 10-13, 15-19. For the text and reproduction of the map of Lambert of Saint-Omer see Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 43-53; and for discussion Von den Brincken, *Fines terrae*, pp. 73-76, fig. 29; Herma Kliege, *Weltbild und Darstellungspraxis hochmittelalterlicher Weltkarten* (Münster: Nodus, 1991), pp. 72-74; Edson, *Time and Space*, pp. 105-11; and for more detailed analysis Danielle Lecoq, 'La mappemonde du Liber Floridus ou la vision du monde de Lambert de Saint-Omer', *Imago Mundi*, 39 (1987), 9-49.
- 7 On his maps of Palestine see Kliege, *Weltbild*, pp. 77-79; Von den Brincken, *Fines terrae*, pp. 106-09, fig. 34; Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), especially pp. 321-76; Evelyn Edson, 'Matthew Paris' "Other" Map of Palestine', *The Map Collector*, 66 (Spring 1994), 18-22; Edson, *Time and Space*, pp. 118-25; P.D.A. Harvey, 'Matthew Paris's Maps of Palestine', *Thirteenth Century England VIII*, ed. by Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell, and Robin Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 165-77.
- 8 For an account of the Ebstorf map, with a brief bibliography, see above, pp. 23-27. Jürgen Wilke, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, 2 vols, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Historische Landesforschung der Universität Göttingen, 39 (Gütersloh: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2001), I, especially p. 284, suggests a dating between 1288 and 1314, stressing the probability of a more accurate dating between 1298 and 1308.
- 9 Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 94-109; David Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi', in Harley and Woodward, pp. 286-370 (pp. 348, 352-53, figs 18.67-18.69); Kliege, *Weltbild*, p. 85; Von den Brincken, *Fines terrae*, pp. 112-13; Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London: British Library, 1991), p. 34, fig. 26.
- 10 Facsimiles: *Der katalanische Weltatlas vom Jahre 1375*, ed. and trans. by Hans-Christian Freiesleben, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und der Reisen, 11 (Stuttgart: Brockhaus, 1977); *Mappamundi: The Catalan Atlas of the Year 1375*, ed. by Georges Grosjean (Dietikon-Zürich: Graf, 1978).
- 11 For the Borgia map see above, pp. 38-41. For the Walsperger map, facsimile in *Weltkarte des Andreas Walsperger, Pal. lat. 1362 B*, ed. by Edmund Pognon (Zürich: Belser, 1987); text in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 147-148; see also Woodward, 'Medieval Mappaemundi',

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- p. 316; Von den Brincken, *Fines terrae*, pp. 145-47. For the Genoese map, *Genoese World Map 1457: Facsimile and Critical Text*, ed. by Edward Luther Stevenson, Publications of the Hispanic Society of America, 83 (New York: De Vinne, 1912).
- 12 For a general account of Fra Mauro's map, with a brief bibliography, see above, pp. 42-44.
- 13 See Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, passim.
- 14 For a general account of the Beatus maps, with a brief bibliography, see above, pp. 1-4.
- 15 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.644, fols 33^v-34^r; reproductions in *A Spanish Apocalypse: The Morgan Beatus Manuscript*, ed. by John Williams and Barbara A. Shailor (New York: Braziller, 1991), fols 33^v-34^r; Brigitte Englisch, *Ordo orbis terrae: die Weltsicht in den Mappae mundi des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, *Orbis mediaevalis, Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters*, 3 (Berlin: Akademie, 2002), p. 261.
- 16 Valladolid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS. 433, fols 36^v-37^r; reproductions in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, II, fig. 5; Englisch, p. 221.
- 17 Seu d'Urgell, Museu Diocesà, Num. Inv. 501, fols vi^r-vii^r; illustrated in John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1994-2003), III, figs 10-11.
- 18 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitrina 14-2, fols 63^v-64^r; facsimile in *Beato di Liébana: miniature del Beato de Fernando I y Sancha (Codice B. N. Madrid, Vit. 14-2)*, ed. by Umberto Eco (Parma: Ricci, 1973); reproductions in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, II, fig. 6; Englisch, p. 196; see also John Williams, 'Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map', *Imago Mundi*, 49 (1997), 7-32, fig. 9.
- 19 BL, Additional MS. 11695, fols 39^v-40^r; reproductions in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, II, fig. 7; Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, p. 24; Englisch, p. 217.
- 20 BnF, ms. lat. 8878, fols 45bis^v-45ter^r; facsimile in *Comentarios al Apocalipsis y al Libro de Daniel: edición facsimil del códice de la abadía de Saint-Sever*, 2 vols (Madrid: Edilan, 1984); reproductions in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, I, fig. 1; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, III, 47, figs 392-393; Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Land: Images of Terra Sancta through Two Millennia* (New York: Abbeville, 1986), pp. 26-27; Englisch, p. 365.
- 21 Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, III, 44.
- 22 Gerona, Museu de la Catedral, Num. Inv. 7 (11), fols 54^v-55^r; reproductions in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, II, fig. 3b; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, I, 52, fig. 22; Englisch, p. 287.
- 23 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Sgn. I.II.I, fols 45^v-46^r; reproductions in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, II, fig. 8; Englisch, p. 318. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS. Lat. 8, fols 43^v-44^r; facsimile in *Beatus a Liébana in Apocalypsin Commentarius: Manchester, the John Rylands University Library Latin MS 8*, ed. by Peter Klein, *Codices illuminati medii aevi*, 16 (Munich: Lengenfelder, 1990); reproductions in Englisch, p. 304; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, v, figs 37, 38.
- 24 BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2290, fols 13^v-14^r; reproductions in Leo Bagrow and R.A. Skelton, *Meister der Kartographie*, 4th edn (Berlin: Safari, 1973), p. 310, plate XXIII; Englisch, p. 326; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, v, figs 450, 451.
- 25 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.429, fols 31^v-32^r; reproductions in Englisch, p. 312; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, v, figs 354, 355; see Ansari M. Mundó and Manuel Sánchez Mariana, *El comentario de Beato al Apocalipsis: Catálogo de los códices* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976), no. 18.
- 26 Because of their fragmentary condition the Lorrão Beatus (Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, MS. 160, dated 1189) and the wall map at San Pedro de Rocas cannot be taken into account.
- 27 Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral, MS. 1, fols 34^v-35^r; facsimile in *Apocalipsis Beati Liebanensis burgi Oxomensis* (Valencia: García, 1992); reproductions in Miller, *Mappae-mundi*, II, fig. 3a; Brincken, *Fines terrae*, fig. 17; Edson, *Time and Space*, fig. 8.3; Williams,

- Illustrated Beatus*, I, 51, fig. 21. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. F 105 sup., fols 71^v-72^r; not included in Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*; Ingrid Baumgärtner, 'Die Welt im kartographischen Blick: zur Veränderbarkeit mittelalterlicher Weltkarten am Beispiel der Beatus-tradition vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert', in *Der weite Blick des Historikers: Einsichten in Kultur-, Landes- und Stadtgeschichte: Peter Johaneck zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Wilfried Ehbrecht, Angelika Lampen, Franz-Joseph Post, and Mechthild Siekmann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002), pp. 527-49 (p. 544); cf. Luis Vázquez de Parga, 'Un mapa desconocido de la serie de los "Beatos"', in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana*, Grupo de Estudio Beato de Liébana, 1, 3 vols (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1978-80), I, 273-78.
- 28 BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1366, fols 24^v-25^r; reproductions in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, II, fig. 2; Bagrow and Skelton, p. 310, plate XXII; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, v, figs 264, 265.
- 29 Cf. Fred Plaut, 'Where is Paradise? The Mapping of a Myth', *The Map Collector*, 29 (Dec. 1984), 2-7, especially p. 2 with its reproduction of the drawn copy of the map published in 1854; see also Bevan and Phillott, p. 25; Meryl Jancey, *Mappa mundi: The Map of the World in Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1987), segment 2.
- 30 Westrem, *Hereford Map*, no. 71.
- 31 Genesis 19.26.
- 32 Westrem, *Hereford Map*, no. 254.
- 33 *Jüdische Reisen im Mittelalter*, trans. by Stefan Schreiner, Sammlung Dieterich, 416 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1991), pp. 5-119 (p. 44); *Syrien und Palästina nach dem Reisebericht des Benjamin von Tudela*, ed. by Hans Peter Rüger, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins, 12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), p. 45.
- 34 *Jüdische Reisen*, pp. 121-64, especially p. 161: 'Die Salzsäule, hat er erzählt, hat er nicht gesehen. Es gibt sie überhaupt nicht.'
- 35 'Pro qua uidenda multum laboraui, sed dixerunt mihi Sarraceni, quod locus non esset tutus. ... Comperi tamen postea, quod non erat ita' (*Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. by J.C.M. Laurent, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1873), p. 59).
- 36 'uxor loth', 'Statua Salis' (*Syrien und Palästina*, p. 15, with illustration); cf. Edson, 'Matthew Paris', p. 19.
- 37 Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, pp. 12-16; Kupfer, 'Medieval World Maps', pp. 273-75.
- 38 Daniel P. Terkla, 'Impassioned Failure: Memory, Metaphor, and the Drive toward Intellection', in *Imagining Heaven in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. by Jan Swango Emerson and Hugh Feiss (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 245-316 (p. 266).
- 39 'Paradisus et lignum vite et quatuor flumina fluentes de Paradiso; ubi primos parentes decepit serpens suadens de ligno vetito manducare' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 48).
- 40 Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 38 thinks, wrongly, that they represent the faces of Adam and Eve.
- 41 Peter Barber, 'Die Evesham-Weltkarte von 1392: Eine mittelalterliche Weltkarte im College of Arms in London: von der Universalität zum Anglizentrismus', *Cartographica helvetica*, 9 (1994), 17-22 (pp. 17-18, illustration on p. 21); Peter Barber, 'The Evesham World Map: A Late Medieval English View of God and the World', *Imago Mundi*, 47 (1995), 13-33 (pp. 22-23, figure on p. 14).
- 42 'si és fe[m]bra] sarà à vol fembra e mal parlera e p[ar]eosa' (*Mappamundi*, ed. Grosjean, p. 36).
- 43 *Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, ed. by Tullia Gasparri Leporace (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956), p. 22. On the earthly paradise in the world maps of the 15th century, see Plaut (note 29 above), pp. 4-5; Alessandro Scafi, 'Il Paradiso Terrestre di Fra Mauro', *Storia dell'arte*, 93/94 (1998), 411-19; Alessandro Scafi, 'Mapping Eden: Cartographies of the

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- Earthly Paradise', in *Mappings*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion, 1999), pp. 50-70 (pp. 66-67).
- 44 Scafi, 'Il Paradiso Terrestre'.
- 45 *Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate xxxvii, p. 22.
- 46 'Norvegia ... Qui se dice esser el co[r]po de sancta Brigida, la qual sego[n]do alcuni fo de suetia' (*Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate xxxvi, p. 60, no. 24); *Genoese World Map*, p. 29; *Der katalanische Weltatlas*, p. 31. For the convent of St Catherine in late-medieval German travel reports see Aleya Khattab, *Das Ägyptenbild in den deutschsprachigen Reisebeschreibungen der Zeit von 1285-1500*, Europäische Hochschulschriften series I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 517 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1982), pp. 84-92.
- 47 *Der katalanische Weltatlas*, p. 31.
- 48 Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 48.
- 49 'Arabia sabea ... E de questa se dice venisse quella formosissima regina e sibila Saba in ierusalem al te[m]po de Salamo[n]'; 'io no[n] l'afermo' (*Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate xvi, pp. 30-31, nos 33, 75).
- 50 Many thanks to Wesley Brown, who developed this thesis at the Mappa Mundi Conference in Hereford, 1999. For the *Rudimentum* world map see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, 'Universalkartographie und geographische Schulkenntnisse im Inkunabelzeitalter (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des "Rudimentum Noviciorum" und Hartmann Schedels)', in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 1978 bis 1981*, ed. by Bernd Moeller, Hans Patze, and Karl Stackmann, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3rd series, 137 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983), pp. 398-429, especially the illustration on p. 428.
- 51 'Babylonia ... Hanc Nemroth gygas fundavit, sed Semiramis regina Assyriorum ampliavit murumque' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 45).
- 52 *Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate xli, p. 63, no. 13.
- 53 'Gadarunte insule in quibus sirene' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 26).
- 54 *Der katalanische Weltatlas*, p. 22.
- 55 *Der katalanische Weltatlas*, p. 33.
- 56 *Genoese World Map*, pp. 26-27.
- 57 Illustrated in Harvey, *Mappa Mundi*, p. 48.
- 58 Rüdiger Krohn, "'daz si totfuorgiu tier sint": Sirenen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur', in *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen*, ed. by Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich, Mittelaltermythen, 2 (St Gallen: UVK, 1999), pp. 545-63.
- 59 'Corsica insula. Corsica a Corsa muliere' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 29); 'Alii dicunt Epavum filium Jovis ... ex Casicia uxore procreasse filiam Lybiam, que postea Africanum tenuit regnum, ex cuius nomine tercia pars orbis Lybia appellata est' (ibid., v, 55); 'Asya ex nomine cuiusdam mulieris est appellata, que apud antiquos imperium tenuit orientis' (ibid., v, 8; cf. 'Asya a regina eiusdem nominis est appellata', ibid., p. 48).
- 60 'Europa Agenoris regis filia dicta est, que idem nomen sortita est' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 8; cf. ibid., p. 11, a passage on the Ebstorf map copied from Isidore of Seville (*Isidori hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. by W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), II, XIV.4.1)).
- 61 'Europa fi nominata da uno re dito Europo ouer da una fiola d'Agenore dita Europa' (*Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate xxxv, p. 58, no. 33).
- 62 'Nota che la insula anglia ... e da una sua regina dita A[n]gela la nomiò a[n]glia' (*Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate xxxvi, p. 60, no. 16).
- 63 Richard Salomon, *Opicinus de Canistris: Weltbild und Bekenntnisse eines avignonesischen*

- Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 1A (London: Warburg Institute, 1936), 1, 65-66, 68-77, and 11, plates 35, 39, 42 (illustrations from BAV, ms. Pal. lat. 1993); Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "... Ut describeretur universus orbis": Zur Universalkartographie des Mittelalters', in *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters*, ed. by Albert Zimmermann, *Miscellanea mediaevalia*, 7 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970), pp. 249-78 (p. 273).
- 64 Jörg-Geerd Arentzen, *Imago mundi cartographica: Studien zur Bildlichkeit mittelalterlicher Welt- und Ökumenekarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Zusammenwirkens von Text und Bild*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 53 (Munich: Fink, 1984), pp. 19-20, fig. 76 (map by Johannes Putsch, 1537); Sabine Schülting, *Wilde Frauen, fremde Welten: Kolonisierungsgeschichten aus Amerika* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1997), p. 37 (representation of Europe by Sebastian Münster, 1588). For Matthias Quad's *Europae descriptio* (1587) see Folker E. Reichert, 'Grenzen in der Kartographie des Mittelalters', in *Migration und Grenze*, ed. by Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss, *Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Migrationsforschung*, 4 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1988), pp. 28-29, fig. 9.
- 65 Schülting, especially pp. 13-15.
- 66 Barber, 'Visual Encyclopaedias' (note 4 above), p. 3 with illustration; Terkla (note 38 above), p. 266.
- 67 Peter Barber and Michelle Brown, 'The Aslake World Map', *Imago Mundi*, 44 (1992), 24-44 (pp. 36, 38).
- 68 Cf. Malcolm Letts, 'The Pictures in the Hereford Mappa Mundi', *Notes and Queries*, 200 (1955), 2-6 (p. 4); *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. by Malcolm Letts, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser. 101, 102 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 1, p. 40.
- 69 Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 60.
- 70 Westrem, *Hereford Map*, no. 116.
- 71 Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 49.
- 72 Kari Vogt, "'Männlichwerden": Aspekte einer urchristlichen Anthropologie', *Concilium*, 21 (1985), 434-42; Kerstin Aspegren, *The Male Woman: A Feminine Ideal in the Early Church*, ed. by René Kieffer (Uppsala: Gotab, 1990), especially p. 14.
- 73 Othmar Pollmann, 'Der Amazonenmythos in der nachantiken Kunst bis zum Ende des Barocks: Wiedergeburt und Wandel eines antiken Mythos' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Würzburg, 1952); Beate Wagner-Hasel, 'Männerfeindliche Jungfrauen: Ein kritischer Blick auf Amazonen in Mythos und Geschichte', *Feministische Studien*, 5.1 (May 1986), 86-106; Vincent Dimarco, 'The Amazons and the End of the World', in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. by Scott D. Westrem (London: Garland, 1991), pp. 69-90; Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde, 'Er ist ein rehtez wíphere. Amazonen in mittelalterlicher Dichtung', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 119 (1997), 399-424.
- 74 *Isidori etymologiae*, I, IX.2.62, 64-65.
- 75 Schülting (note 64 above), p. 16.
- 76 'Regio Amazonum', 'Provincia Amazonum' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 25, 48); Danielle Lecoq, 'La Mappemonde du Liber Floridus', p. 17; Danielle Lecoq, 'La Mappemonde d'Henri de Mayence ou l'image du monde au XII^e siècle', in *Iconographie médiévale: image, texte, contexte*, ed. by Gaston Duchet-Suchaux (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1990), pp. 155-207 (p. 162). For general accounts of the Munich and Sawley maps, with brief bibliographies, see above, pp. 8-13.
- 77 Barber, 'Evesham World Map' (note 41 above), p. 21.
- 78 'Amazonas hic manent' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 39).
- 79 'Hunc habitant Amazones' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 35).
- 80 Text in Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 32. See Arentzen (note 64 above), pp. 188-89; Pollmann

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- (note 73 above), p. 37; Schülting (note 64 above), pp. 54-55; illustration in Birgit Hahn-Woernle, *Die Ebсторf Weltkarte*, 2nd edn (Ebсторf: Kloster Ebсторf, 1993), p. 57.
- 81 'Temiscerinum oppidum' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 34).
- 82 'Arbores ..., folia vero eius magnitudinem hab[e]ant p[er]te Amazonum' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 49).
- 83 Brinker-von der Heyde (note 73 above), pp. 406-09.
- 84 'Amazones sunt femine sine mamillis dextris, per se ipsas [per sagittas?] viriliter militantes' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 101).
- 85 'Hermifrodites utriusque sexus, dextram mammam habent virilem, sinistram muliebrem' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 103), following Pliny and Isidore of Seville (Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. by H. Rackham and others, 10 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940-63), II, 528-29 (VII.3.34) and Isidori *etymologiae*, II, XI.3.11).
- 86 'Gens uterque sexus, innaturales multimodis modis' (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, no. 965); see Bevan and Phillott, p. 102; Terkla (note 38 above), p. 266.
- 87 'Terra quondam illustrium mulierum', 'Pentesilea ad Troiam multa bella et Grecos debellavit' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 149).
- 88 'Amazonum mulierum regio' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 148).
- 89 'Mulieres hic sunt barbatae' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 147); see Konrad Kretschmer, 'Eine neue mittelalterliche Weltkarte der vatikanischen Bibliothek', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 26 (1891), 371-406 (pp. 387, 399).
- 90 *Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate XXVIII, p. 47, no. 192.
- 91 'regio feminarum' (*Der katalanische Weltatlas*, p. 21).
- 92 Arentzen (note 64 above), fig. 97, p. 189.
- 93 Arentzen, pp. 188-91; Schülting (note 64 above), pp. 53-58.
- 94 Folker E. Reichert, 'Columbus und Marco Polo – Asien in Amerika: Zur Literaturgeschichte der Entdeckungen', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 15 (1988), pp. 1-63 (pp. 57-60).
- 95 Reichert, 'Fremde Frauen' (note 5 above), pp. 170-71.
- 96 Reichert, 'Columbus', p. 59.
- 97 'Gorgades insula a feminis solis incolitur' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 107).
- 98 *Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, plate III, p. 24, no. 1; plate IV, p. 24, no. 6.
- 99 'Hic femine quinquennes pariunt et X^m annum non excedunt' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 103); 'Item alia gens hic est, cuius femine quinquennes pariunt et VII. non excedunt annum' (ibid., v, 49).
- 100 *Der katalanische Weltatlas*, p. 30.
- 101 Gabriela Signori, 'Defensivgemeinschaften: Kreissende, Hebammen und "Mitweiber" im Spiegel spätmittelalterlicher Geburtswunder', in *Frauen-Beziehungsgeflechte im Mittelalter*, ed. by Hedwig Röckelein and Hans-Werner Goetz, *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, 2 (Berlin: Akademie, 1996) pp. 113-34, especially p. 133.
- 102 'Garamantes ... Inde est, quod filii tantum matres recognoscunt, nam paterni nominis nulla est reverentia' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 55).
- 103 'Hic mulieres irsute ferocissime, sine maribus partum faciunt. Abimichabal cum populo suo habens faciem caninam' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, III, 150).
- 104 'Istas nepharii et immundi habitant homines quibus hominem occidere pro ludo; uxores quotlibet sumunt', 'Hec provincia Macina dicta elephantos gignit, hugus incole serpentibus vescuntur deliciose affatin ... et sola uxore sunt contenti' (*Genoese World Map*, pp. 22, 52).
- 105 'Tant unt de femmes cum poent sustenir' (Lewis (note 7 above), pp. 359, 508 n. 91; cf. p. 350 for a copy of the relevant map, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 26, fol. iii).
- 106 Jörg Fisch, *Tödliche Rituale: Die indische Witwenverbrennung und andere Formen der Totenfolge* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1998), especially pp. 213-457; Gita Dharampal-

- Frick, *Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit (1500-1750): Studien zu einer interkulturellen Konstellation* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), pp. 132-33.
- 107 Fisch, pp. 228-34; Reichert, 'Fremde Frauen' (note 5 above), pp. 172-73.
- 108 *Der katalanische Weltatlas*, pp. 23, 32.
- 109 Marco Polo, *Milione: le divisament dou monde*, ed. by Gabriella Ronchi (Milan: Mondadori, 1982), pp. 372-73, 557; in the abridged German translation, Marco Polo, *Von Venedig nach China: Die grösste Reise des 13. Jahrhunderts*, trans. by Theodor A. Knust (Tübingen: Erdmann, 1973), pp. 95, 281.
- 110 Reichert, 'Fremde Frauen', pp. 173-74; Folker E. Reichert, 'Eine unbekannte Version der Asienreise Odorichs von Pordenone', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 43 (1987), 531-73 (pp. 562-63).
- 111 'Hic uxores virorum suorum exequias ignitas vive comitantur et si que pavide renuunt ad id compelluntur' (*Genoese World Map*, pp. 48-49).
- 112 'Salmacis fons, quem qui ingreditur vir, exit femina' (Miller, *Mappaemundi*, v, 34).