

**TITLE:** *Liber Floridus*

**DATE:** ca. 1120 A.D.

**AUTHOR:** Lambert of St. Omer

**DESCRIPTION:** Lambert, Canon of St. Omer, was a French Benedictine monk (ca. 1061-1150) who studied theology, grammar and music and became known as a man of great erudition. He was chosen as the Canon of Saint Omer, by which name he is now known. His most important work is an encyclopedia of biblical, theological, geographical, natural historical and musical themes entitled *Liber floridus* [Book of Flowers], completed around 1120 and which was composed of extracts from approximately 192 different works. The collection is made up of more than 300 abstract pieces of works by a large number of authors, among which we find Capella, Macrobius, Orosius, Isidorus, and Beda. The worlds are taken from the writings of these authors, and their whole makes up a very significant cartographic encyclopedia, all the more since the most important world map is one of the most complete and represents a most useful link between the antique maps (Ptolemy, Capella) and the first maps of Isidorus and Beatus. In this treatise Lambert compiled a chronicle or history that reaches to the year 1119; it contains various maps, including a *mappamundi*, which originally, like the text, has a date at least earlier than 1125, and has survived in three forms: in the manuscripts of *Ghent*, *Wolfenbüttel*, and *Paris*. In spite of a clearly expressed intention of supplying a complete world map, the oldest copy, the *Ghent* manuscript, only includes a map of Europe, two *Macrobian*-zone sketches (#201) and a T-O design (#205). This particular manuscript copy seems to have been written by Lambert himself, certainly not later than 1125, and contains some remarkable peculiarities with regards to Europe. The *Wolfenbüttel* and *Paris* copies, dating from about 1150, are simply different copies from the same original, which was doubtless of Lambert's own draftsmanship (although in a 1936 monograph entitled *Die Weltkarte des Martianus Capella*, Richard Uhden has pointed out that the world map contained in the *Wolfenbüttel* copy carries a legend ascribing the original to Martianus Capella [in translation... "The geometric sphere of Martianus Felix Capella, of Carthage in Africa, and a round and global figure of the extent of the earth with its various divisions and the double band of the ocean which surrounds the world."]. The correctness of the ascription is further verified by the identity of various other legends on the map with passages in the *Satyricon* or *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* . . . by Martianus Capella. These maps, which are based upon Capella's design, contain an equatorial ocean but are quite different than the *Macrobian* zone-maps. The ecliptic is usually shown, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the generalization of the coastlines is rounded in nature. Most of these maps are characteristically oriented to the East (although some show a northern orientation), and have a large amount of text in the southern continent. The climatic zones may or may not be explicitly shown. Regularly shaped islands are usually found in the ocean surrounding the northern continent.

As mentioned the *Liber floridus* is an encyclopedia that contains extracts of some two hundred authorities, including the Venerable Bede, Augustine, Macrobius, Isidore of Seville, Martianus Capella, and Hrabanus Maurus. Lambert completed the text at the Benedictine monastery in St. Orner (near Calais) in 1120 or 1121. Copies of his *Liber floridus* have been called "doubtlessly among the more impressive creations of Northern Romanesque and early Gothic book painting." The earliest *Ghent* manuscript is Lambert's autograph, and ten copies survive with three main redactions. The manuscripts are illustrated, possibly by Lambert himself. Each copy contains about ten

different maps. Copies of the book include thirteen various types of maps; only six of those types comprise detailed nomenclature within the known world,

While containing a less detailed Europe, both the *Wolfenbüttel* and *Paris* manuscripts possess a complete *mappamundi*, together with a special and interesting addition. Raymond Beazley, in his three-volume study, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, says of Lambert's *Liber floridus* that "*Nowhere else in medieval cartography do we find greater prominence assigned to the Unknown Southern Continent.*" The map measures 30 cm x 43 cm, and appears on folios 69v-70r. Danielle Lecoq, in the most extended discussion of this particular map in the Lambert manuscripts, suggests that the map is innovative in the way it combines traditions.

On the *Paris* manuscript, where this land occupies half of the circle of the earth, a long inscription defines this 'region of the south' in terms not unlike those used on the *St. Sever - Beatus* map (#207.13):

. . . temperate in climate, but unknown to the sons of Adam, having nothing that belongs to our race. The Equatorial Sea [Mediterranean] which here divided the [great land masses or continents of the] world, was not visible to the human eye; for the full strength of the sun always heated it, and permitted no passage to, or from, this southern zone. In the latter, however, was a race of Antipodes (as some philosophers believed), wholly different from man, through the difference of regions and climates. For when we are scorched with heat, they are chilled with cold; and the northern stars, which we are permitted to discern, are entirely hidden from them . . . Days and nights they have one length; but the haste of the sun in the ending of the winter solstice causes them to suffer winter twice over.

This map is the first to depict the *Antipodes* as separate from an Australian continent and other carefully distinguished regions, continents, and peoples. The *Antipodes* are insular and singular, and the bounded island is pictorially classed with other islands, yet it is impossible to determine its location; indeed, the *Antipodes* "island" crosses between hemispheres, among cardinal points, and athwart oceans.

The image on 69v-70r occurs in Chapter 110, "Spera geometrica." The map is oriented east like the T-O map, rather than a typical Macrobian zonal *mappamundi*, which is oriented north. The long text outside the circular earth ascribe the map's authority to Orosius, Ptolemy, and Martianus, while inside, about one hundred forty names identify and sometimes describe locations. Condensed into the left half of the circle is the northern hemisphere and a version of a T-O map, the three rivers clearly visible and punctuated with the island of Sicily. Above and to the left of Sicily is Rome. The right-hand landmass is equal in size and overall shape to the North. The main area of the region is labeled *Auster*: it is internally undifferentiated by rivers or separate regions, and a schematic wavy line outlines its boundary, unlike those that outline the North with more detailed coastal variations. The extensive passage in it says the area is "unknown to the sons of Adam" and yet "philosophers affirm it is inhabited." The Australian terrain is cut off from the northern hemisphere, which the sun's ecliptic (a red diagonal line that runs across the equator) and two equatorial oceans emphasize. To the south of this temperate 'Australia', Lambert places a zone of extreme cold, uninhabitable by living creatures.

The *Wolfenbüttel* map aspires to present at one and the same time not only the eastern half of the northern and southern hemispheres but also the western half, or the

reverse face of the longitudinal section. At the lower rim of the circle, just left of the manuscript's spine, the largest of a string of islands contains the label, *Here live our antipodes, but they endure night and day opposite from ours, and summer*. The inscription, implicitly identifying the antipodal island in relation to the *oikoumene* [known inhabited world], pertains to the southwestern quadrant of the globe diametrically opposite the known world. The image, however, does not quite correspond to the textual reference. While the underside of the western hemisphere is floated into view, it is displaced in the process from south to north. Thus, in the context of the *mappamundi* as a whole, the island appears as the *Antipodes* not of the *oikoumene* but rather of the *anteioi*, or southeastern quadrant, depicted on the right-hand page of the opening.

The seeming disparity between what the inscribed phrase says and what the image shows has its source in the underlying principle of the map's composition. If we regard only the half of the planisphere on the left-hand page, we have before us a map of the tripartite *oikoumene* to which the antipodal island has been correctly annexed at the southwest. Overlaid, as it were, on this scheme is a north-oriented zonal or hemispheric map rotated a quarter-turn counter-clockwise to an eastern orientation; this operation leaves the southern hemisphere, the right-hand half of the map, entirely confined to one page of the opening. The conflation of the two map types (*ecumenical* and *hemispheric*) hinges on the one antipodal island, which consequently does double duty as the diametric opposite of both the *oikoumene* and the *anteioi*. Far from posing as a mimetically equivalent representation of geographic reality, the map in the *Wolfenbüttel Liber floridus* methodically works out a conceptual model by means of a purely pictorial logic. With the shift of the *Antipodes* to a position where the island serves a dual purpose, the map achieves a comprehensive display of the quadripartite terrestrial sphere that more fully illustrates, or evokes, Lambert's late-antique sources, Macrobius and Martianus Capella.



And where is the *Antipodes* island? Lambert's map distinguishes between the sea (or seas), which divide continental North from South, and the *Great Ocean River*, which encircles the globe. The former, as we have seen, is the (double) equatorial ocean, and the left of the equatorial ocean or oceans in the center includes, in the lower middle of the triangular area, the Atlantic off the coast of Africa, which contains the islands of *Beata*, *Godes*, *Briona*, *Canaria*, and other named and unnamed islands. Within the outer *Great Sea Ocean* in the North on the far left and extending around the lower left are the islands of *Thatania*, *Anglia*, *Hybernia*, *Hyberus*, *Thyle*, and so on. *Thyle* or *Thule* and *Hyberus* or *Hyperborea*

traditionally signal the most northern lands. Like the *Earthly Paradise*, which also occupies this outer sea, the placement of these islands indicates that their location is separate from the coast of the three continents of Europe, Africa, or Asia. The latter circular ocean is traditional, also designating a disjuncture between the known world

and the unknown world. However, the island of the *Antipodes* crosses oceans. It lies just outside the Mediterranean in the Atlantic, west of the *Pillars of Hercules*, and it is in the extreme North or Northeast because it appears next to Thule, the most northern island according to medieval lore. It also crosses over from the Atlantic (which joins the equatorial ocean) to the *Great Sea Ocean*, which encircles the whole earth. It is therefore potentially also in the southwest, near, though distinct, from the Australian continent, which is what the note about the different days and nights, and opposite seasons suggests. On a map that takes great care in specifying locations, Lambert's *Antipodes* cannot, in the end, be fixed. This, according to Matthew Goldie, is a synecdoche, if you will, of the troubling role the *Antipodes* play in medieval geographic epistemology.

The *Wolfenbüttel mappamundi* aims not merely to reconcile two cartographic formulae. More importantly, it seeks to resolve the tension between scientific and theological truths by harmonizing the earth, of which the *oikoumene* is but a tiny portion, with the world, the stage where the history of salvation is played out. The *Antipodes*, the western pole of the globe according to the map, has the *Earthly Paradise* as its counterpart at the eastern pole (likewise off-center). The island of *Paradise* surrounded by flames is, thanks to the Fall, inaccessible to "us", that is, to humanity. Yet *Paradise* remains connected to the inhabited world through the four rivers flowing from their source in Eden. Just as the *oikoumene* seems visually to pour out of Eden, so too are its populations generated from Adam and Eve. In contrast, the *Antipodes* are completely cut off.

Christian authors disputed the ancient proposition that lands beyond the *oikoumene* could be inhabited, for the existence of peoples not descended from the sons of Adam contradicted scripture. As St. Augustine reasoned, even if on the other side of the earth the ocean waters had receded to allow the emergence of land it does not then follow that such land was populated. He found it patently "too ridiculous to suggest that some men might have sailed from our side of the earth to the other, arriving there after crossing the vast expanse of ocean, so that the human race should be established there also by the descendants of the one first man". The cartographic image in the *Wolfenbüttel Liber floridus*, leaving the *anteoikoi* and *Antipodes* blank and unarticulated, pictorially defines the non-ecumenical continents as the antithesis of the known world and thereby acknowledges their emptiness.

However, the texts inscribed on both the small antipodal island and the southern shores in the right-hand half of the planisphere are more equivocal. The one-line caption on the former treats the word *Antipodes* as the grammatical subject of the verbs "live" [*habitant*] and "endure" [*perferunt*]. The extensive legend on the latter admits that the southern temperate zone is unknown to the sons of Adam, but instead of refuting the possibility of the land's habitation it impugns the humanity of whatever populations might exist there: *Nothing belonging to our race*. The passage goes on to say, *Scholars affirm that the Antipodes inhabit this land*. The usage of the word *Antipodes* in these contexts registers a semantic shift harking back to Isidore of Seville (see #205), who blurred the geographic distinctions of classical terminology and made it into an umbrella term for the fabulous peoples of the unknown southern part of the world. Text and image work together as a unit, the picture eliminating those whose humanity the longer of the two inscriptions negates.

The ideas expressed here are supplemented by the suggestion of two more unknown continents or 'earth-islands', one in the northern and the other in the southern [western] hemispheres, lying in the expanse of an all-encircling and dividing great

ocean. Four landmasses therefore are assumed; of these, the first two were made up of the ancient *oikoumene* and the *Australian* region just described. The other two landmasses were on the reverse side of the globe (corresponding in some respects with the North and South American continents of later discoveries), and were divided by a tropical arm of the great ocean, in the same way as the two 'islands' of the eastern hemisphere. This concept reflects, in full, the theory of the ancient geographers such as Crates of Mallos, a 180 B.C. Greek philosopher (#113). The present maps by Lambert, however, only indicate the 'third' and 'fourth' continents (those of the western hemisphere) by placing little circles in the margins of the *Roman World*, or *Habitable Earth*, respectively entitled *Paradise*, to the northeast, and *Our Antipodes* to the southwest. The idea of an undersea course of rivers from a trans-oceanic *Paradise* to the *oikoumene* was a common belief during the Middle Ages (see Cosmas Indicopleustes, #202). "*Our Antipodes*" is clearly to be understood as the continental masses exactly opposite to Europe and Africa on the other side of the globe, inhabited by living (but apparently not human) beings, and having a day and night in an 'opposite relation' to those living in Europe; while the *Paradise* island is probably to be interpreted, in the same way, as precisely antipodean to the Australian continent. The graphic expression of these ideas in Lambert's maps derives from several sources. First there is the suggestion of a T-O form in the general contour of '*Our World*'. Speculations of a much higher antiquity can be traced in the apparent indication of the Ecliptic in both the *Ghent* and *Wolfenbüttel* world maps (in the form of a crooked line running over the Equator and marked by three star-pictures), the obliquity of the sun's path is clearly suggested. Thirdly, of course, is the probable source of earlier world maps by Macrobius and/or Martianus Capella (#201).

If Lambert's 'universal' conceptions are so narrowly dependent upon classical antecedents, it may be expected that the detailed material of the maps will also display a markedly antique character; and indeed the relationship between the medieval geographers and those of the later Imperial time is seldom found in more complete expression. Most of the 180 inscriptions are entirely ancient, and must, therefore, have referred to a lost design of the Old Roman world; the chief additions to this pre-medieval material were made from the geography of Lambert's own period. We must not, however, suppose that Lambert's *mappamundi* is simply a compilation of a large number of writers. It is not impossible that Lambert's maps, with the exception of a few place names, was taken bodily from an ancient world sketch of the fourth or fifth century A.D. But even if it was the outcome (in its general outlines) of a lost original from the days of the later old Empire, or borrowed directly from Capella, it has obviously been greatly modified by its 12<sup>th</sup> century redactor, and, in part at least, it truly belongs to the central medieval time frame. As to this we may notice especially some of the islands chosen to be displayed by Lambert, such as *Tritonia*, apparently a name from the Triton River in Ethiopia; *Betania* [Britain], placed over against the *Pillars of Hercules*; the *Balearics*, defined simply as '*over against Spain*', but located in the ocean; *Orcades*, or British fringing-islets, thirty-three in number, lying over against *Betania* and *Gotha*.

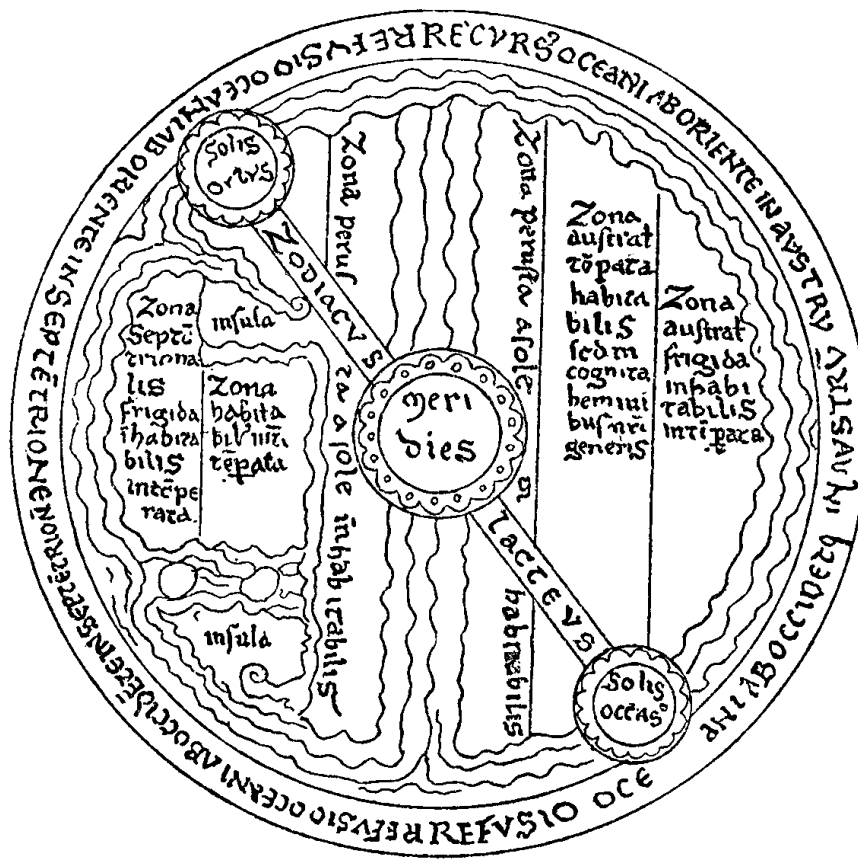
Discernible on some of the Lambert examples shown here, the seas and rivers are usually colored green, the mountains red, but each of the three copies of the manuscript world map offers peculiarities of its own. The *Ghent* manuscript gives the most detailed map of the European area; the *Wolfenbüttel* manuscript alone gives *Philistia*, *Palestine*, *Bactria*, and the mountains of *Taurus* and *Caucasus*; the *Paris* manuscript alone contains

Besides the world map, the *Paris* manuscript contains (with certain differences) several of the smaller designs which are also found in the *Ghent* copy of the Lambertian encyclopedia. Thus we have Augustus Caesar holding a T-O world in his left hand (#205J), an astronomical sketch, and an outline figure of the 'earth-globe'. On the *Paris* world map all names of seas are wanting; the Mediterranean is indistinguishable from a river; and the continents lack all clear differentiation. The textual script, moreover, is exceedingly difficult and Lambert's material has been so much rearranged that it is not easy in some cases to find agreement with the indications of the *Ghent* copy.

Lambert has drawn a detailed world map in a zonal format. East is at the top with *Paradise* a small sunburst to the left of top center, with rivers (Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, Ganges) flowing from it into Asia. The island just to the lower left of center is the *Antipodes*. The two landmasses shown are divided by the ocean crossed by the solar ecliptic. On the right a text describes the '*temperate southern continent, unknown to the sons of Adam*'.

The four rivers are shown streaming from *Paradise*. They are not named on the map, but they are discussed elsewhere in the manuscript. The Jordan River, with its double source in the mountains of Lebanon, flowing through the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, is also plainly visible. In addition there are biblical names (*Judea, Galilea, Philistea, Palestina, Ydumea*) used by Martianus, who was not a Christian, but not in the context of the Bible. The biblical names Lambert has chosen to use are significant ones. He shows *Paradise* as an island in the Far East with Enoch and Elijah, both of whom were believed in the Middle Ages to have been transported to *Paradise* without the painful expedient of dying. He also gives us *Moab, Og, Basan* to the east of the Holy Land, as reference to Deut. 1.4-5 which describes the position of the Israelites in the 40<sup>th</sup> year of their wanderings. They had recently defeated King Og of Bashan, and were at the time in the land of Moab. Elsewhere, in the far northeast, are the 32 savage nations confined to an enclosure (identified with *Gog and Magog* confined by Alexander the Great).





Zonal world map, Lambert of St. Omer, Martianus Capella,  
Ghent copy, 1120 A.D.

The fourth or southern continent appears on the right-hand side of the map, covered with a lengthy descriptive text from Martianus Capella. In addition, Lambert also puts a small island in the far west, which he calls the *Antipodes*, observing that the inhabitants here have night when we have day and vice versa. Several suggestions have been made concerning this feature. Could it be an indication of the Norse discovery of Vinland? Returning to Martianus Capella from which he draws his abbreviated inscription, Lambert seems to be trying to indicate a body of land on the opposite side of the world. The problems of representing a sphere on a flat piece of paper has always bedeviled mapmakers. Lambert's solution – to stick it in the margin of his map, like Alaska and Hawaii on a map of the USA. His reference to days and nights and seasons can refer only to a continent in the southern half of the western hemisphere.

The historical context of Lambert's map has been thoroughly analyzed by Danielle LeCoq. Asia, she says, represents the past, the rich golden age of mankind, but also the future, as Enoch and Elijah are waiting in the earthly *Paradise* for the last day. Europe is the scene of present events, but signs of its past are included. In Lambert's own area, Flanders, the modern name is put alongside the 'Morini', the tribe which settled there in Roman times. Italy is labeled as 'Magna Graecia' as well as *Italia*. The *Island of Scanzia* or *Scandia* is shown as the origin of the Gothic peoples. Africa below the familiar northern coast is a land of deserts, 'full of dragons, serpents and cruel beasts'. Its

cursed inheritance from Ham is compounded by its current occupation by the children of Ishmael.

Lambert's map and the Beatus maps (#207) are the only developed examples of what have been variously called "intermediate," "fourth continent," or "quadripartite" *mappaemundi*. After assertions that the Southern Australian Zone on Lambert's map is "unknown to the sons of Adam" and a description of the barriers to communication, Lambert says of *Auster*, "*The philosophers affirm that it is inhabited. They claim that it is different from us because of the opposite climate, for in summer we are burnt while they are frozen by the cold.*" That is, he hesitates; he does not affirm that the austral area is inhabited, but attributes the idea to others. The far right-hand column of text in the Australian continent is labeled the *Zona australis* (most likely the outermost, that is, most southern, one and not the whole region), which is described as "frozen, uninhabitable, intemperate." Closer to the equator, the left-hand long script includes the following observation, that "*days and nights are experienced at the same time in one longitude. Also, the speed with which the sun approaches the solstice and quickly goes back through the hoarfrost brings them two winters.*" The idea behind this passage is fairly common in medieval world thinking, demonstrating the belief that the zone in the South closest to the equator had two winters because of the sun's eccentric orbit.

Whereas Lambert of St. Omer works within a somewhat narrow tradition when he depicts a large southern continent on his *mappamundi*, he is unique when, in the lower right of the northern hemisphere in the sea, he depicts and identifies a large island. The island bears the following legend: "*Here the antipodes of us live, but they endure a different night and contrary days and summer as well.*" A bold red line encloses the antipodean island. The same line only appears in select other places on the *mappamundi*: it borders the whole earth, it designates the ecliptic, and it encircles the Earthly Paradise at the top of the map in the Far East. Black lines outline the remaining islands, as well as the edges of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Danielle Lecoq reasons that the line means that the antipodes are "inaccessible," suggesting that Lambert acknowledges tradition, yet he does not follow any authority in showing an antipodean island.

Names on the main map are largely of provinces, with only a few mountains, rivers, or cities included, while peoples of the world are presented in the 'list map'. The historical content of Lambert's maps is thus fully understood only when one looks at the written portions of the manuscript. Some expand on the subject of place, with lists and descriptions of places, while others fill in the historical narrative that gives meaning to the bare schema of the maps. Thus, while he may have copied the main outline of his map from Martianus, the context as well as his additions, definitely Christianize his map.

The inscription on the island of *Paradise* tells us that the *Garden of Eden* is the resting place of Enoch and Elijah, who were waiting in the place where human history had begun for the coming of the Antichrist at the very end of time. The map also shows *Gog and Magog*, confined here to an island in a corner of northeast Asia, surrounded by a semicircular ring of water, called *mare caspium*, is an island on which are the words *gog magog*, another reference to the Alexander legend. This seems to fit well with the contemporary view of Gervase of Tilbury (c.1150-c.1220), who wrote in his *Otia imperialia* (a collection of geography, history and curiosities, composed around 1212 for the entertainment of Otto IV), that *in India there is a Mons Caspius, after which the Caspian Sea is called, between which and the [same] sea Gog and Magog, most savage peoples, were enclosed by Alexander.* The far east is still psychologically very far off indeed in the 12<sup>th</sup>

century, the original context of this map. The position of *Gog and Magog*, just beyond “*Babilon*”, in or at the edge of the Caspian Sea, bespeaks a view of a much smaller world than the one later maps (such as those of *Ebstorf* and *Hereford*, #224 and #226) would represent.

The Mediterranean has an island in its center, the Island of Sicily. The surrounding ocean is filled with many more islands, the westernmost of which is *Thyle* [Iceland], while there are two *Hybernias* [Ireland] and one *Anglia*, situated in near correct position on the map. In Europe the names of the provinces depicted are *Germania* (twice), *Gallia* (France, 4 times), *Hispania*, *Venezia*, *Italia*, *Magna Grecia* [Greater Greece - also referring to Italy], *Roma* and others - 49 toponyms in all. Africa, which is to the right of the Mediterranean, includes the names of *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, *Ethiopia* and others. Egypt is shown in the territory of Asia.

Starting with the geographical significance given to the *Fortunate Islands* by Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia* (second century), this archipelago becomes one of the descriptive references for theoretical works of the Middle Ages. The geographical treatment given by Pliny the Elder to the *Fortunate Islands* in his *Naturalis Historia* is perhaps the most important contribution to theoretical knowledge of this archipelago. Based on the testimony of some previous authors, like Statius Sebosus or Juba the Second (king of Mauritania who organized an expedition to these islands around the second century), Pliny states the localization, distances, and (perhaps more importantly) the names of the islands, information that would be used by many of the most important scholars and writers of the Middle Ages. Authors like Martianus Capella (fifth century), Rabanus Maurus (ninth century), Hugh of St. Victor (12<sup>th</sup> century), and Vincent of Beauvais (13<sup>th</sup> century) to a greater or lesser extent base their descriptions on the contributions of Pliny and Isidore, viewing these islands from a geographical viewpoint rather than a merely paradoxographic one. This viewpoint becomes a unifying thread connecting all references to the *Fortunate Islands* close to the western limits of Mauritania, i.e. beyond the last edges of the continental world: ‘*They are situated in the Ocean, against the left side of Mauretania, closest to where the sun sets, and they are separated from each other by the intervening sea.*’ In his *History Against the Pagans* (fifth century), Paulus Orosius establishes a fundamental relationship between the *Fortunate Isles* and their geographic location: ‘*The Western bounds of Africa are the same as those of Europe: namely the narrows of the straits of Cadiz. However, its uttermost end is Mount Atlas and the so-called Blessed Isles.*’

This representation is gradually transferred to a graphic plane, with a series of *mappaemundi* that include the *Fortunate Islands* on the same level as other islands such as *Thule* and Iceland, which also mark the last known part of the world prior to the abyss. This idea can also be observed in the map conserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which is based, according to some authors like Gautier Dalché, on the writings of Hugh of St. Victor and depicts the known world. Here, at the most extreme edges of the world, six little pieces of land (for-tu-nate-in-su-le) indicate the presence of the *Fortunate Islands* in front of the western coasts of Mauritania.

Something similar can be observed in some of the maps included in the *Liber Floridus* by Lambert, canon of the French abbey of St. Omer. As mentioned the *Liber Floridus* is a fundamental work in medieval encyclopaedism, containing a huge compilation of knowledge including universal and natural history, astronomy, and geography. Among this great collection we can find several maps of different types, from schematic tripartite examples up to the map that is considered the oldest cartographic depiction of Europe. One of these maps includes a representation of the

*Fortunate Islands* that alludes to a tradition stemming from Pliny and Julius Solinus, showing some circular segments of land bearing the names of the islands. Here, the *Fortunates* constitute the last border between the continental *oecumene* [known inhabited world] and the *terra incognita*, which is described as ‘*zona australis frigida in habitabilis inte(m)perata*’. This is a reaffirmation of the role of the *Fortunate Islands* as the insular border between the known world and empty space, sharing representative similarities with islands like *Thule*, and even with traditional geographical references directly related to the most remote and unexplored edges of the world like the *Antipodes*, depicted in a circular mass of land close to the *Fortunates*.

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\*Pérez, Sandra Sáenz-López, *The Beatus Maps, The Revelation of the World in the Middle Ages*, p. 46, Figure 21.

\*Safi, A., *Mapping Paradise*, p. 144, Figure 6.11a/b, Plate 5b.

\*Talbert, Richard J. A., Unger, R. W., *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Technology and Change in History), p. 195.

Van Duzer, C., “Hic sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters”, *18 Ashgate Research Companion*, p. 402.

Wittmann, Kevin R., “‘Closest to Where The Sun Sets’: The Fortunate Islands and the Limits of the World in Medieval Geography and Cartography”, pp. 63-80.

\*Wright, J. K., *Geographical Lore at the Time of the Crusades*, p. 122.

\*illustrated



Zonal world map from Liber Floridus

(Herzog-August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Gud. Lat I, folios 69v-70r)

Lambert St Omer, 12<sup>th</sup> century 41.3 cm diameter; about 150 names noted.

The map shows the whole eastern hemisphere and displays some elements of a zonal structure. A legend in the southern half of the map describes a southern temperate land 'unknown to the sons of Adam' and indicates that there were various opinions about the existence of an antipodean people. There is also an attempt to display a western landmass, populated by another antipodean people, as an additional island in the far west of the map. The map has two titles. The first one, *Hormista regnorum mundi*, can probably be translated as 'The Downfall of the Kingdoms of the World'. The second title is *Spera Geometrica Marciani Numei Felicis Capelle* [The Geometrical Sphere of Martianus Minneus Felix Capella].

The map depicts the eastern part of the Mediterranean in a very unusual manner. The Mediterranean Sea proper merges with the ocean in the north. A narrow gulf extends from the Mediterranean in an eastern direction and then turns north and also merges with the ocean. The *Tanais* flows into this gulf from the south. This complicated water system surrounds the 'twenty-two kingdoms' enclosed by Alexander the Great, which thus appear to be situated north of the Black Sea in the immediate vicinity of Europe.

There are peculiarities in the depiction of many ocean islands on the maps. The island of Thule (*Thyle*) is situated not in the north but in the west, across from the confluence of the ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. All other islands, evenly spread along the coast of Europe, are the British Isles, including the Isle of Thanet (*Thatanna*)

and Isle of Man (Mona). The island of Colchos appears not in the Euxine Sea but in the ocean, as the easternmost island after *Paradise*.

A text in the upper left margin introduces the map as being derived from Martianus Capella. It fills two adjacent folios and has a breadth of 39.2 cm. One of the main differences regarding the zonal maps discussed in #201 *Macrobius* is that the *mappa mundi* of Lambert of Saint-Omer is oriented towards the East, not the North. In this layout, the northern land in which we live is on the front folio, and the southern one is on the reverse, both being separated by the ocean and the solar ecliptic, depicted by an oblique line at whose ends and centre we find stylized suns, at the junction of the two folios. As regards the *oikoumene* [inhabited earth], a system of aqueous channels in the form of a "T", a throwback to the T-O maps, separates the three continents: Asia, Europe and Africa. At the eastern edge is located the *Earthly Paradise* illustrated in the form of a sun inside which we find the reference to Enoch and Elijah (*paradysus terrestris Enoc Hefyas*), given that, according to the biblical texts, God took these individuals there without their having passed through death. From this place, the four rivers of *Paradise* flow which change into earthly ones so as to irrigate Asia. Similarly, in the extreme north of this continent we find a text alluding to the legend of the enclosure of Gog and Magog by Alexander the Great, which enjoyed such popularity in the Middle Ages: *Hic inclusit Alexander regna XXXII* [Here Alexander enclosed the thirty two kingdoms]. The northern land is completely covered with geographic features, such as rivers and mountains, surrounded by islands in oval and circular shapes, and replete with numerous toponymic names. These are mostly of antique origin.

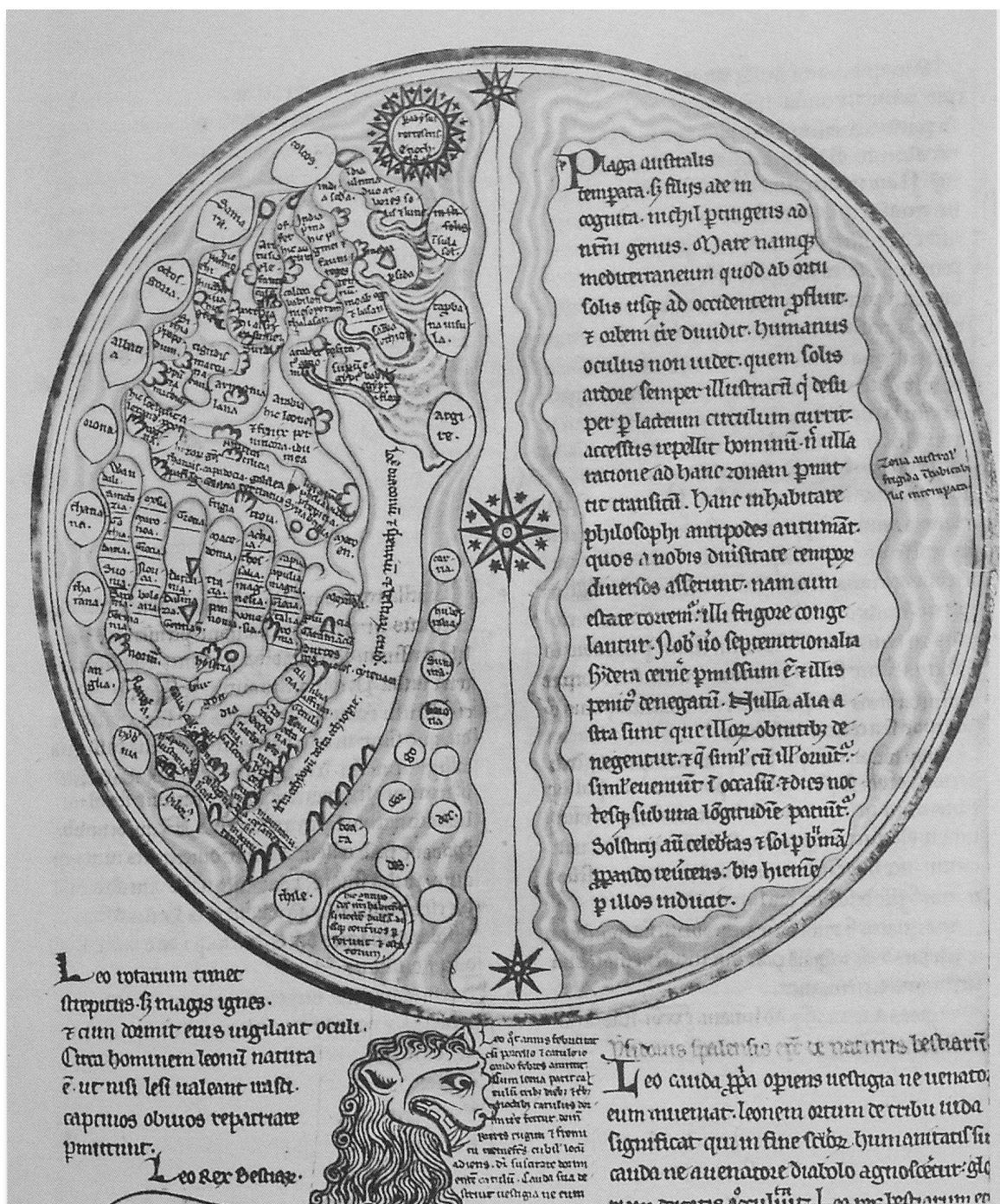
The southern land comprises the temperate and inhabited zone, and the cold inhabitable one. One large caption in the temperate zone alludes to it being unknown to the sons of Adam and to its being inhabitable by the antipodeans:

Southern region, temperate but unknown to the sons of Adam, extending nothing to our race. For the sea that lies between the lands, which flows from the east to the west and divides the world, is not visible to the human eye, which is always illuminated by the heat of the sun, which from above runs through the Milky Way. It repels the approach of men, nor does it permit transit to this zone by any means. Learned men assert that antipods inhabit this zone).

Also, in the extreme southwest of the *oikoumene* there appears a world in the form of an island of large dimensions in which there is once again an allusion to the antipodeans: *Hic antipodes nostri habitant sed noctem diversam diesque contrarios perferunt et estatem* [Here our antipodes live, but they experience different nights and contrary days, and summer]. The repetition of a world populated by antipodeans in the west, as well as their traditional appearance in the south, has been justified by the difficulty implicit in the depiction of the third dimension and the spherical nature of the world. A legend in southeastern Africa reads *Locus draconum et serpentium et bestiarum crudelium* [Place of dragons and serpents and cruel beasts].



Lambert de Saint-Omer, *Liber Floridus*. Diocèse de Cambrai, 48.5 x 31 cm  
BNF, Manuscripts (Latin 8865, f. 62 v°)



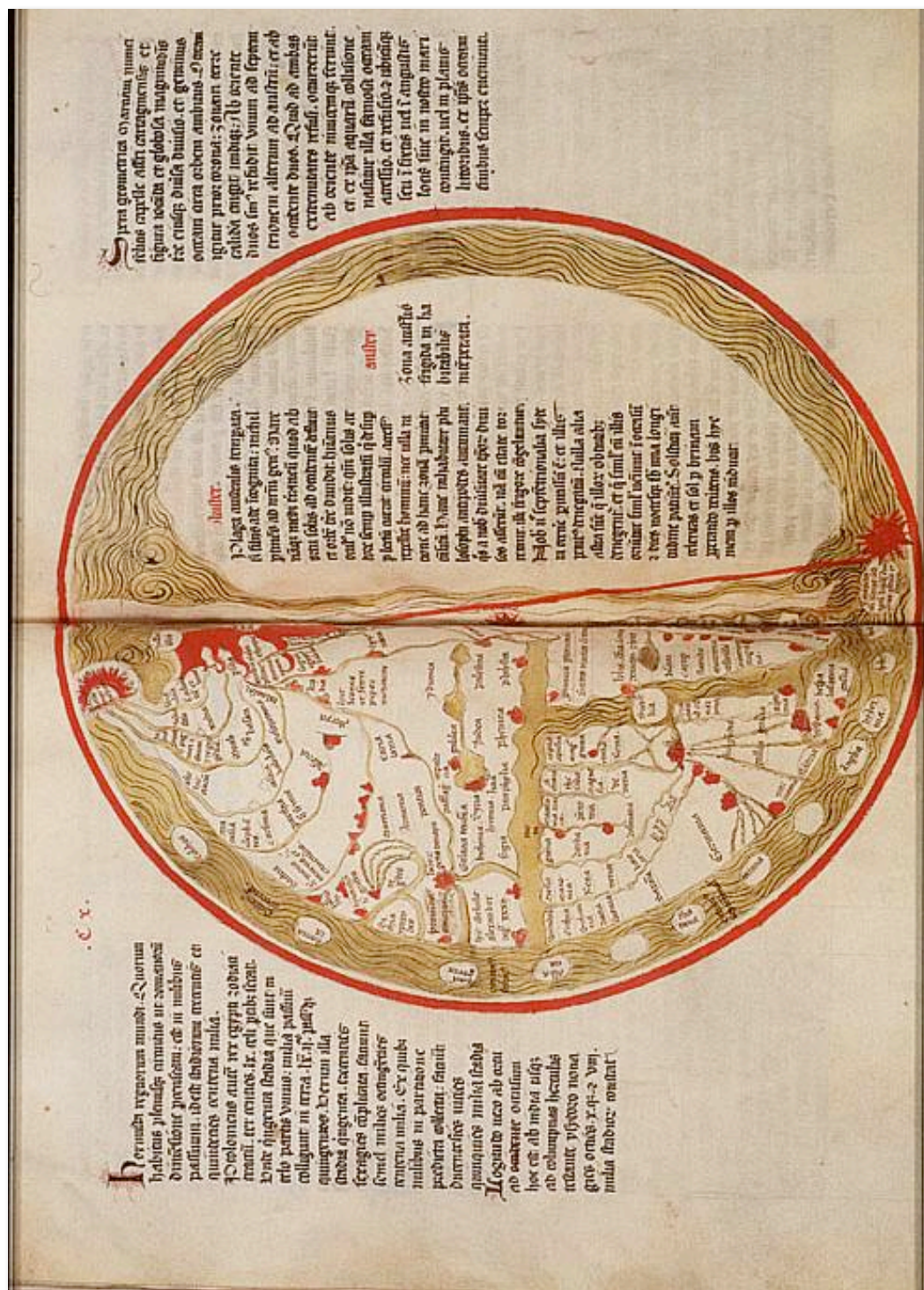
Wolfenbiittel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cud. Lat. I, fols 69v-70

End of the 12th century. 392 mm. East is at the top.

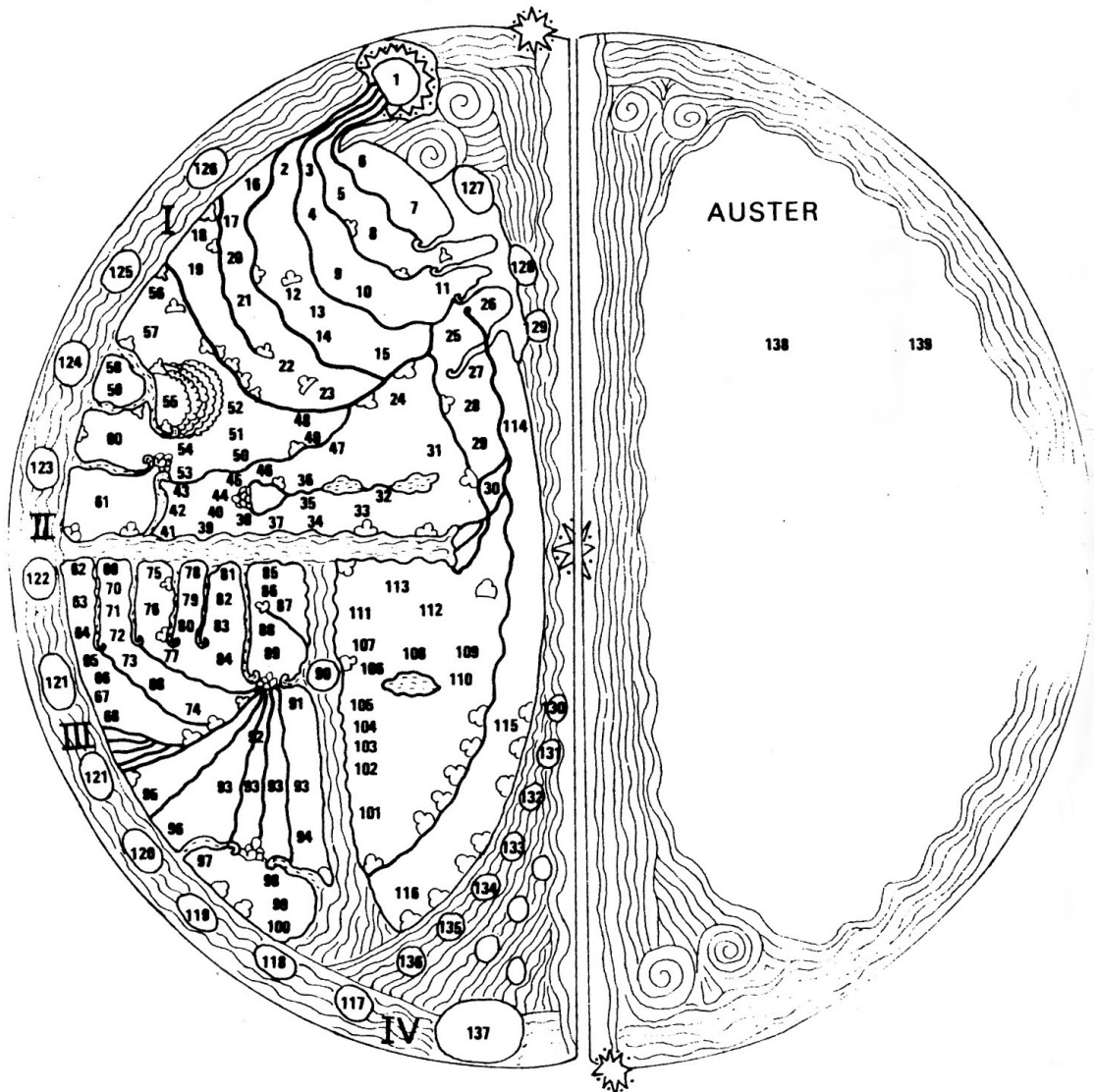
About 150 geographic names noted.



Map of the world, Fol. 172v-173r: schematic drawing, 36 x 36 cm, Koninklijke Bibliotheek National Library of the Netherlands. Lambert of St. Omer, *Le livre fleurissant en fleurs*. Prose translation of the *Liber Floridus*; place of origin England 1512. Made for Philip of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein (d. 1528); purchased in 1531 from his estate by Henri III, Count of Nassau (d. 1538); by inheritance to the princes of Orange-Nassau, the later Stadtholders, at The Hague; taken in 1795 to Paris by the French occupying forces and restituted in 1816 to the Koninklijke Bibliotheek



*Lambert of St. Omer, Liber Floridus; Place of origin, date: Lille and Ninove; 1460; Material: Vellum, ff. 225, 408 x 286 (304 x 215) mm. Made for Pierre de Goux et de Wedergraete (d. 1471). Philip of Cleves (1456-1528); purchased in 1531 from his estate by Henri III, Count of Nassau (d. 1538); by inheritance to the Princes of Orange-Nassau, the later Stadtholders, at The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek National Library*



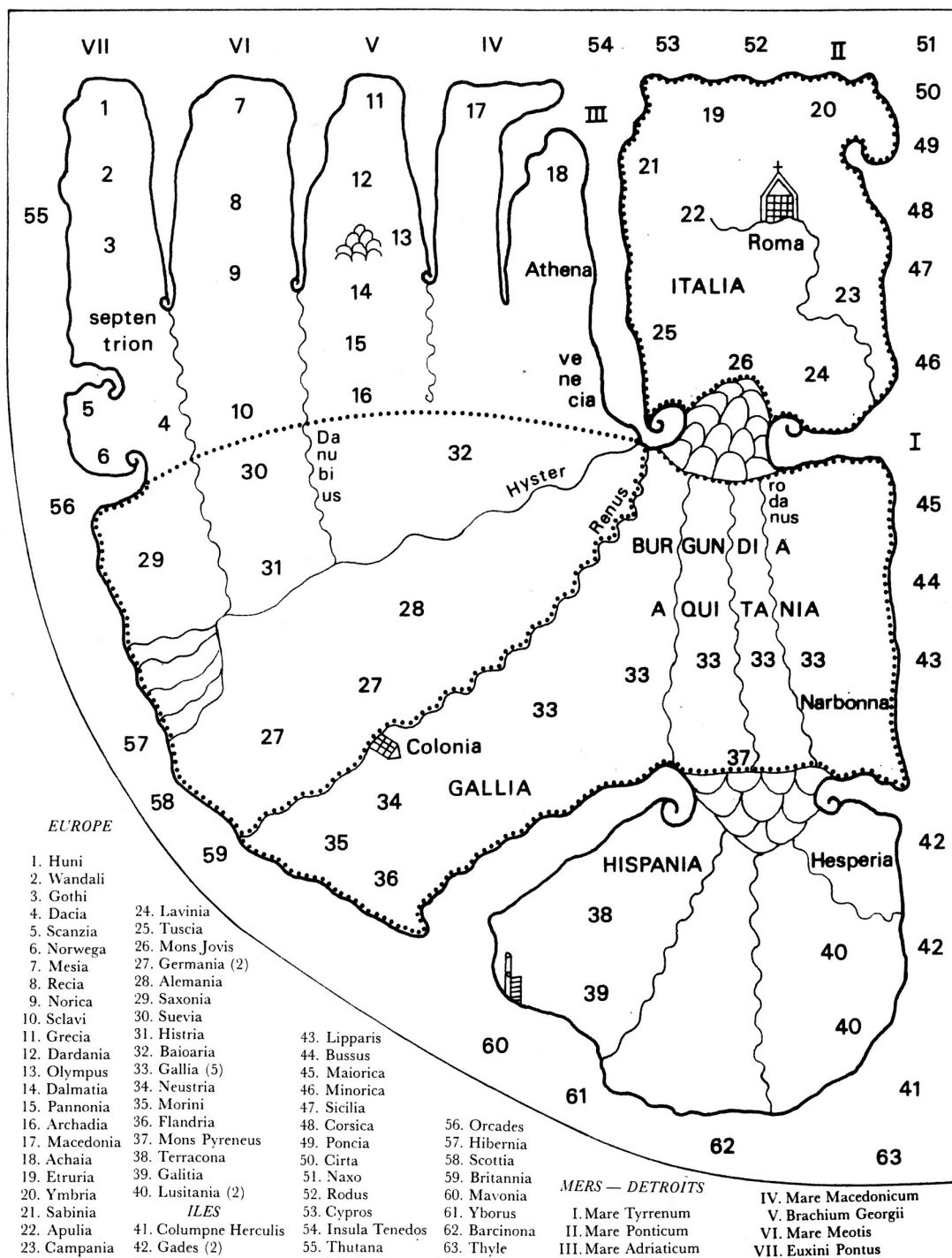
*La Mappemonde de Lambert de Saint-Omer*

## Key to the figure above:

- |  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. Paradysus terrestris. Enoc<br>Helyas              | 44. Siria                                 | 88. Italia  | 130. Canaria  |
|  | 45. Paflagonia                            | 89. Roma  | 131. Nibaria  |
| I— <i>ASIE</i>                                       | 46. Capadocia                             | 90. Sicilia   | 132. Iunonia  |
| 2. Ofir. Hic aurum.                                  | 47. Cilicia                               | 91. Bracata id est Narbona                                  | 133. Briona   |
| 3. India prima                                       | 48. Caria                                 | 92. Burgundia   | 134. Godes  |
| 4. Hic Pigmei et Fauni et reges<br>gentium           | 49. Lama                                  | 93. Gallia (4)  | 135. Gordes   |
| 5. India secunda                                     | 50. Pontica                               | 94. Aquitania   | 136. Beata  |
| 6. India ultima                                      | 51. Armenia                               | 95. Morini  | 137. Hic antipodes nostri habitant<br>sed noctem diversam diesque<br>contrarios perferunt et estatem  |
| 7. Hic arbores solis et lune                         | 52. Marciana                              | 96. Flandria  | 138. Plaga australis temperata. Sed<br>filiis Ade incognita. Nichil per<br>tinens ad nostrum genus. Mare<br>namque mediterraneum quod<br>ab ortu solis ad occidentem<br>defluit et orbem terre dividit<br>humanus oculus non vidit.<br>Quem solis ardore semper<br>illustratum qui desuper per<br>lacteum currit circulum.<br>Accessus repellit hominum nec<br>ulla ratione ad hanc zonam<br>permittit transitum. Hanc<br>inhabitare phylosophi antipodes<br>autumant.<br>Quos a nobis diversitate<br>temporum diversos asserunt.<br>Nam cum estate<br>torremur illi frigore congelantur.<br>Nobis vero septentrionalia<br>sydera cernere permissum est et<br>illis penitus denegatum. Nulla<br>alia astra sunt que illorum<br>obtutibus denegentur et que<br>simul cum illis oriuntur simul<br>veniunt in occasum. Et dies<br>noctesque sub una longitudine<br>patiuntur. Solstitii autem<br>celeritas et sol per brinam<br>properando revertens. Bis<br>hyemem per illos inducit. |
| 8. Media   | 53. Tanaïs                                | 97. Hispania  |   |
| 9. Moab  | 54. Luzorum gens                          | 98. Hesperia  |   |
| 10. Og. Basan  | 55. Tygrides                              | 99. Lusitania   |   |
| 11. Persida  | 56. Hic Pannothi                          | 100. Gallia   |   |
| 12. Chaldea  | 57. Hircania. Hic Grifes                  |   |   |
| 13. Babylonia  | 58. Sithia                                | III— <i>AFRIQUE</i>   |   |
| 14. Mesopotania                                      | 59. Ypopodes                              | 101. Mauritania Tingitana                                   |   |
| 15. Thalassar  | 60. Provincia Amazonum                    | 102. Mauritania Cesariensis                                 |   |
| 16. Aracusia   | 61. Hic inclusit Alexander regna<br>XXXII | 103. Numidia  |   |
| 17. Elephantes                                       | II— <i>EUROPE</i>                         | 104. Cartago  |   |
| 18. Bactria  | 62. Wandali                               | 105. (Bi)sancea   |   |
| 19. Hic mons Taurus et Caucasus                      | 63. Gothia                                | 106. Zeujeftan  |   |
| 20. Carsinia   | 64. Scanzia                               | 107. Lybia  |   |
| 21. Parthia. Hic symie                               | 65. Dacia                                 | 108. Affrica  |   |
| 22. Assiria  | 66. Suevia                                | 109. Getulia  |   |
| 23. Syria  | 67. Saxonia                               | 110. Phenix   |   |
| 24. Arabia. Hic leones et-fenix<br>Piper. Nicticorax | 68. Germania (2)                          | 111. Sirtes maiores   |   |
| 25. Arabia. Psitacus. Amomum                         | 69. Mesia                                 | 112. Cyrenaica  |   |
| 26. Saba Ethiopie                                    | 70. Maronea                               | 113. Provincia Garamantum                                   |   |
| 27. Superior Egyptus                                 | 71. Recia                                 | 114. Locus draconum et serpentium<br>et bestiarum crudelium |   |
| 28. Babilon  | 72. Norica                                | 115. Deserta Ethiopie                                       |   |
| 29. Egyptus inferior                                 | 73. Boioaria                              | 116. Terra Ethiopum   |   |
| 30. Meroen   | 74. Histria                               | IV— <i>ILES</i>   |   |
| 31. Ydumca   | 75. Grecia                                | 117. Thyle  |   |
| 32. Palestina  | 76. Dardania                              | 118. Hyberus  |   |
| 33. Philistea  | 77. Dalmacia                              | 119. Hybernia   |   |
| 34. Phenicia   | 78. Macedonia                             | 120. Anglia   |   |
| 35. Judea  | 79. Tracia                                | 121. Thatana (2)  |   |
| 36. Galilea  | 80. Pannonia                              | 122. Orona  |   |
| 37. Pamphilia  | 81. Achaia                                | 123. Albacia  |   |
| 38. Licia  | 82. Thessalia                             | 124. Octosgorra   |   |
| 39. Frigia   | 83. Magnesia                              | 125. Samara   |   |
| 40. Lycaonia (?)                                     | 84. Venecia                               | 126. Cholchos   |   |
| 41. Bithinia   | 85. Capua                                 | 127. Insula solis   |   |
| 42. Teutrana   | 86. Apulia                                | 128. Taprobana insula                                       |   |
| 43. Galacia  | 87. Magna Grecia                          | 129. Argire   |   |
- V—*OCEANS*  
I—*Oceanus orientalis*  
II—*Oceanus sciticus*  
III—*Oceanus septentrionalis*  
IV—*Oceanus occidentalis*



Mappamundi showing the northwest part of Europe oriented with East is at the top, from the fabled manuscript, 'Liber Floridus' [Book of Flowers], a Medieval encyclopedia produced between 1090 and 1120 AD. About 97 geographic names are noted



Europa Mundi Pars Quarta . . . D'après le Liber Floridus — Manuscrit de Gand — Ed. Derolez  
fol. 241r° — p. 481.

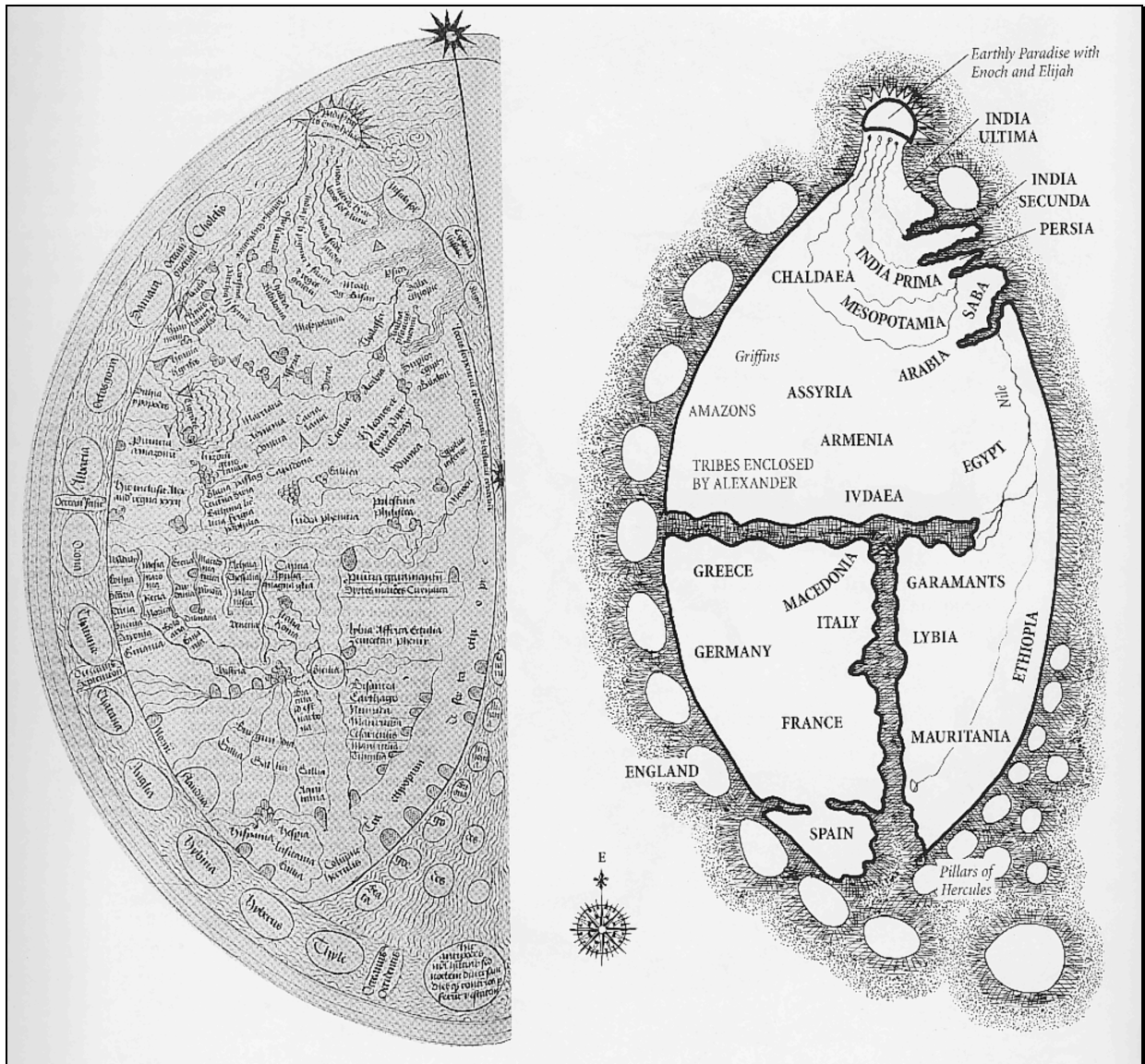


Lambert's map of Europe shows the Scandinavian peninsula with two legends, *Scanzia* and *Norvuega*. The legend *Dacia* at the base of the peninsula may mean 'Denmark'. Further south, the map shows *Sclavi*, 'the Slavs'.

M. Dreier undertook a not very convincing attempt to interpret the combination of the words '*Goths*' and '*the north*' written east of the Scandinavian peninsula as a reference to the administrative division of Sweden in the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. More probably, the word '*north*' just indicates the northern direction on the map, though it may also be connected to the Goths, designating them as an essentially northern people.

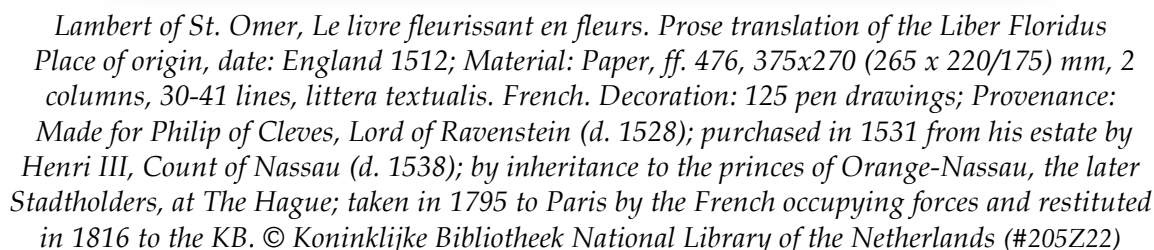
The British Isles are spread along the whole European coast, but the map of Europe added the Orkneys, west of the Scandinavian peninsula. The island of Thule (*Thyle*) appears west of the Pillars of Hercules.

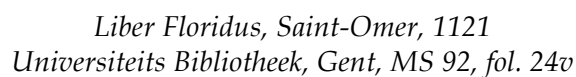
Along the eastern rim of the map are the names of water bodies. From left to right, the map shows the *Euxine Sea* (that merges with the northern ocean), the *Maeotian Sea*, the *St George's branch*, and the *Macedonian Sea*. After three islands of the Mediterranean Sea, near the southeastern shore of Italy, the map names the *Pontian Sea* [*Mare Ponticum*]. The five mouths of the Ister River empty into the North Sea, while the name *Danubius* is assigned to a branch of the same river that flows into the eastern waterway near the legend 'St George's branch'. In this rather unique and confused picture, the term 'St George's branch' seems to appear in both of its meanings: one of the branches of the Danube delta, and the Sea of Marmara with the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The ocean and the seas are blue, the rivers are dark green. A red border separates Gennany, France, and Italy from the rest of the continent. A legend on the margins describes Europe and in particular informs that 'the states encircled in red color belong to the Empire of the Romans and the Franks. The legend on the margins also lists the 33 peoples of Europe according to pseudo-Aethicus.





Maps with the tripartite inhabited world are entitled *Gentes Asie, Europe, Affrice diverse*, 'The Divers Peoples of Asia, Europe, and Africa'. Together with the legends on the margins they constitute a separate (the third) chapter of the *Liber Floridus*. Asia, Europe, and Africa are filled with names that are presented in a narrative list, without any spatial organization (d. introduction to chapter III). In Asia and Europe the lists contain ethnic names, and in Africa the names of regions are listed. Lambert borrowed these lists from the fifth- or sixth-century *Cosmographia* of pseudo-Aethicus. The *Cosmographia*, named due to its erroneous attribution to Aethicus Ister, is a variation of the *Cosmographia* by Iulius Honorius with additions from Paulus Orosius. Already in the copy of Iulius Honorius used by pseudo-Aethicus, some names were garbled (for example, *barbarii*, *alii*, 'barbarians; others' turned into *Barbaros albos*, 'White Barbarians'), and several European peoples including the *Gallic Rutheni* were transferred to the east. Both Honorius and pseudo-Aethicus divided the inhabited world into quarters, but Lambert rearranged the names according to the tripartite division of the world. As a result, the geographical sequence in the lists is often disrupted. The maps also have additions to pseudo-Aethicus' nomenclature.





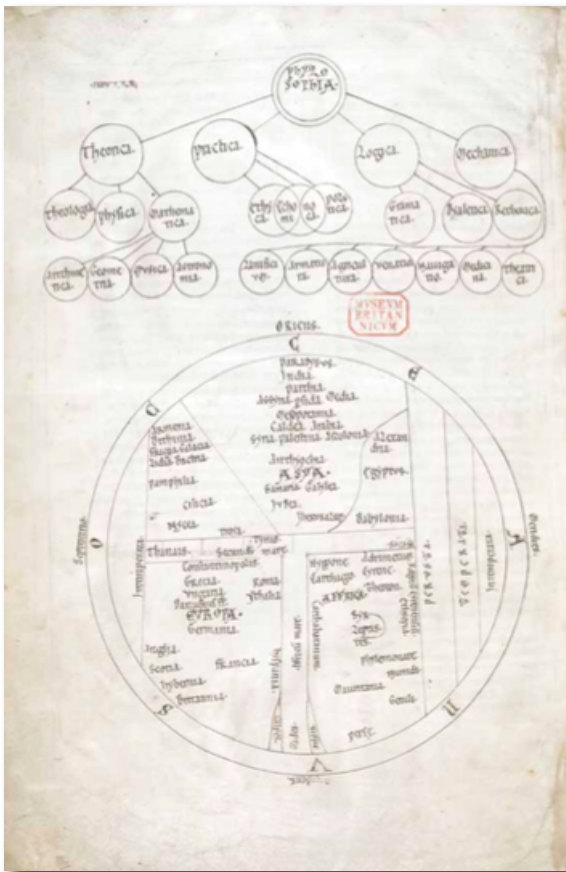
25

Macrobian template to the east (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 24v - *above*) or even to supplement it by adding material to the northern temperate zone, a solution adopted in one double-page opening (fols. 92v-93r - *below*). He used another opening to nest a discrete full-fledged map of the *orbis terrarum* within a hemispheric composition. Now missing from the Ghent autograph, the hybrid map survives in seven of the nine copies of the *Liber Floridus*, the earliest, from the third quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, considered the most reliable witness to Lambert's original concept (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. lat., fols. 69v-70r). In his fusion of T-O and Macrobian schemes, Lambert sacrificed a nearly equal fraction of each. The horizontal bar of the T stretches three-quarters across the ovoid *oecumene*, while the inhabited world pushes out the northern frigid zone. The partial realization of the two schemes impinges mostly on the Macrobian template. Yet despite the latter's abridgment, the austral landmass for which Lambert reserves the entire recto exercises a compelling visual force. Its geographical emptiness complements, and foils, the arena on the facing verso occupied by a fallen humanity. Lambert's approach to the hybridization of hemispheric and ecumenical paradigms remains unique. Maps associated with William of Conches's *Philosophia* (ca. 1125-30) paved the way for a different solution, adopted ca. 1200 in an addition to the Arnstein Bible of 1172 (London, BL, Harley MS 2799, fol. 241v). There, an expansive T-O fills most of the circle, truncating the other zones to remaindered strips.



World map, Lambert of Saint-Omer, *Liber Floridus*, Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fols. 92v-93r

Marcia Kupfer write that the western Middle Ages developed its own pictorial cartography in which color, pattern, mimetic intentionality, and an increasingly rich iconography could enhance the controlling geometric framework, or take visual precedence altogether. Chromatic splendor transforms the Macrobian maps in the *Liber Floridus* from geometric schemata into miniature paintings aesthetically on par with the vibrant pictorial images in Lambert's collection. At the same time, coloristic pattern visually clarifies the cartographic paradigm: the red used for the solar disks (fol. 24v) defines the torrid zone, the reserve of bare parchment (with some white on fol. 24v) sets apart the temperate zones, and light blue (fol. 24v) or green (fols. 92v-93r) cools the poles even as the same tone also stretches across the equatorial ocean.



World map, Arnstein Bible, London, BL,  
Harley MS 2799, fol. 241v (© British Library  
Board)

Lambert's hybrid map further managed a complete representation of the terrestrial sphere in three dimensions. The Cologne and related Carolingian images, as noted above, emulate the curve of the sphere to suggest that the zones continue around to its western underside. In contrast, Lambert splay the globe to bring its invisible portion into the cartographic plane. The lengthy column of text running down the southern temperate zone attributes to philosophers the belief that there dwell the antipodeans (*Hanc inhabitare phylosophi antipodes autumant*). Lambert introduces a second antipodal space. A small island at the bottom of the circle near the gutter bears the legend "Here live our antipodes, but they endure different night and contrary days, and also summer" (*Hic antipodes nostri habitant sed noctem diversam diesque contrarios perferunt et[iam] et estatem*). The red perimeter, miming that of the outer circle, makes the island a world unto itself. Diurnal opposition to our night and day indicates location along an east-west axis, while seasonal opposition indicates location along a north-south axis. To meet both conditions, "our antipodes" should be our diametric opposite, that is, dwellers in the globe's southwest quadrant. Lying to the southwest of the T-O, the antipodal island can be read as floating into view the obverse of the *plaga australis temperata* on the right-hand page. At the same time, however, in the context of the double-page spread the island belongs to the northern hemisphere. Read as the obverse of our temperate zone in the globe's northwest quadrant, it is antipodal to the temperate zone pictured at right. Both readings, hinging on the one island that does double antipodal duty, are equally valid.

The mimetic logic of the Carolingian images here gives way to a combinatorial logic in which a single element plays into viable alternative configurations.

The competing strains that characterize the tradition of the T-O, textual order on one hand the compartments housing blocks of names) and topological order on the other (geographical distribution of toponyms), creatively interact in Lambert's cartographic oeuvre. His full-page T-O (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 19r) inventories peoples for Asia and Europe, switching to provinces for Africa. The western quadrants in the lower half of the circle present horizontal strings of names, the customary pattern for disposing text, left to right, within the T-O figure. The vertical columns of names in Asia may somewhat recall T-O maps where a top-to-bottom alignment of toponyms correlates with geographical location, but Lambert's multiple, hyper-rationalized stacks are unprecedented. In both eastern and western halves, Lambert imposed a topological order, east to west and north to south, on the inscriptions. The columnar lists so striking in the T-O on folio 19r in turn formally structure the topological layout of Lambert's map of Europe, a quarter wedge of the T-O figure (fol. 241r), and infiltrate the sector devoted to Europe in the T-O portion of the hybrid preserved in the Wolfenbüttel copy.



Text Translation:

The peoples of Asia. The peoples of northern Asia are Scythians, Nabonae, Staatenes, Sauromatae, White Barbarians, Thermoni, Cumi, Madei, Eumeni, Ecatae, Colchi, Roddacos, Xantippi, Symoes, Leucosyrians, Luzae, Suffolgoritae, Sciteni, Derbices, Seres, Terimodes, Anartacae, Chorasni, Arachosii, Massagetae, Paropamisians, Sigotani, Bactrians, Tauromedes, Amazons, Cappadocians.

In the east: Persians, Greeks, Anthropophagi, Bessi, Isauri, Saracens, Indians, Isquiete, Sigotani, Curni, Derbices, Pasicae, Parosmi, Anartacae, Celoni, Chorasmi, Paropamisians, Dacriani, Tauromedes, Spircentes, Vamuoti, Aciani, Oroceni, Assyrians, Syrians, Anydrosi, Arabs, Sittaceni, Armodii, Ichthyophagi, Parthians, Idumei, Philistines, Quadi, Geormites [ ... ], Rutheni, Teutoni, Aquitanians [ ... ] .

The peoples of Europe are Goths, Thuringi, Heruli, Sarmatians, Marcomanni, Lombards, Suevi, Alans, Franks, Alamanni [ ... ] Gepidae, Huns, Saturiani, Franciscani, Rugi [ ... ] .

Europe begins at the Tanais River that flows past the altars of Alexander the Great to the Maeotian Swamps and [empties] into the Euxine Sea near the city of Theodosia. Then there are long narrow [passages] near Constantinople, finally flowing into Our Sea, and until the Pillars of Hercules