TITLE: *Maps of Matthew Paris: the World & England*
DATE: *ca. 1250 A.D.*
AUTHOR: *Matthew Paris (1195-1259)*
DESCRIPTION: Matthew Paris was a rather precocious character who holds a unique place in the history of cartography. A Benedictine monk at St. Albans north of London from 1217, he served as historian of the monastery and produced a universal history of the world, his *Cronica majora*, between 1237 and his death in 1259. It is the first medieval historical text to be provided with an abundant body of pertinent illustration. Executed by a largely self-taught chronicler-turned-artist, this massive corpus of innovative secular drawings stands outside the artistic conventions of the monastic workshop tradition as the creation of a uniquely gifted individual. While it is possible that he was part of a cartographic tradition, now lost, and connected to other map makers doing similar work there is no way to confirm that speculation. Though doubt has been raised about who actually drew the maps and the illustrations for them it seems all but certain that the work was entirely Matthew's own. He experimented with many different types of cartographic representation. At least fifteen maps of his on seven different subjects survive. Among them is a strip map, converting an itinerary in the classical tradition into a graphic illustration of a trip by land from London to Apulia in southern Italy. The inspiration may have been the offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard of Cornwall, the brother of the king of England, which suggests that Matthew Paris had a connection with the royal house. Political developments as well as greater ravel to Rome in general in the 13th century almost surely increased English interest in southern Italy. Matthew Paris was an innovator in many ways, for example, in identifying Poland by name on a map, the first person to do that even though the name and the kingdom had existed for about 200 years. There are also two different maps of Palestine by him, connected to the crusade of Louis IX, king of France, and showing a great deal of detail. His maps were often intended to illustrate the chronicle and that, along with his curiosity, may help to explain why he populated his work with such a variety of animals, places and people. Since he made maps which seem to have no place among the rest of medieval products it suggests he knew something others did not. In some ways his most novel work was a map of Britain that gave a better visual impression of the island than any previous depiction. It was apparently based on itineraries, as possibly were his maps of the Holy Land. That reliance on written descriptions of routes may be the reason for the dramatically different results that he achieved. On the other hand there is a remote possibility that he did have knowledge of contemporary sea charts. Such knowledge of another way to make a map might help to explain why his works were different.

In the 12th and early 13th century, the monastery of St. Albans in England possessed what may be called an historical school, or institute, which was then the chief center of the English narrative history or chronicle, and, with a different environment, might have become the nucleus of a great university. Among the writers of this school, the greatest was a Benedictine monk Matthew Paris, whose three chief works contain various maps and plans unsurpassed in European medieval geography, before the rise of the *portolani* [nautical charts]. Thus, in the *Historia Major*, or *Cronica Majora*, we have the so-called *Itinerary to the Holy Land*, or *Stationes a Londinio ad Hierosolymam*, as well as a *mappamundi*, a map of Palestine, and the first of Matthew's four maps of England. Again, in the *Historia Minor*, or *Historia Anglorum*, there is another form of the *Palestine Itinerary*, the second and third maps of England, and the *Situs Britanniae*. Lastly, in the

History of St. Albans, a portion of the supposed Pilgrim-road, as far as southern Italy, is given in another shape, together with the S*chema Britanniae*.

Matthew Paris, therefore, appears as the author of six geographical designs; a world-map, in two slightly different forms; a map of England, in four variants; a purely conventional sketch of the *Heptarchy*, in the form of a *Rose des Vents*; a plan, or schema, of the Roman roads of the same country; a 'routier' to Apulia from the English Court; and a map of Palestine, which tradition has wrongly joined with the former, to make a Pilgrim Itinerary from London to Jerusalem.

The topography of the world began to take on a distinctly Christian aspect on medieval world maps. "Paradise is a place lying in the eastern parts", Isidore of Seville told his readers *(#205)*. By Matthew's time most European geographical authorities gave the *Earthly Paradise* an actual location in the world; if it was earthly, after all, it had to be somewhere. Generally they placed it at the easternmost limits of the East, at the very edge of their maps, the part of the world where the sun rose and where time had begun. Jerusalem, for its part, gradually became not only the spiritual but geometrical center of the world, as dictated by the Bible. "This is Jerusalem" God declares in the Book of Ezekiel, "which I have set in the center of the nations, with countries all around her". The city even became identified with the Greek word *omphalos*, or "navel", the geographical point on the earth where the gods made contact with the world to provide humankind with spiritual nourishment. This idea entered mainstream Christian thought in the fifth century, when an influential Latin translation of the Bible known as the *Vulgate* described the center of the world, in the Book of Ezekiel, as the *umbilicus terrae*: the navel of the earth.

Medieval geographers also begin to fill out their T-O maps with topographical and historical information, and by Matthew's time an elaborate and highly stylized kind of world map had come into being. These maps are often described collectively as *mappaemundi* (Latin for "maps of the world") and one survives in Matthew's hand.

Following the T-O model, Matthew placed east at the top of his world map. The west coast of continental Europe appears at the bottom left of the map, and above it, as one looks from west to east, are Germany (*Alemania*), the Alps, and then a thick, stubby Italy. To the east and south (up and to the right) of Italy are Cyprus and Sicily, in the Mediterranean. Across the Mediterranean to the south is Africa, and to the east is Asia- on the west coast of which, occupying a lonely perch at the edge of the unknown East, is Jerusalem. Occupying the whole top portion of the map is Asia, which Matthew considered enough of a blank to fill in with notes to himself.

In terms of geographical accuracy, Matthew's map is less than accurate. It doesn't get even the basic contours of Europe right; it places legendary, biblical, and modern places side by side; and it does not even try to come to terms with Africa and Asia. But, as with most *mappaemundi* of this time geographical accuracy was not Matthew's goal in drawing this map, at least not as we now understand the term.

Matthew drew so that "what the ear hears the eyes may see". His maps were no exception. Like many religious writers of his time, he fully recognized the power of the image as a complement to the Word. "Know", John of Genoa wrote in a popular 13th century religious dictionary known as the *Catholicon*, "that there were three reasons for the institution of images in churches. First, for the instruction of simple people, because they are instructed by them as if by books. Second, so that the mystery of the incarnation and the examples of the Saints may be the more active in our memory through being

presented daily to our eyes. Third, to excite feelings of devotion, these being aroused more effectively by things seen than by things heard:'

This description suits the function of the *mappaemundi* well. They, too, were designed for spiritual instruction and contemplation. They were devotional objects, guides to the divine cosmic order of things. Their picture of the world served as a backdrop onto which the various historical, religious, and symbolic coordinates of human history could be plotted: Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, Noah and the Ark on Mount Ararat, the Jews being dragged off to Babylon, Alexander the Great venturing into India, the Romans conquering Europe, Christ returning to Jerusalem, the Apostles spreading the Gospel to the most distant reaches of the earth, and much more. An "accurate" world map, in other words, had to orient its viewers not only in space but also in time.

Today the word *mappamundi* is used exclusively to refer to maps. But Matthew and his contemporaries used it more broadly. It could mean not only a visual depiction of the world but also a written description of it - a text very much like Matthew's *Chronicle*, that is. It traced the march of human history, scripted in advance by God at the beginning of time from its origins in the East to its present state in the West. A map was a visual history; a history was a textual map; and each, like that great abbey cupboard, was stuffed full of disparate signs and symbols that, contemplated together, allowed believers to imagine seeing their places in history and the world as God could see them.

Matthew Paris' world map, unlike his *England (#225.2, #225.3),* according to the cartographic historian Charles Beazley, is of small value geographically or cartographically, though it is curiously different from all other medieval designs. When first confronted with this map, even seasoned historians of medieval maps will wonder just what they are looking at. It would take significant geographic flexibility to turn this map into a reasonable semblance of how 13th century cartographers typically pictured the world's landmasses on a *mappa mundi*. We see the shapes of land as almost constrained by the page on which they were drawn. It measures 34.8 x 23.6 cm and seems to have been constructed on "projections" approaching the azimuthal logarithmic, where the central part of the map (of most interest) is enlarged in scale. It contains about 80 legends and perhaps its most interesting feature is an inscription, placed in the neighborhood of Mount Taurus, which alludes to the three great wall-maps existing in or near London at this time (ca. 1250). One of these is ascribed to a certain Robert of Melkeley; another is called the *mappamundi* of Waltham in Essex; the third is termed the property of the Lord King at his court in Westminster. Yet compared to Matthew's *England*, his surviving *mappamundi* is a disappointment; and if we were to assume that his wall-maps at Westminster and elsewhere presented merely the same features on a larger scale, there would be less reason, according to Beazley, to regret the loss of these *Orbes picti*.

The coloring of the Paris *mappamundi* is mostly red for place-names, except those in the Mediterranean, such as Tyre, which lie to the right of the Adriatic; these are colored black. Mountains are portrayed in ochre, rivers in blue, for the most part; and the Mediterranean Sea in colored green. Like most other medieval maps, but unlike his *England*, Paris' *mappamundi* is oriented with the East at the top.

Based on geometric forms: a trapezoidal western Europe is separated from Africa to the right by a crescent shaped Mediterranean, while on the left, rectilinear land shapes and bulbous water features represent eastern Europe and the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic. At the base of the map, closest to the viewer's body as one holds the chronicle,

rivers lead the eye across France to the Alps and Apennines, through the named places of Italy and the sea labeled '*adriaticum*' to arrive at a spot, a scar on the page beneath the map's explanatory text.

Again, according to Beazley, the chief thing worthy of remark in this world-map is its limitation. For it is not really a *mappamundi*, but rather a sketch of Europe and the adjacent coasts; only the extreme northern edge of Africa is portrayed; as to the parts of Asia here given, the author has so little intention of working them out in detail, that he covers most of the spaces with the inscription mentioned above, about the three wall-maps. In this region (Asia) Paris depicts a broad arm of the sea running west from the *Euxine* [Black Sea]. The *Palus Maeotis* is represented by two lakes near the *North Ocean*, into which he shows a river. Even in Europe the detail is wanting; its northern coast is absolutely straight, and apparently follows the requirements of the sheet or page without attempting to represent the actual shoreline. Many unnamed rivers occur in Europe; the only ones that are named are the Rhone, Danube and *Elple* [Scheldt]. For more contemporary names there are *Hungaria, Polonia*, Austria, *Saxonia*, Bavaria, *Theutonia, Braibe* [for Brabant]; *Dacia* [for Denmark]; and the towns of Cologne, Pisa, Bologna and *Janua* [Genoa].

One of the notes that Matthew wrote on Asia on his world map records that the map was actually just "a reduced copy" of a *mappamundi* that he had seen elsewhere. He did not say what map this was, but without a doubt it resembled some of the gorgeous 13th century Christian *mappaemundi* that do survive. The text has some resemblance to the *Hereford* and *Ebstorf* maps (especially the latter), and to *Lambert of St. Omer, Henry of Mainz/Sawley,* the *Psalter* and the *Cottoniana (#226, #224, #217, #215, #223* and *#210).* Most of the newer names may be found on *Ebstorf*, as, for instance, Holland, Burgundy, Flanders, Austria, Poland, Venice, Bavaria, Metis, Hierapolis, Teutonia; but, after all, the great mass of name-forms in this *mappamundi* are old.

The form of the design is, on the contrary, novel and peculiar, it has some relation to *Henry of Mainz/Sawley* and *Lambert of St. Omer* maps; the former of whom is not unlike Matthew in his islands, his Italy, and his Balkan Peninsula with its curious western projection; while the latter gives a similar course to the Danube River flowing into the North Sea; but the present scheme must not be regarded as a derivative of either of these, but rather as itself a stem-form not directly borrowed from any other plan that has come down to us.

The original map now resides at the end of its volume of the *Chronica*, with a modern pagination of 284; but an earlier folio number (vii) in the upper right - hand corner of the icons page indicates that it was once the seventh folio, and so was originally part of the *Chronica's* prefatory materials, just as the later copy of the map is.

The western littoral is scarcely better; England, which Matthew knew so well, is entirely omitted; and it would be difficult to rate the compiler's geography at a high level, if we only possessed this design, and could not also refer to the four maps that he has left us of his native country.

Matthew Paris also created four manuscript maps of Britain that survive today. The most comprehensive of these maps, which was made *c.* 1250 *(#225.2),* is at the beginning of Matthew's *Abbreviatio chronicorum,* one of his abridgements of his *Chronica majora,* a history of England from the Creation to 1259. In the upper left margin of this map there is an interesting legend about sea monsters in the Atlantic. The legend, which is located off the northwestern coast of Scotland, has been damaged by trimming of the page, but reads: *[Hec] pars inter aqui[lo]nem & autrum [vas]turn mare res[pici]t ubi non*

est nisi [m]onstrorum habi[ta]cio. Verumtamen ibi [inve]nitur insula [an] etum fortissima, that is, "This part between the North and South looks out on a vast sea where there is nothing but the abode of monsters. But an island is found there that has many rams" Unfortunately we do not know Matthew's source for his claim about the Atlantic, and this legend does not appear on his other three maps of Britain. This legend is paradigmatic in its placing of monsters in the furthest and unknown reaches of the world. In fact, it discourages exploration through its assertions that there is no land in the Atlantic except for an island of rams, and that the ocean is full of monsters. Thus while one of a map's primary functions is to depict the earth's geography, the allusion to sea monsters on Matthew Paris' map of Britain discourages voyages that would add to the area that could be portrayed on maps.

The following is from an excerpt of *Mapping Time and Space, How medieval Mapmakers viewed their World,* pp. 118-124 by Evelyn Edson.

Matthew Paris (c. 1200-59), inherited the task of writing the great St Alban's chronicle when Roger of Wendover died in 1235. Editing and amending his predecessor's work, he continued it to cover current events until his own demise in 1259. He embellished his work with lively pictures of battles, expeditions, ceremonies, executions, and deathbed scenes. Among these illustrations were his maps. Each copy of the *Chronica Majora* was originally accompanied by a mapped itinerary from London to Apulia in southern Italy, a map of Palestine, and one of England and Scotland.

Paris experimented with a variety of forms, and his maps may be said to represent most of the possibilities of medieval cartography. There is the itinerary, a strip-map showing city by city a journey from London to Otranto in Apulia and, alternatively, to Sicily, either one an embarkation point for the Holy Land *(see #225.4)*. He tried his hand at a *mappa mundi*, which he said was a copy of the ones by Robert Melkeley and at Waltham Abbey. He also made a copy of the world map belonging to the royal palace at Westminster, but the book into which he copied it has not survived. It is usually assumed that the surviving *mappa mundi*, now bound with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 26, is similar to the royal map, possibly the '*magna historia*' which Henry III ordered to be preserved in 1236.

Paris drew a succession of maps of Britain notable for their accuracy and progressive development. Yet he also drew a diagram in which the various kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England are represented abstractly in a floral emblem, reminiscent of an Isidorian zone diagram. Another map of Britain shows the four chief Roman roads intersecting (which they actually do not) in schematic fashion. The wind diagrams which he drew to accompany the two Cambridge copies of the *Chronica Majora* have been hailed for their division into sixteen winds, as was later to be the case of wind roses on maps, rather than the traditional twelve winds of anriquity.

An idea of the range of Matthew's work can be best grasped by reviewing a list of his cartographic productions, no two of which are the same.

1. Maps of England and Scotland (four 'geographical,' two schematic):
    a. London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius D.VI, f01.12v (now bound separately).
    b. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol. v, verso.
    c. BL, Cotton MS Julius D.VII, fols 50V and 3' (now bound with map 'a' above).
    d. BL, Royal MS 14.C.VII, fol. Y.

e. *Scema Britanniae*, BL, Cotton MS Nero D.I, fol. 187", a sketch map of the four main Roman roads.
f. *De partitionibus regnorum Angliae* (Of the divisions of the kingdoms of England), BL, Cotton MS Julius D.VII, fols 49v-50.

2. Maps of Palestine (three pictorial, one with more names than pictures):
   a. BL, Royal MS 14.C.VII, fols 4V-5.
   b. Cambridge, CCC, MS 16, fols ii verso - v.
   c. Cambridge, CCC, MS 26, fols iii verso - iv.
   d. Oxford, CCC, MS 2'" (bound separately).
3. World maps:
   a. Cambridge, CCC, MS 26, p. 284.
   b. BL, Cotton MS Nero D.V., fol. IV, a later, not-quite faithful copy of the above. Not in Matthew's hand.
4. Itineraries:
   a. BL, Royal MS 14.C.VII, fols 2-4.
   b. BL, Cotton MS Nero D.I, fols 182"-183.
   c. Cambridge, CCC, MS 26, fols i-iii.
   d. Cambridge, CCC, MS 16, fol. ii (incomplete).

Another map which has recently been attributed to the influence of Matthew Paris is a world map, bound with the chronicle of John of Wallingford, a colleague at St Alban's. John's chronicle is almost entirely derivative from Matthew, and the volume contains some works in his mentor's hand. The world map appears separated from John's chronicle in the manuscript, but in his handwriting, and takes the unusual form of a climate map. A Greek invention, the division of the inhabited world into seven climates was well known in the Middle Ages, as it had been described by Pliny and repeated by Bede in *De temporum ratione* (chapter XXXIII), but maps were rarely made according to this description. One problem was that the northern regions were poorly described. Pliny's seventh, or most northern, climate, which he takes from the Greeks, goes only so far as Milan and Venice. Although he goes on to add three more northerly climates, he does so in a sketchy fashion. For those living beyond the climatic pale, this could not be very useful when translated into pictorial form. John's map adds an eighth climate, with Anglia, Hibernia, and Scotia practically at the North Pole. The earliest example of a climate map in the West is from a work of 1110 by Petrus Alfonsus, a converted Spanish Jew, who derived it from Arab sources, where this format was more commonly employed. Although it is by no means certain that Matthew had a hand in John of Wallingford's map, it is tempting to link him with yet another cartographic innovation.

Matthew's chronicle shows his avid interest in all aspects of human activity, from village scandals, to international politics, to meteorological catastrophes. Far from being a stay-at-home monk, we know that he travelled to London and Norway, and conversed with many visitors to St Albans, including members of the royal family. His maps demonstrate the same restless curiosity as his writing. The most detailed are the ones of Britain and Palestine, both of which loom large as venues of his history. He revised and rearranged his British maps as he did the chronicle itself. His practical orientation to mapmaking is also illustrated by a map of Palestine not attached to the chronicle but found in a Bible at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. This map, which is now attributed to him, was probably made around 1240, either in preparation for or as a reflection of the crusade of Richard of Cornwall, and is packed with up-to-date information, 120 names,

including fortifications, holy tourist sites, and lands controlled by the various sultanates. It also gives an indication of scale in days' journeys between the coastal cities. Notes at the side suggest corrections to the map (the river Jordan does not flow through Damascus) and give information about places outside its range (300 leagues from Cyprus to Acre).

The other Palestine maps, which were bound with the various editions of the *Chronica Majora*, have many fewer names, more pictures, and a wildly varying scale in order to accommodate more detail in areas of interest, such as the fortifications of Acre, constructed by St Louis during his Crusade in the 1250s. While these maps have been adapted as illustrations - nearly all the names on them appear in the chronicle - the Oxford Palestine map seems to have functioned more as a source, notes in graphic form, that the historian could use in making sense of news reports from the ever volatile Holy Land.

The itinerary maps *(see #225.4)*, which stretch from London to south Italy and beyond to Sicily, including various points from which one might embark for the East, are a rare pictorial version of the kind of geographical information that usually comes down to us in written form. Matthew structures his map as a journey; with stations a day's travel apart, a vivid demonstration of the link between time and space. Alternative routes are also shown, and features important to the traveler - high mountains, sea crossings, rivers, bridges - are clearly indicated. The sequence becomes less accurate as the distance from England increases. One can imagine Matthew's sources, which we might presume to be travelers, arguing heatedly over whether they had stopped at Pisa or Lucca first, and was that where they stayed in such a terrible inn?

An itinerary has also been suggested as the basic framework for Matthew's maps of Britain, which are the most detailed regional cartography to be found in the Europe of his day. A bee-line from Dover to Berwick dominates each of his British maps, despite the inaccuracies of placement that ensue. Another suggestion, made in an article by P. D. A. Harvey; was that Matthew began with a general outline of the coasts of Britain taken from a *mappa mundi*. Harvey cites Matthew's use of the cardinal directions and the indication of neighboring countries (this way lies Norway, etc.) to show how he thinks of Britain in a world context. Both theories could, of course, be true. We already know, by Matthew's own testimony, of his exposure to world maps, as well as his construction of an itinerary. He also used information from an itinerary in the making of his Oxford map of Palestine, which indicates the number of days' journey between various points.

The world maps of Matthew Paris are most important because of their relation to large wall maps, now lost. Many medieval world maps in codices have been thought to be copies of such maps, but Matthew is specific about it. It is a pity that the 'correct and complete' copy in his ordinal does not survive, as the one that does is rather sketchy. Europe occupies most of the space, with Africa reduced to a coastline, and it is not clear whether this format reflects the original - probably not. The Mediterranean curves to the north at the tip of Italy, like Guido's map *(#216)*, and has deeply indented gulfs on either side of Asia Minor. Matthew records the names of provinces, rivers, seas, and islands, giving only a handful of cities. The British Isles do not appear at all. The most interesting text is that in the upper right, which tells of the map from which this one was copied. Other legends of note include '*Hierapolis, where Philip the apostle preached*' in the east, '*Sitia [Scythia] where Peter preached*' farther north, and '*Pontos, the island where Ovid was exiled*' in the Black Sea. The *Ebstorf* map *(#224)* shows the apostle Philip buried in

Hierapolis, but the other two notes do not appear on any other medieval map. Most of the other places here are common currency among medieval maps.

The historical content of Matthew's maps is relatively slight compared to the many contemporary sites on them. Where he notes historical places, such as St Columba's Island (Iona) or the Hadrian and Antonine walls, these are places that are still important, though he does include some purely historical notes for their own sake, such as the descent of the Welsh from the Trojan, Brut. Sites in Palestine such as Rachel's tomb and the salt statue of Lot's wife were 13th century tourist attractions, and, as such, of intense current interest, albeit signs of a religious-historical consciousness.

A great number of the place-names on Matthew's various maps appear in the chronicle as well, though, as scholars have noted, there is not a perfect correspondence. For example, the names of natural features tend to appear on maps, while unmentioned in the text. However, the purpose of the maps, which was to illustrate the chronicle, is made abundantly clear. Matthew simply cannot resist adding or guessing at new names, and sometimes he finds it impossible to fit everything in. In addition to his maps we have several sets of cartographic notes, some of which have obviously been collected from travelers, to guide him in his future productions.

Matthew's chronicle, while a vivid picture of day-by-day events in the world, was haunted by omens of the approaching end of the world. Earthquakes, outstanding examples of human wickedness, the battle successes of the Moslems, were all seen as portents. Particularly ominous was the appearance from the northeast of the Tartars or Mongols around 1240. Descriptions of their appearance and behavior fill pages of the chronicle, for Matthew is convinced that this new race is the offspring of *Gog and Magog*, about to wreak vengeance on humanity. He shows the enclosure from which they escaped on the pictorial maps of Palestine. His most lengthy apocalyptic statement comes in 1250, the year when he had intended to end his chronicle, but his account is peppered throughout with forebodings. After describing an earthquake in the neighborhood of St Alban's, he writes: '*Thus, in this year, unusual and dreadful disturbances were experienced, both by land and sea, which imminently threatened the end of the world. As the gospel menaces,* "*There shall be earthquakes in divers places*."

LOCATION: *Mappamundi* - Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 26, p. 284

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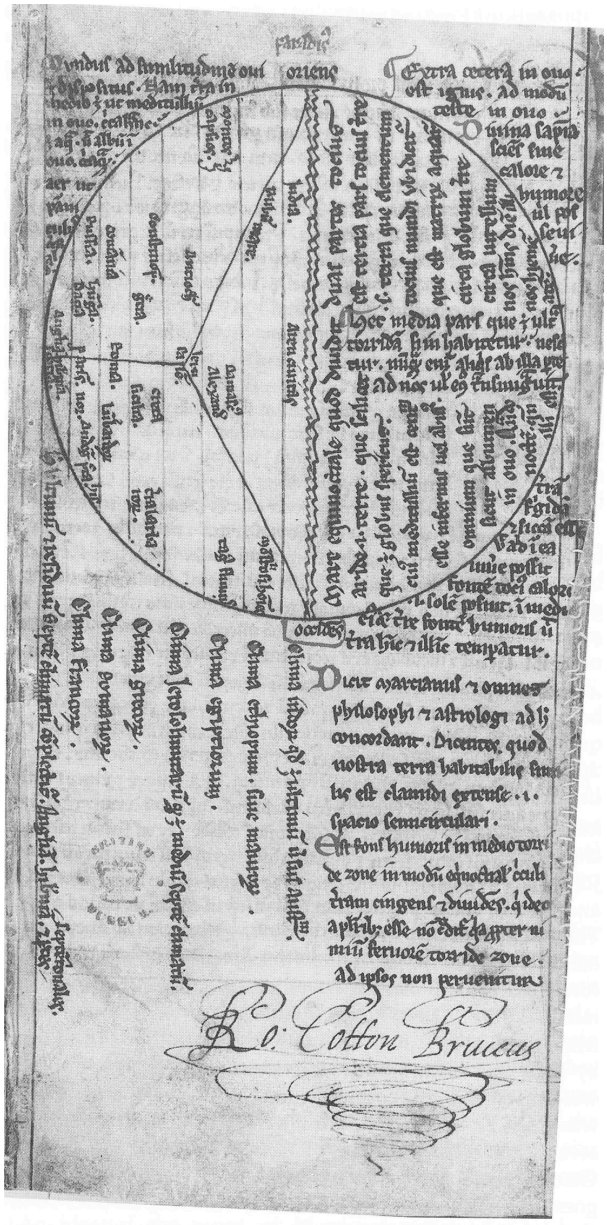

John of Wallingford, world map. This is a climate map, in which the inhabited world is divided into eight climates, seven of which come from Pliny. 'Aren civitas' in the far south shows the influence of an Arabic map. Jerusalem is at the juncture of three lines that roughly divide the continents. The text in the southern hemisphere describes the universe surrounding the earth 'like the white of an egg'. Other notes on cosmology, including a list of the climates, fill the page. Diameter of map 82 mm. BL Cotton MS Julius D.VII, fol. 46r, c. 1250, England. Courtesy of the British Library Board.

The Mongols through Western eyes slaughtering, cooking and feasting on their captives

Above: Zonal map showing the earth's Frigid, Habitable [Temperate] and Torrid zones, with an unusual orientation to the South following the practice of Arab geographers,

T-O map by Matthew Paris, ca. 1255

Matthew Paris' world map, 1250, 34.8 x 23.6 cm
(oriented with East at the top)

Matthew Paris' world map, 1250, 34.8 x 23.6 cm (oriented with East at the top)
The chief importance of this map is as a record of the mappamundi of Westminster which Matthew says that he is sketching. Europe takes up most of the space with Africa reduced to a coastline and Asia to a scattering of names around the inscription, which mentions other full-scale mappamundi, noting that the inhabited world is actually of a chlamys spread out and occupies only a quarter of the globe. At the top of the map is the Caspian Sea and the city of Hierapolis on the left, and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf on the right.

Matthew Paris drew in multiple copies an itinerary from England to Sicily, maps of Britain, and maps of the Holy Land. These maps are all now bound with various editions of his chronicle, which accounts for their preservation. The four maps that Matthew Paris has left us of his native country (and especially the two examples in the Cotton Library) are the finest achievements of medieval student-geography, according to the highly critical historian Charles Beazley. All four copies appear to be from the annalist's own hand, though the two not in the Cotton Library are cruder by comparison. The Cotton form of Paris' *England* (British Library, Cotton MSS, Claudius, D.) measures 33.8 x 22.4 cm and is the best and most complete. The execution is admirable, the coloring detailed and systematic. The sea on west and east is colored green, like the inland gulfs and salt waters; rivers are either blue or red; the province divisions are marked (in some cases) in red and blue; the mountains and Roman walls (of Hadrian and the Antonines) are yellow; the legends and inscriptions are by turns red and black. To the north, however, the sea has been left uncolored. At the edges this map is somewhat bent inwards, and on the left border something has been cut away. The outlines of the coasts are, in general, admirably shown, especially the west coast, with the westward reaching promontories of Galloway, Wales and Cornwall. The east coast is less satisfactory, for neither the indentation of the Wash nor the broad eastward projection of Norfolk appear, and by some confusion a point on the coast of Suffolk is taken as the southeastern corner of Britain, with the result that the Thames is shown as debouching into the English Channel.

In the far north, the sketchy outlines of Scotland show that relatively little was known of this remote part of the island. Indeed, on two of the maps the Firths of Clyde and Forth join in such a way as to cut off *Scocia Ultra-marina* from the remainder of Britain, with which it is connected by a bridge. The courses of the main rivers, Severn, Humber, Avon, Thames, on the whole are well delineated. A large tract in the east is labeled *mariscus* to designate the Fen country, and the mountains Snowdon, Plynlimon and Cheviot appear in their correct positions. The northern Scottish Highlands are described by long legends as mountainous and woody regions which generate an uncultivated and pastoral people, inasmuch as a great part of this area is boggy and full of reeds. Argyll is a "*trackless and watery district well adapted to cattle and pasturage,*" and South Wales is spoken of in much the same way. Among the islands off the coast we notice *Sheppey, Thanet, Wight*, possibly some of the Channel Islands, *Sephe, Thanet, Vecta, Ven, Grenese* [Guernsey], *Purland, Sulli, Lundeth, Engleseia insula, Man, Tyren insula, insula Columkilli, Orkades insule* [Portland Head, Sicily, Lundy, Anglesey, Man, Tiree, Iona and, to the east of Scotland, Icolmkill or Iona and the Orkneys]. The Hebrides are conspicuously absent, and in their place a legend reads *immense and trackless sea.*

In the upper left margin of this map there is an interesting legend about sea monsters in the Atlantic. The legend, which is located off the northwestern coast of Scotland, has been damaged by trimming of the page, but reads: *[Hec] pars inter aqui[lo]nem & autrum [vas]turn mare res[pici]t ubi non est nisi [m]onstrorum habi[ta]cio. Verumtamen ibi [inve]nitur insula [an] etum fortissima,* that is, "This part between the North and South looks out on a vast sea where there is nothing but the abode of monsters. But an island is found there that has many rams". Unfortunately we do not know Matthew's source for his claim about the Atlantic, and this legend does not appear on his other three maps of Britain. This legend is paradigmatic in its placing of monsters in the furthest and unknown reaches of the world. In fact, it discourages exploration through its assertions that there is no land in the Atlantic except for an island of rams,

and that the ocean is full of monsters. Thus while one of a map's primary functions is to depict the earth's geography, the allusion to sea monsters on Matthew Paris' map of Britain discourages voyages that would add to the area that could be portrayed on maps.

A large number of cities are placed more or less in their proper positions, together with the names of counties and other territorial divisions; and finally the Roman walls from Forth to Clyde and from Carlisle to Newcastle make the most prominent feature among the works of man. Here also, for the first time in Northern Europe, we have a map with the North at the top; and in this we may see a victory of revived scientific feeling over the ecclesiastical preference for the East, and of North-European feeling over the Arabic and other influence which had made the South the primary quarter of the heavens. But the Ptolemaic arrangement, here reproduced by Matthew, was also better adapted for a sketch of the long and narrow island of Britain, tapering towards the North, and hence the possible explanation of its reappearance in this map. Again, practically speaking, orientation to the East would have made Matthew's England run on to two pages of the manuscript, broken in the middle by the fold. A legend on Paris' map of Britain demonstrates how map scale could be adjusted to fit the circumstances*: "if the page had allowed it, this whole island would have been longer"*. And since the places named on his basic route are more or less equidistant on the ground - he very likely viewed them as staging points - as well as on the map, where they are simply entered one below the other without much space between, they provide a very rough basis of scale as well as relative position.

Matthew Paris map of England, 1250, 33.8 x 22.4 cm,
British Library MS Cotton Claudius D VI, fol. 12v

Map of Britain by Matthew Paris, British Library Board, BL Royal 14C vii, fol 5v

Cotton form of Paris' England (British Library, Cotton MSS, Claudius, D.) measures 33.8 x 22.4 cm