

**The Cardinal Points and the Structure of Christian History in the Early-Twelfth Century**

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## Abstract

This dissertation evaluates the use of the cardinal points as a conceptual system that bridges historical, geographical and theological knowledge for authors of the first half of the twelfth century. Looking towards its use as a basis for identity construction within historical or historically driven texts, this thesis considers the broader function of this vocabulary across three different genres of text in two broad thematic sections. The first section focuses on the reception of geographical and exegetical knowledge from antiquity to the twelfth century, with the cardinal points serving as a device to analyse the way in which authors constructed and evaluated the geographical world which they inhabited. It pays particular attention to the way in which authors of the twelfth century actively engaged with and manipulated this tradition, particularly in the context of the northern French intellectual milieu of the early century. The second half focuses on narrative construction and identity formation through the application of spatial categories to history. It addresses this problem first in terms of genres. Through an analysis of three universal historians – Sigebert of Gembloux, Romuald of Salerno and Orderic Vitalis – it assesses their awareness and engagement with the language of the cardinal points, as a conceptual system, to spatially inflect their histories and underscore their broader narrative agendas. It then addresses this issue in terms of three case studies of spatially based identity formation, assessing particularly the role of the First Crusade and the construction of *Normanitas* in the construction of western and northern identities. The thesis argues overall that medieval authors were in constant conversation with a rich spatial system through which they conceptualised and constructed history in terms of *mundus et saeculum*, in a manner that has been frequently sidelined in previous scholarship.

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## **Declaration**

No part of this thesis has been or is in the process of being otherwise published at the time of submission.

*I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.*

## Introduction

Thanks be to the omnipotent king of kings, whose kingdom is the kingdom of all ages, who exalted your imperial majesty over all princes of the Christian name, and established you – as if in the middle of east, west, and north – to watch over his church through the whole world. Whence in times past with the northern barbarians, but also with the last and worst enemies of the Christian name, the Arabs, encroaching on the southern and western regions, as if to assault parts of your kingdom, he has never yet permitted them to be overthrown, but he has transferred to you the name and glory of the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup>

-Peter the Venerable to John Komnenos

It is a truism that space is a constitutive feature of our image of the world. It underlies, both tacitly and explicitly, many aspects of our basic engagement with our environment, not only grounding our self-location but conditioning our engagement with those around us. Peter's statement implies not only a particular geographical construction of the world, but a construction that encompasses a whole set of historical, geographical and theological understandings. He is drawing upon well known tropes: the reference to northern barbarians is a standard feature of the conception of the world since at least classical Greece. He is also reframing this traditional trope in terms of present 'geopolitical' concerns. As such, the function of these spatial systems is neither straightforward nor unitary. They have an important situational relevance that can manifest individually as well as in relationship with one another.<sup>2</sup> Medieval authors were embedded within a range of spatial systems and addressing their contours is not a straightforward task.

The function of this project is to take a step back from this sort of narrowly focused study of the spatial conception of a particular author, or set thereof, and consider the cardinal points more

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<sup>1</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Epistulae* 75 (ed. Giles Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 208) [hereafter *Pet. Ven., Ep.*]. 'Gratias omnipotenti regi regum, cuius regnum, regnum est omnium saeculorum, qui imperatoriam maiestatem uestram super omnes Christiani nominis principes exaltauit, et ad tuendam toto orbe aecclesiam suam, uelut in medio orientis, occidentis, aquilonis constituit. Vnde olim aquilonalibus barbaris, sed et ultimis ac pessimis Christiani nominis inimicis Arabibus, in occiduas et meridianas plagas irruentibus, regni uestri partes etsi oppugnari, nunquam tamen expugnari permisit, sed in uos magni illius Romani imperii gloriam nomen que transfudit.'

<sup>2</sup> Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 35-45; Patrick Geary, 'Ethnic Identity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983): 15-26; Hugh M. Thomas, *The English & The Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity 1066-c.1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 72-6; David Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 11-13.

broadly as a spatial system and the conceptual and linguistic networks that underlie their more disparate uses. Given their multiplicity, it is naturally impossible for a project of this size to even attempt a systematic study of this phenomenon. Rather, focusing on the first half of the twelfth century – a well recognised epicentre of both history writing and historical speculation as well as a significant period of change for the Latin *Weltbild* – this thesis will develop of a picture of the way in which these concepts formed a linguistic and spatial system that allowed for not only their varied uses but also grounded the degree to which they were mutually intelligible across the Latin world.

### *Previous Research into the Cardinal Points*

Previous research into the use of the cardinal points as a spatial system may have produced some excellent work within narrow contexts, but from a broader perspective this scholarship is something of a mess. There are, generally speaking, three major areas of study that previous scholarship has addressed. In the first place, there is a significant body of research on the idea of the north in the ancient, medieval and modern world. In the second, there has been a smattering of research into the ancient and medieval idea of east and west. There has been little systematic research in this direction; it has instead tended to crop up as an offshoot of other research, such as medieval ideas of Europe or the Crusades. Lastly, there have been a handful of studies that have addressed, often in an ancillary fashion, the theological function of all four cardinal points. These studies have tended to approach the subject from a theological and liturgical perspective, without drawing it into contact with the first two groups. As such, this project looks to bridge the gap between these different areas of scholarship, which have previously had minimal contact.

The study of ideas of the north has been by far the most researched area in the modern scholarship. This has been carried out most systematically in German scholarship since the late 1990s. In particular it has been driven by some major research projects, especially Keil's DFG

funded *Imaginatio Borealis* (1999-2008).<sup>3</sup> The focus of this work has tended to fall in line with a broader trend in German scholarship that, since reunification, has focused on identity and alterity in the context of the northern and eastern frontiers of modern Germany in the axis of the early and High Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> The most relevant recent work for our purpose from this school is Fraesdorff's dissertation *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*. Emblematic of this approach, Fraesdorff addresses the construction of the north among German authors on the northern frontier from 800-1200, focusing on the four title authors. Situating these authors within a broader interdisciplinary framework of the theological, linguistic and geographical reception of antique ideas about the north, Fraesdorff focuses primarily on the north as a concept developed within the concrete geopolitical context of the German frontier and the shifting mental maps that underlie them.<sup>5</sup> This focus on both the frontier regions and the politics of demarcation is characteristic of this group of scholars.<sup>6</sup>

There has likewise been some interest in the north in Anglophone scholarship, although it has tended to focus on the Carolingians. There have been a variety of articles, or smaller sections of monographs, on the exegetical construction of the Vikings as an instrument of God's wrath against his chosen people from the north. Although normally addressed as one aspect of a larger picture, the resonance of references to the north has been repeatedly emphasised in recent scholarship on the ninth century. Thus, for example, Coupland and Palmer both discuss how references to the north were part of a broader theology of God's wrath against his people. Through a single reference to the

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<sup>3</sup> '*Imaginatio Borealis*: Perzeption, Rezeption und Konstruktion des Nordens', Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, last updated October 4, 2010, <http://www.uni-kiel.de/borealis/frameset.htm>. Cf. also the online bibliography by Prof. Dr. Stephan M. Schöder, 'Der Norden als Konstruktion von der Antike bis heute', Universität zu Köln, last updated November 13, 2015, [http://skanfen.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/sites/Skandinavistik\\_Fennistik/Archiv/LV-WS15-16/vl\\_norden\\_ws15\\_16.html](http://skanfen.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/sites/Skandinavistik_Fennistik/Archiv/LV-WS15-16/vl_norden_ws15_16.html).

<sup>4</sup> Len Scales, 'Before and After *Nationes*: Accounting for Medieval Peoples in Twenty-First-Century Germany', *German History* 33, no. 4 (2015): 624-45.

<sup>5</sup> David Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), esp. 9-10, 45.

<sup>6</sup> Scales, 'Before', 633-4.

north, the political turbulence of their day could be drawn into an entire intertextual web of biblical and apocalyptic literature.<sup>7</sup> In the last five or so years a number of scholars have increasingly picked up upon some of the broader implications for our understanding of the intellectual history of the early Middle Ages. On a smaller scale Gabriele has pointed to the afterlife of this Carolingian conception in a diploma of Philip I from 1077, adapted to his struggle with the Normans.<sup>8</sup>

This picture has been complicated by a smaller section of literature interested in the perception of the north by northern peoples themselves, especially the Anglo-Saxons, in this period. This is the underlying project of Valtonen's monograph on *The North in the Old English Orosius* and serves as a minor theme in Scarfe Beckett.<sup>9</sup> More extensively, Rix has recently produced a monograph on the idea of the north in early medieval origin stories and has attempted to redress the largely negative interpretation of the north among most other Anglophone scholarship.<sup>10</sup> Although this Anglophone literature is less unified than the German scholarship, there are nevertheless certain trends. It is concentrated mostly on the early Middle Ages and tends to focus more on literary topoi and biblical exegesis as a way to think about the self-conception of central figures in the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon world.

Any modern discussion of east and west, at least in the Anglophone world, lies under the shadow of Said's *Orientalism*. Most medieval engagement with Orientalism has focused on what Said discusses as the 'Orientalizing' of the east, considering the ways in which medieval authors constructed the east in a manner akin to modern Orientalism and whether these can be considered

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<sup>7</sup> Simon Coupland, 'Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42, no. 4 (1991): 535-54; James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), ch 6, esp. 179-80.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Gabriele, 'Frankish Kingship, Political Exegesis and the Ghost of Charlemagne in the Diplomas of King Philip I of Francia', in *The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Latin Texts*, ed. William J. Purkins and Matthew Gabriele (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016), 27-30.

<sup>9</sup> Irmeli Valtonen, *The North in the Old English Orosius: A Geographical Narrative in Context* (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2008); Katharine Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Robert W. Rix, *The Barbarian North in the Medieval Imagination: Ethnicity, Legend, and Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

part of Said's structures of domination.<sup>11</sup> But Said likewise posits a transhistorical opposition of east and west, which mutually construct one another, going back to the ancient Greeks.<sup>12</sup> This kind of idea has often been taken for granted in the study of medieval ideas of Europe. Indeed, Said himself notes the interrelationship of Europe and the West in Hay's seminal *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*.<sup>13</sup> Although Fischer is something of an exception here, framing his work specifically around the relationship between late-antique ideas of east and west, and ideas of Europe, modern scholarship has tended to follow Hay in blurring the distinction. So, for example, in his recent habilitation, Oschema provides ample discussion of east and west throughout, but no concerted examination of the relationship between Europe and the west.<sup>14</sup> Insofar as I will be interacting with this latter aspect of *Orientalism*, my work is substantially influenced by the approach of Akbari in questioning and complicating the supposedly transhistorical realities of a geographical division between east and west, and considering instead its genealogical development through the Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup> Excellent though this work is, Akbari focuses particularly on vernacular traditions in the later Middle Ages, a tradition that will be usefully brought into closer contact within its prehistory in the early-twelfth century. Finally, a number of these threads are drawn together in Kochanek's habilitation, which interlaces the conception of the north with the development of ideas of Europe from antiquity to the Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 65-7; Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 15-6; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 19-20.

<sup>12</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 55-63.

<sup>13</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 7; Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968; 1st ed. 1957), esp. 50-1.

<sup>14</sup> Jürgen Fischer, *Oriens-Occidens-Europa: Begriff und Gedanke 'Europa' in der späten Antike und im frühen Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1957); Klaus Oschema, *Bilder von Europa im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Akbari, 'Due East', 19-20; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (New York, 2009), intro.

<sup>16</sup> Piotr Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus: Eine Auswertung der patristischen und mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2004).

In terms of dealing with all the cardinal directions together as a conceptual system, there have been very few attempts at a synthetic analysis. It has almost always been dealt with in terms of theological writing, and normally as a marginal aspect of a broader work. Although there has been some intermittent discussion, as in von den Brincken's *Fines terrae*, the only monograph-length study of the cardinal points generally is Maurmann's *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters*.<sup>17</sup> Maurmann focuses on the cosmological side of the cardinal points, considering them in the context of the winds and the relationship of microcosm and macrocosm. This is considered primarily within the context of the theological and liturgical writings of Hildegard of Bingen and Honorius Augustodunensis.<sup>18</sup> As a result of this somewhat narrow focus, it has mostly been used within the specialist literature on these authors. This links up with the scholarship on the winds in the Middle Ages, although this literature is not generally interested in the winds as cardinal points.<sup>19</sup> But the link between a cosmological understanding of the cardinal points and a historical one has not been deeply studied. Indeed, the main intersection between this scholarship and scholarship on medieval historiography has been in their mutual interest in the theological and exegetical understanding of the cardinal points.<sup>20</sup> And indeed, these approaches remain sufficiently disparate that various modern approaches have tended to reconstruct this material in interesting ways. For example, in a chapter of her recent book, Lapina provides an excellent discussion of the idea of east and west in accounts of the First Crusade, but the key scholarship used for theological ideas of east and west is Fischer.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Fines terrae: die Enden der Erde und die vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992), esp. ch. 1, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Barbara Maurmann, *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters: Hildegard von Bingen, Honorius Augustodunensis und andere Autoren* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976).

<sup>19</sup> See Barbara Obrist, 'Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology', *Speculum* 72, no. 1 (1997): 33-84; Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 37-44.

<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Lapina, *Warefare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 129, 173n39.

### *Contours of the Present Dissertation*

This study will look to cut across the aforementioned strands of scholarship by taking a step back from the ground-level perception of space in a particular geo-political and literary context, and instead approach the cardinal points as a conceptual system, linguistic and spatial. Even so, to address such a topic systematically would be impossible for a project of this size. As such, though the boundaries of the various chapters will differ to some extent, there are some guiding principles for the thesis overall. In the first place, I will principally be discussing authors' perception and use of this system rather than whatever realities may or may not underlie them. Secondly, since this project is fundamentally interested in the learned discourse of western Europe, I will be, with few exceptions, looking at only Latin writings, leaving Greek, Arabic and European vernacular traditions aside. Beyond this, there are two other boundaries for this project that warrant further discussion: genre and timeframe.

Given the nature of the material, this project is necessarily interdisciplinary. Although it ultimately focuses on history-writing and historical consciousness, to develop a holistic image of the meaning and use of this terminology it is essential to consider their use and perception within geographical and theological writings as well. But this issue of genre poses a particular problem for the history of thought, especially in the twelfth century, namely: the extent to which we can think about these fields as either discrete or internally coherent. There are two general approaches to addressing this problem. One seeks to find unity within a given field of study. This is especially the case for medieval historiography. Since the foundations of the study of medieval historiography as its own field of investigation, starting with Spörl in the 1930s, its boundaries as well as its internal contours have remained a serious issue. On the one hand, this led to a deeper assessment of contemporary ideas of historical genres, exemplified in Grundmann's still influential taxonomy, an

approach influentially taken up by his student von den Brincken.<sup>22</sup> That notion of historical genres has, however, been viewed with increasing skepticism since the 1990s.<sup>23</sup> More recently there has been a tendency to subsume these issues of genre within an account of authorial intentionality.<sup>24</sup> In the Anglophone world, there has been a renewed emphasis on the relationship between rhetoric and history writing. In particular, Kempshall has recently argued that rhetorical tradition offers categories through which we can construct a robust picture of a sophisticated historiographical discourse in the Middle Ages.<sup>25</sup> We can see one logical extension of this project in van Nuffelen's polemical attempts to sever the relationship between history and theology in favour of this rehabilitated medieval historiography.<sup>26</sup>

Another approach is to look for a broader unity of intellectual life within which to situate the various disciplines. A good example of this approach is the work of Sønnesyn, who has recently championed this approach for dealing with medieval historians, looking to unify their intellectual output around a particular set of ethical concerns. Drawing upon a number of strands of modern Catholic thought, especially exemplified in the work of Alasdair MacIntyre, Sønnesyn has argued through a variety of publications for a greater analysis of the religious unity of intellectual life in the

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<sup>22</sup> Herbert Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter: Gattungen – Epochen – Eigenart*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978); Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Dusseldorf: M. Triltsch, 1957). Cf. Deborah Maukopf Deliyannis, 'Introduction', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), 2-14; Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), 200-11; Roger D. Ray, 'Medieval Historiography through the Twelfth Century: Problems and Progress of Research', *Viator* 5 (1974): 35-42.

<sup>23</sup> Deliyannis, 'Introduction', 5-7.

<sup>24</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 110-24; Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 441-56; Justin Lake, 'Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography', *Historical Compass* 13, no. 3 (2015): 90-2.

<sup>25</sup> Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, ch. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Peter Van Nuffelen, *Orosius and the Rhetoric of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Orosius und seine "Sieben Geschichtsbücher gegen die Heiden": Geschichtstheologie oder Rhetorik? Kritische Anmerkungen zu einer Neuerscheinung', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 96, no. 1 (2014): 187-98; for a theological approach to medieval history writing cf. Peter Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse: Visions of the Past and Future', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 387-417.

Middle Ages.<sup>27</sup> This has seen a return to the French Catholic medievalists of the mid-century and the method of the *ressourcement* movement, in this case particularly the Jesuit cardinals of Vatican II, Daniélou and de Lubac.<sup>28</sup> While this highlights some important and timely criticisms of the way that particular medieval historiography has been handled by recent scholarship, there are certain pitfalls that present themselves. In particular, the theoretical framework that these philosophers and theologians lay out is one designed to diagnose and address what they take to be certain pathologies of modernity. While this is not by any means a critical fault, it nevertheless leads to a certain homogenisation of intellectual life and telescoping its historical development.<sup>29</sup>

Although this dissertation falls more in line with the second approach, we do not wish to presuppose that there is a unity to intellectual life or to any given intellectual endeavour. Indeed, the problem of unity is itself an emerging issue for the study of medieval historiography, as Lake highlights.<sup>30</sup> This is particularly evident in the increasing prominence of codicological research into medieval histories, and the corresponding emphasis on malleability, plurality and change within a given text.<sup>31</sup> These concerns, in the context of particular historical texts, provide some useful insight when brought back to the question of genres. We can soften our understanding of unity at the level of genre, as was done at the level of text, and instead think about the way that individual authors or

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<sup>27</sup> Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), ch 1; cf. Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, 'Eternity in Time, Unity in Particularity: The Theological Basis of Typological Interpretations in Twelfth-Century Historiography', in *La typologie biblique comme forme de pensée dans l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Marek Thue Kretschmer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 77-96 and Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, 'In vinea Sorech laborare: The Cultivation of Unity in Twelfth-Century Monastic Historiography', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 36 (2014): 167-87.

<sup>28</sup> Esp. Sønnesyn, 'Eternity in Time'.

<sup>29</sup> Although this is certainly not a problem only for this approach: compare the disagreement between Mégier and Goetz on Orderic Vitalis' idea of ages. Hans-Werner Goetz, *Gott und die Welt: religiöse Vorstellungen des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, vol. 1, bk. 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 232n341; Elisabeth Mégier, 'Jesus Christ, a Protagonist of Anglo-Norman History? History and Theology in Orderic Vitalis's *Historia ecclesiastica*', in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. Charles C. Rozier et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), 261n4.

<sup>30</sup> Lake, 'Current Approaches', 98.

<sup>31</sup> Lars Boje Mortensen, 'Changes of Style and Content as an Aspect of the Copying Process: A Recent Trend in the Study of Medieval Latin Historiography', in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe. Actes du premier Congrès européen d'Études Médiévales (Spoleto, 27-29 mai 1993)*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1995); see also Jay Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum* and Who Was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005): 179-204; Benjamin Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory* (York: York Medieval Press, 2015); Marek Thue Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History in the Middle Ages: The 'Historia romana' and the Manuscript Bamberg, Hist. 3* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

scribes were able to play within the field of possibilities that their subject allowed. As such, the notion of a ‘genre’ of the *Imago mundi* provides a useful way to approach the interrelationship of theology, geography and history.<sup>32</sup> In this type of compilation, early twelfth century authors moved freely between what they took to be a collection of related subjects to understand the world, in the sense of *mundus et saeculum*.<sup>33</sup> This collection of interests was extremely malleable, serving as education for Honorius Augustodunensis, civic eulogy for Guido of Pisa, and apocalyptic speculation for Lambert of Saint-Omer.<sup>34</sup> In this way, rather than approaching these genres as distinct and autonomous fields of study, we can instead think of them as constituent and interconnected elements in the study of world as a whole.

Temporally, we will be focusing primarily on only the first half of the twelfth century. The majority of research into intellectual culture in the twelfth century continues to follow Haskins’s periodisation in the model of the renaissance of the twelfth century. In this view, the object of study is the long twelfth century, from 1050-1250, although, as Noble notes, recent scholarship has been creeping backwards.<sup>35</sup> This idea of the twelfth century is a fundamentally forward-looking idea: ‘we think of the poets and scholars of the early twelfth century always as forerunners, never as fulfillers of an intellectual tradition.’<sup>36</sup> One result of this is that the twelfth century is very often read forwards into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the concerns of the later centuries used as context for our interpretation of the twelfth century.<sup>37</sup> As such, by severing the twelfth century in the

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<sup>32</sup> On *Imago mundi* see Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 115-6.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Marie-Dominique Chenu, ‘Theology and the New Awareness of History’, in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 187; Heb 9:26.

<sup>34</sup> Valerie V. I. Flint (ed., *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 57 (1982): 1-153) in Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, 13-18 [hereafter Hon., *Im. mun.*]; Jay Rubenstein, ‘Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade’, in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 69-95; Michele Campopiano, ‘Construction of the Text, Construction of the Past. Historical Knowledge, Classical Myth and Ideology in a Medieval *Comune* (Pisa, Eleventh to Twelfth Centuries)’, *Troianalexandria* 9 (2009): 63-84.

<sup>35</sup> Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 8-10; cf. Thomas F. X. Noble, ‘Introduction’, in *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and John Van Engen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 4-5.

<sup>36</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, ‘Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century “Renaissance”’, *Speculum* 78, no. 4 (2003): 1182.

<sup>37</sup> Eg. Camille Rouxpetel, *L'Occident au miroir de l'Orient chrétien: Cilicie, Syrie, Palestine et Égypte (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015), 48-53.

middle, we can reframe it along the lines that Jaeger suggests, not only as a beginning but also as the end of a set of traditions inherited from late antiquity and particularly the late Carolingian era. This has been a fruitful perspective in Jaeger's work on cathedral schools, but also has also been significantly highlighted in Gabriele's work on the memory of Charlemagne in the eleventh century.<sup>38</sup>

The other important reason for this focus is the attempt to demarcate a more obviously cohesive period. It is important to take into account the relatively significant, and infrequently highlighted, shift that occurs in the middle of the twelfth century. A variety of authors, working on a number of different fields, have observed that, sometime in and around the 1140-50s, something changed in the intellectual environment of western Europe. This point is often noted in the context of twelfth-century history writing: the nature of historical output changes to some extent from the mid-century. In the most obvious sense, the traditional narrative of twelfth-century historiography tends to culminate in the mid-century with figures like Otto of Freising.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, the second half of the century sees the emergence of new and influential precedents, such as Joachim of Fiore or Peter Comestor. It has therefore been suggested that from the second half the century the mode of history writing turns from synthetic narratives to more bare chronicling.<sup>40</sup> But the change is broader than this. In university circles, the first half of the century marked not only a period of immense expansion in the importance of proto-universities, but it was also the period that established many of the norms and the problem situation for the second half of the century.<sup>41</sup> The 1140s are also

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<sup>38</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>39</sup> Michael Staunton, 'Did the Purpose of History Change in England in the Twelfth Century?', in *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World: Manuscripts, Makers and Readers, c.1066-1250*, ed. Laura Cleaver and Andrea Worm (York: York Medieval Press, 2018), 7-9; Classen, 'Res Gestae'; Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1977), ch 3; Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), ch. 5-8.

<sup>40</sup> Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 438.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen C. Ferroulo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 279; Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994), ch. 2, 91; R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 2, *The Heroic Age* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

highlighted by Moore as the crucial moment for institutional concern about dissent.<sup>42</sup> All of this is not to say that a new overall periodisation is in order: after all, there is certainly more continuity between the first half of the century and the second than not. Nevertheless, there is enough change happening around the mid-century to warrant highlighting it as a point of division.

### *Methodology*

A central aspect of this subject is naturally the way that words developed meaning and the interpretability of their intertextual relationships. The major approach to these issues in the Anglo-American world has been broadly post-structuralist and semiotic, looking to relativise extra-textual elements to the text as such. These approaches have posed two major issues for the analysis of historical texts. On the one hand, the dissolving of context into text has the de-historicising effect of denying our ability to connect literature with its social and material construction.<sup>43</sup> But also, by severing epistemic access to the author and resolving textual relations wholly to an intertextual web, we lose the ability to address the text as more than a passive confluence of pre-existent literary codes.<sup>44</sup> As a means of sidestepping these issues, I will not be approaching the interpretation of texts through a structuralist framework, but instead through the notion of language games in the later philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein.

Wittgenstein's later philosophy, from the 1930s, marks a crucial development in Anglo-American philosophy of language away from logical systematisation and towards an understanding of language and meaning grounded in the ordinary activity of language users and linguistic

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<sup>42</sup> R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 23.

<sup>43</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3-9.

<sup>44</sup> Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), ch. 2, esp. 47-51.

communities.<sup>45</sup> Wittgenstein is not often used directly in historical research.<sup>46</sup> This is in part a result of his own aversion to theorisation, and the corresponding difficulty in interpreting even some very basic aspects of his thought.<sup>47</sup> As a result, Wittgenstein does not offer so much a system for the interpretation of texts but instead a set of principles for approaching the study of language. The following should not therefore be taken as an authoritative synthesis of Wittgensteinian thought, but as a discussion of how these principles have shaped my approach to the use of language.

In the *Philosophical Investigations* [hereafter *PI*], Wittgenstein offers another approach to thinking about the meaning of words and the construction of language through the notion of language-games. Like a game, language follows rules, but unlike a calculus, there is flexibility:

We can easily imagine people amusing themselves in a field by playing with a ball like this: starting various existing games, but playing several without finishing them, and in between throwing the ball aimlessly into the air, chasing one another with the ball, throwing it at one another for a joke, and so on. ... And is there not also the case where we play, and make up the rules as we go along? And even where we alter them – as we go along.<sup>48</sup>

These games do not spring out of the aether, but rest on the concrete situations in which people live their lives. As Wittgenstein explains, ‘the word “language-game” [*Sprachspiel*] is used here to emphasise the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or a form of life.’<sup>49</sup> This idea of ‘forms of life’ is one of the more obscure notions in the *PI*, but although it occurs only five times, it forms the lynchpin of many interpretations of Wittgenstein’s later philosophy. As a sort of

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<sup>45</sup> See generally David G. Stern, *Wittgenstein’s Philosophical Investigations: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Anthony Kenny, *Wittgenstein* (London: Allen Lane, 1973); Anat Biletzki and Anat Matar, ‘Ludwig Wittgenstein’, in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford University, 1997-), updated May 2, 2018, [plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/wittgenstein/](http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/wittgenstein/). On Wittgenstein himself see Ray Monk, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius* (London: Vintage, 1991).

<sup>46</sup> But see Sønnesyn, *William*, 15-19, who reads Wittgenstein largely in the context of Analytical Thomism, cf. Stephen Mulhall, *The Great Riddle: Wittgenstein and Nonsense, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), ch. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Stern, *Introduction*, 1-9, *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, P. M. S. Hacker and Joachim Schulte (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 83; cf. 81-5 [hereafter *PI*]. All Wittgenstein citations refer to the texts’ internal numbering.

<sup>49</sup> *PI*, 23.

Tractarian ‘whereof one cannot speak’, it serves to ground language-games in the activity of human activity or ‘background to the bustle of life’ that structures our concepts and judgements.<sup>50</sup>

But what relevance does this have to the study of literature? The most obvious inroad is the idea of ‘familial resemblance’ that emerges out of the discussion of language-games. In response to the suggestion that language-games form a system for the complete interpretation of language, Wittgenstein denies that there is a common core to language in the first place: ‘these phenomena have no one thing in common in virtue of which we use the same word’.<sup>51</sup> Instead, using the example of games, Wittgenstein explains his alternative method:

Consider, for example, the activities that we call “games”. I mean board-games, card-games, ball-games, athletic games, and so on. What is common to all of them? – Don’t say: “They *must* have something in common, or they would not be called ‘games’” – but *look and see* whether there is anything in common to all. – For if you look at them, you won’t see something that is common to *all*, but similarities, affinities, and a whole series of them at that. ... I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than “family resemblances”; for the various resemblances between members of a family – build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, and so on and so forth – overlap and criss-cross in the same way.<sup>52</sup>

This idea that the intelligibility of the words we use does not depend upon a given unity, but is instead constructed out of a potentially discordant network of connections, is essential to the way that we actually engage with language. Likewise to develop our understanding of the way that a term works, we need to ‘look and see’.

There is a broader idea of language at work here. Among the many analogies Wittgenstein uses, one of the most useful ones comes early in the *PI*. After explaining his first basic language-game and a few additions to it, Wittgenstein suggests that, if someone should say that it is incomplete in such a primitive state:

Ask yourself whether our own language is complete – whether it was so before the symbolism of chemistry and the notation of the infinitesimal calculus were

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<sup>50</sup> Stern, *Introduction*, 167; Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. C. K. Ogden (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1922), 7.

<sup>51</sup> *PI*, 65; cf. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus*, 6.

<sup>52</sup> *PI*, 66-7; cf. Stern, *Introduction*, chs. 1-2, esp. 10-11, 50-1, 54-5.

incorporated in to it; for these are, so to speak, suburbs of our language. ... Our language can be regarded as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, of houses with extensions from various periods, and all this surrounded by a multitude of new suburbs with straight and regular streets and uniform houses.<sup>53</sup>

So to study language is like studying an ancient city. To understand how people use its space, we cannot simply turn to a map, since maps, charts and signposts all presuppose a familiarity with their use.<sup>54</sup> So rather than seek a schematic understanding of the space as such, instead we need to engage with the manifold activities of the individuals using the space. And indeed, different people will move through a city in different ways, according to their different forms of life.

This sort of ‘looking and seeing’ is not a mere empiricist accumulation of examples. Instead we must approach the use of language in terms of the intersections of meaning between disparate uses and bring these into conversation with the backgrounds that inform them. As Wittgenstein says in the *Zettel*:

567. How could human behaviour be described? Surely only by sketching the actions of a variety of humans, as they are all mixed up together. What determines our judgement, our concepts and reactions, is not what *one* man is doing *now*, an individual action, but the whole hurly-burly of human actions, the background against which we see any action.

568. Seeing life as a weave, this pattern (pretence, say) is not always complete and is varied in a multiplicity of ways. But we, in our conceptual world, keep on seeing the same, recurring variations. That is how our concepts take it. For concepts are not for use on a single occasion.

569. And one pattern in the weave is interwoven with many others.<sup>55</sup>

This idea of interweaving is essential to the way that I will be engaging with the conceptual vocabulary of the cardinal points. To develop an account of their familial features we must consider the disparate uses across multiple fields, with a particular emphasis on the ‘overlap and criss-cross’ in the way that they are applied. This is similar to Funkenstein’s idea of ‘transplantation’, but

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<sup>53</sup> *PI*, 18.

<sup>54</sup> *PI*, 85; Kenny, *Wittgenstein*, 173.

<sup>55</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Zettel*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 567-9.

instead of ‘scientific’ methodologies being applied to new fields, we may instead think about how the cross-pollination of language between different contexts mutually implicates its use and meaning.<sup>56</sup> This approach furthermore embraces the discordant possibilities of language, allowing these features to be infinitely added, removed and rearranged.

With this general notion of language in place, I will look towards the way that this vocabulary is used to ‘spatialise history’.<sup>57</sup> By this I refer to the way that authors used the cardinal points to impute spatial features to their conception of history and the world through a conceptual and organisational schema. This can occur in a number of ways. When authors think about the *translatio imperii et studii* as either east-west or east-north-south-west they are imparting a spatial structure to their history and imputing historical and eschatological significance to regions of the world.<sup>58</sup> There is a similar effect when authors associate the north with the Antichrist.<sup>59</sup> Importantly, however, this is only a possible connection, or familial feature, of a given historical consciousness and, as such, the categories can equally be alternatively construed or even contested, as in the struggle over the legacy of the north among Norman historians.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, by charting the intersection of these concepts, within the nexus of historical thought, we can build a richer image of the way that medieval authors conceptualised and engaged with the world and its history.

### *Outline*

In the way described above, the thesis will build from an account of the various familial characteristics of the cardinal points towards the way in which they were used in history and the interweaving of these fields. It will then culminate in a synthetic discussion of the relevance of

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<sup>56</sup> Amos Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination: From the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 14-18.

<sup>57</sup> This is unrelated to the use in David N. Livingstone, ‘The Spaces of Knowledge: Contributions towards a Historical Geography of Science’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 (1995): 6.

<sup>58</sup> See *infra* ch. 4.

<sup>59</sup> Eg. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in Cantica canticorum* prol. (PL 172, 351) [hereafter Hon., *In Cant.*].

<sup>60</sup> Pohl, *Dudo*, ch. 4; *infra* ch. 4.

these categories to the authors of the first half of the twelfth century. This will be divided among four chapters that fall into two sections. The first section consists of two chapters devoted, respectively, to geographical and exegetical literature. This section will approach the development of these ideas diachronically and focus particularly on the idea of reception. They will consider the way in which authors of the twelfth century compiled, read and restructured both the texts and ideas from the Roman, late-antique and Carolingian world. In both cases, they will show how these authors walked a fine line between innovation and deference to these prior traditions. The first chapter will address the manner in which the oecumene was organised and divided by classical and medieval authors. In particular it will focus on the issues of three- and four-part divisions of the world to show how the geographical conception of the world was a live issue for authors of the twelfth century, driven in large part by the intersection of these incompatible systems. The second chapter will address the exegetical tropes around the cardinal points as historicising categories within salvation history. In particular, this chapter will look towards the reception of Carolingian exegesis to show how the use of the cardinal directions as temporal categories was falling out of favour among twelfth-century exegetes. This material will broadly contextualise the way in which authors of this period conceptualised the world and the categories through which they engaged with space in history.

The second section will build upon this material in both an exemplary and synthetic manner, focusing specifically on historical texts. It will provide a synchronic analysis of the function of the cardinal points within the historical consciousness of the early-twelfth century, addressing only particular directions as they are relevant to the broader theme. The third chapter will address the narrative function that space plays within individual historical narratives, focusing largely on the north. An analysis of three universal historians – Sigebert of Gembloux, Orderic Vitalis and Romuald of Salerno – in this chapter will address the narrative strategies through which these authors impute spatial categories to their histories and how this serves to shape some of the broader

themes in their works. The fourth chapter will address the contemporary relevance of the cardinal points, particularly the north and west, as loci of identity for the early-twelfth century. This will be addressed through three case studies: the memory of the First Crusade, the idea of *translatio*, and the etymology of *Normannus*. These studies will focus particularly on newly forming spatial identities and will serve to complicate the overly-simplistic approach to space that pervades the general scholarship on the period.

## Excursus 1 - Latin Vocabulary for the Cardinal Points and its Use

The Latin language presents an opportunity with which native English speakers may not be intuitively familiar. English has a fairly narrow and consistent vocabulary for the cardinal points: north, south, east and west. Although there are some Greek and Latin alternatives - more often than not used in their adjectival forms: oriental, occidental, boreal and meridional/austral – their use today is rare except in specific circumstances. Latin, however, provides a variety of roughly synonymous terms, in common usage together. Inasmuch as this provides Latin authors a greater variety in their language selection, it also poses an interpretive problem. How is the modern reader to understand the selection of a particular term in any given instance? Terminology varies not only among authors of the same period (let alone different ones), but even within the writings of an individual author. Likewise, the meaning of the terms can diverge not only from ours but also across the ancient and medieval world. Given variation, I will not attempt to provide a rigid or comprehensive discussion of the terminology for the cardinal points for the twelfth century, let alone the ancient and medieval world. Instead I will highlight some of the conventions that underlie the vocabulary available to Latin authors. I will cover some narrow trends regarding individual words as well as three broad trends regarding the variation of terminology for the cardinal points. Finally, this section will end by complicating the idea that we can discuss general trends with any rigidity through a series of case studies where particular authors have developed idiosyncratic meanings for certain words.

A variety of complications emerge immediately when addressing the basic Latin terminology for the cardinal points. There are two to three commonly used terms for each cardinal point, although, as any reader of Lucan is immediately aware, this number can expand dramatically.<sup>1</sup> Very briefly, the common terms for east are *oriens* and *ortus (solis)*, both based on the

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<sup>1</sup> Eg. Lucan, *Bellum civile* 4.48-120 [hereafter Lucan].

rising of the sun; likewise for west, *occidens*, *occasus (solis)* and *occiduus*. For the north there are two pairs of Latin and Greek roots: *aquilo* and *boreas* from the north-east wind, and *septentrio* and *arctos* from Ursa Major and Minor. Finally, for south, *auster* from the south wind and *meridies*, from the position of the midday sun in the northern hemisphere.<sup>2</sup> But this gives little indication of the contours of use for these terms. Rather, it is important to consider this terminology in the context of its use.

### *Narrow Trends*

There are two theoretical distinctions drawn by ancient and medieval authors within the use of this terminology: between parts of the sky and parts of the earth, and between winds and cardinal points. First, although the parts of the sky mirror the parts of the earth, they are nevertheless explicitly distinguished in a number of cases. An obvious case where this was discussed was the issue of whether the five zones or belts of the world were of the earth, as Cicero describes, or of the heavens, as in Virgil.<sup>3</sup> Although both are obviously referring to one and the same theory, the distinction is nevertheless highlighted by Macrobius: ‘I beg you not to think that the two founders of Roman eloquence, Virgil and Cicero, disagree in their views because the latter says that the belts *encircle the earth* and the former that the belts ... “hold the sky”’.<sup>4</sup> Isidore of Seville is less concerned, simply quoting Virgil to support the earth's division into five circles.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, this

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<sup>2</sup> On the cosmological significance of this terminology see Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *De re publica* 6.21; Virgil, *Georgicon* 1.233. ‘Cernis autem eandem terram quasi quibusdam redimitam et circumdatam cingulis’; ‘quinque tenent caelum zonae’.

<sup>4</sup> Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 2.5.7 (ed. J. Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983), 111; trans. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 201) [hereafter *Comm.*]. ‘ne quaeso aestimes duorum Romanae facundiae parentum Maronis et Tullii dissentire doctrinam, cum hic ipsis cingulis terram redimitam dicit, ille isdem ... adserat caelum teneri.’

<sup>5</sup> Isidore of Seville, *De rerum natura* 10 (trans. Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 128) [hereafter *Isi.*, *Etym.*].

remained a point of contention into the Middle Ages. William of Conches, for example, devotes an entire question to Virgil's division of the sky and how it may be assigned to the earth.<sup>6</sup>

This distinction has an interesting implication for the language of the cardinal points. As Macrobius explains, although two zones are inhabitable we inhabit only the northern one and so:

Of the four cardinal points in our region, the east, west, and north are referred to by their proper names because we know about them from their beginnings ... But the fourth cardinal point received another name, not being known as *australis*, 'southern,' but rather as *meridies*, 'midday,' for two reasons: first, because only that region is properly called southern which originates in the other extremity, lying opposite the north pole; second, the region where the south wind is first felt by the inhabitants of our quarter is the *mid*-part of the earth on which the light of *day* falls; hence the name medidies, and then by the substitution of a letter *meridies*.<sup>7</sup>

Although the influence of this terminological distinction is difficult to gauge, it certainly finds its way into medieval texts. In his *Imago mundi*, Honorius Augustodunensis provides separate entries 'On the climates', which is immediately glossed as 'regions of the sky', and 'On the regions'.<sup>8</sup> In the former, Honorius follows Bede's description of the earth (*plagae mundi*), but describes the four regions of the sky – *orientalis*, *australis*, *occidentalis* and *septentrionalis* – in terms of sunrise and sunset at the winter or summer solstice.<sup>9</sup> Whereas in the latter section, Honorius gives a standard description of the terminology of the cardinal points: '*Oriens* is named from rising of the sun, *occidens* from its setting. *Meridies* is named as if *medidies*. *Septentrio* is named from seven stars.'<sup>10</sup>

Just as the distinction between the heavens and earth is not consistently observed, neither is the corresponding distinction between *meridies* and *auster*. While Isidore distinguishes the parts of

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<sup>6</sup> William of Conches, *Dragmaticon* 6.3.2-3 (CCCM 152, 188; trans. Italo Ronca and Matthew Curr (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 124).

<sup>7</sup> Macrobius, *Comm.* 2.5.18-19. (Willis, 112-13; Stahl, 203). 'denique de quattuor habitationis nostrae cardinibus oriens occidens et septentrio suis vocabulis nuncupantur, quia ab ipsis exordiis suis sciuntur a nobis; ... quarto vero nostrae habitationis cardini causa haec alterum nomen dedit, ut meridies non australis vocaretur, quia et ille est proprie australis qui de altera extremitate procedens adversus septentrionali est, et hunc meridiem iure vocari facit locus de quo incipit nobis; nam quia sentiri incipit a medio terrae in qua est usus diei, ideo tamquam quidam medidies una mutata littera meridies nuncupatus est.'

<sup>8</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.91-2 (Flint, 81). 'De Clymatibus'; 'Climata, id est plagae celi'; 'De plagis'.

<sup>9</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.91 (Flint, 81); Bede, *De natura rerum* 10 (CCSL 123A, 200-1; trans. Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 79).

<sup>10</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.92 (Flint, 81); cf. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 13.1.3-6 (trans. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 271) [hereafter *Isi.*, *Etym.*]. 'Oriens ab ortu solis, Occidens ab occasu eius dicitur. Meridies quasi medidies vocatur. Septentrio autem a .vii. stellis appellatur.'

the sky and earth, he uses *meridies* for both.<sup>11</sup> This variation does not just affect the south, since Isidore also uses *aquilo* sometimes to describe the northern zone, a trend already identified by Servius: ‘the first [zone is] *septentrionalis*, or, as some want, *aquilonius*’.<sup>12</sup> So while Honorius was probably influenced by Macrobius, the extent of this influence in geographical texts is unclear. Isidore is mostly consistent in his use of *meridies*, with *auster* being used only four times through book fourteen of the *Etymologies*.<sup>13</sup> Honorius also prefers *meridies*, although not so consistently as Isidore.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, Hugh of Saint Victor prefers *auster* through the first half of his *Descriptio mappae mundi*.<sup>15</sup> So, although inconsistent, there is a preference for *meridies* and *septentrio* in geographical descriptions.<sup>16</sup>

A second important distinction is between the winds and the cardinal points. Although the winds are not our subject here, it is important to distinguish their use from the language of the cardinal points. Most cosmological, geographical and encyclopaedic texts make a point of enumerating a list of the winds and many distinguish this list from a separate list of the cardinal points. This kind of distinction is already evident in antique material, as when Pliny suggests that while the ancients only had four winds, for the four parts of the world, they now have eight, with two winds for each part of the sky.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the four parts of the world/sky: *oriens*, *meridies*, *occasus*

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<sup>11</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 3.42.1-3, 13.1.3-6. (Barney et al., 101, 271).

<sup>12</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 3.44.4 (Barney et al., 101); Servius, *In Virgilio Georgica* 1.233. ‘primus septentrionalis, vel, ut quidam voluit, aquilonius.’

<sup>13</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.12, 14.6.14-15, 14.7.5 (Barney et al., 286, 295, 297).

<sup>14</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.7-35 (Flint, 52-66).

<sup>15</sup> Hugh of Saint Victor, *Descriptio mappae mundi* 1-18 (ed. Patrick Gautier Dalché (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988), 134-51) [hereafter HoSV, *Desc.*].

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* 1.2.9-104 (trans. A. T. Fear (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 37-49) [hereafter Orosius]; Julius Honorius, *Cosmographia*, 39-51 (ed. Alexander Reise, *Geographi latini minores* (Helbronn, 1878), 46-55) [hereafter Jul. Hon., *Cosm.*]; Dicuil, *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*, 1-5 (ed. Gustavo Parthey (Berlin, 1870), 5-20) [hereafter Dicuil]; Guido of Pisa, *Geographica*, 123 (ed. Joseph Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990), 140) [hereafter Guido, *Geo.*]; Lambert of Saint-Omer, *Liber floridus*, 21r, 50r-v, 54v, 139r [hereafter Lamb., *Lib. flor.*]. (All citations of Lambert are to the autograph manuscript (Ghent, University Library, MS 92) with reference also to Albert Derolez, *Lamberti Audomarensis Canonici Liber Floridus: Codex authographus 92 bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis. Auspiciis eiusdem universitatis in commemorationem diei natalis* (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1968).)

<sup>17</sup> Pliny The Elder, *Naturalis historia* 2.46.119 [hereafter Pliny, *Nat. hist.*]. ‘quattuor (ventos) ... per totidem mundi partes ... bini in quattuor caeli partibus’.

and *septentrio*, are distinguished from the four cardinal winds: *Subsolanus*, *Auster*, *Favonius* and *Septentrio*.<sup>18</sup> This sort of distinction is clearly delineated and passed on to the Middle Ages in the encyclopaedic sources of the seventh to eighth centuries. In Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *De natura rerum* and Bede's *De natura rerum* these categories are clearly distinguished, with separate sections enumerating the four parts of the world (and sometimes sky) and the names of the winds.<sup>19</sup> We likewise find this in the twelfth century. Hugh begins his *Descriptio* with an exposition of the winds, likely derived from Isidore's *Etymologies*, which distinguishes *Subsolans* from *ortus solis*, *Auster* from *meridies*, *Zephirus* from *occidens* and leaving the double signification of *Septentrio* self-evident.<sup>20</sup> Honorius, on the other hand, provides separate chapters for the wind rose as for the cardinal points, both of heaven and earth, and does not describe the cardinal winds in terms of the cardinal points, but instead their climatic qualities.<sup>21</sup>

The use of the winds in actual geographical description is not very common, although the equivocal vocabulary can make such a determination difficult. In particular, *aquilo* and *boreas* both create difficulties since they can refer either to north or north-east. Two cases will adequately highlight these issues. In the first case, although Orosius uses only a subset of the four cardinal points for African and Asian geography, his European geography employs a more specific vocabulary. In one of the most elaborate cases, Macedonia is described as having 'the Aegean sea to the east; Thrace to the north-east; Euboea and the Macedonian Gulf to the south-east; Acaea to the south; to its west are the Acroceraunian mountains ...; to its west is Dalmatia; to its north-west, Dardania; to its north, Moesia.'<sup>22</sup> However, the task of interpretation is more difficult when *aquilo*

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<sup>18</sup> Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 2.46.119.

<sup>19</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 3.42.1-3, 13.1.3-6, 13.11.2-14 (Barney et al., 101, 271, 275); Isidore, *De natura rerum* 9, 37 (Kendall and Wallis, 127-8, 163-5); Bede, *De natura rerum* 10, 27 (CCSL 123A, 200-1, 218-9; Kendall and Wallis, 79, 90-1).

<sup>20</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 1 (Gautier Dalché, 134).

<sup>21</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.60 (Flint, 73).

<sup>22</sup> Orosius, 1.2.57 (Fear, 42-3). 'Macedonia habet ab oriente Aegaeum mare, a borea Thraciam, ab euro Euboeam et Macedonicum sinum, a meridie Achaïam, a fauonio montes Acrocerauniae ... ab occasu Dalmatiam, a circio Dardaniam, a septentrione Moesiam.'

or *boreas* is not set alongside *septentrio*. For example, Fear chooses to translate *boreas* as simply ‘north’ in the description of Britain’s northern extension, but as ‘north-east’ when describing Ireland’s extension *ab Africo in boream*.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, even though *aquilo* is consistently translated as ‘north-east’ in book one, its two occurrences in the history are translated (correctly) as ‘north’.<sup>24</sup>

A trickier case is that of Hugh of Saint Victor. His vocabulary is reasonably consistent in the chapters which are not wholly excerpted (1-23). He uses *oriens*, *occidens* and *auster* for east, west and south, with only once case each of *africus* and *meridianus*.<sup>25</sup> For north, Hugh prefers *septentrio*, but there are also three instance of *aquilo*. The use of *aquilo* is ambiguous and not a product of his sources.<sup>26</sup> The first two may simply contrast with *auster*, but they also point to a plausibly north-eastern trajectory. They all also refer to the north-eastern region of the world, surrounded by the Caucasus Mountains, or its immediate vicinity, though *aquilo* it is not used consistently here.<sup>27</sup> For the European geography (19-23), there is an increased used of the winds as intermediate directions. For example, when describing the two northern trajectories from the Alps: ‘one part extends between the Alpes, from the south (*auster*) into the north (*septentrio*) and the Adriatic and again, from the south (*auster*) to the north-east (*boreas*), from the Tyrrhenian Sea and Sicily up to the mouth of the river Danube.’<sup>28</sup> So even when authors use the winds for directions, they tend to be subsumed within a broader vocabulary driven by the cardinal points. But the limiting factor in this case may be simply the specificity of the geography as much as any particular preference for a certain vocabulary. With the advent of the compass and early developments towards portolan charts from the late-twelfth century, there is a corresponding increase in the use of a wind rose for

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<sup>23</sup> Orosius, 1.2.76, 80 (Fear, 45).

<sup>24</sup> Orosius, 5.24.14, 7.23.5 (Fear, 259, 359).

<sup>25</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 3, 18 (Gautier Dalché, 136, 151).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Gautier Dalché on HoSV, *Desc.* 7, l.168, l.171; 12, l.285 (Gautier Dalché, 138-9, 143).

<sup>27</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 7, 12 (Gautier Dalché, 138-9, 143-5).

<sup>28</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 19 (Gautier Dalché, 151). ‘Vna pars inter Alpes ab austro in septentrione et mare Adriaticum tenditur, et item ab austro ad boream a Tyrreno mari uel Siculo usque ad ostia Danubii fluminis.’

orientation, rather than merely the cardinal points.<sup>29</sup> But even still, there is a blending of the terminology with the importation of *oriens* and *occidens* into the compass rose.<sup>30</sup> As such, there is not a hard and fast distinction between the two sorts of terminology.

While we have identified two general trends in the selection of vocabulary within geographical and cosmological writing, the scope of these trends needs to be carefully qualified. It is important to remember that ‘geography’, if it can even be so called in the Middle Ages, was an extremely fuzzy category emerging in a variety of different literary contexts and frequently indistinct from those histories that include geographical descriptions.<sup>31</sup> Although, as with Orosius, these authors had some cognisance of the distinction between ‘geographical’ and ‘historical’ writing at the level of vocabulary, this should not be understood as a hard and fast division of disciplines in a modern sense, but rather as a distinction of subjects that cohered according to a general familial resemblance. Naturally enough, different styles of writing, and therefore different vocabulary, were suitable for different subject matters.<sup>32</sup> Likewise some variations in vocabulary are simply a result of variation between different periods and even simply between different authors.<sup>33</sup>

### *Broad Trends*

There is more to vocabulary selection, however, than the sort of theoretical distinctions we have seen in geographical and cosmological texts. The case of historical texts is more complicated. Although there has been some productive research on the use of individual terms, as with Fraesdorff’s discussion of the distinction between different terms for the north (especially in Adam

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<sup>29</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine et portulan au XIIIe siècle: Le Liber de Existencia Riverierarum et Forma Maris Nostris Mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1995), 69-76; Christiane Deluz, ‘Une image du monde: La géographie dans l’Occident médiéval (Ve-XVe siècle)’, in *La terre: Connaissance, représentations, mesure au Moyen Âge*, ed. Patrick Gautier Dalché (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 114.

<sup>30</sup> Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine*, 74-5.

<sup>31</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Le renouvellement de la perception et de la représentation de l’espace au XIIe siècle’, in *L’espace géographique au Moyen Âge* (Florence: SISMEL, 2013), 294-5.

<sup>32</sup> Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 297-305.

<sup>33</sup> Eg. Jerome, *Tractatus lix in psalmos 106.3* (CCSL 78, 196); cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 39-40.

of Bremen), there is a broader issue that has been less clearly addressed.<sup>34</sup> Fraesdorff identifies a change in the terminological context from the turn of the eleventh century and explains it in terms of an increasing familiarity with those regions since the Carolingian era.<sup>35</sup> However, there is a broader context that is left undiscussed here. Alongside this specific proliferation of terminology for the north, from the late-eleventh century, there is also a proliferation of directional terminology generally in certain histories. Indeed, Fraesdorff notes the fact that while at times we find a negative *aquilo* and a neutral *septentrio*, both are still used as neutral geographical notation.<sup>36</sup> Indeed there is an extent to which Adam simply varies his terminology. This extends beyond the north, as he likewise uses *oriens* and *ortus (solis)* for east; *occidens* and *occasus (solis)* for west; and *meridies* and *auster* for south.<sup>37</sup> This opens up an interesting question about the context of vocabulary selection for these authors. There are three trends among historians in the early-twelfth century which, while not exhaustive, should provide a good indication of the sort of variation that one might encounter.

The classical rhetorical tradition, within which classical and medieval historiography fell, prescribes various principles for style and for choice of vocabulary.<sup>38</sup> The skilful orator employs a style of language appropriate to the subject matter and audience.<sup>39</sup> The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* influentially categorises the possibilities of style into three styles (*genera dicendi*) – grand (*grave*), middle (*medium*) and simple (*tenue*) – which should be taken alongside the patristic *sermo humilis*.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 37-40, 144-53.

<sup>35</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 130-143.

<sup>36</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 147n180, 149n192-5; cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* 1.5, 4.4, 36 (ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SS rer. Germ. 2 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1917), 7, 232, 272) [hereafter Adam, *Hist.*].

<sup>37</sup> Eg. Adam, *Hist.* **Oriens**: 1.1, 2.19, 4.1 (Schmeidler, 4, 75, 230); **Ortus**: 1.5, 4.5, 10 (Schmeidler, 7, 233, 239); **Occidens**: 2.58, 4.5, 10 (Schmeidler, 118, 233, 238); **Occasus**: 1.5, 2.22, 4.10 (Schmeidler, 7, 81, 238); **Meridies**: 1.5, 2.17, 4.5 (Schmeidler, 7, 72, 233); **Auster**: 1.10, 2.19, 4.13 (Schmeidler, 10, 75, 241).

<sup>38</sup> Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 295-7.

<sup>39</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 21.71; Pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.2.3 (ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 232-3) [hereafter Ps.-Cic., *Rh.*].

<sup>40</sup> Terence O. Tunberg, 'Prose Styles and *Cursus*', in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1996), 111-4; Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 297ff.; Ps.-Cic., *Rh.* 4.8.11 (Caplan, 252-3); cf. Cicero, *De oratore* 3.45.176-7.

But this is only implicitly linked to the treatment of vocabulary. Cicero establishes the standard explicit discussion of vocabulary in his *De oratore*, explaining the threefold division of words into proper, metaphorical and newly coined. However, Cicero goes on to discuss subsequently the three qualities of a word as usual, metaphorical and new, and their use as verbal ornamentation. The subsequent discussion of unusual and antique words is assimilated with the discussion of proper terms in Quintilian and Martianus Capella.<sup>41</sup> There is, however, a more general discussion of vocabulary, which the *Rhetorica* locates within a discussion of taste. The *Rhetorica* subsumes Cicero's discussion about the purity (*purus*) and clarity (*dilucidus*) of Latin into this category of taste, along with his initial discussion of proper terminology.<sup>42</sup> Both Martianus Capella and Quintilian address these wholly in terms of grammar, while the *Rhetorica* only associates grammar with purity (*latinitas*) not clarity (*explanatio*).<sup>43</sup> The *Rhetorica*'s discussion of clarity, therefore, will be a useful place to locate the first two trends. It describes clarity (*explanatio*) as that which makes language plain (*apertus*) and intelligible (*dilucidus*), and it is achieved through the use of current (*usitatus*) and proper (*proprius*) terms.<sup>44</sup> We can see both of these impulses at work in the context of directional terminology.

In the first case, there are authors who exhibit a 'conservative' reliance on a simple and consistent set of terms for the cardinal points. A prime example of this trend is the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux. Although immensely well read, Sigebert uses a narrow and consistent vocabulary for the cardinal points throughout his chronicle. Indeed, besides using both *meridies* and *auster* for south, Sigebert restricts himself to *oriens*, *occidens* and *aquilo* along with their adjectival forms for the entirety of his chronicle. His vocabulary conspicuously mirrors the Vulgate, which uses an equally unadorned terminology for the cardinal points, with only *oriens*, *occidens* and

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<sup>41</sup> Cicero, *De oratore* 3.38.152ff.; Quintilian, 8.3.24; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 5.509ff [hereafter Mart. Cap.].

<sup>42</sup> Ps.-Cic., *Rh.* 4.12.17 (Caplan, 268-71); cf. Cicero, *De oratore* 1.144, 3.37ff.

<sup>43</sup> Mart. Cap., 5.508; Quintilian, 8.1.2; Ps.-Cic., *Rh.* 4.12.17 (Caplan, 268-71).

<sup>44</sup> Ps.-Cic., *Rh.* 4.12.17 (Caplan, 268-71).

*aquilo* in the vast majority of cases. It uses *septentrio* just over a dozen times along with *ortus* or *occasus* a handful of times.<sup>45</sup> But as with Sigebert, the Vulgate also uses *meridies* and *auster* with almost identical frequency. Thus, it may be intentionally in keeping with this biblical lexicon that Sigebert varies his southern terminology alone. Finally, this variability of the south contrasts with the consistency of the northern vocabulary, which highlights this specific theme of chaos arising from the north that Sigebert introduced at the beginning of the *Chronicle*.<sup>46</sup>

From at least the early-twelfth century a different trend emerges in the use of proper terminology, evident in the changing vocabulary of the north, although we can already see this developing in eleventh-century annalistic sources.<sup>47</sup> This is evident, for example, in the change in terminology with Sigebert's continuers. Thus already in the first continuation of the *Chronicle* to 1136 by Anselm of Gembloux there is a relaxation of terminological consistency, along with, as Chazan notes, a loss of ideological clarity.<sup>48</sup> *Septentrio* is likewise used by both the *Auctarium Aquicinense* and Robert of Torigni.<sup>49</sup> However, a more striking example of the shift in vocabulary is seen in the *Chronicle* of Romuald of Salerno. With two exceptions, both in the very early sections of the *Chronicle* and drawn from Bede and Jerome respectively, the *Chronicle* uses *aquilo* consistently up to 990.<sup>50</sup> From 990 onwards *septentrio* is used in every instance, save one description of the sky turning red as fire 'from the northern (*septentrio*) region towards the north

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<sup>45</sup> Eg. Ex 38:11, Ps 67:5, 102:12, Lk 12:54, 1 Mc 12:37.

<sup>46</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, prol. (MGH SS 6, 302) [hereafter Sig., *Chron.*]; cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 37-44.

<sup>47</sup> Eg. *Annales Augustani*, 1042 (MGH SS 3, 126); *Hermani Augiensis Chronicon*, 1042, 1051 (MGH SS 5, 124, 130); *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, 1020 (ed. Martina Giese (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004), 558); cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 134-143.

<sup>48</sup> Anselm of Gembloux, *Continuatio Sigeberti*, 1117 (MGH SS 6, 376-7); Mireille Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle: De Sigebert de Gambloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XIIe-XIVe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 316-9.

<sup>49</sup> *Auctarium Aquicinense*, 1092 (MGH SS 6, 394); Avranches, BM 159, 128v-129r.

<sup>50</sup> Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, 9, 21, 71, 91, 100, 138 [hereafter Romuald]. We follow Garufi's edition (*Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2nd series, vol. 7.1, Città di Castello (1909-1935)) as it is the only complete edition. On the problems with this edition see Carl Erdmann's review in *Neues Archiv* 48 (1930), 510-12. cf. Jerome, *In Hieremiam* 1.1 (CCSL 74, 6) and Bede, *De temporum ratione* 66 (CCSL 123B, 463-535; trans. Faith Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 157-237).

(*arctos*)'.<sup>51</sup> What is more, this change in vocabulary corresponds to the 'Troian section' of the *Chronicle*, from the threshold of the eleventh century to roughly 1125, which, as Matthews noted, is significantly more careful about its chronology than the preceding or subsequent section.<sup>52</sup> In both cases *septentrio* is beginning to be used specifically to refer to heavenly signs, and is therefore plausibly understood as a turn towards proper terminology.

But there is another element to vocabulary selection that has received little discussion, and that is aesthetics. This is surprising, given that the majority of the discussion about terminology in the common rhetorical handbooks revolves specifically around its aesthetic purpose. One of the fundamental principles of ancient and medieval aesthetics was *varietas*.<sup>53</sup> The *Rhetorica* introduces its discussion of rhetorical ornamentation with a definition of *dignitas*: '*Dignitas* is that which renders speech ornate, distinguishing it with *varietas*.'<sup>54</sup> Although *varietas* is closely related to *dignitas* in the *Rhetorica*, it is also influentially associated with mere *diversitas* by Augustine. He interprets the many colours of the Queen's dress (Ps 44:10) as the variety of languages that express the *sacramenta doctrinae*: 'we understand *varietas* from the *diversitas* of languages'.<sup>55</sup> The aesthetic aspect of *varietas*, and indeed the importance of variation for variation's sake as Augustine describes, remained a key aspect of aesthetic experience in the twelfth century. Otto of Freising cites Psalm 44 in justification of the proliferation of religious orders in the twelfth century.<sup>56</sup> But this is best expressed in Bernard of Clairvaux's famous invective against the excessive

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<sup>51</sup> Romuald, 208, cf. 170, 205, 251. 'a septemtrionali parte usque ad arcton'

<sup>52</sup> D. J. A. Matthews, 'The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 250-2.

<sup>53</sup> See generally Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), ch. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Ps.-Cic., *Rh.* 4.13.18, (Caplan, 274; trans. mine) cf. 4.2.3, 4.11.16, 4.56.69; cf. Quintilian, 8.3.24; Carruthers, *Beauty*, 137-8. 'Dignitas est quae reddit ornatam orationem varietate distinguens.'

<sup>55</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 44.24 (CCSL 38, 512); Carruthers, *Beauty*, 156. 'uarietatem intelleximus de diuersitate linguarum'.

<sup>56</sup> Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus* 7.35 (ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS rer. Germ. 45 (Hannover, 1912), 371; trans. Charles C. Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 447) [hereafter Otto, *Chron.*].

ornamentation of Cluny: ‘so multiple, and so marvellous a variety of diverse forms appears everywhere, that one would rather read in the marble than in the codices.’<sup>57</sup> Indeed, as Morrison suggests, variety is already an important compositional principle for narrative construction (or lack thereof) in history writing.<sup>58</sup>

A useful testing ground for this idea is the variation of terms for west, since unlike with the north, there is no difference of terminology with which to grapple. In most cases there are simply four derivatives of *occido*: *occidens*, *occidentalis*, *occasus*, and *occiduus*. This variation is particularly evident in Orderic Vitalis. In the beginning of book nine, for example, Orderic refers to the congregation of the crusading army ‘from many peoples of the western (*occidentalium*) [regions]’.<sup>59</sup> Just a few lines later he reiterates the point, emphasising the centrality of the holy sepulchre that enticed the ‘western (*occiduos*) faithful’.<sup>60</sup> We can compare this sort of linguistic variation to Bede’s spatial descriptors for the Saxons. Bede normally *occidentalis* to refer to the West Saxons, however, when introducing the three groups that came from Old Saxony, he refers to them as the ‘*Occidui Saxones*’. One reason for this shift of terminology is his reference to Wessex (*provincia Occidentalium Saxonum*) just a few lines earlier.<sup>61</sup> In both cases the change in terminology is not important for clarity, both Orderic and Bede are referring to the same thing in each case. Rather these are better explained by an aesthetic interest in varying the terminology. This is not entirely consistent. Orderic, for example, uses the same term twice in quick succession for the

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<sup>57</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia*, 12.29 (ed. Jean Leclercq, *Bernardi Opera*, vol. 3 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), 106). I have adapted Carruthers’s translation (*Beauty*, 148). ‘Tam multa denique, tam que mira diversarum formarum apparet ubique varietas, ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus, quam in codicibus’.

<sup>58</sup> Karl F. Morrison, *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 93-102.

<sup>59</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* 9.1 (ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-80), 5:4; trans. mine) [hereafter OV]. Although this expresses the same point as Baudri, the wording is entirely Orderic’s, cf. Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana* prol. (ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 3) [hereafter Baudri, *Hist.*]. ‘a multis occidentalium populis [partum]’.

<sup>60</sup> OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4; trans. mine). ‘occiduos fideles’.

<sup>61</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.15 (ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 50-1).

western (*occidentalis*) knights recruited by Bohemond.<sup>62</sup> But this also may have a rhetorical justification, given that the repetition of a word can be considered both a virtue and a vice.<sup>63</sup>

This sort of variation in terminology is evident for other terms as well. An extensive example is Bede's shifting terminology of the north in his description of Britain and Ireland. He describes how Britain lies between *septentrio* and *occidens*, extending 800 miles to the north (*boreas*). Days and nights vary greatly by season here since, under the north (*septentrio*) pole, the summer sun passes through the north (*boreas*). Besides Britain, Ireland is the next largest island, on the north (*septentrio*) shore of which the Picts landed. It is shorter than Britain to the north (*aquilo*) but extends further south, almost level with northern (*septentrionalis*) Spain.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Orderic describes how Antenor settled on the shore of the northern (*boreas*) ocean, from whom the Normans (*aquilonaes homini*) descend.<sup>65</sup> Variation of terminology, therefore, must be considered not only in terms of meaning, but also in terms of an aesthetics.

### *The Complication of Individual Authors*

The proliferation of terminology also allows for the increasing specification of this vocabulary. This can happen on a broader social level, as with the distinction between *aquilo* and *septentrio*. Likewise, there is the sort of theoretical distinction, as between *auster* and *meridies*, which is discussed but not widely observed. But we can also think about the way that individual authors understand the meaning of their own vocabulary. And indeed, there are certain cases where authors have ostensibly individual preferences or find meanings for terms that are not broadly attested among their contemporaries. These cases show how linguistic norms must be grounded in, and can vary across, their particular uses in particular texts. I will discuss two examples of this phenomenon

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<sup>62</sup> OV, 8.20 (Chibnall, 4:265).

<sup>63</sup> Ps.-Cic., *Rh.* 4.13.18, 4.14.20-1 (Caplan, 272-3, 278-81).

<sup>64</sup> Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.1 (Colegrave and Mynors, 14-19).

<sup>65</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-5).

as a means of further complicating the discussion of linguistic conventions. First, Henry of Huntingdon's unusual preference for *boreas* and second, Orderic Vitalis's unusual understanding of *eous*.

The use of terminology in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* evinces not only a respectful deference to his *auctores*, notably Bede, but also a self-consciousness about directional terminology. Sticking to the terminology of the north, we find each of *aquilo*, *septentrio* and *boreas*, but they are not evenly spread through the history. In all but one case, references to *aquilo* are drawn directly from Bede.<sup>66</sup> The one exception is Henry's description of the four highways of Britain. Each road is described in terms of its direction of travel, with the first two running east (*oriens*) to west (*occidens*) and the second running south (*auster*) to north (*aquilo*). The second two run across these from the southeast (*euroauster*) to northern west (*zephyrus septentrionalis*) and from southern west (*zephyrus australis*) to northern east (*eurus septentrionalis*).<sup>67</sup> The story is similar for *septentrio*. Beyond the first book there are six references all drawn from either Bede or the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>68</sup> So, although it is strange that *aquilo* is used less than *septentrio*, Henry primarily follows his sources for these terms.

What is more peculiar about Henry's vocabulary, however, is his use of *boreas*. Beyond book four, the period covered by Bede, the use of *septentrio* and *aquilo* all but ceases and *boreas*, only used three times to this point, all but takes over.<sup>69</sup> There are eight further references to *boreas*, in each case original to Henry.<sup>70</sup> This preference for *boreas* is enigmatic, as while the term is used widely from the late-eleventh century, it is rarely such a favoured term. The context is little assistance. Six of these are in reference to the north of England, or at least England north of the

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<sup>66</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* 1.11, 47, 3.17, 24, 41, 4.11 (ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 28-9, 76-7, 164-5, 172-3, 198-9, 230-1) [hereafter HH].

<sup>67</sup> HH, 1.7 (Greenway, 22-3).

<sup>68</sup> HH, 2.23, 3.2, 35-6, 7.17 (Greenway, 106-7, 140-1, 188-9, 442-3).

<sup>69</sup> HH, 1.6, 21, 2.1 (Greenway, 20-1, 42-3, 80-1).

<sup>70</sup> HH, 5.prol, 8, 6.7, 18, 7.6, 10.7, 25 (Greenway, 272-5, 288-9, 348-9, 368-9, 424-5, 712-13, 750-1).

Thames, which could perhaps be construed as a reference to Bede's description of Britain's extension to the north (*boreas*).<sup>71</sup> But then it is also used for the northern gate of both Lincoln and Nicaea, which in the latter case is a strange interpolation of directions for the undifferentiated gates of Nicaea in the *Gesta Francorum* account.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps this is a quirk of Henry's education or a display of his knowledge of more unusual vocabulary, but all we can say for certain is that it is neither preceded in his sources, nor evident in the writing of his contemporaries.

Orderic Vitalis, on the other hand, is unusual for the breadth and variation of his vocabulary. In particular, beyond the standard terms for east, he makes relatively frequent use of the highly uncommon *eous*. We find *eous* a total of twelve times and what is more, it consistently refers to the Holy Land. The linguistic usage is quite consistent throughout, it is always a plural adjective modifying *pars*.<sup>73</sup> For example, Abbot Thierry's departure from the Holy Land is expressed as *Eois partibus relictis* and the First Crusade is described as 'one army assembled against the *ethnicos in Eoas partes*.'<sup>74</sup> Although *eous* is not the only term used to refer to the Holy Land, since *oriens* is also used on a number of occasions, it is certainly his preferred term.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, at the end of book nine, it is used as something of a byword for the Crusade, not only summarising the book as 'a true account of the glorious army of Christ which, with God's help, nobly defeated the swarms of infidels in the eastern (*eois*) lands', but also explaining his exhaustion from writing about 'events in distant lands of the east (*eois*)'.<sup>76</sup> This is not an unusual use of the term per se, other medieval authors use it in reference to the pagan east, but Orderic is unusually consistent.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> HH, 5.prol, 8, 6.7, 18, 10.7 (Greenway, 272-5, 288-9, 348-9, 368-9, 712-13); Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.1 (Colgrave and Mynors 14-15); cf. Isidore, *Etym.* 14.6.6 (Barney et al., 294).

<sup>72</sup> HH, 7.6 (Greenway, 424-5).

<sup>73</sup> OV, 8.20, 10.5, 11.26, 12.30, 13.33 (Chibnall, 4:265, 5:217, 6:123, 313, 495).

<sup>74</sup> OV, 3.-, 9.1 (Chibnall, 2:71, 5:5; my trans.). 'contra ethnicos in Eoas partes unus exercitus conducitur.'

<sup>75</sup> Eg. OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4-5).

<sup>76</sup> OV, 9.18 (Chibnall, 5:188-91). 'ueracem feci narrationem de famosa Christi militia, quae iuuante Deo insigniter debellauit in Eois partibus ethnicorum examina. ... res longinquas utpote in Eois climatibus actas'.

<sup>77</sup> Eg. Alcuin, *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae* 1034-6 (ed. Peter Godman, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 82-5). 'Ast alii ratibus vecti trans aequor eoum / paganum petiere solum, qua verba salutis / spargere temptabant in agrestia corda serendo.'

While there is no evident reason for Orderic to infer this meaning, we can see how it may have developed out of reading the classical tradition and particularly Lucan. In antiquity, and particularly under Augustus, *eous* was used primarily as a poetic term. Derived from *Eos*, goddess of the Dawn, it came to refer to, variously, the dawn, the morning star and the east generally. Its classical usage was broadly equivalent to other more general terms for east, however there are a few points that are worth noting. First, it was commonly used to reference to eastern peoples.<sup>78</sup> Secondly, it is often contrasted specifically with *hesperius* when used as part of an east-west construction.<sup>79</sup> Though Orderic does contrast *eous* with *hesperius* once, it is hardly a consistent feature of his use of the terms.<sup>80</sup> However, on the former point we can see how Orderic may have used Lucan's references to eastern empires. Lucan is a useful example not only for his popularity in the twelfth century but also for his relatively frequent use of *eous* in the *Bellum civile*.<sup>81</sup> Lucan generally uses *eous* to refer to the eastern region of the world. Of 28 uses, only two refer to celestial phenomena and three are more general, referring ambiguously to eastern lands, peoples or the eastern *cardine*.<sup>82</sup> Beyond this the remaining 23 cases, aside from one reference to India, refer particularly to peoples of the Near and Middle East. There is a concentration during Pompey's speech in book eight about turning to the Parthians for aid. Pompey describes the '*eoium ... orbem*' as bound by the Caspian gates, Euphrates, Red sea and 'their' ocean, and home to Assyria.<sup>83</sup> What is more, he explicitly centres this empire on Babylon, a consistent point throughout the *Bellum civile*.<sup>84</sup> The reference to Babylon is particularly resonant with Orderic's account of the crusades,

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<sup>78</sup> *OLD*, sv. Eous.

<sup>79</sup> Eg. Propertius, *Elegiae* 2.3.41-4 (in this case an explicit contrast between Europe and Asia); Ovid, *Amores* 1.15.29; Ovid, *Tristia* 4.9.21-2; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.140; Lucan, 4.352, 5.71, 7.742.

<sup>80</sup> *OV*, 11.12 (Chibnall, 6:68-9).

<sup>81</sup> Birger Munk Olsen, 'La popularité des textes classiques entre le IXe et le XIIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, bulletin 14-15 (1984-1985): 169-181; Roy J. Deferrari, Maria Walburg Fanning and Anne Stanislaus Sullivan, *A Concordance of Lucan* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1940), 149.

<sup>82</sup> Lucan, 2.720, 4.66; 4.352, 5.71, 7.423.

<sup>83</sup> Lucan, 8.289-94; cf. *Commenta Bernensia* 8.290-3 (ed. Hermann Usener, *Scholia in Lucani Bellum civile: Pars prior* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1869), 266).

<sup>84</sup> Lucan, 8.299, cf. 6.50.

for he repeatedly presents Babylon as the capital of the east as well. He lists Babylon among the sights seen *in eois partibus* by the crusaders, as well as proclaiming how the sons of the western church rejoiced at the seizure of Jerusalem and the confounding of Babylon.<sup>85</sup>

Unfortunately due to its scarcity of use, it is difficult to extend this point beyond Orderic's own context. The similarities between Orderic and Lucan are not so striking as to establish this connection beyond reasonable doubt. It is, however, very similar to William of Malmesbury's use of Lucan in his own Crusade account to describe the eastern peoples, an account that not only uses *eous* but is drawn verbatim from Lentulus's reply to Pompey in the same section of book eight.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, the best we can say is that Orderic might have developed this idiosyncratic usage through Lucan. But more importantly, what both Orderic and Henry show us is that medieval authors were not only paying attention to the language they were using and its meaning, but that there was on this account clear individual variation on some very basic aspects of this terminology. While we can point to broader trends, such as which set of terms was used more often in a geographical and cosmological context, in all cases these terms need to be understood through their use by particular authors.

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<sup>85</sup> OV, 10.13, 12.30 (Chibnall, 5:281, 6:313).

<sup>86</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* 4.347.8 (ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 602-3) [hereafter WM, *GR*]; cf. Lucan, 8.363-6.

## **Part I**

## Chapter 1 – The Geographical Tradition

The study of geography occupied an enigmatic position in the intellectual environment of the twelfth century. It remained a fundamentally auxiliary field, neither studied nor taught independently of a broader subject or program of study.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the early decades of the century saw a great multiplication of geographical texts, all of them self-consciously drawing from the same small canon of widely available, late-antique sources. This proliferation of geographical writings was driven heavily by the expansion of education over the eleventh and particularly the early-twelfth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, two of the major early twelfth-century geographies, by Honorius Augustodunensis and Hugh of Saint Victor, are themselves quite evidently educational in purpose.<sup>3</sup> Though we will not be developing in depth here the issues of educational expansion and the material conditions that lay behind it, this context is important to keep in mind, as it frames some of the more important issues that authors of this century encountered in grappling with the received geographical image of the world.

To come to grips with the way that medieval authors geographically conceptualised the world in which they lived as a whole, we must address the tradition of geographies of the inhabited world. Of its many features, the one that strikes the modern reader most is their fundamentally conservative nature. Although Deluz characterises the eleventh century onwards as the ‘age of questioning’, in opposition to the prior ‘age of authorities’, the perceived relationship of authors in the early-twelfth century to their *auctores* remained much the same.<sup>4</sup> This can be seen initially in

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<sup>1</sup> Natalia Lozovsky, *‘The Earth Is Our Book’: Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Deluz, ‘Une image’, in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*, 41. On the expansion of education in the period see Ferruolo, *Origins*. On the expansion of monasteries see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 88–93.

<sup>3</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* prol. Christ. (Flint, 48–9); HoSV, *Desc.* prol., 12 (Gautier Dalché, 133); Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Nouvelles lumières sur la *Descriptio mappe mundi* de Hugues de Saint-Victor’, in *Géographie et culture: La représentation de l’espace du VIe Au XIIe siècle* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1997), 1–27. On Guido of Pisa see Campopiano, ‘Construction of the Text’, 82.

<sup>4</sup> Deluz, ‘Une image’, in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*.

relation to genre. Descriptions of the oecumene tended to fall into three general categories: encyclopaedias, cartography (including both maps and descriptions of maps) and geographical sections of historical works.<sup>5</sup> The first two are backwards looking by their nature: the former for the obvious reason that twelfth-century encyclopaedias were mostly compilations, and often explicitly so; the latter insofar as medieval maps were essentially developed in late antiquity and were, counterintuitively to the modern reader, viewed as epistemically equivalent to written descriptions.<sup>6</sup> Though there tended to be more scope for novelty in historiographical discussions of geography, as in the case of the northern islands in Adam of Bremen, or of Hungary in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*, for the most part world geography was taken for granted in chronicles.<sup>7</sup> This point is exemplified by Otto, who explains at the start of his *Chronica*, after noting the division of Asia, Europe and Africa, that anyone who wishes to know more should simply consult Orosius.<sup>8</sup> These authors display a number of clear presuppositions about the nature of geographical knowledge, the clearest of which was a pervasive belief that they already had in at least some sense a complete geography of the inhabited world.<sup>9</sup> We see this in the common invocation of a complete survey of the world conducted under the Julius Caesar.<sup>10</sup> Just as indicative of this conservatism is their method of composition. A strong deference to *auctores* remains both in explicit statements to the

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<sup>5</sup> See generally Deluz, 'Une image', in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*, 48-58.

<sup>6</sup> On compilation see Michele Campopiano, *Liber Guidonis compositus de variis historiis: studio ed edizione critica dei testi inediti* (Florence: SISMEL, 2008), LXIII-IV and Campopiano, 'Construction of the Text'. On maps see Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'L'héritage antique de la cartographie médiévale: Les problèmes et les acquis' in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, ed. Richard Talbert (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 29-66; Patrick Gautier Dalché, *La 'Descriptio mappe mundi' de Hugues de Saint-Victor: Texte inédit avec introduction et commentaire* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 87-8; cf. Carruthers, *Beauty*, 140n14.

<sup>7</sup> Adam, *Hist.* bk. 4 (Schmeidler, 226-80); Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici* 1.32 (ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 46 (Hannover, 1912), 49-50; trans. Charles C. Mierow (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 65-6) [hereafter Otto, *Gesta*]; Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'L'espace de l'histoire: le rôle de la géographie dans les chroniques universelles', in *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. Jean Philippe Genêt (Paris: CNRS, 1991), 288-9.

<sup>8</sup> Otto, *Chron.* 1.1 (Hofmeister, 37; Mierow, 123).

<sup>9</sup> Nathalie Bouloux, 'L'espace habité' in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*, 259-60; Claude Nicolet and Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'Les "quatre sages" de Jules César et la "mesure du monde" selon Julius Honorius: réalité antique et tradition médiévale', *Journal des savants* 4, no. 1 (1986): 157-218.

<sup>10</sup> Guido of Pisa, *Liber Guidonis* (ed. Michele Campopiano (Florence: SISMEL, 2008), 21-2); Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 241r; cf. Nicolet and Gautier Dalché, 'Les "quatre sages"'. This story is also recorded on the Hereford map.

effect, and implicitly in their adherence to previous linguistic formulae.<sup>11</sup> Even descriptions that are not straightforwardly compilations tend to be close paraphrases of a similar set of authorities.<sup>12</sup> As a result, geography in the twelfth century was materially and, more important, self-consciously conservative in nature.

This is especially the case for the synthetic geographies of Honorius Augustodunensis and Hugh of Saint Victor. Honorius is the more obviously conservative of the two voices. Though little is known about his early life, it is widely agreed that he spent it in England (perhaps half a decade, spanning the turn of the twelfth century), mainly at Canterbury, studying under St Anselm, and perhaps also at Worcester. He spent the majority of his career, however, in Regensburg (c. 1103-40).<sup>13</sup> Particularly during his time in Germany, Honorius was one of the few authors of the era prepared to defend the traditional rights and position of Benedictine monks within society.<sup>14</sup> Flint argues that this goal, and in particular the monks' right to preach and receive tithes, is a key to understanding Honorius's writing.<sup>15</sup> This would suggest that, in part, the purpose of the *Imago mundi* was not merely as a textbook for monastic education in new foundations, not yet equipped with sufficient library resources, but also as a manual for preaching and pastoral care, an argument corroborated by the fact that many of the manuscripts contain compilations very similar to later medieval pastoral manuals.<sup>16</sup> Honorius's emphasis on clarity of exposition and presentation of an uncontroversial image of the world, to the point of suppressing the controversy between, or uncertainty of, his authorities on certain points, equally underscores this pastoral and pedagogical function.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* prol. Christ. (Flint, 49). 'Nichil autem in eo pono nisi quod majorum commendat traditio.'

<sup>12</sup> Guenée, *Histoire*, 169.

<sup>13</sup> Valerie I. J. Flint, 'The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis Some Fresh Evidence', *Revue bénédictine* 82 (1972): 63-86 and Valerie I. J. Flint, 'The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue bénédictine* 87 (1977): 100.

<sup>14</sup> Alongside Rupert of Deutz and Idung of St Emmeram.

<sup>15</sup> Flint, 'Place and Purpose'.

<sup>16</sup> Flint, 'Place and Purpose', 111-18.

<sup>17</sup> Flint, 'Place and Purpose', 109n1.

We know little about Hugh of Lotharingia's life before he took up his role as *scholasticus* at the recently founded community of canons at the chapel of Saint Victor, just outside the walls of Paris, in 1124. While serving in this position for a little under twenty years, Hugh would found one of the most enduring intellectual schools of the early century. Though situated on the threshold of the intellectual avant-garde in the schools of Paris, Hugh opposed the increased specialisation of the schools with a holistic programme of studying the arts.<sup>18</sup> We should view the *Descriptio* in this didactic context. Indeed, two early manuscripts still bear the traces of lecturing.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of their overt conservatism, these authors were actively involved in updating, clarifying and even modifying their sources. The production of these texts was driven by the need to make late-antique geography comprehensible to a contemporary audience. One vector of change was toponyms. This issue is set in high relief by Guibert of Nogent, who complains about his difficulties with the changing names of men, provinces and cities, noting for example that the region formerly called *Neustria* is now *Northmannia*.<sup>20</sup> Although often as much a concession to Carolingian geography as contemporary developments, the issue of various names, and whether or not to modernise toponyms, is one that can be seen throughout the sources.<sup>21</sup> Normally texts contain a variety of toponyms from different eras. Sometimes authors provide alternative toponyms either to note multiple place names or to gloss antiquated toponyms, as Honorius does repeatedly in his description of Germania superior: 'the region of Suevia is in [Germania superior], so called after Mount Suevus. This is also named Allemannia, after the Lemannus basin. This is also called Retia. ... Noricus is in [Germania superior], which is also Bavaria, which the city Regensburg is in.'

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<sup>18</sup> Ferruolo, *Origins*, 31-40.

<sup>19</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Nouvelles lumières'.

<sup>20</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos* pref. (CCCM 127A, 83; trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 26) [hereafter Guibert, *Dei gesta*]; cf. Bouloux, 'L'espace' in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*, 292-4.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Adam, *Hist.* 4.31 (Schmeidler, 263).

However, sometimes new regions are simply added, as in his description of *Germania inferior*: ‘Denmark and Norway are in this [region].’<sup>22</sup>

We can see a similar blending of both principles in Hugh’s description of the provinces of Gaul: ‘Furthermore, these provinces are on this side of the Rhine up to the Spanish Pyrenees mountains: certain parts of Germany, *Gallia Belgica*, which is also Lotharingia, *Gallia Celtica*, which is also Burgundy, France, Normandy, Brittany...’<sup>23</sup> In this case, Hugh has glossed some antiquated toponyms with more modern ones, as *Gallia Belgica* and *Celtica*, and simply includes others like Normandy. This shows how certain pragmatic concerns applied pressure to these authors beyond their desire and indeed intention to adhere to the traditional geographic authorities.

A second vector of change that equally tempered the twelfth-century geographical worldview was the solidification of an epistemological shift towards the use of maps in geography. We can see the organisation of geographical descriptions beginning to change already from the mid-eleventh century, as evident in Lambert of Saint-Omer’s list of islands, which begin to be described in reference to the continental territories that they face, for example: ‘the island of the sun [*solis insula*] is in the east, facing India.’<sup>24</sup> There was a corresponding upswing in the recorded number both of *mappaemundi* and of descriptions of maps from the twelfth century.<sup>25</sup> This use of maps combined with the pedagogical need for clarity to produce further developments in the organisation of geographical descriptions, even in texts that are not themselves based on maps. For example, it is plausibly argued that Honorius’s method of organisation is related in part to cartographical

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<sup>22</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.23-4 (Flint, 59-60). ‘In hac est regio Suevia, a monte Suevo dicta. Hęc et Alemannia, a Lemanno lacu appellata. Hęc et Retia dicta. ... Est in ea Noricus que et Bawaria, in qua est civitas Raispona.’; ‘In hac est Dania et Norweia.’

<sup>23</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 22 (Gautier Dalché, 154). For a broader discussion of toponyms in Hugh see Gautier Dalché, *La ‘Descriptio’*, 62-77. ‘Porro cis Rhenum usque ad montes Pireneos Hispaniarum sunt prouincie iste: pars quedam Alemanie, *Gallia Belgica*, que et Lotharingia, *Gallia Celtica*, que et Burgundia, Francia, Northmannia, Brittaniam minor...’

<sup>24</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 51v. See Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Maps in Words: The Descriptive Logic of Medieval Geography, from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century’ in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, ed. PDA Harvey (London: British Library, 2006), 228-9. ‘Solis insula in oriente contra Indiam’.

<sup>25</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché, *Du Yorkshire à l’Inde: une "géographie" urbaine et maritime de la fin du XIIe siècle (Roger de Howden?)* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2005), 51-2.

representations of the world, as when he notes that the central provinces of Asia ‘are extended, beginning from the east, in a straight line to the Mediterranean sea.’<sup>26</sup>

Finally, a third vector of change was the addition of new regions to Europe. With the progressive Christianisation of northern Europe up to the eleventh century, by the twelfth century the geographical landscape of Europe itself was in flux. Due in part to increased interaction and political integration with Scandinavia and what we now think of as eastern Europe, these regions, that had been understood during late antiquity as a nebulous and barbarous mass, were increasingly being defined and integrated into the world of Christendom.<sup>27</sup> This not only resulted in the production of new geographical texts, as in Adam of Bremen’s description of the islands of the north or Otto of Freising’s description of Hungary, but also demanded the restructuring of late-antique descriptions of Europe to include newly developed regions and to negotiate their position in relationship to the still nebulous regions of the Roman north.<sup>28</sup>

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The geographical output of the twelfth century, though deeply conservative in intention and content, saw increasing discontinuity with the authors of late antiquity, not only updating the material for a modern audience, but actively reshaping it both structurally and materially. In this context there are two sets of interconnected issues that this chapter will consider. The first set relate to the way in which medieval authors and readers divided the world into different regions. We will show how these regions are not simple, transhistorical categories but instead developed out of a complex historical genealogy and remained contested categories through the High Middle Ages. The second

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<sup>26</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.17 (Flint, 57); Gautier Dalché, ‘Maps in Words’, 231. ‘ab oriente incipientes, recta linea ad Mediterraneum mare axtenduntur’.

<sup>27</sup> David Fraesdorff, ‘The *Christianitas* and the Pagan North during Conversion to Christianity (800-1200)’, *The Medieval History Journal* 5, no. 2 (2002): 309-32 and Fraesdorff, *Norden*; Klaus Oschema, ‘Der Europa-Begriff im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Zwischen geographischem Weltbild und kultureller Konnotation’, *Jahrbuch für europäische Geschichte* 2 (2001): 196-8; Kochanek, *Eurozentrismus*.

<sup>28</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Représentations géographiques de l’Europe - septentrionale, centrale et Orientale - au Moyen Âge’, in *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters: kartographische Konzepte*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Hartmut Kugler (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 69-73; Fraesdorff, *Norden*, ch. 3.

set relate to the structural and organisational principles that underlie the way that medieval geographical texts were both produced and read. We will address the way in which medieval readers actually engaged with geographical space on a practical level, and will again highlight how, despite its frequent conservative pretence, this geographical tradition was neither static nor homogeneous.

### *Dividing the World*

The division of the continents has an extensive history stretching back to Greek antiquity.<sup>29</sup> Though the medieval world up to the twelfth century had little direct access to Greek texts, Ancient Greek geography still impacted the Middle Ages through at least two channels. There was some indirect awareness of Greek authors through late antique references, and, later, in translations from Arabic authors.<sup>30</sup> More significantly, medieval authors worked very much within the theoretical environment established in Ancient Greece, the complications of whose geographical theories continued to come to light throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>31</sup> But, as important, the construction of ancient geography in modern scholarship has a great impact on the way that medieval geography is interpreted. There is a tendency to view the ancient geographical tradition as providing a relatively uncomplicated image of the inhabited world for subsequent generations. There are, however, various complications within this tradition which continue to structure the geographical tradition in the Middle Ages and which complicate a simplistic narrative of reception. In order to unravel some of these modern assumptions as well as to frame the problems of geographical division that medieval authors faced, we will briefly survey the ways in which the known world was divided

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<sup>29</sup> The use of the term ‘continents’ in reference to premodern geography is anachronistic, as Europe, Africa, and Asia were understood in the antiquity and the Middle Ages as the ‘three parts’ of the world. Insofar as I use this term in reference ancient and medieval texts, it should be understood as no more than a shorthand for the three-part division of the oecumene.

<sup>30</sup> Lozovsky, ‘*Earth*’, 6-10.

<sup>31</sup> For example, see the confusion over *Thule*, *Balcia* and *Scandinavia*. (Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 46-50.)

down to late antiquity, focusing on three groups of texts: pagan geography down to the first century AD, the Christian geography of the Fathers and late-antique textbooks.

### *From Greece to Late Antiquity*

The general trends for dividing the oecumene, which would hold for the next two thousand years, were more or less established by the fifth century BC. They began against the background of the tripartite division of the oecumene that was established by Ionian geographers in the late-sixth to early-fifth centuries BC, and the geographic dichotomies between north-south and east-west that came along with it. This resulted in a series of two- and three-part divisions. Europe and Asia, the two primary parts, were either divided north-south by the river Phasis, thought to run directly west from the Black Sea, or east-west by the river Tanais, the standard division from the Hellenistic era.<sup>32</sup> Herodotus describes these conflicting conventions in his criticism of the standard continental divisions of his time, noting first his amusement at those who represent the earth with a perfect circle ‘as if drawn with a pair of compasses’ divided equally into Asia and Europe. He likewise expresses his amazement that the singular world should be given three names (Libya, Asia and Europe), or why the Nile and the Phasis, or Tanais as some prefer, should divide them.<sup>33</sup> But in the end, rather than resolving this dilemma, Herodotus simply follows the standard tripartite convention.<sup>34</sup> Though he is skeptical of these rigid divisions of the world, elements of a north-south,

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<sup>32</sup> James Romm, ‘Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek Theories of Global Structure’, in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J. A. Talbert (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 215-20.

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus, *Histories* 4.35, 42 (trans. Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 247-8); see Rosalind Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ch. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Germaine Aujac, ‘The Foundations of Theoretical Cartography in Archaic and Classical Greece’, in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 135-7.

warm-cold climatic theory litter the *Histories* more broadly, though they remain unsystematic, and perhaps, as Isaac suggests, simply a cultural commonplace.<sup>35</sup>

Although Herodotus disappoints as the originator of an east-west antipathy between Europe and Asia, subsequent generations made important steps in this direction.<sup>36</sup> The most important text in this regard is the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places* of the late-fifth century BC, likely from the generation after Herodotus.<sup>37</sup> The *Airs* makes a number of developments that will prove crucial for subsequent conceptions of the division of the world. In the first place, the *Airs* shifts the focus decidedly towards a dichotomy between Europe and Asia. Chapter twelve confidently declares that it will ‘show how Asia and Europe differ from one another in every respect’.<sup>38</sup> As a result of major lacunae in the text, it is unclear whether the author treated Libya as an independent continent or as a subdivision of Asia; nevertheless, the professed focus on Europe and Asia drives the remainder of the text.<sup>39</sup> Secondly, the author follows the east-west division of Europe and Asia, noting the Meotide swamps as the point of division.<sup>40</sup> Lastly, unlike Herodotus, the *Airs* is systematic in its application of environmental determinism. These points are combined throughout the text, with the asymmetrical impact of the east and west winds governing the environment, and thus peoples, of Europe and Asia. The *Airs* is, however, unusual in its development of an intricate model of east and west alongside north and south as environmental categories – most subsequent authors preferred the more straightforward use of warm and cold.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Romm, ‘Continents, Climates, and Cultures’, 218-20; Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 56-60. For a more extensive discussion of the ways in which a north-south dichotomy takes precedence over east-west, see James Romm, ‘Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119 (1989): 97-113.

<sup>36</sup> Isaac provides a good summary of this trend. (*Invention of Racism*, ch 4.)

<sup>37</sup> Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 60n18; Thomas, *Herodotus*, 86.

<sup>38</sup> As cited in Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 61.

<sup>39</sup> Romm, ‘Continents, Climates, and Cultures’, 220-3; see 232n21 for discussion on whether Libya is treated as a continent in its own right.

<sup>40</sup> *Airs, Waters, Places* 13.

<sup>41</sup> Romm, ‘Continents, Climates, and Cultures’, 221-3.

The last major development of the Classical Greek world on this point came in the fourth century BC with the luminaries of classical antiquity. A strong opposition between Europe and Asia in Greek literature more broadly only emerges in the generations after the Greco-Persian war, perhaps in response to the Peloponnesian war, in the context of antipathy towards Persia.<sup>42</sup> We can see this developing from the end of the fifth century, but it flourishes particularly in the early-fourth century, especially in the oration of Isocrates, who develops a clear dichotomy between Asia and Europe like in the *Airs*, but now as a polemic against the Persians.<sup>43</sup> With this shift came a solidification of the east-west division of Europe and Asia within a tripartite structure, or, more to the point, continental boundaries cease to be a point of serious discussion.<sup>44</sup> This occurs in tandem with a solidification of the north-south climatic system. Plato, for example, sets a north-south zonal division of the world in Socrates's mouth in the *Republic* and Aristotle subsumes east and west winds within the cardinal north and south winds, which, although it is not brought directly to bear on Aristotle's discussion of climatic determinism in *Politics* VII (1327b), does show how the north-south axis governs Aristotle's idea of hot and cold.<sup>45</sup> Finally, we see increasing Hellenic exceptionalism, with Greece being identified as the median point in the world and an increased emphasis on the distinction between Greek and barbarian.<sup>46</sup>

But for all the discussion of Classical Greece establishing an east-west division of Europe and Asia, Greek authors rarely actually refer to Asia and Europe as east and west. Likewise, not only do they maintain a consistent interest in the north-south climatic division of the world, but the distinction between a north-south climatic schema and an east-west continental division also remains throughout the Hellenistic era (although they are frequently elided with the growth of

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<sup>42</sup> Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 283-5; Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures', 223-6.

<sup>43</sup> Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures', 225-6.

<sup>44</sup> Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures', 223-4, 226.

<sup>45</sup> Plato, *Republic* 4.435e-436a; Aristotle, *Meteorology*, 2.6.364a; cf. Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 73.

<sup>46</sup> Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 283-98; Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures', 224-6.

chauvinistic Hellenism). And indeed, for all that we can discuss the solidification of standard views, the continued ambiguity of these categories, and the continued fluidity of continental boundaries, is shown by the attempt to return to a north-south division of Europe and Asia with Alexander the Great who, according to Strabo, misidentified the Tanais as flowing east-west.<sup>47</sup>

There is a standard narrative in the scholarship that with the transition from Greece to Rome, there was a concurrent shift from an east-west geographical focus to a north-south focus.<sup>48</sup> Though there is some truth to it, this narrative is, as we have already seen, much more complicated in the Greek world, which maintained a strong north-south tradition and focused more on the dichotomy of Europe and Asia than of east and west; the case of late-republican and imperial Roman literature is no different. The tripartite division of continents was still broadly accepted by Roman authors, but the ambiguities of the Greek world remained. There were, nevertheless, some important changes in Roman geography that would prove decisive for the patristic and medieval world. Most important, by the late republic, the eastern extent of Asia had expanded considerably, solidifying its position as fundamentally eastern, rather than southern. This would ultimately lead to a ninety degree shift in the dividing axis of the world's bipartition.<sup>49</sup> But this change was slow in coming, and the Ionian division of the oecumene into north and south, often subsequently attributed to Eratosthenes, proved quite resilient.<sup>50</sup> We see this division pop up throughout the Hellenistic era down to the first century BC, even alongside the standard tripartite divisions of the world. Thus for Polybius, writing in the second century BC, the world was divided into Asia, Africa and Europe by the Tanais, Nile and Pillars of Hercules, yet Europe still opposed Asia and Africa, running from east to west along the north side of the Mediterranean, which universally divides north from south.<sup>51</sup> We

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<sup>47</sup> Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures', 226-7; Strabo, *Geography* 11.7.4, cf. 11.5.5.

<sup>48</sup> Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, 46-7; Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 83-5.

<sup>49</sup> Claudia Wick, *M. Annaeus Lucanus Bellum civile liber IX Kommentar* (Munich: KG Saur, 2004), §413.

<sup>50</sup> Eg. Varro, *Res rusticae* 1.2; Strabo, *Geography* 2.1.1.

<sup>51</sup> Polybius, *Histories* 3.37.2-8.

see the same schema among Latin authors. Varro, for example, provides only a bipartite division of the world, attributed to Eratosthenes.<sup>52</sup> The staying power of this schema can be seen in the remnants that linger in Pliny's *Natural History*, which, after noting the standard division, suggests that many think that, given the great merits of Europe as a continent, the world should be divided into two equal parts by the strait of Gibraltar and the river Tanais.<sup>53</sup>

This all culminates in the geography of the late republic and early empire, which passed most directly to the Fathers and the Middle Ages. It is here that the ninety degree shift settled and with it an essentially unified presentation of world geography. But the context of this change is unclear. Our first source for this new image is Sallust's *Jugurthine War*, which explains that Africa is commonly regarded as the third part of the world, but that some only recognise Asia and Europe, giving Africa in the latter.<sup>54</sup> This view quickly became the standard in the early empire; both Pomponius Mela and Strabo also emphasise the great size of Asia in comparison to both Europe and Africa.<sup>55</sup> The broader currency of this image is demonstrated by its subsequent inclusion in Lucan's excursus on the geography of Libya: 'the third part of the world is Libya, ... / but, if you go by the winds and sky / it will be a part of Europe.'<sup>56</sup> Though increasingly marginalised, the twofold division remained important, particularly in the rhetorical opposition of Europe and Asia which

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<sup>52</sup> Varro, *De lingua latina* 5.5 and *Res rusticae* 1.2. 'Ut omnis natura in caelum et terram divisa est, sic caeli regionibus terra in Asiam et Europam. Asia enim iacet ad meridiem et austrum, Europa ad septemtriones et aquilonem.' / 'Primum cum orbis terrae divisus sit in duas partes ab Eratosthene maxime secundum naturam, ad meridiem versus et ad septemtriones, et sine dubio quoniam salubrior pars septemtrionalis est quam meridiana, et quae salubriora illa fructuosiora, dicendum utique Italiam magis etiam fuisse opportunam ad colendum quam Asiam, primum quod est in Europa, secundo quod haec temperatior pars quam interior.'

<sup>53</sup> Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 3.1.5; cf. Polybius, *Histories* 3.37.4 and Strabo, *Geography* 2.4.5, 11.7.4. 'Primum ergo de Europa, altrice victoris omnium gentium populi longeque terrarum pulcherrima, quam plerique merito non tertiam portionem fecere, verum aequam, in duas partes ab amne Tanai ad Gaditanum fretum universo orbe diviso.'

<sup>54</sup> Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 17.3. 'In divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere, pauci tantum modo Asiam et Europam esse, sed Africam in Europa.'

<sup>55</sup> Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* 1.9 [hereafter Mela]; Strabo, *Geography* 17.3.1. In the latter, Strabo seems to imply a potential combination of Europe and Africa when he suggests that even combined Europe and Africa would not equal Asia's extent. *Pace* Merrills's suggestion that Sallust is our only source for such a position. (Andrew Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76-7.)

<sup>56</sup> Lucan, 9.411-3 (trans. Susan H. Braund (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 118). 'Tertia pars rerum Libye, ... / at, si ventos caelumque sequaris, / pars erit Europae.'

regained currency in the Augustinian era.<sup>57</sup> But, looking towards the Middle Ages, it is the tripartite division which dominates the geographical imagination.

This is substantially the picture we find among the patristic authors of late antiquity. Augustine, Orosius and Isidore of Seville each favour the same tripartite division of Asia, Europe and Africa, while pointing towards others who adjoin Africa to Europe, creating an east-west division of the world.<sup>58</sup> The solidification of this view in the fourth century should not surprise us, given the significance of Sallust and Lucan as school texts in the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>59</sup> Despite this ostensible agreement there is a small but significant change to the formula among all three Christian authors.<sup>60</sup> For geographies of Greece and Rome, the parts of the world were understood in terms of the bodies of water that divided them. Pomponius Mela provides a particularly clear example. After describing the Ocean and its inlets, Mela explains that: ‘by this [our] sea and by two famous rivers, the Tanais and the Nile, the whole earth is divided into three parts.’<sup>61</sup> For the Fathers, however, rivers are no longer the key descriptors. Although they are still noted by both Isidore and Orosius, the continents are described by all three Christian authors first and foremost in terms of the cardinal points. Hence, when Augustine describes the three parts of the world in the *City of God*, he does not even mention river boundaries, but simply explains that: ‘the part called Asia extends from the south, through the east, to the north; Europe extends the north to the west; and then Africa begins and extends the west to the south.’<sup>62</sup> While this may indicate, as Wick suggests, a more theoretical engagement with the world, treating it increasingly in abstraction,

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<sup>57</sup> Philip Hardie, *Vergil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 311-13.

<sup>58</sup> Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 16.17 [hereafter Aug., *ciu.*]; Augustine, *Questionum in heptateuchum* 6.15 (CCSL 33, 321); Orosius, 1.2.1 (Fear, 36); Isi., *Etym.* 14.2.2 (Barney et al., 285). This was also the standard view among pagan authors of this period, cf. Servius, *In Vergili Aeneidos* 1.385.

<sup>59</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘L’enseignement de la géographie dans l’antiquité tardive’, *Klio* 96, no. 1 (2014): 150-1.

<sup>60</sup> Wick, *Lucanus*, §413.

<sup>61</sup> Mela, 1.8 (trans. F. E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 36); cf. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 3.1.3; Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 17.3; Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.1, 2.5.18. ‘hoc [nostro] mari et duobus inclutis amnibus, Tanai atque Nilo, in tres partes universa dividitur.’

<sup>62</sup> Aug., *ciu.* 16.17 (trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 725). ‘ista, quae Asia nuncupatur, a meridie per orientem usque ad septentrionem peruenit; Europa uero a septentrione usque ad occidentem, atque inde Africa ab occidente usque ad meridiem.’

it also represents a turn towards a greater universalism in vision. But, more important, this shift may be specifically related to the rise of Christianity, as not only do overtly Christian authors primarily adopt this change, but the cardinal points play a significant rhetorical role in the Bible as descriptors of geographical universality.<sup>63</sup>

This particular insight warrants some further consideration as to the particular use of the cardinal points in geographical description through antiquity. There has been a tendency in the scholarship to treat a fourfold discussion of the world as equivalent with noting the three continents.<sup>64</sup> Although they are certainly related both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, their use is not obviously equivalent.<sup>65</sup> In their classical usage, fourfold divisions were often used to refer to divisions of the heavens rather than the earth. Pliny notes the classical fourfold distinction of the world in his discussion of the winds only to ridicule the notion, moving on to treat the winds as the *quattuor caeli partes*. Similarly, in Isidore of Seville, the fourfold division is of the heavens and is treated with regard to the winds.<sup>66</sup> Although, Mela does describe four parts, that is the cardinal regions as governed by the movements of the sun, they are introduced as general divisions of earth and sky, and are followed by a discussion of the two hemispheres and five zones.<sup>67</sup> This seems to relate to the ancient trend among Greek geographers, going back to Crates of Mallos and remaining at least marginally relevant throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, according to which there are four inhabitable continents, mirrored north-south and east-west.<sup>68</sup> Hence, the cardinal points serve

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<sup>63</sup> Eg. Gn 13 and Lk 13:29. Among authors who are not obviously Christian, see Mart. Cap., 6.622-3.

<sup>64</sup> Eg. Merrills, *History and Geography*, 76. This equation of three- and fourfold views seems to go back to at least Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1897-1906), 1.361; cf. Marina Smyth, *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), 281.

<sup>65</sup> For a survey of medieval formulae see Goetz, *Gott und die Welt*, vol. 1, bk. 2, 136-40.

<sup>66</sup> Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 2.46.119; Isi., *Etym.* 3.42 (Barney et al, 101). Similarly, in Mela, 1.3, the four cardinal points are treated as a broader level of division than the zones, which represent the earth as a whole. Cf. Varro, *De lingua latina* 5.5.

<sup>67</sup> Mela, 1.3-4. 'quidquid est cui mundi caelique nomen indidimus ... unum id est ... partibus differt'.

<sup>68</sup> Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes Before 1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 16-17; Wesley M. Stevens, 'The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's "De natura rerum"', *Isis* 71, no. 2 (1980): 269-70; Germaine Aujac, 'L'image du globe terrestre dans la Grèce ancienne', *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 27, no. 3 (1974): 205-10; cf. Mart. Cap., 6.604-7.

to describe the entire world rather than the oecumene. The cardinal directions are only used occasionally by classical authors to denote regions of the oecumene. It certainly had Greek precedents, as in Agatharchides, but in the Roman world, it seems to be more an exception than a rule, as Nicolet notes about the language of the *Gromatici*.<sup>69</sup>

With the Fathers, the use of the cardinal points in the conception of the oecumene began to reassert its significance. There is, however, a further stage of late-antique texts that crucially mediates between this patristic conception of the continents and the medieval reception. There is one text in particular that serves as the ideal logical extension of the trend that I have been sketching: the *Cosmographia* of Julius Honorius and of Pseudo-Aethicus. The history of this text is rather unclear. The first redaction, attributed to Julius Honorius (its only named author), appears at some point around the fifth century.<sup>70</sup> We know it had circulated widely, at least in Italy, by the sixth century as it is specifically recommended by Cassiodorus for his monks to read.<sup>71</sup> The first redaction is not obviously a Christian text, but it both gained popularity in Christian communities, as Cassiodorus shows, and the second redaction, found in all but the earliest manuscript, shows evidence of Christian additions.<sup>72</sup> Unlike the previously discussed geographies, which all use the classical tripartite model to structure their texts, the *Cosmographia* breaks this mould and describes the geography of the world according to the four ‘oceans’, north, south, east and west.

Despite its extraordinary diffusion in Italy between the sixth and seventh centuries, the version of Julius Honorius lost popularity around the eighth century, and more or less ceased to be copied. This loss of popularity coincided with the production of a second version of this text by the so called Pseudo-Aethicus before or during the eighth century. It consists in a very slightly modified version of Julius Honorius’s text with the addition of a second section drawn from Orosius’s

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<sup>69</sup> Nicolet, ‘Les “quatre sages”’, 180-1n63-5.

<sup>70</sup> Nicolet, ‘Les “quatre sages”’, 162-3.

<sup>71</sup> Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1.25 (ed. R. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 66).

<sup>72</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Les “quatre sages”’, 185.

geographical introduction. Unlike Julius Honorius, this text remained highly influential throughout the High Middle Ages. It was widely copied into geographical manuals, alongside a variety of other geographical texts, as for example in the collection, common to the north of France, that consisted of Jordanes *Getica*, Orosius's *History*, Pseudo-Aethicus and the *Antonine Itinerary*.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, in the twelfth century, Lambert of Saint-Omer read the *Cosmographia* in a very similar compilation, only containing the *Historia Tripartita* instead of the *Itinerary*.<sup>74</sup> But this addition of Orosius, and the manuscript context alongside Orosius, puts a fine point on the schematic inconsistency that this tradition left for the Middle Ages. For while a two part division of the world could be easily squared with the three parts, it is not obvious how to harmonise the three- and four-part models. Pseudo-Aethicus highlights this problem himself when bridging between the material of Julius Honorius and of Orosius:

Those who measured near and far these quadripartite contents of the whole earth, our ancestors, established that it should be reckoned tripartite, investigating the entire orb surrounded by the border of the ocean sea, and they considered those three parts Asia, Europe and Africa. Although they were not lacking, who as we have said present two parts, Asia and Europe; they adjoin Africa, adding it into Europe, because it both lacks the latitudinal area and lies ill under a region of the sky, labouring from its air, poisonous and tainted, full of innumerable beasts, frightful and unknown to mankind. But returning to the point, without prejudice to those who want all this together to be two parts, let us begin to relate the tripartite division.<sup>75</sup>

This description is interesting because it clearly and explicitly establishes for us the problem at hand and also hints at a particular relationship between three and fourfold divisions. Pseudo-Aethicus seems to imply that the world is in some proper sense divided into four and it is only considered

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<sup>73</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Les "quatre sages"', 198.

<sup>74</sup> St-Omer, BM 717; Albert Derolez, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 193.

<sup>75</sup> Pseudo-Aethicus, *Cosmographia* 2.1 (ed. Alexander Riese, *Geographi latini minores* (Helbronn, 1878), 90) [hereafter Ps.-Aeth.]. 'Hanc quadripartitam totius terrae continentiam hi qui dimensi sunt longe citroque maiores nostri tripartitam reputari definierunt, investigantes universum orbem oceani maris limbo circumdatum, easque tres partes Asiam Europam et Africam reputarunt. Quamvis non defuerunt, qui duas partes sicut diximus perhiberent, Asiam et Europam; Africam vero in Europa adiciendam adfinierunt, quia et spatio latitudinis eget et caeli male subiacet climati, laborans aeribus suis, venenis †fucisque repleta inmanium et incognitarum humano generi innumerabilium bestiarum. Sed ad propositum remeantes absque illorum praeiudicio, qui hoc omne totum duas partes esse voluerunt, tripartitam divisionem dicere incipiamus.'

tripartite according to the particular geographical tradition of *maiores nostri*. This privileges the four-part model as, in some sense, the natural state of the world, and the three parts as a further abstraction or scholarly construction on top of this. We might read a similar implication in the dominant terminological trend of referring to the three parts as *partes* where the four parts are often described as *climata*.<sup>76</sup> This text also shows Pseudo-Aethicus's answer to this dilemma, as he simply distinguishes these as two different modes of geographical division and exposition without attempting to directly combine or harmonise them.

### *In the Twelfth Century*

Despite the popularity of the *Cosmographia*, the fourfold division never took hold as a structural device for geographical texts. Rather, given its prominence among the authoritative ancient and patristic sources, it should not surprise us that the threefold division of the oecumene remained canonical through the Middle Ages. Given a general concurrence between the classical school texts used in late antiquity (for our purposes the important figures are Sallust and Lucan), and the main Christian authors of that period (Augustine, Orosius and Isidore), there was naturally little disagreement on this point. But, as we have seen, from late antiquity it was read alongside the fourfold division in the tradition of Julius Honorius. But while Pseudo-Aethicus was happy simply to present these models alongside one another, this division would not last. Catalysed by the concurrent epistemological shift towards the use of maps, authors from the early Middle Ages onwards increasingly blurred the division between these models, both by explicitly attempting to harmonise their content and through modifications of the traditional threefold model. In this context, though the tripartite division remained the standard, by the twelfth century the cardinal

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<sup>76</sup> **Tres partes**: Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 3.1.3; Lucan, 9.411; Isi., *Etym.* 14.2.1-2 (Barney et al., 285); Orosius 2.1 (Fear, 73); Ps.-Aeth., 2.1 (Riese, 90); HoSV, *Desc.* 7 (Gautier Dalché, 138); Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.7 (Flint, 52); Otto, *Chron.* 1.1 (Hofmeister, 37; Mierow, 123). Cf. **Tres Climata** in OV, 11.12 (Chibnall, 6:70-1). **Quattuor climata**: Isi., *Etym.* 13.1.3 (Barney et al., 271); Hon. *Im. mun.* 1.91 (Flint, 81); Bede, *De natura rerum* 10 (CCSL 123A, 200-1; Kendall and Wallis, 79); cf. **Partes** in Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 2.46.119; **Cardines** in Orosius, 2.1.5 (Fear, 73).

points were increasingly used autonomously to divide the world, either alongside or in conjunction with the three continents.

The broad influence of the *Cosmographia*, particularly with regard to later medieval cartography, can be seen clearly in the reception of its narrative frame. The *Cosmographia* famously begins with a story about how, under Julius Caesar, a survey of the entire world was undertaken by four scholars, one for each of the cardinal regions of the world.<sup>77</sup> It is most clearly expressed in the version of Julius Honorius, who explains that: ‘when Julius Caesar and Mark Antony were consuls, the entire earth was scoured by four most wise and select men: Nicodemus the east, Didymus the west, Theodotus the north and Polyclitus the south.’<sup>78</sup> The impact of this story, and the *Cosmographia* generally, is visible in its prominent inclusion on a variety of monumental *mappaemundi*. It is found in a marginal inscription on the top right corner of the Ebstorf map, although it only mentions that ‘Julius Caesar first prepared [a map of the world] after envoys were sent across the extent of the whole world’.<sup>79</sup> A far more prominent example is found on the Hereford Map. In the bottom right corner, there is a pictorial representation of the survey. The image presented is actually a conflation of Pseudo-Aethicus with the gospel story of the great census, hence the label: ‘Luke in the gospel [2:1]: in those days there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that the whole world should be recorded (*describeretur*)’.<sup>80</sup> As such, it is Augustus, depicted with a papal crown, who holds the fictive decree, complete with an imperial seal bearing his name, instructing the geographers to survey the world.<sup>81</sup> But only three geographers are depicted as receiving Caesar’s instructions: Nicodemus, Theodotus and Polyclitus. This discrepancy is also

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<sup>77</sup> See generally, Nicolet and Gautier Dalché ‘Les “quatre sages”’.

<sup>78</sup> Jul. Hon., *Cosm.* 1; cf. Ps.-Aeth., 1.1\* (Reise, 21; cf. 72). ‘Iulio Caesare et Marco Antoni[n]o consulibus omnis orbis peragratus est per sapientissimos et electos viros quattuor: Nicodemo orientis, Didymo occidentis, Theodoto Septemtrionalis, Polyclito meridiani.’

<sup>79</sup> Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten*, vol. 5, *Die Ebstorkarte* (Stuttgart: Jos. Roth’sche, 1896), 8. ‘Quam [i.e. mappae mundi] Julius Cesar missis legatis per totius orbis amplitudinem primus instituit’.

<sup>80</sup> Scott D. Westrem, *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 9. ‘Lucas in evangelio: Exiit edictum ab Augusto Cesare, ut describeretur huniversus orbis.’

<sup>81</sup> Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 9-11.

noted in four blocks of red writing that borders the outer frame of the panel in which the world is set, where it is explained, this time drawing near-verbatim from Pseudo-Aethicus, that: ‘the world began to be measured by Julius Caesar: / The entire east was measured by Nicodemus. / The north and west were measured by Theodotus. / The southern part was measured by Policlitus.’<sup>82</sup> As we can see, somewhere in the intervening centuries Didymus has fallen out of the picture, and with him the careful division laid down by Pseudo-Aethicus has broken down.

The breakdown of the Pseudo-Aethican distinction, and the concurrent blending of three and fourfold divisions of the oecumene, is already evident in the early-twelfth century. A perfect example both of the problems of combining these models and of some of the possible solutions is found in Lambert of Saint-Omer’s apocalyptic compendia, the *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1120). As alluded to previously, Lambert’s geographical knowledge is largely consistent of a strange intermingling of Orosius and Pseudo-Aethicus, certainly a product of the fact that he read both from the same manuscript (St-Omer, Bibliotheque Municipale, 717).<sup>83</sup> He equally strives to harmonise the two models in the same manner as the Hereford map, but unlike the latter, he does so differently on two separate occasions. The most visually striking example is found near the beginning of the manuscript in Lambert’s T-O diagram of peoples.<sup>84</sup> The peoples on this map are drawn directly from Pseudo-Aethicus, in substantially the same order, with the boundaries of the three continents as described by Orosius written in the margins. This created certain problems. First, Pseudo-Aethicus does not list peoples for the southern region of the world, saying that there are too many to count, so Lambert has listed the provinces of Africa alongside the peoples of Asia and Europe.<sup>85</sup> More significantly, to deal with the fourth region, Lambert has decided to divide Asia in two with another

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<sup>82</sup> Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 11; cf. Ps.-Aeth., 1.1\*-2\* (Reise, 72). ‘A Julio Cesare orbis terrarum metiri cepit: A Nicodoxo omnis Oriens dimensus est. A Theodoco Setpemptrion et Occidens dimensus est. A Policlito Meridiana pars dimensus est.’

<sup>83</sup> Derolez, *Autograph*, 193.

<sup>84</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 19r; cf. Derolez, *Autograph*, 49.

<sup>85</sup> Ps.-Aeth., *Cosm.*, 1.48 (Reise, 90).

red line running up from the horizontal slightly to the left of centre. There he begins the list with his own addition: ‘northern Asia has these peoples’, after which follows the list from the northern Ocean in Pseudo-Aethicus.<sup>86</sup> The remainder of Asia begins simply ‘the east has’, and the west is left for Europe.<sup>87</sup>

However, this is not Lambert’s only attempt at harmony. Near the other end of the compilation, Lambert famously includes a map of Europe, under the title ‘Europa mundi pars quarta.’<sup>88</sup> He goes on, in the marginal text, to provide the story of Julius Caesar’s survey of the world, noting specifically that this region was measured by Theodotus and that though it is called ‘pars tercia’, it is in reality ‘quarta’. Even though the geography is still that of the west, the surveyor is Theodotus who, according to Pseudo-Aethicus, was assigned to the northern part of the world.<sup>89</sup> Lambert had himself already cut down the number of surveyors to three, dropping the western surveyor Didymus and blocking north and west together in his chronicle of the six ages – a tradition that, as we have seen, takes hold in later medieval cartography.<sup>90</sup> Thus, while this map is rightly used as evidence for an increased geographical focus on Europe and an increased awareness of northern Europe in the High Middle Ages, there is also a tension here between Europe as northern and Europe as western, where it seems to ambiguously inhabit both positions.<sup>91</sup>

But even for authors who are not explicitly attempting to harmonise the *Cosmographia* with a tripartite geography, the influence of its quadripartite system can still be clearly felt. This can be seen both in the shifting boundaries of the continents and in the developing use of the cardinal points to name regions of the world. Asia was already, and continued to be, understood as

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<sup>86</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 19r; Ps.-Aeth., *Cosm.* 1.38 (Reise, 87-8). ‘Asia Septentrionalis habet gentes’.

<sup>87</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 19r. ‘Oriens habet’.

<sup>88</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 241r.

<sup>89</sup> Ps.-Aeth., 1.2\* (Reise, 72).

<sup>90</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 138v; Gautier Dalché, ‘Les “quatre sages”’, 203-5, 209. ‘Deinde regna orientis et meridiani ac septentrionis occidentisque et prouintias insulasque per tres uiros prudentissimos uidelicet Nicodoxum et Pollyclitonem atque Theodotum metiri precepit.’

<sup>91</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Representations géographiques’, 69-70; cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, ch 3.

characteristically eastern, and in a certain sense as synonymous with the east, in the patristic literature.<sup>92</sup> As such, we will devote the remainder of this section to two case studies: first, on the changing boundaries of Africa, as it was increasingly associated with the south, as well as its cartographic representation and second, the ambiguous position of Britain between north and west in twelfth-century geography.

### *Case 1: Egypt and Ethiopia*

Though it had been supposed since antiquity that Africa, or particularly Ethiopia, was characteristically southern, the specific geography was never terribly clear. The Ethiopians had, since at least Homeric Greece, been viewed as living on the limits of the world although their exact location was often ambiguous.<sup>93</sup> But a direct equation between Africa and the south was not traditionally made in the same way that Asia had come to be associated directly with the east, surely in part because of Africa's tenuous position as a *pars* in its own right. What is more, the geographies of late antiquity were unhelpfully contradictory as to the exact location of Ethiopia in relation to Asia. Orosius tries to present a reasonably tidy picture that lines up, essentially, with a T-O diagram of the world, but is ultimately quite vague about the relative location of Asia and Africa. He notes that oceans lie to the south of both India and Egypt Superior, and that Egypt lies to the east of southern Africa, which itself is bordered by the Ethiopian Ocean on the south. But, at the same time, in his immensely confusing description of the Nile's course, he explains that it flows west from either the Red Sea or Mount Atlas, but then notes that some suggest that it also flows underground into a great lake, which then turns east through the Ethiopian desert.<sup>94</sup> But this undercuts the nice division he had previously created. Isidore of Seville provides a somewhat different picture. As

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<sup>92</sup> Eg. Orosius, 1.2.2 (Fear, 36); cf. HoSV, *Desc.* 7 (Gautier Dalché, 138). 'Asia ... per totam transuersi plagam orientis extenditur.'

<sup>93</sup> James Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 45-60.

<sup>94</sup> Orosius, 1.2.15, 27-34, 89 (Fear, 38-40, 46).

usual he situates Egypt in Asia and, like Orosius, sets Syria to its east, Libya to the west and the Mediterranean to the north. However, unlike Orosius, he describes its southern boundary as extending all the way to Ethiopia. He also describes Africa as beginning from Egypt and running south through Ethiopia to the west.<sup>95</sup> Finally, although Julius Honorius and Pseudo-Aethicus do situate African geography in the southern region of the world, the south also contains a variety of locations traditionally set in southern Asia, like Egypt and Arabia.<sup>96</sup> So this hardly solves the interpretive dilemma. Although Isidore's placement of Ethiopia to the south of Egypt seems to have been more influential in the early Middle Ages, these descriptions were evidently confusing for medieval readers; indeed Dicuil (c. 825) devotes an entire chapter of his geography to the relationship of Egypt and Ethiopia.<sup>97</sup>

By the twelfth century, however, an alternative picture began to emerge. As the separation of Pseudo-Aethicus broke down, the south in particular began to gain autonomy as a distinct region of the world. We can see this already in the clever synthesis of southern geography in the *Imago Mundi* (1110-1139) of Honorius Augustodunensis (fl. 1098-1140).<sup>98</sup> His description of Africa follows his broader pattern of providing north and south boundaries only for intermediate sized regions, which are related to one another, rather than to the individual provinces. So, for example, the central strip of Asia begins with India, for which he provides a northern and southern boundary, the Caucasus Mountains and the Red Sea, as well as an eastern and western boundary. Then for each of the subsequent regions, Parthia, Mesopotamia and Syria, he provides only an east and west

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<sup>95</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.27, 14.5.3 (Barney et al., 287, 292).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Ps.-Aeth., 1.39-46 (Riese, 88-9). The first three provinces noted are: 'Aegyptum, Aethiopiam, Africam'.

<sup>97</sup> Dicuil, prol., 4 (Parthey, 5, 16-7); cf. *Situs orbis* 4.13 (ed. Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'Situs orbis terre vel regionum: un traité de géographie inédit du haut Moyen Âge (Paris, B. N. latin 4841)' *Revue d'histoire des textes* 12-13 (1982-1983): 167) and *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia* 2.20-21 (ed. Joseph Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, vol.2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990), 32-3). The confusion continues in the later Middle Ages, when India is linked to Ethiopia as well, through Pseudo-Abdias. (Eg. Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, 2.3 (ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 183); cf. Bernard Hamilton, 'Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress through the Indies', in *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Backingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 238-40 and Rouxpetel, *L'occident*, 115-37.)

<sup>98</sup> Flint in Hon., *Im. mun.* 7-8; more generally on Honorius see the collected essays in Valerie I. J. Flint, *Ideas in the Medieval West: Texts and Their Contexts* (London: Ashgate, 1988).

boundary, describing each as running between the Indus, Tigris, Euphrates and Mediterranean respectively.

The description of central Asia segues into his description of Egypt. Honorius explains that ‘these aforementioned regions beginning in the east extend in a straight line to the Mediterranean, to which Egypt is connected on the south’.<sup>99</sup> It is, traditionally enough, the southern section of Asia, but only this northern boundary is provided for the broader region, with no southern boundary. Likewise, though Isidore’s eastern and western termini are used, he cuts out Syria leaving only the Red Sea to the east and Libya to the west.<sup>100</sup> The separation of Syria from Egypt not only highlights the southernness of the latter but likewise, indirectly, follows Pseudo-Aethicus’s placement of both.<sup>101</sup> The use of the Red Sea as the sole eastern boundary may also reflect a cartographical representation of geographical space, given the prominence of the Red Sea in the south-east corner of most *mappaemundi*.<sup>102</sup> Once we get to the description of Africa, Honorius conspicuously extends its bounds: ‘it arises on the east of the Indus [C. Nile] river, and inclining through the south it extends into the west.’<sup>103</sup> Notably, this mirrors Isidore’s description of the extent of Asia as extending ‘from the south through the east up to the north’.<sup>104</sup> The implication of such a description should be clear given that Isidore specifically notes in the next sentence that Asia takes up half the world.<sup>105</sup> Subsequent to this, following Isidore, Honorius describes Ethiopia as specifically ‘toward the south’ and extending between two parts ‘one in the east ... the other in the west’ and beyond

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<sup>99</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.17 (Flint, 57). ‘Hee superius dicte regiones ab oriente incipientes, recta linea ad Mediterraneum mare extenduntur, quibus versus Austrum Egyptus connectitur’.

<sup>100</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.27 (Barnes et al., 287).

<sup>101</sup> Ps.-Aeth., 1.5, 43 (Reise, 73, 88). Flint cites no influence of the *Cosmographia* on the *Imago Mundi*. (Flint, Intro. to Hon., *Im. mun.* 46-7.)

<sup>102</sup> Gautier Dalché in HoSV, *Desc.* 171n43 and ‘Maps in words’, 230-1.

<sup>103</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.30 (Flint, 63). ‘Hęc in oriente Indi [Nili C.] fluminis surgit, et per meridiem vergens, in occidentem tendit.’ C is the earliest family of MSS.

<sup>104</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.2.2 (trans. mine). ‘Asia a meridie per orientem usque ad septentrionem pervenit’.

<sup>105</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.2.3 (Barney et al., 285).

which lie great deserts and the ocean.<sup>106</sup> Thus, although he has deftly fit everything into an exceptionally traditional mould, Honorius has conspicuously extended the boundaries of Africa across the southern region of the world and associated it characteristically with the south.

Where we can still describe Honorius's solution to the southern dilemma as traditional, the same can not be said for *Descriptio mappe mundi* (1130-5) of Hugh of Saint Victor (d.1141).<sup>107</sup> While for Honorius the cardinal points are still used primarily to describe the continents, as they were for the Fathers, Hugh takes this a step further in his explication of the various terminology for Africa. Right at the end of his discussion of Africa, Hugh has a brief aside where he explains that there are a number of different names for this region of the world: 'it should be known that writers sometimes set down Libya for Africa and Africa for Libya, but Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, Africa are also set down indifferently for the southern region.'<sup>108</sup> What was potentially implicit in Honorius is now unambiguously stated.<sup>109</sup> And while this may seem like an anodyne terminological clarification, it is nothing of the sort, and has far-reaching implications. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in Hugh's most radical departure from the ancient and medieval geographical tradition: his inclusion of Egypt within Africa. Hugh is alone among medieval geographers to take such a step explicitly, although both Peter the Venerable and Guibert of Nogent similarly group Egypt with Africa, as distinct from 'the east'.<sup>110</sup> This not only extends the boundaries of eastern Africa, as

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<sup>106</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.32 (Flint, 64). 'Versus meridiem vero est Ethiopia, ab Etham dicta, una in oriente in qua est urbs Saba de qua fuit illa regina, altera in occidente inter quas sunt Garamantes, a Garama civitate dicti.'; 'Ultra Ethiopiam sunt maxima loca deserta ... Deinde est maximus oceanus'.

<sup>107</sup> Gautier Dalché, *Descriptio*, 55-8. On Hugh more generally see Paul Rorem, *Hugh of Saint Victor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ch 1.

<sup>108</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 18 (Gautier Dalché, 151). 'sed sciendum quod scriptores aliquando Libiam pro Affrica, et Affricam pro Libia ponunt, sed et Ethiopiam, Egyptum, Libiam, Affricam pro meridiana plaga indifferenter ponunt'.

<sup>109</sup> We should not suppose that this began with Hugh. The Remigius B gloss of Martianus Capella (Lozovsky, 'Earth', 116) explains the terminology for Africa likewise: 'Lybiam i.e. Africam i.e. australem'. Paris, BnF, Lat. 8674, 71v and Paris, BnF, NAL 340, 77v.

<sup>110</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Liber contra sectem Saracenorum* prol., D 179vs (ed. James Kristzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 226) [hereafter Pet. Ven., *Cont. sect.*] and Guibert, *Dei gesta* 1.4 (CCCM 127A, 98-9; Levine, 35); cf. Gautier Dalché, *Descriptio*, 51n34, 171n43. 'uiolenta incursione, toto fere ut dictum est armis oriente subacto, **Egyptum, Lybiam, Affricamque uniuersam prophanae religioni subiecit**, et sic duabus mundi partibus occupatis' / 'Huius nefariae institutionis obscuritas christianum tunc nomen obtexit et adhuc per Orientis pene universi, **Affricae, Egypti, Ethiopiae, Libiae** et iuxta nos Hispaniae remotissimos sinus obliterat.'

Honorius had previously, but actually changes the boundary of the continents. Africa is no longer the southern boundary of eastern and western Asia – there is no southern Asia.<sup>111</sup> The Red Sea has become the boundary. Likewise he describes both Ethiopia and Egypt as lying alongside the Red Sea to their east.<sup>112</sup>

But this is not Hugh's only geographical work, even if it is his most extensive. Although Hugh is not quite so radical in the geographical section of his *Chronicle* (c. 1130), there are important similarities.<sup>113</sup> In this text the entire south-eastern section of the world, from eastern Ethiopia to Upper Libya(!), is discussed prior to the provinces of Africa. The text is, however, somewhat ambiguous:

On the southern side of Asia, the Red Sea is extended from the eastern ocean towards the west up to the border of Arabia and Palestine. Between the Red Sea and the southern ocean to the east, above, is Upper Ethiopia, which is bounded from the west by the Ethiopian mountains along its side.<sup>114</sup>

He has distinguished upper Ethiopia from Asia here in a way that is not quite analogous with his presentation of Scythia to the north. But the salient similarity is the use of the Red Sea to highlight the boundary of Asia, rather than the Nile.

The increased prominence of the Red Sea as a continental boundary can be found more broadly in the twelfth century. In the *Liber Guidonis* (1118-9), Guido of Pisa likewise rejects Egypt as the eastern boundary of Africa, using instead 'Arabia and the region of the Red Sea'.<sup>115</sup> So although Guido situates Egypt within Asia, Africa has now adopted Egypt's traditional eastern

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<sup>111</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 9-12, cf. *capitula* (Gautier Dalché, 140-5; cf.133). Nb. 'IX. *De regionibus et gentibus Asye ad austrum*' is listed among the capitula, however ch. 9, listed in the text as 'IX. *De prouinciis et ciuitatibus Asie ad ortum solis*' covers the geography of India, with Ethiopian India ending at the Red Sea in the south.

<sup>112</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 9-10, 14 (Gautier Dalché, 140-1, 146).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Lars Boje Mortensen, 'Hugh of St. Victor on Secular History: A Preliminary Edition of Chapters from His *Chronica*', *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 62 (1992): 3-30; William M. Green, 'Hugo of St. Victor: *De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum*', *Speculum* 18, no. 4 (1943): 484-93.

<sup>114</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 15009, 16r. 'In latera australi asie porrigitur mare rubrum ab oceano orientali occidentem uersus usque ad confinia arabie et palestine. Inter mare rubrum et oceanum australem ad orientem supra ethiopia est superior quae ab occidente montibus ethiopicis per transuersum terminatur.'

<sup>115</sup> Guido, *Geo.* 122 (Schnetz, 140); cf. Orosius, 1.2.8 (Fear, 37), Isi., *Etym.* 14.5.3 (Barney et al. 292). On Guido see Campopiano, 'Construction of the Text', 67-73; Campopiano, *Liber Guidonis*, LI-LXII. 'Africa habet fines ab oriente praelatam Arabiam et regionem maris Rubri et ex parte regionem Hebraeorum'.

boundaries and Egypt's position has been left nebulously in the south-west of Asia.<sup>116</sup> We can also read Honorius's removal of Syria from the eastern boundary of Egypt in the same light, since the position of Egypt as the explicit boundary of Asia and Africa has all but dropped out of the picture. This likewise supports Gautier Dalché's suggestion that Hugh's inclusion of Egypt in Africa is a product of the prominence of the Red Sea on medieval maps.<sup>117</sup>

### *Case 1b: Cartographic Representations of Africa*

Stepping back from textual geographies, we can underscore the significance of the expansion of Africa and the newly prominent position of the Red Sea by bringing the textual material into conversation with the analogous cartographical developments of the twelfth century. Although the early history of medieval maps is fairly hazy, we have good reason to believe that the original “*mise en cart*” of geographical texts’, which established many of the standard features of medieval maps, occurred during late antiquity, prior to our earliest extant maps of the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>118</sup> From around the turn of the twelfth century, emanating particularly from northern France, many of the formal aspects of the great *mappaemundi* – such as the circular form, eastern orientation and quantity of miscellaneous details – begin to solidify.<sup>119</sup> Within this process we can see an analogous series of recurrent tensions around the relationship of Ethiopia and Asia, almost certainly developing in concert with the textual tradition discussed above. There are two comparisons in particular that will serve to highlight the cartographical tension. First, we will compare different representations of the Nile in maps up to the end of the twelfth century and show how its presentation has implications for the extent of Africa. Secondly, we can see the continued

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<sup>116</sup> Guido, *Geo.* 121 (Schnetz, 139); cf. Orosius, 1.2.27-34 (Fear, 39-40); Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.27 (Barney et al., 287).

<sup>117</sup> Gautier Dalché, *Descriptio*, 171n43.

<sup>118</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘L’héritage antique’, 36-53, at 51; Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Eucher de Lyon, Iona, Bobbio: Le destin d’une *mappa mundi* de l’antiquité tardive’, *Viator* 41 Multilingual (2010): 1-22. “*mise en cart*” des textes géographiques’.

<sup>119</sup> P. D. A. Harvey, ‘The Sawley Map and Other World Maps in Twelfth-Century England’, *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 37-8.

tension around the border of Africa and Asia by comparing its presentation in the Ebstorf map with the Hereford and Sawley maps.

Although a fairly standard depiction of the two Niles had emerged by the thirteenth century, there was some considerable variation at least up to the mid-twelfth century. There is a coincidence in many pre-eleventh-century maps between the depiction of a single Nile and a presentation of Africa as strictly limited to the south-west section of the world, in line with the T-O diagram and the sections of Orosius in particular that are sympathetic to such a picture. The earliest extant *mappamundi*, the Albi world map, presents just this sort of picture.<sup>120</sup> It depicts the world in the shape of a sling wrapped around the Mediterranean and, although the continents are not labeled, we may reasonably infer their divisions.<sup>121</sup> The Caspian Sea and Red Sea are almost directly aligned, the former being the canonical mouth of the Tanais, at least via the Meotide swamps, as described by Orosius, and the Red Sea is, in this case, depicted as (or right beside) the head of the Nile.<sup>122</sup> The position of Ethiopia is therefore clear in this presentation. It covers the southern half of Africa, terminating with Africa at the Red Sea. However, a minor ambiguity remains with position of Egypt. Orosius describes Africa as beginning from the border of Egypt and Alexandria, but the map labels these on either side of the Nile, with Egypt bordering Ethiopia in the south. This, of course, sets Egypt on the wrong side of the Red Sea if we follow Orosius.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, the map carefully delimits Africa to the south-western section of the world, in line with Dan's suggestion that it follows the model of an Orosian *orbis triquadrus*.<sup>124</sup>

The early Beatus maps are even clearer on this point. In three of four tenth-century Beatus manuscripts, all belonging to family IIa, we find the same presentation of a single river Nile, along

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<sup>120</sup> Albi, BM, ms 29, 57v. Digitalisation at <http://mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/1035-manuscrits-medievales.htm>. (accessed September 17, 2018).

<sup>121</sup> On the form see Anca Dan, 'La mappemonde d'Albi – Un pinax chôrographikos', *Revue du Comité français de cartographie* 234 (2017): 26-7.

<sup>122</sup> Orosius, 1.2.5 (Fear, 36). Cf. Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi*, vol. 3, *Die kleineren Weltkarten* (Stuttgart: Jos. Roth'sche, 1895), 58-9. Miller shows the influence of Orosius and Ps.-Aethicus on the Albi map.

<sup>123</sup> Orosius, 1.2.34 (Fear, 40).

<sup>124</sup> Dan, 'La mappemonde', 23-7.

with both Africa and Ethiopia being clearly demarcated as strictly to the west of Asia.<sup>125</sup> The schematic form is clearest in the earliest example, the Escalada Beatus.<sup>126</sup> This map clearly labels the three parts of the oecumene, and they are schematically divided by the (unlabelled) Mediterranean, in the centre; Tanais, which runs directly north except to divide in two around the Riphean Mountains; and Nile, which curves sharply west. The term Asia runs across both pages, with two letters on either, leaving no ambiguity about the location of paradise, on the top left of the right page, nor about its boundary with Africa. In this case, Ethiopia is presented as an almost extra-continental region, as its label is the same size as for Europe, Asia and Libya, and it is clearly divided from Libya by the Nile. It is also cut off from Asia by the Taurus Mountains and Mount Lebanon. But, once again, the position of Egypt is ambiguous: not only is it nestled within the narrow embrace of the Nile and the Mediterranean, alongside Africa, but the last letter of 'Libia' crosses the mountain range which divides Egypt and Alexandria from the province 'Africa'. Another interesting example of this same problem is found on in the Saint-Sever Beatus.<sup>127</sup> The same spatial elements are found on this map, with a prominent river Nile, running directly south in this case, dividing Africa from Asia and with another branch dividing Africa from Ethiopia. In this case, both 'Africa' and 'Libia' are labeled, overlapping one another across western Africa. Due to this overlap, Lower Egypt and Alexandria, both situated on the western bank of the Nile, are contained within the L and I of 'Libia', but are divided by a smaller river from the end of Africa. It is difficult to say whether there is some specific intention behind the labelling on this map, but nevertheless, Egypt is certainly not obviously presented as part of Asia visually. The broader layout, with Asia covering the entire eastern half and clearly divided from both Africa and Ethiopia is also

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<sup>125</sup> For the stemma see John Williams, 'Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map', *Imago Mundi* 49, no. 1 (1997): 10, for a collection of images see <http://www.myoldmaps.com/early-medieval-monographs/207-the-beatus-mappamundi/> (accessed September 17, 2018). Cf. Valladolid, *Biblioteca Universitaria*, Ms 433, 36v-37r; Seu d'Urgell, *Museo Diocesano*, Num. Inv. 501, VIv-VIIr.

<sup>126</sup> New York, Morgan Library, MS M.644, 33v-34r. A schematic drawing is found in Williams, 'Isidore', 9 and images can be found at <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/110807> (accessed September 17, 2018).

<sup>127</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 8878 45bisv-45ter. Digitalisation on <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505441p> (accessed September 17, 2018); schematic in Williams, 'Isidore', 12.

seen on Beatus maps from families I and IIb as well prior to the mid-twelfth century, although in most IIb maps the Nile is transected by another river (perhaps the second Nile) which comes from the 'Sinus Arabicus' in the Girona Beatus map (975).<sup>128</sup>

We can contrast this presentation of a clearly western Africa, albeit one that still contains ambiguity around the location of Egypt, with another group of maps on which the extent of Africa becomes considerably less clear. Beginning with another of our extent eighth century maps, the Vatican world map (Vat. Lat. 6018), we can see an early example of the portrayal of the second Nile running across the southern edge of the world, a trend that would come to dominate high medieval maps.<sup>129</sup> Unlike the previous set of maps, the Vatican map presents the three continents as visually distinct landmasses, separated primarily by an expansive Mediterranean in the centre of the map. The southern landmass, however, must be further divided roughly at the point of the straight eastern edge of the Mediterranean, usefully placed along the page-break which provides a material distinction between the eastern and western halves of the oecumene on the two folios. This is likewise clear from the toponyms, as Egypt ('Eretus superior' and 'Diserta Egypti') and 'Mount Climax' are found in its eastern section.<sup>130</sup> But this southern landmass is also bisected by a second river Nile, emerging from the ground in the east and ending with a sea in the west, as would become the standard depiction on most maps from the eleventh century onwards. This river visually separates Ethiopia from Africa. Unlike the previous group of maps, however, the Red Sea has been shifted around the edge of the circle from a north-south orientation to an east-west orientation. As such, it cannot provide an eastern terminus for Ethiopia, nor are there any mountain ranges, as in type IIa Beatus maps, beyond the second Nile to serve an analogous function. Therefore, the toponyms now create ambiguity as to the extent of Ethiopia, and thus Africa, under the south of

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<sup>128</sup> Girona, Museo de la Catedral, Num. Inv. 7 (11), 54v-55r; cf. for I, Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 1, 34v-35r. Schematics in Williams, 'Isidore', 8, 19.

<sup>129</sup> Vatican, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 6018, 63v-64r. Digitalisation at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.Lat.6018](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.Lat.6018) (accessed September 17, 2018), schematic in Williams, 'Isidore', 16.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Orosius, 1.2.27 (Fear, 39). 'mons Climax'.

Asia. Although the south-east corner is labelled ‘Egyptian Desert’, there is also a label for the Ethiopian desert almost directly underneath Mount Climax, producing an asymmetry in the extent of Africa on either side of the second Nile.

This problem is not reserved to the Vatican map; rather it is consistently found in eleventh- and twelfth-century maps featuring a second Nile. Moving from the mid-eleventh to later-twelfth century we see the same tension emerge in the Cotton, Munich ‘Isidore’ and Tournai map of Palestine.<sup>131</sup> The ambiguity of the Vatican map is intensified in the Cottonian map (c.1025-50), which divides the second Nile into two sections, one in the usual location and one in the far west, following Orosius’s confusing discussion of the Nile flowing underground and emerging near the ‘fons Dara’, labelled in the bottom right.<sup>132</sup> It contains a natural point for the division of Africa and Asia, both lower Egypt and Alexandria are situated on the eastern side of the first Nile and, just above the bottom of the eastern second Nile, ‘Mons Climax’ is labelled. Below that there are a variety of characteristically African locations, such as regions of Libya and the Lake of Salt pans and the Ethiopians. However, continuing east along the southern side of the eastern second Nile, one continues to encounter Ethiopian place names, with ‘Libia Ethiopum’ parallel to Palestine and the Ethiopian Desert near the eastern end of the river, across from upper Egypt.<sup>133</sup>

In the Munich ‘Isidore’ map (c. 1130), the border seems clear enough, with the first regions of Africa described in Orosius, Catabathmon and the camp of Alexander, depicted as a north-south mountain range parallel to the east of the Mediterranean, Alexandria and the mouth of the Nile.<sup>134</sup> It

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<sup>131</sup> London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B.v, 56v; Munich, BSB, Clm 10058, 154v; London, BL, Add. MS 10049, 64v. Respectively: there is a high quality image of the first at [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cotton\\_world\\_map.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cotton_world_map.jpg) (accessed September 17, 2018) and schematic in Miller, *kleineren*, 33; the best reproduction and a partial schematic of the second in Gautier Dalché, *Descriptio*, frontispiece, 83; and a reproduction of the third in P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: British Library, 2012), 48-9 and an annotated image at [recogito.pelagios.org/document/dowk2epajbqmgj/part/2/edit](http://recogito.pelagios.org/document/dowk2epajbqmgj/part/2/edit) (accessed September 17, 2018).

<sup>132</sup> Orosius, 1.2.31 (Fear, 39). I have interpreted the second as an extension of the Nile, due to its visual similarity and the possible interpretation of Orosius, however other maps, like the Munich ‘Isidore’ map, have a separate ‘river Dara’.

<sup>133</sup> Miller, *kleineren*, 35.

<sup>134</sup> Orosius, 1.2.9 (Fear, 37).

likewise sidesteps the problem of the second Nile by depicting 'serpents' beyond it.<sup>135</sup> However, it depicts another unlabelled mountain range to the east of Egypt, beyond which is labeled 'the uninhabited places of Ethiopia'.<sup>136</sup>

Likewise, in the Tournai map of Palestine, from the late-twelfth century, although almost certainly based to some extent on an insular world map from at least the sixth to eighth century, the author has found a clever means of mediating this issue.<sup>137</sup> The two Niles are depicted on the right of the map, with the Catabathmon mountains at the bottom, signifying the location of Africa. Upper Egypt is labelled on both sides of the first Nile three times in total, as well as 'desert' and to the east of the source of the Nile is 'Egyptian India'.<sup>138</sup> The second Nile is here called the Nuchul, presumably following Pomponius Mela's description of Ethiopians, and as usual contains Ethiopia along the extent of its southern bank.<sup>139</sup> The author has, however, made some specific modifications to draw this Ethiopia into Asia. There are three labels along its extent. The western and middle labels both describe the region as 'Egyptian Ethiopians', thereby rolling this previously ambiguous region more explicitly into Asia by situating Ethiopian peoples within the Egyptian context.<sup>140</sup> Finally, in the east there are three labels, running west to east, 'Egyptian India', 'Ethiopians' and 'Ethiopian India'.<sup>141</sup> Given the late antique origin of both the tripartition of India and the early model for this map, it is difficult to say when these features were added to the map.<sup>142</sup> From the late-twelfth century, however, the tripartition of India, in concert with increasing awareness of a plurality of south-eastern Christians among the Indians, Ethiopians and Nubians.<sup>143</sup> Likewise,

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<sup>135</sup> Gautier Dalché, *Descriptio*, 83. 'serpentes'.

<sup>136</sup> Gautier Dalché, *Descriptio*, 83. 'ethiopum deserta loca'.

<sup>137</sup> On the Tournai maps, previously 'Jerome' Maps, see Harvey, *Holy Land*, 40-59 and Gautier Dalché, 'Eucher de Lyon', 6-9.

<sup>138</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 10049, 64v. 'India Egipti'.

<sup>139</sup> Mela, 3.96.

<sup>140</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 10049, 64v. 'Ethiopes Egiptii'.

<sup>141</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 10049, 64v. 'India Egipti', 'Ethiopes' and 'India Ethiopie'.

<sup>142</sup> Rouxpetel, *L'Occident*, 116-7 and Gautier Dalché, 'Eucher de Lyon', 13.

<sup>143</sup> Rouxpetel, *L'Occident*, 104-5, 117n64.

Harvey identifies a possible shift from ‘indi[a]’ to ‘Egyptian India’ between the second and third recension of the Palestine map.<sup>144</sup> As such, possibly in anticipation of an emerging trend in the late-twelfth century, the author use of the increasingly ambiguous and plural positions of India and Ethiopia to leverage the terms India and Ethiopia as almost bywords for liminal eastern and southern locations, rather than specific geographical locations, to clarify the problem of south-eastern geography.

As we can see, the problem of the relationship of Egypt and Ethiopia, and the corresponding issue around the border of Africa and Asia, is not isolated to texts, but stands in relationship to, and is reinforced by, the continued problem of depicting this relationship cartographically. Although this has been presented in part as a diachronic narrative – that is, of the breakdown of the early medieval notion of the world as literally represented by a T-O diagram and the rise of a more complex high medieval geography of Africa and Asia – we must resist falling into this sort of teleological narrative. It is important, therefore, to counterbalance this narrative with the fact that we can find this same debate occurring synchronically on maps across the both the early and High Middle Ages. Indeed, we may end with a beautiful case in point of the continued debate around this boundary in the thirteenth century through a comparison of the Hereford and Ebstorf maps.<sup>145</sup> Unlike the previously discussed maps the Hereford map specifically labels the boundary of Africa and Asia, in just the same way as the Sawley map.<sup>146</sup> At the corner of the Nile, where it turns almost ninety degrees east, the Ethiopian Mountains begin, then continue south for a short distance before turning east and ultimately terminating once again at the Nile. Around the corner of this mountain range the author has labelled in red ‘the boundary of Asia and Africa’.<sup>147</sup> And sure enough to the south-east of

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<sup>144</sup> Harvey, *Holy Land*, 47-9

<sup>145</sup> See Westrem, *Hereford Map* and Miller, *Ebstorkarte*. High res and annotated images respectively at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hereford-Karte.jpg> (accessed September 17, 2018) and <http://www.uni-lueneburg.de/hyperimage/EbsKart/start.html> (accessed September 17, 2018).

<sup>146</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi, MS 66, 2. Annotated image at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Imago\\_Mundi\\_de\\_Honorius\\_of\\_Autum\\_\(editado\\_por\\_Henry\\_of\\_Mainz\)\\_1190.PNG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Imago_Mundi_de_Honorius_of_Autum_(editado_por_Henry_of_Mainz)_1190.PNG) (accessed September 17, 2018).

<sup>147</sup> Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 183. ‘Terminus Asye et Affrice’.

this range the ‘land of Ethiopia’ is labelled in red letters.<sup>148</sup> The map has thereby extended the boundary of Africa very explicitly along the south-eastern edge of the world.

Conversely, on the Ebstorf map, the author has explicitly restricted Africa to the south-west, in line with a T diagram that has been included in the top right margin of the map. In the same way as the Tournai map of Palestine and Munich ‘Isidore’ maps, the Catabathmon mountains have been depicted running directly south from the mouth of the first Nile, across from Alexandria. But, in this case, the author has specified that ‘Africa begins in these mountains’.<sup>149</sup> What is more, similar to the Tournai map, above this to the south side of the Nile, potential references to Ethiopia have been replaced with Egypt. Instead, around the middle, there is a label for the ‘Egyptian desert’ which, as a note and image explain, contains Satyrs.<sup>150</sup> Furthermore, at the eastern end, there is a note, drawn from Solinus, about monstrous races that live in an area between Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya.<sup>151</sup> However, below this, the statement is geographically recontextualised by the label ‘peoples of Egypt’.<sup>152</sup> Thus even by the end of the thirteenth century, we can see authors attempting to resolve this same problem regarding the border of Africa and Asia in a very explicit manner.

### *Case 2: Britain and its Islands*

Moving to the other end of the oecumene, as the south gained additional autonomy and was increasingly linked with one of three parts of the world, the position of Europe between north and west became more ambiguous. This is, however, more difficult to evaluate directly, as few authors self-consciously attempt to situate Europe in terms of cardinal points. But the uncertain relationship

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<sup>148</sup> Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 185. ‘Terra Ethiopie’. Cf. Westrem’s discussion of the ambiguity of this region also highlighted in the scribes confusion over Pliny’s measurement of Africa. (Westrem, *Hereford Map*, 182, 340.)

<sup>149</sup> Miller, *Ebstorkarte*, 54. ‘Mons Gathabathmon. In his montibus Africa sumit initium.’

<sup>150</sup> Miller, *Ebstorkarte*, 52. ‘Egyptia deserta’.

<sup>151</sup> Miller, *Ebstorkarte*, 61; cf. Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 27.55-60. ‘In hoc latifundio et inter Egyptum et Ethyopiam et Libiam sunt genera simiarum silvestria, quorum primum genus generaliter simias dicimus, secundum genus circofitici, tertium cynocephali, quartum synges, quintum satiri, sextum fauni dicuntur.’

<sup>152</sup> Miller, *Ebstorkarte*, 52. ‘Gentes Egyptie’.

of north and west itself can be seen more broadly. As such, to illustrate some of these ambiguities, we can instead look at the uncertainty around the north-western position of Britain, the most significant island of the northern ocean and the most closely associated with Europe.

The ancient notion of Britain was connected with a broader notion of the islands of the north-western ocean. The ocean served as a significant point of distinction, between chaos and order, and between the world and the boundless beyond.<sup>153</sup> The islands of the ocean were therefore viewed as liminal spaces beyond the bounds of the world, and Britain is no exception. Already by the late empire, the idea of Britain as the limit of the world was a widely used *topos*; indeed, Virgil sets it alongside Libya and Scythia in his first Eclogue and describes its inhabitants as ‘cut off from the whole world’.<sup>154</sup> By late antiquity this *topos* becomes embodied in Solinus’s famous presentation of Britain ‘almost another world’, a phrase that Servius uses explicitly to interpret Virgil’s expression.<sup>155</sup>

Roman geographers tended to describe Britain as standing between north and west, opposed by multiple regions of Europe, as the first in a chain of islands extending to Thule.<sup>156</sup> Although we do find this view expressed by some important late-antique and early-medieval authors, notably Martianus Capella and Bede, both Isidore and Orosius develop a slightly different picture.<sup>157</sup> Isidore does not discuss Britain as part of Europe, but instead sets it at the beginning of his chapter devoted to islands. He provides no specific cardinal referents in his description of Britain, only situating it

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<sup>153</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Comment penser l’Océan? Modes de connaissances des *fines orbis terrarum* du nord-ouest (de l’Antiquité au XIIIe siècle)’, in *L’Europe et l’Océan au Moyen Age. Contribution à l’Histoire de la Navigation*. (Nantes: Cid, 1988), 217-220.; cf. Plato, *Statesman* 273d-e.

<sup>154</sup> Virgil, *Eclogae* 1, 1.66 (trans. Guy Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 32-3); cf. Robert Coleman, *Virgil Eclogues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 86; Catullus, 11, ll.11-12; Horace, *Odes* 1.35, ll.29-30. ‘et penitus **toto divisos orbe** Britannos’.

<sup>155</sup> Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 22.1; Servius, *In Virgili Bucolica*, 1.66; cf. Thomson in WM, *GR*, vol. 2, 48-9. For the use of this trope in relation to islands more generally see Gautier Dalché, ‘Comment penser l’Océan’. ‘Finis erat orbis ora Gallici litoris, nisi Britannia insula non qualibet amplitudine nomen **paene orbis alterius** mereretur’.

<sup>156</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 4.16.102-4; Mela, 3.41ff.; Strabo, *Geography* 4.5.

<sup>157</sup> Mart. Cap., 6.666; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 1.1 (Colegrave and Mynors, 14-15).

‘opposite the region of Gaul, looking towards Spain’.<sup>158</sup> He does however set the subsequent islands on a north-western trajectory, and this may be the best indication of Isidore’s placement of Britain. In particular he situates the other end of the chain, Ultima Thule, ‘in the northwestern region, beyond Britannia’.<sup>159</sup> Orosius, on the other hand, specifically situates the British Isles within his description of Europe as opposed to the later section on islands of the ocean. Unlike the previous authors, Orosius sets it on a specifically north-south trajectory, explaining that it extends to the north, with Gaul to its south. This is followed, as usual, by the Orkneys and Thule, with the final section on Europe devoted to Ireland.<sup>160</sup> Finally, there are a few authors in late antiquity that have an alternative emphasis. Pseudo-Aethicus naturally situates the British Isles within the western ocean, although makes no mention of Thule.<sup>161</sup> More interestingly, in the brief geography of Britain at the beginning of *De exidio*, Gildas describes it as ‘at the end of the world, towards the west or north-west’.<sup>162</sup> The source for this western location is unfortunately uncertain.<sup>163</sup> Thus while it is broadly agreed that Britain is situated in the north-west, Orosius sways much of the subsequent tradition towards the north.

We can see the disproportionate impact of Orosius in Hugh’s account, both in the *Descriptio* and *Chronicon*. In both cases, Britain is more closely associated with the north. However, unlike Orosius, Hugh wants to draw a clearer distinction between continental geography and the islands of the ocean. The first account in the *Descriptio* is drawn also directly from Orosius, as the section’s subtitle suggests, with Britain extending to the north from Gaul to its south.<sup>164</sup> However the

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<sup>158</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.6.2 (Barney et al., 294). ‘Haec adversa Galliarum parte ad prospectum Hispaniae sita est’.

<sup>159</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.6.2-6 (Barney et al., 294). ‘Thyle ultima insula Oceani inter septentrionalem et occidentalem plagam ultra Britanniam’.

<sup>160</sup> Orosius, 1.2.76-80 (Fear 45). ‘Britannia oceani isula per longum in boream extenditur; a meridie Gallias habet. ... Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita longiore ab Africo in boream spatio porrigitur.’

<sup>161</sup> Ps.-Aeth., *Cosm.* 1.16 (Reise, 78).

<sup>162</sup> Gildas, *De exidio* 3.1 (ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom (London: Phillimore, 1978), 89/16). ‘Brittannia insula **in extremo ferme orbis limite circium occidentemque**’.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. John Morris in Gildas, *De exidio*, 148.

<sup>164</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 26 (Gautier Dalché, 159); cf. Orosius, 1.2.76 (Fear, 45). ‘De situ maioris Britannie Orosius /Britannia oceani insula per lungum in boream extenditur; a meridie Gallias habet.’

placement of this section in Hugh's text is more ambiguous, given his rearrangement of the continents. Even though, as with Orosius, it comes after the description of Europe, this is now the last part discussed. That said, he does not include Britain in the section on islands of the ocean alongside Thule and the Orkneys.<sup>165</sup> Hugh treats the location of Britain again in the extended description of Gaul and Italy near the end of the continental geography, excerpted from Hugh of Fleury. This description of the boundaries of Belgian Gaul also follows Orosius very closely except on one point; it omits Britain as a boundary, leaving only the British ocean to the north-west.<sup>166</sup> We may compare this with the geography in his *Chronicon*, where Britain is situated only in the list of islands. Once again, northerness is given precedence over westernness as it is listed second to last among the islands 'in the northern ocean from the east to the west'.<sup>167</sup> There is therefore a sense in which Hugh has focused specifically on the continent, perhaps as a result of his stated interest in topography as the fundamental basis for geography.<sup>168</sup>

Lambert also provides a fairly conservative account of the British Isles. Like Isidore, he situates Britain within the list of islands of the ocean, rather than provinces of the world.<sup>169</sup> It is described, following the late-antique authorities, though likely through a cartographic intermediary, as 'in the ocean across from Gaul', with Thule 'beyond Britain', and Hibernia and Scotia 'near Britain'.<sup>170</sup> In this case there is a '*Hiberus*' added 'between Spain and Britain', with the Orkneys set adjacent to Britain on the side of *Gothia*.<sup>171</sup> These generally correspond with the placement of

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<sup>165</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 2 (Gautier Dalché, 135).

<sup>166</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 25 (Gautier Dalché, 157); Hugh of Fleury, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.prol (MGH SS 9, 356-7); cf. Orosius, 1.2.63 (Fear, 43): 'Porro Belgica prouincia habet ... a circio oceanum Britannicum, a septentrione Britanniam insulam.' (The italicised section is removed from Hugh's description.)

<sup>167</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 15009, 17r. 'In oceano septemtrionali ab oriente ad occidentem'.

<sup>168</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* prol. (Gautier Dalché, 133).

<sup>169</sup> On the difference in order cf. Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in Words', 229; Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'De la gloss à la contemplation: Place et fonction de la carte dans le manuscrit du haut Moyen Age', in *Géographie et culture*, 746-8; and Derolez, *Autograph*, 74-5.

<sup>170</sup> For the cartographical connection see Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in Words', 228-9; Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 51v. 'Brittania contra galliam in oceano/.../ Thile ultra brittanium /.../ Hibernia proxima brittaniae.'

<sup>171</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 51v. 'Hiberus inter hispania et brittania /.../ Orcades XXXIII inter brittanium {et gothiam}'.

islands on his world and European maps, with Britain directly across from Gaul on both.<sup>172</sup> While, in both these cases, the authoritative pattern has been essentially followed, there is some degree to which both authors have compartmentalised continental geography by differentiating Britain from the provinces of Europe. It is nevertheless interesting to note this trend among the two most innovative texts in terms of their consideration of continental European topography.<sup>173</sup> Both have, in their own way, distinguished continental geography from the islands of the ocean, a move which seems to correspond with a new degree of attention paid to topography as the basis of geography.

But there is another, more unusual tendency among certain twelfth-century authors to emphasise the westernness of Britain. Honorius provides the clearest example of this trend. Following Orosius, Britain is the last region in his section on Europe, separating it from the later general discussion of islands. This is especially relevant as Honorius specifically notes that some of these later islands (eg. Avidos) are ‘in Europe’.<sup>174</sup> But what is particularly strange about Honorius's description is that the British Isles follow, at least initially, a westward trajectory away from Europe, since he introduces them as, ‘islands in the ocean facing the west of Spain’.<sup>175</sup> He gives only a nod towards their northernness, noting that ‘after this to the north the sea is frozen and there is perpetual cold.’<sup>176</sup> There is little solid textual basis for such a western location, and although Gildas provides some late-antique precedent, it is unclear whether Honorius knew the works of Gildas or indeed why he would follow Gildas in this case.<sup>177</sup> A more likely textual influence is Orosius’s description of Spain. Orosius describes a tall lighthouse in the city of Brigantia which ‘look[s] out towards

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<sup>172</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 241r; Wolfenbüttel, Herz. Aug. Bib., Cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. Lat., 69v-70r.

<sup>173</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Représentations géographiques de l’Europe’, 69-71.

<sup>174</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.29, 33-5 (Flint, 62-6). ‘in Europa’.

<sup>175</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.29 (Flint, 62). ‘Contra Hispaniam versus occasum sunt in oceano hec insule’.

<sup>176</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.29 (Flint, 62). ‘Ultra hanc versus aquilonem est mare congelatum et frigus perpetuum’.

<sup>177</sup> Gildas, *De exidio* 3.1 (Winterbottom, 89).

Britain'.<sup>178</sup> Likewise, when moving from a discussion of Spain to the British Isles, he notes that these islands 'lie opposite part of the Gauls, looking towards Spain.'<sup>179</sup>

A more fruitful comparison with Honorius's placement of Britain is its cartographical representations. Britain is normally situated opposite France on maps. However, this description by Orosius may explain the way that the Iberian Peninsula has a tendency to bend up around France towards Britain, as in the Ebstorf, Hereford, Cotton, and Sawley world maps. All these maps likewise represent Ireland behind Britain to the northwest. However, other maps situate Ireland adjacent to Britain, wrapping further around the continent, normally to the west. In these cases Ireland is portrayed almost directly across from the north of Spain, as in the Munich Isidore map and the Psalter world map.<sup>180</sup> Honorius may therefore be drawing on this trend to situate Britain near the western end of Europe cartographically, and especially those cases where the subsequent islands extend westward around Spain. This sort of cartographical explanation is surely more promising than such a unique misreading of Orosius. Especially when taken in combination with the rigorous east-west organisation of his geographical description, it would sense to describe Britain as in the west rather than the north, as it would thus represent the (western) end of Europe.

Honorius is not the only author who situates Britain to the west of the European continent. Guido of Pisa takes a similar line in his discussion of the four sides of Europe at the end of his geography, which was drawn closely, though not verbatim, from the *Cosmographia* of the Ravenna Anonymous. This description focuses largely on the extremities of Europe. Though the largest section by far is on northern Europe, it ends with a discussion of the west, focused mostly around Spain. This description of Spain contains the text's only reference to Britain:

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<sup>178</sup> Orosius, 1.2.71 (Fear, 44). 'ubi Brigantia Gallaeciae ciuitas sita altissimam pharum et inter pauca memorandi operis **ad speculam Britanniae** erigit'.

<sup>179</sup> Orosius, 1.2.75 (Fear, 44). 'oceanus habet insulas, quas Britanniam et Hiberniam uocant, *quae in auersa Galliarum parte ad prospectum Hispaniae sitae sunt*'.

<sup>180</sup> They also sometimes wrap north of Britain instead of west, as in Lambert's maps.

Spain has as a boundary on one side the Pyrenees mountains next to the shore of the ocean, Spano-Gascony however adjoins the Gaulish Mediterranean, as well as the same Pyrenees from the other side and the province Septimania. Likewise, from the second side Spain has as a boundary what is often called the sea of Gallic Valeriacum. From the third [side], that is from the western [side], as we have already said [it has] the British ocean. Finally from the fourth side it has as a boundary the previously noted straight of Gibraltar, which departs from the Gallic sea and enters into the aforesaid western British ocean, and which separates the homeland of the Moors of Africa and the same Spain.<sup>181</sup>

Though Guido does not discuss Britain beyond his references to the British ocean, his major source, the Ravenna Anonymous, does. It situates Britain in the western ocean as well, and although it puzzlingly sets Gaul to its west and Thule to its east this all situates the chain of islands in a western, rather than northern trajectory.<sup>182</sup> For these authors, however, the tradition of Julius Honorius and Pseudo-Aethicus is likely the greater influence, particularly given their organisational use of oceans.

Much in the same way as with Africa, the underlying use of the cardinal regions as dividing principles of world geography created problems at its boundaries. Just as Europe sat ambiguously between north and west, so in the reception of the less than harmonious late-antique authorities Britain also held an ambiguous place between the western end of Spain and the northern end of Gaul. But this speaks also to a tension in the representation of Britain itself as caught between integration into the European continent in the west and separation as part of an insular world in the north. Hiatt has identified a similar dynamic, contrasting the late Anglo-Saxon cartography with that associated with Gerald of Wales as part of a broader shift from Scandinavian to Norman and French

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<sup>181</sup> Guido, *Geographia* 130 (Schnetz, 142); cf. *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia* 4.45-6 (Schnetz, 82-3). 'Hispania habet fines ab uno latere iuxta litus oceani saltum Pireneum, Spanosguasconiam vero iuxta mare magnum Gallicum, ipsumque ex alio latere saltum Pirineum et provinciam Septimanam. a secundo quoque latere habet fines Hispania saepe dictum mare Gallicum Valeriacum. a tertio autem id est ab occidentali quod praediximus mare oceano Britannicum. a quarto demum latere habet fines praemissum fretum Gaditanum, quod exit de mari Gallico et ingreditur in praedictum oceanum occidentalem Britannicum, quodque dividit inter Africae Maurorum patriam et eandem Hispaniam.'

<sup>182</sup> *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia* 5.31-2 (Schnetz, 108). 'Finitur autem ipsa Britania a facie orientis habens insulam Thile vel insulas Dorcadas, a facie occidentis ex parte provinciam Galliam et promunturium Pyrenei, a facie septentrionalis insula Scotia, a facie meridiana Germania Antiqua. Iterum in eodem oceano occidentali, post ipsam magnam Britaniam, simulque et amplius longius, ut diximus, quam omnes insule a terra magna finita <ex> parte septentrionali, magis ex ipsa occidentali, est insula maxima quae dicitur Ibernia, que, ut dictum est, et Scotia appellatur...'

connections.<sup>183</sup> Gerald indeed represents one of the most strikingly western presentations of the British Isles in the Middle Ages. So also, it may not be incidental that, unlike Hugh and Lambert, Honorius is the only insular author in the group. An author who, in his connection with the school of Anselm, was deeply involved in the Norman integration of England into continental networks. Finally, where the geographies of Hugh and Lambert are associated with maps that provide a highly schematic presentation of Britain as an undifferentiated island of the ocean, the Sawley map imbeds its representation of Britain within the European continent.

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These case studies nicely illustrate the contradictions that had developed out of the classical geographical tradition by the twelfth century. Although the geography itself was much the same, its underlying conceptual foundations have entirely shifted. The classical concerns for river boundaries and relative location, which had already been problematised by patristic geography and the late-antique textbooks, was increasingly giving way to an increasingly autonomous use of the cardinal points as autonomous and absolute geographical regions of the world. In particular, the geographical consciousness of these authors was increasingly based on a new synthetic combination of this four region account of the world with the traditional three parts. A synthesis that was driven both by the use of Pseudo-Aethicus alongside the traditional late-antique geographies of Orosius and Isidore, as well as the increasing use of cartography in the conceptualisation of geographical space. The implications of these shifts are most evident at the boundaries of the known world. As the south developed into an autonomous region, distinct from its classical relationship with Asia, Africa expanded correspondingly. The boundary was pushed back to the more cartographically distinct Red Sea, and we see, for the first time, Egypt being grouped with Africa rather than Asia. Likewise, Europe may hold a more ambiguous position as it seems to fluctuate between between

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<sup>183</sup> Alfred Hiatt, 'From Pliny to Brexit: Spatial Representation of the British Isles', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 7, no. 4 (2016): 516-9.

north and west more than in the late-antique sources. The British Isles serve to highlight this ambiguity, as authors provide radically different accounts of their location vis-a-vis the European continent. Indeed, as the north was increasingly integrated into Europe politically and geographically, Britain vacillated between its traditionally liminal position in the north and its integration into a western Europe.<sup>184</sup>

### *Reading the World*

There are a variety of problems that confront any attempt to understand how historical authors and readers engaged with the material that they have passed down to us. Though this issue pervades the history of ideas generally, it is particularly acute within the history of geography. This is evident from the start in the late-nineteenth century positivist tradition, which sought to place the Middle Ages in a particular teleology towards a modern, scientific understanding of geography.<sup>185</sup> The lingering influence of this tradition is still evident, for example, in the careful demarcation that is often explicitly or implicitly made between the fanciful or symbolic and the real or scientific in medieval geography.<sup>186</sup> More recent scholarship has attempted to overcome these issues in a number of ways. One major approach was a turn to *mentalité*, which, though it rightly highlighted the constructed nature of space and mediate aspects of its perception, has also fallen prey to the a tendency to reify a notion of ‘the medieval mind’, one which can be conceived of as a coherent unity and therefore set against ‘modernity’ as its opposite. Likewise, particularly in the Anglophone tradition, there has been a tendency to focus particularly on maps as a medium through which to study medieval geography.<sup>187</sup> This method has helped develop a more synthetic understanding of

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<sup>184</sup> Cf. *infra* ch. 4.

<sup>185</sup> This is no less true of other disciplines. Cf. Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Introduction’, in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*, 5-7; Lozovsky, ‘*Earth*’, 1; Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997), vii.

<sup>186</sup> Patrick Gautier Dalché, ‘Considérations intempestives sur l’objet “espace médiéval” et sur sa construction’, in *De l’espace aux territoires: La territorialité des processus sociaux et culturels au Moyen Âge*, ed. Stéphane Boissellier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 134-6.

<sup>187</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Introduction’ in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*, 8-11; Gautier Dalché, ‘Considérations intempestives’.

the way in which medieval authors carefully created connections between history, geography and theology in their production of maps. However, there are some potentially serious pitfalls of such an approach. Though maps offer evocative images of how medievals viewed the world, they are equally problematic to ‘read’.<sup>188</sup> The result is that research on maps tends to draw conclusions that are either quite general, regarding the content of the map taken as a whole, or are directed at a hypothetical reading of a map, showing how particular vignettes are represented. As such, to consider the way in which authors ‘read’ world geography, I will be starting with texts and textual formulas and look at their interrelationship with maps. This will address first the ordering of the three continents as it developed up to the twelfth century and then secondly some of the broader ordering principles of early twelfth century geographical texts.

### *Ordering the Three Parts*

As we have already seen, the tripartition of the oecumene was absolutely fundamental to the structure of geographical knowledge in the Middle Ages. This was embodied in the continental formula that opens most geographical texts, explaining that the world is divided into three parts, Asia, Europe and Africa, and that the first of these is as large as the latter two combined. Despite the significance of this formula, and organisational model, there has been very little discussion by modern scholars of the actual formulae that are used. Oschema, for example, has emphasised its general importance in establishing the *topos* of Europe as *tertia pars mundi*, but maintains that the particular wording of the formula is not especially relevant.<sup>189</sup> Yet, by the twelfth century, there is divergence both in the formula itself and in the corresponding structure of the geographical texts. While Lambert of Saint-Omer and Honorius Augustodunensis follow the traditional, late-antique

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<sup>188</sup> Stephen McKenzie, ‘The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi’, in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey. (London: British Library, 2006), 335-344 highlights many of the issues around ‘reading’ maps. Gautier Dalché also notes some of the more egregious examples of applying pre-conceived modes of reading to maps in ‘Introduction’ in Gautier Dalché, *La terre*, 10.

<sup>189</sup> Oschema, *Bilder*, 206-8.

formula both listing and describing the continents in the order: ‘Asia, Europe, Africa’, with Hugh of Saint Victor there is a change.<sup>190</sup> In the *Descriptio*, Hugh has swapped Europe and Africa. What is more, the order of the continents in the text has changed correspondingly.<sup>191</sup> Given both the relationship between cartographical and textual representations of space and the cartographical context of Hugh’s text, this divergence offers insight into the intersection of map and text, and into the way that medieval authors ‘read’ world geography.<sup>192</sup>

There is a longer history to the development of these continental formulae, within which we should briefly situate this discussion. Even though both begin with Asia, this feature only solidified among the Christian authors of late antiquity.<sup>193</sup> Prior to this, there was not a single ubiquitous literary formula like we find among the Fathers.<sup>194</sup> Roman authors tended to give primacy of place to Europe, with ‘Europe, Africa, Asia’ and, more often, ‘Europe, Asia, Africa’ representing the most common orderings.<sup>195</sup> It is with the major Latin Fathers that we see the solidification of a new and consistent formula: ‘Asia, Europe, Africa’.<sup>196</sup> It should be unsurprising therefore that this is the formula used by most early medieval authors as, excepting Bede, all their important Christian *auctores*, including significantly both Orosius and Isidore, consistently followed this formula.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>190</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 1.7 (Flint, 52); Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 19r.

<sup>191</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 7 (Gautier Dalché, 138-9).

<sup>192</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Maps in Words’.

<sup>193</sup> Baumgärtner highlights Isidore of Seville, but the broad trend was already established for Augustine and Orosius. Ingrid Baumgärtner, ‘Europa in der Kartographie des Mittelalters: Repräsentationen - Grenzen - Paradigmen’, in Baumgärtner and Kugler, *Europa im Weltbild*, 13.

<sup>194</sup> Baumgärtner, ‘Europa’, 11-13; Oschema, *Bilder*, 89-90.

<sup>195</sup> Libya and Africa have been amalgamated under ‘Africa’. E, Af, As: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.3; Lucan, 6.817; Isi., *Etym.* 13.16.1 (Barney et al., 277). E, As, Af: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.1.3; Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.165; Strabo, *Geography* 1.4.7; cf. Mart. Cap., 6.622. Some Christian authors used these orderings also, as Boethius, *De diuisione* (PL 64, 888C) and Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita* 3.3.13 (CSEL 71, 141). Finally, these did find their place into the early Middle Ages via Pliny, as in Bede, *De natura rerum* 51 (CCSL 123A, 233-4; Kendall and Wallis, 102-3), Bede, *Expositio actuum apostolorum* 10.7 (CCSL 121, 49) and Dicuil, prol., 1-3 (Parthey, 4-16).

<sup>196</sup> Aug., *ciu.* 16.17; Orosius, 1.2.1-11, 6.17.4 (Fear, 36-7, 300); Quoduultdeus, *Liber promissionum, Dimidium temporis* 11.19 (CCSL 60, 204); Jerome, *In Ez.* 2.5.5-6 (CCSL 75, 56); Jerome, *In Dan.* 1.4.7b-8 (CCSL 75A, 813); Jerome, *In epistulas Paulinas ad Tit.* 1.12-14 (CCSL 77C, 30); Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 2.3.10 (Mynors, 114); Isi., *Etym.* 14.2.1 (Barney et al., 285); Isidore, *De rerum natura* 48 (Kendall and Wallis, 175); Ps.-Aeth., 1.1 (Riese, 71); Jordanes, *Getica* 1.4 (MGH AA 5.1, 54; trans. Charles C. Mierow, *The Gothic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915), 52); Bede, *Homelie evangelii* 2.13 (CCSL 122, 269). It is worth noting the prominence of Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum* 17.3, which lists Asia and Europe in that order after noting that Africa is normally thought of as the world’s ‘third part’.

<sup>197</sup> There is one off-hand occurrence of an As, Af, E ordering in Orosius, 6.1.6 (Fear, 262).

Early medieval geography has been understudied until recently, with only a handful of monographs covering a wide variety of material. As such it is difficult to provide concrete general statements about the state of early medieval geography and how it was taught.<sup>198</sup> Gautier Dalché has pointed to some tantalising evidence about the use of maps in education in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, but Lozovsky has more generally emphasised the fundamental textual conception of the world in the late Carolingian geographical tradition.<sup>199</sup> In keeping with Lozovsky's observation we predominantly find the fundamentally textual formula of late antiquity, 'Asia, Europe, Africa', in these early medieval sources sources.<sup>200</sup>

Hugh's deviance from this formula, however, is not an isolated example; it fits into a broader trend toward the use of an 'Asia, Africa, Europe' ordering in the central Middle Ages. In the early-twelfth century it is especially prominent among authors associated with the schools of northern France. Thus, for example, although he refers specifically to Orosius's geography, Otto of Freising presents the continents with this new order.<sup>201</sup> But this trend seems to have deeper roots. We see a marked proliferation of this new formula already in the eleventh century. For example, accompanying the Cottonian world map is a copy of Priscian's *Periegesis*. The incipit links the text to the facing map, explaining that a 'suitable map' (*mappam ... aptam*) has been added 'to this work about the three parts'. But while this incipit describes the *partes* as 'Asia, Africa, Europe', Priscian covers Africa, Europe and then Asia, and indeed the scribe specifically highlights at least the first of

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<sup>198</sup> In general Lozovsky, 'Earth'. There is somewhat more for late antiquity, cf. Merrills, *History and Geography* and Gautier Dalché, 'L'enseignement de la géographie'.

<sup>199</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'L'enseignement', 163-74 and Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'Cartes et enseignement de la géographie durant le haut Moyen Âge: l'exemple d'un manuel inédit', in *Du copiste au collectionneur. Mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet*, ed. Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda and Jean-François Genest, 54; Lozovsky, 'Earth', ch. 4, esp. 138.

<sup>200</sup> *Situs orbis*, 5.1 (Gautier Dalché, 164); *Descriptio terrarum* (Albi, BM, ms 29, 58v); *Versus de Asia et de uniuersi mundi rota* (CCSL 175, 441-454); *Commentaria Bernensia* 9.411 (Usener, 301); Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* 12.2 (PL 111, 333C-D). There is a new critical edition of *De universo*, now entitled *De rerum naturis*, by William Schipper (Memorial University of Newfoundland), which has been available online but it has recently been taken down in preparation for its publication in the CCCM. As such, the PL edition will be cited here.

<sup>201</sup> Otto, *Chron.* 1.1 (Hofmeister, 37; Mierow, 123); cf. William of Conches, *Dragmaticon* 6.5 (CCCM 152, 193; Ronca and Curr, 128); William of Conches, *Glossulae super Boethium* 3.m12 (CCCM 158, 208); Sig., *Chron.* 738 (MGH SS 6, 331).

these transitions.<sup>202</sup> Prior to the eleventh century, examples appear less frequently. There are naturally a few cases in relationship with Noah's sons, for which this is the natural order.<sup>203</sup> But besides this, we find fragmentary evidence of this development in the Carolingian schools of northern France. For example, in a ninth-century version of the Anonymous Cantabriensis commentary on Martianus Capella, which Lozovsky suggests may originate in Soissons, the glossator deviates from the other British manuscripts in this family and lists the continents 'Asia, Africa, Europe'.<sup>204</sup> Likewise, moving forward, this new ordering finds a place in major liturgical compendia of the thirteenth century.<sup>205</sup>

But returning to the early-twelfth century, this development is not only associated with northern France but it is also disproportionately associated with cartography.<sup>206</sup> It opens up the interesting possibility that this change reflects not just a linguistic quirk, but has a principled relationship with the use of maps, especially in the schools of northern France. If this is indeed a product of the clockwise reading of a map, it would tally well with the evidence we have to suggest that maps were gaining increasing currency in geographical education and in shaping geographical thought from the early-twelfth century.<sup>207</sup> On this point, Hugh of Saint Victor's *Chronicle* is an

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<sup>202</sup> London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B.v, 57r (59r), cf. 60v (61v); transcription in Gautier Dalché, 'L'héritage antique', 46n41. Priscian himself uses an 'Af, E, As' ordering in the poem (ed. Aemilius Baehrens, *Poetae latini minores*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883), 275, l.15). 'sed et huic operi de tribus partibus, videlicet Asia, Africa, Europa, mappam depinxerat aptam'.

<sup>203</sup> Gn 5:31, 6:10, 7:13, 9:18, 10:1; Eucher of Lyon, *Instructionum ad Salonium* 1.19 (CCSL 66, 87); Bede, *In principium Genesis* 3.10.1-2 (CCSL 118A, 142). Both the *Liber de mundi institutione* (ed. Michel Zimmerman 'Le monde d'un catalan au Xe siècle: Analyse d'une compilation isidorienne' in *Le métier d'historien au moyen-âge: Etudes sur l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Bernard Guenée (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1977), 74-8) and Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* 2.1 (PL 111, 34D) associate the continents with Noah's sons, but they nevertheless follow the As, E, Af ordering in their geographical description.

<sup>204</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 8669, 77r; transcription in Lozovsky, 'Earth', 134n109, cf. 116. Cf. Heiric of Auxerre, *Homiliae per circulum anni, pars aestiua*, 9 (CCCM 116B, 71); *Glossae collectae e primo secundoque libris Orosii historiarum contra paganos*, 1.2.95 (Olivier Szerwiniack, 'Un commentaire hiberno-latin des deux premiers livres d'Orose, Histoires contre les païens', *Archivum latinum aevi medi* 51 (1992/1993): 70-1) in this case, the comment on the continents is a deviation from the section of Isidore being copied.

<sup>205</sup> Eg. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitralis de officiis* 4.5, 5.9, 7.6 (CCCM 228, 252, 365, 572); William Durand, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum* 5.4.13, 7.8.3 (CCCM 140A, 76).

<sup>206</sup> Due to a lack of editions, I cannot properly survey texts which present themselves as explicitly describing *mappaemundi*. However, besides Hugh, the *Expositio mappe mundi* by Roger of Howden (?), also follows the order of Asia, Africa, Europe. (ed. Patrick Gautier Dalché, *Du Yorkshire a l'Inde: un 'géographie' urbaine et maritime de la fin du xiii siècle (Roger de Howden?)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 143-164).

<sup>207</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in Words', 227-34.

instructive example. Even though it begins by listing the three parts of the world as: ‘Asia / Europa / Africa’, the actual regions themselves are explained in the ‘cartographic’ ordering of Asia, Africa, Europa.<sup>208</sup> So while the textual formula is used, Hugh’s geographical conception of the world was actually organised according to a clockwise movement around a circular map.

### *Ordering Geographical Texts*

Naturally we should wish to ask then why Honorius and Lambert do not follow the same ordering, as both are also identified by Gautier Dalché as authors whose geographies are cartographically inspired. To address this we will need to think more carefully about the organisation of these texts themselves. In the case of Lambert, the first universal geographical section (chapter three, beginning folio 19r) is accompanied by a T-O diagram containing the names of the peoples on the different continents. It is tempting to suggest that, due to the highly schematic nature of the diagram and its heavy textual content, the formula pertains also to the way in which Lambert intends the map to be read: left to right across Asia, then across Europe and Africa. But as with most other things, the organisational systems for the geographies in the *Liber Floridus* are eclectic. His lists of the provinces, peoples and cities of the world follow roughly an Asia, Europe, Africa ordering, starting with, Assyria, the Indians and, excluding Rome, the cities of India; likewise, each reaches Europe roughly two-thirds of the way through and ends in Africa with Ethiopia for the former two and Libya for the latter.<sup>209</sup> The list of islands, on the other hand, runs clockwise, beginning in the east.<sup>210</sup> Finally, the rivers of the world are divided up between east, west, north and south, in that order.<sup>211</sup> These generally reflect the organisation found in Isidore’s *Etymologies* and Pseudo-

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<sup>208</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 15009, 16r-v. ‘Iste sunt tres partes mundi Asia / Europa / Affrica’.

<sup>209</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 48r-50r.

<sup>210</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 51v.

<sup>211</sup> Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 52v.

Aethicus's *Cosmographia*.<sup>212</sup> However, the order of the islands in particular cannot be wholly explained by recourse to Lambert's sources, as in this case he does not follow Isidore's ordering, which begins around Britain and progresses very roughly anti-clockwise.<sup>213</sup> While the eclectic nature of this material is explained in part by the compilatory nature of the text, it does seem to suggest that Lambert himself did not have a clear geographical schema in mind to override those in the texts he was copying. But we are still left with the divergence in the organisation of the islands. It seems plausible that both the lists of provinces and islands were made with reference to a map, but where the organisation of the three continents may have seemed sensible enough, Isidore's haphazard organisation of the islands did not.<sup>214</sup> Although, his own *mappamundi* does not follow the same order as his textual description of the islands.<sup>215</sup>

Unlike Lambert and Hugh, Honorius Augustodunensis does not so obviously engage with maps in his *Imago mundi*, instead presenting the text itself as a *mappamundi* of sorts.<sup>216</sup> He follows the ordering found in his sources more closely still, drawing his description near verbatim from Isidore. Isidore describes the continents anti-clockwise: 'Asia extends from the south through the east to the north, but Europe from the north to the west, Africa from the west to the south.'<sup>217</sup> Honorius, while maintaining Isidore's language, inverts the directionality of the description: 'Asia extends from the north through the east to the south, Europe from the west to the north [and] Africa

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<sup>212</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.3-5 (Barney et al., 285-6); Ps.-Aeth., 1.7-12, 20-25, 33-37 (Riese, 74-7, 81-8, 86-7). Cf. Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in Words', 228-9; Derolez, *Autograph*, 67, 73-5.

<sup>213</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.6.2-13 (Barney et al., 294). Derolez suggests the source of the islands is simply Isidore, though Gautier Dalché notes various differences between Lambert and Isidore, which he plausibly attributes to Lambert's use of a map to aid his activity of compilation. Derolez, *Autograph*, 74n108; Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in Words', 228-9.

<sup>214</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose', 746-9.

<sup>215</sup> Though the grand *mappamundi* from the autograph manuscript has been lost, there is a version from a late-twelfth century copy in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1 Gud. Lat., 69v-70r, which is normally taken to be accurate. Danielle Lecoq, 'La Mappemonde du *Liber Floridus* ou La Vision du Monde de Lambert de Saint-Omer', *Imago Mundi* 39 (1987): 9-49; Gautier Dalché, 'De la glose', 746-7; Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in words', 227-31.

<sup>216</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in Words', 230-1.

<sup>217</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.2.2. (cf. Barney et al., 285). I have slightly modified the translation. 'Nam Asia a meridie per orientem usque ad septentrionem pervenit; Europa vero a septentrione usque ad occidentem; atque inde Africa ab occidente usque ad meridiem.'

from the south to the west'.<sup>218</sup> Once again, Honorius has shifted the entire formula to a clockwise reading of the world. The point is doubly confusing as Isidore roughly structures his subsequent description of Europe and Africa running from north to south, which Honorius follows.<sup>219</sup> What is more, Honorius uses the clockwise (Asia, Africa, Europe) ordering of continents in reference to a (likely fictive) *mappamundi* in his *De animae exsilio et patria*.<sup>220</sup> Given the way in which Honorius has been careful to follow the overall structure of Isidore, we can plausibly read a cartographic influence in Honorius's clockwise reading.

Beyond this, Honorius has a rigid and consistent mode of geographical organisation within his text. Gautier Dalché has already illustrated very clearly its schematic and hierarchical nature.<sup>221</sup> On top of this there is also a clear geographical logic to the text's movement through the world. He follows a similarly hierarchical structure which remains faithful to Isidore in its broad strokes, but nevertheless diverges in some significant ways. In the first case there is the broad division between continents, following the initial order set out. Next, though Honorius moves through the regions of each continent in roughly the same order as Isidore, their manners of description are notably different. Isidore normally begins with a discussion of the region (*supra* or *sub*) with a discussion of its boundaries on each side. Honorius, on the other hand, emphasises a more clearly east-west organisation pattern, dividing Asia into east-west slices, for which the northern and southern boundaries are typically noted once and within which there are only eastern and western boundaries. This point is made quite clearly in his deviations from Isidore. For example, although both place Paradise as the first region of Asia, where Isidore simply notes that 'Paradise is located in the east', Honorius makes this clearly the eastern boundary: 'The first region [of Asia] in the east

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<sup>218</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.7 (Flint, 52). 'Asia a septentrione per orientem usque ad meridiem, Europa ab occidente usque ad septentrionem, Affrica a meridie usque ad occidentem extenditur.'

<sup>219</sup> Both begin their discussion of Europe with Scythia in the north-east and end with Spain in the south-west and they begin their discussion of Africa with Libya in the north-east and end with Ethiopia in the south.

<sup>220</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *De exsilio et patria animae* (PL, 172, 1244); cf. Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in words', 230n28.

<sup>221</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Maps in words', 236.

is Paradise.’<sup>222</sup> Honorius proceeds with the first region of the world proper, providing simply the western boundary of India, the Indus river, whose northern and southern termini, the Caucasus mountains and the Red Sea, bound the central ‘slice’ of Asia. This is followed by Parthia, from the Indus to the Tigris; Mesopotamia, from the Tigris to the Euphrates; and Syria, from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. This mode of reading is reinforced when he moves onto Egypt, which constitutes southern ‘slice’ of Asia, by noting that the aforementioned regions: ‘beginning from the east, are extended in a straight line to the Mediterranean’.<sup>223</sup> This same pattern is apparent in Honorius’ description of Africa, which also begins with an emphasis on its east-west trajectory: ‘[Africa] arises on the east of the Indus river, and turning through the south, extends into the west.’<sup>224</sup> No further boundaries are provided for the northern provinces from Libya to Mauritania, just the major cities. The text turns to Ethiopia, construed as ‘toward the south’.<sup>225</sup> Though, again, little in the way of boundaries are provided, the east-west emphasis continues with the opposition of a city in the east then one in the west, and again beyond Ethiopia a final city is noted on the ‘outer edges of Africa to the west’.<sup>226</sup>

Honorius's east-west pattern is less consistent in Europe. There is still an overall east-west trajectory, but the north-south axis appears more present throughout. Unlike Asia, Europe begins in the north (*septentrio*) with the Rhiphaean mountains, the Tanais river and the Meotide swamps. This northern emphasis pervades this section of Europe, with Scythia, Germania superior and Germania inferior, listed with northern and southern boundaries. Likewise, these boundaries are not as standardised as with Asia. For example, Scythia begins ‘from the Tanais river [and] is extended

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<sup>222</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.2 (Barney et al., 285); Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.8 (Flint, 52). ‘Paradisus est locus in orientis partibus constitutus’; ‘Huius [i.e. Asiae] prima regio in oriente est paradysus’.

<sup>223</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.10-17 (Flint, 53-7). ‘Hęc superius dictę regiones ab oriente incipientes, recta linea ad Mediterraneum mare extenduntur’.

<sup>224</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.30 (Flint, 63). ‘Hęc in oriente Indi fluminis surgit, et per meridiem vergens, in occidentem tendit.’

<sup>225</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.32 (Flint, 64). ‘Versus meridiem vero est Ethiopia...’

<sup>226</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.32 (Flint, 64). ‘In extremis finibus Africę versus occidentem...’

towards the south to the Danube.<sup>227</sup> The south of Europe has a somewhat more consistent east-west focus, beginning with Greece, bounded on the south by the Mediterranean; then Pannonia superior to the Apennines, with the Danube to the north; Italy, from the Alps to the Mediterranean (*magnum mare*), coupled with a discussion of the northern (*aquilo*) course of the Rhine from the Alps to the ocean; Gaul, from the Rhine, with the British ocean to the north; Spain, which terminates at the western ocean; and finally Britain, which faces Spain against the west in the ocean, beyond which to the north the sea is frozen and continually cold.<sup>228</sup>

This is the messiest section in Honorius's description as he is attempting to set his classical sources against a contemporary view of Europe and its contents, now including, for example, Denmark and Norway. His description of Europe is certainly being complicated by the geographical integration of the north into Europe.<sup>229</sup> Nevertheless, if we consider this presentation in terms of the spatial logic of a medieval map, it still creates two east-west slices that cleave across roughly the traditional north-south division of the Danube.<sup>230</sup> As such, this presentation of Europe highlights the importance of the classical north-south dichotomy in its presentation, and the way that twelfth-century authors had to negotiate it. The need to repeatedly note these divisions of north and south speaks to the increasing complexity that this process of negotiation introduces for Europe as compared with Asia, which had two straightforward boundaries in the Caucasus and the Red Sea, or Africa, which lacked major divisions.

Even though Honorius provides a particularly clear east-west structure within his geographical text, this is part of a broader trend and has some deeper resonances within the *Imago mundi*. The conventional reading of geography from east to west is already evident in patristic geography, most obviously with the relocation of Asia to the front of the list. From this point on, it

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<sup>227</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.22 (Flint, 59). 'A Tanai fluvio ... versus meridiem usque ad Danubium porrigitur.'

<sup>228</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.25-9 (Flint, 60-3).

<sup>229</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Représentations géographiques de l'Europe', 69-73; Fraesdorff, *Norden*, ch. 3.; Oschema, 'Europa-Begriff', 196-8.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Oschema, 'Europa-Begriff', 197.

is a standard feature of the major geographical texts to begin not simply with Asia, but with the eastern-most point of Asia. Hence Orosius begins with ‘Asia ... in the centre of its Eastern flank’ and Isidore, not to be outdone, has Asia begin with Paradise, which ‘is located in the east’.<sup>231</sup> But likewise, both Europe and Africa begin with their north-eastern point and run to the western edge, respectively from the Tanais to Spain and Libya to Mauritania, although, unlike Orosius, Isidore includes a subsequent section on Ethiopia.<sup>232</sup> The systematic nature of this movement is likewise made explicit at the school of Saint Victor. In his *Chronicon*, Hugh consistently explains the order in which he is reading the regions of the world. For example, like Honorius he divides Asia into three strips and he notes that both the north and south sides of Asia extend ‘from the eastern ocean against the west’.<sup>233</sup> There are equivalently explicit statements for regions of Africa and Europe as well.<sup>234</sup> Naturally enough, this is also picked up by Richard of Saint Victor in his *Liber exceptionum*, who is the most explicit of all, explaining for example that ‘the regions of Africa extend from east to west thus...’.<sup>235</sup> But for Honorius, the conventional movement of east to west has a broader thematic resonance throughout his encyclopaedia as it serves also to highlight the movement of time, as he describes through the metaphor of a rope, stretched from east to west, being coiled daily.<sup>236</sup>

As the organisation of geographical texts from the early-twelfth century shows, despite their ostensible deference to late-antique authorities their authors were engaging with the world in an entirely different manner. From the eleventh century, emanating especially from the schools of

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<sup>231</sup> Orosius, 1.2.13 (Fear, 37); Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.1-2 (Barney et al., 285). ‘Asia ad mediam frontem orientis’; ‘Paradisus est locus in orientis’.

<sup>232</sup> Orosius, 1.2.52-94 (Fear, 42-7); Isi., *Etym.* 14.4-5 (Barney et al., 289-93).

<sup>233</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 15009, 16r. ‘In latere asie ad aquilonem ab oceano orientali occidentem uersus porrigitur / [s]cythia’; ‘In latere australi asie porrigitur mare ruberum ab oceano orientale occidentem uersus usque ad confinia arabie et palestine’.

<sup>234</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 15009, 16r-v.

<sup>235</sup> Richard of Saint Victor, *Liber Exceptionum* 1.3.3, cf. 1.3.1, 4, passim. (Châtillon, 124, cf. 122, passim.). ‘Affrice regiones ab Oriente ad Occidentem porrigitur sic’.

<sup>236</sup> Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 2.3 (Flint, 92-3).

northern France, we see an increasing number of authors altering the formula and textual organisation of Isidorian and Orosian geography. By as subtle a change as the reversal of Europe and Africa in the list of continents, these authors had fundamentally reversed the ‘direction’ by which they read world geography, from anti-clockwise to clockwise. This shift comes hand in hand with the increased use of cartography in the schools and overlaps the epistemological shift towards cartography in medieval geography more generally. What is more, the use of maps closely connected to the adoption of this new formula in the texts themselves. And indeed, the broader structure of texts like Lambert’s *Liber floridus* show the increasing interconnection of cartographical and textual geographies in the early-twelfth century. The organisation of these texts, however, also shows an increasing interest in the schematisation of world geography. This is already very evident in strictly hierarchical nature of Honorius’s *Imago mundi*. But the developments are broader than this. In particular, both in Honorius’s geography and emanating from the school of Saint Victor, we find a more systematic presentation of world geography according to an east-west direction of exposition. In both cases, this not only builds upon a standard feature of their late-antique precedents, but explicitly systematises it.

### *Conclusion*

As should be evident by now, the geographical tradition of the Middle Ages in general and the twelfth century in particular is in no way homogeneous or stagnant. These authors were left with a difficult and often inconsistent body of geographical knowledge, passed down from the ancient world, upon which they continued to elaborate. Even though, for the majority of the period, they were primarily involved with interpreting late-antique geography, they nevertheless innovated in major ways. Driven by both the changing political landscape of Europe and the increasing use of maps in geographical education and conceptualisation, as well as the underlying inconsistencies within the antique geographical tradition, there are a number of geographical developments that are

becoming evident by the early-twelfth century. In tandem with the newly shifting boundaries of the traditional continents, the cardinal points carved an increasingly prominent and autonomous position within the conceptualisation of geographical space. But, this serves not only as a tool to clarify previous inconsistencies within the geographical tradition, but it also to highlight ruptures that were developing in their world geography. Hence both the north-west and the south-east corners of the world become contested regions, since they fall in between different geographical groupings. Likewise, the literary formulae of late antiquity have run up against new ways of reading geographical space in the Middle Ages. We can see this especially in the changing order of the continents. Overall we see an increasing schematisation of geographical space and we see school texts developing increasingly explicit modes of geographical exposition.

## Chapter 2 – The Exegetical Tradition

Although the Middle Ages are no longer considered an unproblematic ‘age of faith’, be it a Protestant image of the oppression of the Church or a Catholic heyday, the impact of Christianity in general and the Bible in particular cannot be ignored.<sup>1</sup> The Bible was fundamental to every level of medieval education and intellectual life.<sup>2</sup> This is especially true for the early-twelfth century, and its backdrop in the late-eleventh. As the story of Abelard’s journey to Laon evocatively expresses, biblical exegesis was essential to the success of turn of the century scholars.<sup>3</sup> It is unsurprising therefore, that a biblical and in particular exegetical understanding of the cardinal directions has been generally taken as a key determining factor in their meaning for medieval authors. Not only do they maintain a prominent position within the biblical text itself, but a rich catalogue of clear exegetical interpretations developed around them in the writings of the Fathers. As such, this exegetical understanding has been a fundamental starting point for previous scholarship on the cardinal points.

With the exception of Maurmann, the majority of previous scholarship on the cardinal points in exegesis has tended to be narrow in scope. These studies have, by and large, focused on a specific subset of directions, normally either the north, or the east and west, establishing a central dominant exegetical image within the context of an oppositional logic.<sup>4</sup> While it is important not to detract

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<sup>1</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983; 1st ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941); John Van Engen, ‘The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem’, *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (1986): 519-552.

<sup>2</sup> See Richard Marsden, ‘Introduction’ and Guy Lobrichon, ‘The Early Schools, c. 900-1100’, in *New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-16, 536-554; Lesley Smith, ‘What was the Bible in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries?’, John Van Engen, ‘Studying Scripture in the Early University’ and Robert E. Lerner, ‘Afterword’ in *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese*, ed. Robert E. Lerner (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1996), 1-16, 17-38, 181-8.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Abelard, *Epistolae* 1.9-10 (ed. and trans. David Luscombe and Betty Radice, *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), 14-17); see generally, Colish, *Lombard*, 1:ch. 4; Beryl Smalley, ‘The Bible in the Medieval Schools’, in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), esp. 198; on Anselm of Laon, see Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIIe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 117-18, 166; for east and west see Fischer, *Europa*, 59-75 and Lapina, *Warfare*, 129-30; for north and south see Vegard Skånland, ‘*Calor fidei*’, *Symbolae Osloenses* 32, no. 1 (1956): 86-92 and Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 114-29.

from the value of this sort of approach, or from the significance of these studies, they naturally only provide a partial picture of the exegetical interpretation of these spatial categories. As such, this chapter will consider the theological significance of the cardinal points more broadly and in so doing contextualise this more specific research within the range of possibilities that that medieval authors were confronted with, paying particular attention not only to the dominant modes of understanding but likewise the more discordant possibilities that they offer. Although they are both unquestionably important, we will not presuppose that the meaning of the cardinal directions is either based upon a set of inherently oppositional *Begriffspaare* or that they can be grounded entirely in the metaphor of light and the movement of the sun.<sup>5</sup> Instead we will approach the idea of the cardinal points in exegesis as a conceptual system broadly through the Wittgensteinian notion of family resemblance. As such, this chapter will consider the concrete ideas, phrases and tropes that developed around the terms for the cardinal directions in exegetical texts. And rather than seeking a central concept or metaphor which abstractly grounds their varying uses, it will instead seek to characterise the ‘complex network of similarities overlapping and crisscrossing’ that underlie the use of this terminology.<sup>6</sup>

We can, however, begin with a summative characterisation of the meaning of the four cardinal points as they are normally discussed and, so to speak, work backwards from there to expand their use into concrete and particular circumstances. The German literature in particular has developed a fairly clear manner of discussing the general understanding of the four cardinal points as subdivided into two groups that comparably oppose one another. This view is aptly characterised by Lactantius in the *Divine Institutes*: the north and west are the regions of cold and darkness, due respectively to distance from and the setting of the sun, while the east and south are joined by the

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 114 and Fischer, *Europa*, 59-61; on their broader cosmological significance see Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*.

<sup>6</sup> *PI*, 66.

rising of and proximity to the sun.<sup>7</sup> However, as Maurmann notes, even the dominant theological picture is not entirely consistent or clear. For where the north maintains a very stable conception up to the twelfth century, as the region of demonic evil, the west is more inconsistent, being most closely related to the end of life or the world. The east and south are, conversely, most characteristically associated with Christ and the Holy Spirit respectively.<sup>8</sup> With this in mind, we can now think about how such a view was constructed textually, historically and conceptually. To limit the expansive field of medieval exegesis, this chapter will focus specifically on the *Ordinary Gloss* of the Bible as a way into the received exegetical environment of the first half of the twelfth century. This text is ideal for our purposes, first because it represents an explicit attempt to develop a synthetic compilation of the authoritative, received exegetical tradition, and would indeed achieve this authority by the latter half of the century. Secondly, its fragmentary nature through the abbreviation of a vast quantity of authoritative texts serves to highlight the particular linguistic formulae that served to constitute the exegetical understanding of this terminology.

The use of the *Glossa ordinaria* is a tricky and delicate business.<sup>9</sup> Although it has long been agreed that it developed principally around the school of Laon, under Anselm, in the early-twelfth century (by c. 1140-50), the production is complex and, even still, not well understood.<sup>10</sup> Large portions of the gloss are, in compilation, attributed to Anselm, his brother Ralph of Laon and Gilbert of Auxerre (*Universalis*), although these attributions are themselves frequently tenuous, as, with the exception of Gilbert on Lamentations, we have very little internal evidence with which to

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<sup>7</sup> Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 2.9 (CSEL 19, 143; trans. Anthony Bowen and Peter Garnsey (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2004), 148). Cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 113; Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 201; Fischer, *Europa*, 72.

<sup>8</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 201.

<sup>9</sup> See generally Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *Glossa*, 17-38, 141-80; Margaret T. Gibson, 'The Glossed Bible', introduction to Froehlich and Gibson, *Biblia Latina cum glossa*, x-xi; Guy Lobrichon, 'Une nouveauté: Les gloses de la Bible', in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1984), 103-10; Alexander Andrée, *Glossa Ordinaria in Lamentations Jeremie Prophete Prothemata et Liber 1: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and a Translation* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell Int., 2005), 20-27.

identify the primary actors involved.<sup>11</sup> The case becomes more complicated when we consider that, although the initial compilation very likely took place in Laon and Auxerre, there is good reason to believe that it was organised in Paris, particularly at Saint Victor, where it was undoubtedly widely copied and disseminated.<sup>12</sup>

Beyond the who and where of their production, the meat of the material of the glosses, particularly in the more heavily commented books, comes from the major Latin Fathers: Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great and Bede, although often frequently filtered through Carolingian anthologies.<sup>13</sup> The major Carolingian commentaries of figures like Walafrid Strabo, Rabanus Maurus and John Scottus Eriugena are likewise significant in their own right, as are some contemporary contributions by figures like Gilbert and Anselm themselves. Identification of these sources is not easy, as the glosses only intermittently identify sources and these attributions, often added by later scholars, are of varying accuracy.<sup>14</sup> The use of authors is also inconsistent, as each book naturally has its own major commentaries, not to mention the selective eye of the relevant compiler, which results in a variable use of the Fathers throughout.<sup>15</sup> Finally, as the *Glossa* was only properly compiled as a singular work in the age of printing and beyond Song of Songs, there is no modern critical edition. The *editio princeps* by Adolph Rusch of Strasburg from 1480/81, itself based upon the relatively stable text that emerged from the mid-twelfth century, has, therefore, become the standard edition for scholarly use.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Smith, *Glossa*, 26-33; Andrée, *Glossa in Lamentations*, 20-21; E. Ann Matter, 'The Church Fathers and the *Glossa Ordinaria*', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers*, vol. 1, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 83-111.

<sup>12</sup> Smith, *Glossa*, 141-53; Andrée, *Glossa in Lamentations*, 24-7.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, *Glossa*, 41; Alexander Andrée, 'Anselm of Laon Unveiled: The *Glosae Syper Iohannem* and the Origins of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Bible', *Mediaeval Studies* 73 (2011): 222; Matter, 'Church Fathers', 87-8, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, *Glossa*, 41-72; Andrée, 'Anselm of Laon Unveiled', 222.

<sup>15</sup> Matter, 'Church Fathers', 95.

<sup>16</sup> *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*, 4 vols., ed. Adolf Rusch, Strasbourg, 1480/81 [hereafter *Glossa*]. It is accessible in facsimile: Karlfried Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson, eds., *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria: facsimile reprint of the editio princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1992) and a copy has been digitalised by the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha der Universität Erfurt. A digital transcription, under the direction of Martin Morard (CNRS), is also underway at <http://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/index.php> (accessed September 14, 2018). I will cite the Folio number of Gotha, Goff B607, the copy used by Froehlich and Gibson, and the page number of the digitalisation in brackets.

With this in mind, this chapter will address the exegetical construction of the cardinal points both schematically and genealogically. In the first major section it will address, in a fairly conservative manner, the way in which exegetes treated the cardinal points according to the various modes of literal and spiritual interpretation. This will focus particularly on the language used and will aim to present the way in which exegetes formed a conceptual network around the language of the cardinal points which could be adapted to a variety of different contexts. It will conclude with some critical reflections on the practice of allegorical exegesis with regard to the cardinal points. The second section will address the use of the cardinal directions as historical categories. In particular it will focus first on the use of the cardinal points as a way of thinking about Jews and Gentiles within Christian theology from the Fathers down to the Carolingians. Then it will consider the exegesis of one biblical passage (Rev 21:13) to suggest how the use of allegorical interpretations of the cardinal directions had changed since the Carolingian period. This will more broadly contextualise the way in which allegorical interpretations of the cardinal points were received in the twelfth century.

### *The Exegetical Image of the Cardinal Points*

The place of the Bible, as well as our understanding of medieval exegesis, is still fundamentally shaped by the series of prominent Catholic scholars of the interwar and mid-century. Two names in particular still loom large over scholarly engagement with the medieval Bible – Beryl Smalley and Henri de Lubac.<sup>17</sup> Among their many other accomplishments, they respectively established both the present ‘grand narrative’ of medieval exegesis, and the major conceptual framework for medieval exegesis. Through their work, alongside other major figures involved in Vatican II, like Jean

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<sup>17</sup> Smalley, *Study* and Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc and E. M. Macierowski, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998-2009). See Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIe - XIVe siècles* (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 29-30; Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1; Robert E. Lerner, ‘Afterword’, in Lerner, *Neue Richtungen*.

Daniélou and Marie-Dominique Chenu, as well as Jean Leclercq, by the early 1960s the place of the Bible, exegesis and theology within medieval intellectual life had been well established.<sup>18</sup> Even though this scholarship remains rightfully influential in contemporary scholarly engagement with medieval exegesis, it tended to present a very particularly unified vision of medieval intellectual life that was part and parcel of a broader movement within the Catholic intellectual environment of the early- to mid-twentieth century. This is especially clear in the work of the authors associated with the *ressourcement* movement from the second quarter of the twentieth century, who produced their foundational works in the history of medieval theology in the context of a broader struggle with the dominant neo-Thomism of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Catholic theology.<sup>19</sup> In his introduction, for example, de Lubac clearly situates his work on medieval exegesis within broader concerns over the state of contemporary Catholic theology more generally.<sup>20</sup> While recent scholarship has tended to sidestep the totalising picture that is frequently presented in these works, this unified vision of medieval exegesis, and intellectual life, continues to ground much of our understanding of medieval hermeneutics.<sup>21</sup> Although we will look to decentralise this image of medieval exegesis to some extent, this will remain our point of departure for building an image of the exegetical apparatus of the twelfth century.

Since its very inception, the distinction between letter and spirit has been fundamental to Christian exegesis, although the nature of this division remains contested.<sup>22</sup> The idea well predates

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<sup>18</sup> Smalley, *Study* (1st ed. 1941); Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri: études sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1950); Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1957); Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu: Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du Moyen Age* (Paris: Cerf, 1957); Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959-64).

<sup>19</sup> For a brief survey Marie Anne Mayeski, 'Quaestio Disputata: Catholic Theology and the History of Exegesis', *Theological Studies* 62 (2001): 140-53; more generally Gabriel Flynn and Paul D. Murray (eds.), *Ressourcement: A Movement for Renewal in Twentieth-Century Catholic Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> De Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1:9-14.

<sup>21</sup> Dahan, *L'exégèse*, 29-30, cf. 436.

<sup>22</sup> Dahan, *L'exégèse*, 435-44; van Liere, *Introduction*, 119-20. There are various terms, eg. Letter or History for the former and Spirit, Mystery and Allegory for the latter. Though these can take on more specific meanings, they are normally used synonymously and interchangeably when in reference to the twofold interpretation. Cf. de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:24, 41.

Christianity and is already put to use in the epistles of Paul, notably Galatians 4:21, and the work of the ante-Nicene Fathers, most significantly Origen.<sup>23</sup> In a Christian context, this idea of the spiritual sense came to be further grounded in a notion of the over abundance of meaning inherent uniquely in scripture.<sup>24</sup> For de Lubac, the relationship of these senses is paradigmatically sacramental, grounded in the relationship of the *mysteria* of scripture to *sacramentum*, and sees this exemplified in Origen's equation of the two senses of scripture with the two natures of Christ.<sup>25</sup> Out of this basic two-part model, the standard three and fourfold constructions emerge through the further subdivision of the spiritual level into two or three categories.<sup>26</sup> First there is the division between allegory, in which one thing signifies another thing, and tropology, where something signifies normative principles.<sup>27</sup> Then within allegory there is the further division between allegory proper and anagogy, the distinction being one of direction, with the former referring to a horizontal relationship between things in the world and the latter being a vertical relationship of earthly to heavenly.<sup>28</sup> But the relationship between these levels is construed differently by different authors, with some amalgamating the two sides of allegory into one, as for example Robert of Melun who viewed anagogy as formally contained within allegory; likewise an anonymous from the school of

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<sup>23</sup> Smalley, *Study*, ch. 1; de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:ch. 1; Dahan, *L'exégèse*, 239, ch. 5-6. It predates Christianity in Pagan allegory and more significantly, and securely, in that of Jewish authors, particularly Philo of Alexandria, although the exact relationship is a matter of contention. Smalley implies a general continuity (1-7), though focuses specifically on Philo, whereas de Lubac argues strenuously for a decisive discontinuity between Christian and Pagan allegory, casting Philo somewhere in-between (2:2-5, 2:16-19, *passim.*); for a more moderate view, see Dahan *L'exégèse*, 368-373 and for a more general discussion see J. F. Procopé, 'Greek Philosophy, Hermeneutics and Alexandrian Understanding of the Old Testament', in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, ed. Magne Sæbø, vol.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) pt. 1, 451-77.

<sup>24</sup> Origen, among others, compares it with a vast forest and a great ocean (*Homiliae In Ez. 4* (PL 25, 720D); *In Ex. homiliae* 9.1 (ed. Wilhelm Adolf Baehrens, *Homilien zum Hexateuch* (Leipzig, 1920), 235)) See de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1:75-82.

<sup>25</sup> De Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:19-27; Origen (trans. Rufinus), *In Leu. homiliae* 1.1 (Baehrens, 280). Jerome also compares the scriptures to Christ in his commentary on Psalm 147. (CCSL 78, 337-8) Cf. Smalley, *Study*, 1. 'Nam sicut ibi carnis, ita hic litterae velamine tegitur, ut littera quidem adspiciatur tamquam caro, latens vero intrinsecus spiritalis sensus tamquam divinitatis sentiatur.'

<sup>26</sup> De Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:25-6; cf. Gilbert Dahan, 'Genres, Forms and Various Methods in Christian Exegesis of the Middle Ages' in Sæbø, *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 226n118.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis Christianae fidei* 1.prol.4 (PL 176, 184D-185A; trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1951), 5).

<sup>28</sup> G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 114-122.

Saint Victor grouped literal and allegorical together as the ‘cognition of truth’ and contrasted this with the ‘form of virtue’ in tropology.<sup>29</sup>

But these systems, despite their later canonical status, are to some extent an artificial schematisation, which only partially reflects the actual practices of exegesis. Indeed, Hugh of Saint Victor, in his *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris*, blends two, three and potentially even four-part models within the span of a chapter.<sup>30</sup> As a result, following Dahan, we should not consider the canonical four-part division as fundamental to medieval hermeneutics so much as the division between historical and allegorical readings, both of which contain a complex collection of different sorts of readings.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, we will not attempt to recreate or follow any particular medieval precedent for formalisation, but will instead use terms like literal, moral and allegorical as pragmatic categories held together by a general familial resemblance.

But it is the literal sense, not the spiritual, which sees the most polemically charged discussion, both in the Middle Ages and in modern scholarship. History has, since time immemorial, been viewed as the foundation of Christian exegesis. Origen, again, expresses the point clearly: ‘first of all, let us see what is reported about [the ark] according to the letter, ... so that, when we have laid down this sort of foundation, we may be able to ascend from text of history to the mystical and allegorical sense of spiritual understanding.’<sup>32</sup> However, the exact status of historical exegesis is a point of great dispute. The English historical tradition has tended to downplay the value of allegory in medieval exegesis, a point that is exemplified by Smalley, who interprets the classical distich: ‘Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, / Moralis quid agas, quo

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<sup>29</sup> As cited by de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1:9 and 2:127, cf. 1:ch. 2 and 2:19-27 for further formulae.

<sup>30</sup> Hugh of Saint Victor, *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* 3 (PL 175, 11D-12C) [hereafter HoSV, *De scrip.*]; cf. de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1:112-114.

<sup>31</sup> Dahan, *L'exégèse*, 435-44.

<sup>32</sup> Origen (trans. Rufinus), *In Gen. homiliae* 2.1 (Baehrens, 22); cf. Augustine, *Sermones* 2.4 (CCSL 41, 12); Jerome, *Commentarii in Is.* 6.pref. (CCSL 73, 223). See de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:41-50 for more examples. ‘primo omnium videamus, quae de ea [viz. arca] secundum litteram referuntur ... ut, cum huiusmodi fundamenta iecerimus, ab historiae textu possimus ascendere ad spiritalis intelligentiae mysticum et allegoricum sensum’.

tendas anagogia’, as ‘the old formulae decrying the literal sense as inferior to the spiritual’.<sup>33</sup> A microcosm of this debate is seen in the interpretation of Hugh of Saint Victor’s exegetical practice. Hugh himself set out a strong invective against those who style themselves ‘allegoriarum doctores’, who cast themselves straight into allegorical interpretation while ignoring the letter.<sup>34</sup> If taken at face value, this suggests an equivalent disregard for the letter in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>35</sup> There is something to be said for this point as there was very much a tendency to view the historical level as unproblematically apparent, and a task requiring little effort.<sup>36</sup> It will suffice here to recognise both his eminently traditional intent along with his new methodological rigour on this point.<sup>37</sup> Following Hugh, we can gather a notion of the depth of literal interpretation, particularly as it developed in the twelfth century. According to Hugh, there are, perhaps mirroring the spiritual, three aspects of literal interpretation: *littera*, *sensus*, and *sententia*.<sup>38</sup> The *littera* is a study of the specific syntax and semantics of the words themselves, such as grammatical and linguistic clarifications or textual criticism; the *sensus* constitutes a study of the signification of words and sentences, and a study of the historical context of the passage more broadly; finally, the *sententia*, sometimes grouped with *sensus*, involves the deeper meaning or ideological content of a passage, uncovered through philosophical and theological analysis.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Augustine of Dacia, *Rotulus pugillaris*, 1. (ed. A. Walz, *Angelicum* 6 (1929), 256; trans. as in van Liere, *Introduction*, 121). Smalley, ‘The Bible in Schools’, in Lampe, *History of the Bible*, 215. A similar point is made in Smalley, *Study*, 295; to which de Lubac responds quite directly. (*Exegesis*, 2:59.) ‘The letter teaches events, allegory what you should believe, / The moral sense teaches what you should do, anagogy what you should strive for.’

<sup>34</sup> A good comparison here would be the interpretations of Smalley, *Study*, ch. 3 and de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 3:ch 4. Similarly, Sønnesyn opposes the suggestion by Southern that Hugh’s historical vision is a sign of discontinuity with his theological predecessors and peers. Sønnesyn, ‘Eternity in Time’, 77-96.

<sup>35</sup> HoSV, *De scrip.* 5. (PL 175, 13A-B.) See also Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon*, 6.3 (ed. Ch.-H. Buttimer (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1939), 114; trans. Jerome Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 136) [hereafter HoSV, *Didas.*]. Cf. Dahan, *L’exégèse*, 239.

<sup>36</sup> De Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:74-5; Evans, *Language*, 67.

<sup>37</sup> Dahan, *L’exégèse*, 240; Chenu as quoted by de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 3:212.

<sup>38</sup> HoSV, *Didas.* 6.8-11 (Buttimer, 125-9; Taylor, 147-50).

<sup>39</sup> Dahan, *L’exégèse*, ch. 5; Dahan, ‘Genres, Forms and Methods’, 227; Smalley, *Study*, 94; de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:79.

### *According to the Letter*

On the most basic level, the *Glossa* addresses a variety of textual issues relating the actual language of the cardinal points. This can be as simple as basic terminological clarifications. So when the location of Crete is described in Acts according to *africus* and *chorus*, the glossator explains that these refer to the south-west and north-west respectively.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, words can be interpreted as standing in for cardinal directions. A common example is the use of *mare* in lists of directions, as in Psalm 106: ‘From the rising and the setting of the sun, from the north and from the sea’, where it is explained that: ‘the sea has been set in place of the south, understanding the ocean of that region’.<sup>41</sup> Likewise, textual variants are frequently highlighted.<sup>42</sup> These can be as basic as noting that ‘to the east of the valley’ is ‘in others: into’.<sup>43</sup> But the differences can be more substantial, as with Jeremiah 25:26 where the gloss explains that the septuagint has east (*subsolanus*) in place of north (*aquilo*) and indeed, sometimes an effort is made to account for the discrepancies, as on Genesis 13:14: ‘in some codices “sea” is set in place of “west”, this is done because Palestine has the sea on its west’.<sup>44</sup> Finally, some of these textual variants still play an important role in the interpretation of the passage, especially in Genesis 2:8, where the ‘older version’, which had ‘to the east’ instead of ‘from the beginning’, is used to justify locating paradise in the east.<sup>45</sup> The textual remarks tend to reinforce the basic nature of the four cardinal directions, most often described as *plagae* (region, quarter, zone), as the foundational spatial categories.<sup>46</sup>

Naturally enough, the most common discussion of the cardinal points at the literal level has to do with clarifying or informing the reader about various historical and geographical facts. On the

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<sup>40</sup> *Glossa* 4:1174r (513).

<sup>41</sup> *Glossa* 2:297v (598); cf. Is. 49:11, Ez 45:7 (*Glossa* 3:109v (222), 228v (460)). ‘a solis ortu et occasu, ab aquilone et mari’; ‘pro austro ponit mare, oceanum illius partis intelligens’.

<sup>42</sup> See also, Gn 24:63, 25:13, Jgs 6:33 (*Glossa* 1:32r (69), 32v-33r (70-1), 2:233v (472)).

<sup>43</sup> *Glossa* 2:94v (192). 1 Chron. 4:39. ‘ad orientem vallis’; ‘alias in’.

<sup>44</sup> *Glossa* 3:142v (288); 1:22v (50). ‘in quibusdam codicibus mare pro occidente ponitur, ideo fit: quia palestina mare habet ab occidente’

<sup>45</sup> *Glossa* 1:11r (25). ‘antiqua traslatio’; ‘ad orientem’; ‘a principio’.

<sup>46</sup> On terminology see von den Brincken, *Fines terrae*, 10-18.

most basic level, this involved adding simple contextual information. It can be fairly incidental to the passage itself, as in Zechariah 14:8, where the interlinear gloss explains that the ‘eastern sea’ is that ‘which is called dead, because nothing is able to live in it.’<sup>47</sup> Or it can be the other way around, as in Deuteronomy 11:24, where various geographical boundaries are glossed with directions.<sup>48</sup> This can become highly complicated and technical, as with the descriptions of the division of the Holy Land in Ezekiel 47 and 48.<sup>49</sup> But very often these geographical and historical notes point to a broader underlying *Weltbild*, as when, for example, commenting on: ‘this man was great among all the people of the east’ (Jb 1:3), the interlinear gloss intensifies the sentiment with an evocation of the exotic east: ‘that is, richer than the rich, since it is well known that easterners are exceedingly rich.’<sup>50</sup> These descriptions can also play an integral role in establishing the *sensus* of the passage, as ‘O, O flee from the land of the north, says the Lord’ (Zc 2:6), is made sensible through its historical interpretation: ‘The Assyrian and Babylonians, who devastated the people of God, live near the site of Jerusalem in the land of the north.’<sup>51</sup> Indeed, in prophetic writings the directions are frequently represent historical people and places. So as with the previous example, in Joel 2:20, the north is the Assyrians, where in Jeremiah 46:20 and 24 it is Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans.<sup>52</sup> Likewise, in Daniel 11, the kings of the north and south are identified as a succession of Greek and Egyptian kings.<sup>53</sup> They can be identified more broadly with the world and its people as a whole.<sup>54</sup> Finally, there are a few passages that identify broader natural phenomena, as in Ecclesiastes 1:6, where the

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<sup>47</sup> *Glossa* 3:298r (599). See also the glosses describing boundaries in Nm 34:6-7 (*Glossa* 1:183r (371)). ‘mare orientale’; ‘quod mortuum dicitur, eo quod in eis aquis nihil possit vivere’.

<sup>48</sup> *Glossa* 1:195r (395).

<sup>49</sup> See esp. Ez 47:15, 18; 48:1 (*Glossa* 3:231r (465)-231v (466)).

<sup>50</sup> *Glossa* 2:188r (379). See also, 1 Kg 25:1 (*Glossa* 2:20v (44)). ‘erat vir ille magnus inter omnes orientales’; ‘id est ditior diuitibus, quia orientales constat esse prediuites’.

<sup>51</sup> *Glossa* 3:291r (585). See also the interlinear gloss on Is 41:25, 46:11 and Jr 25:9 (*Glossa* 3:104v (212), 108r (219), 142r (287)), and the marginal gloss on Ez 20:47 (*Glossa* 3:203r (409)). ‘o o o fugite de terra aquilonis dicit dominus’; ‘Iuxta situm hierusalem assirii et babilonii, qui dei populum vastauerunt, in terra aquilonis habitabant’.

<sup>52</sup> *Glossa* 3:261v (526), 156v (316); cf. Jer 13:20, 50:3, 50:41 (*Glossa* 3:133v (270), 159v (322), 161r (325)).

<sup>53</sup> *Glossa* 3:244r-246v (492-6). See esp. Dn 11:11 (*Glossa* 3:245r (493)).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. 1 Kg 7:25, Is 43:5, 45:6, 49:12, 59:19, Mt 8:11 (*Glossa* 2:55v (114), 3:105v (214), 107r (217), 109v (222), 116r (235), 4:936v (38)).

movement of the sun to the north and south is explained in terms of the cycle of the seasons.<sup>55</sup> But these literal interpretations are broadly unsystematic, Hugh's proverbial rough foundation, serving to ground the systematic development of allegorical characterisations.<sup>56</sup>

### *According to the Spirit*

The ideological characterisation of the cardinal points is normally understood to inhere not in the literal level, but rather in the spiritual interpretations they are given.<sup>57</sup> Although the division between the canonical spiritual readings of the Bible is not as monolithic as the subsequent tradition might suggest, the plurality of spiritual readings is nevertheless a key feature of the allegorical level. The different spiritual readings are not only constituted in the literal level, but they equally build upon one another. As such, in their general senses, basic moral characterisations are built on top of the common allegorical interpretations of each direction.<sup>58</sup> We will focus on this building process where basic associations are extended out to moral and allegorical readings, which we will focus on since they are the most clearly distinct. Furthermore, given some general overlap in the interpretation of north-west and the south-east, these will be addressed together so as to avoid excessive repetition.<sup>59</sup>

The exegetical understanding of the cardinal points is normally taken to ground itself in the natural and linguistic features of the cardinal points themselves.<sup>60</sup> Though east and west have consistent terms, *oriens* and *occidens*, north and south are referred to by multiple terms, with *septentrio* and *aquilo* for north, and *auster* and *meridies* for south. This multiplicity of terms points

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<sup>55</sup> *Glossa* 3:21v (46).

<sup>56</sup> HoSV, *Didas.* 6.4 (Buttimer, 118-19; Taylor, 140).

<sup>57</sup> Eg. Fischer, *Europa*, 70-4, 77-8; Lapina, *Warfare*, 129-30.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:ch. 9, *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> On the connection of north-west and south-east see Ez 48:10 (*Glossa* 3:231v-232r (466-7)) and Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 1.5.24 (ed. and trans. John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 40-3) [hereafter Galber, *Hist.*].

<sup>60</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 32-3; Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 114-5; Lapina, *Warfare*, 129-30; Fischer, *Europa*, 60-1.

to the two major lexical bases, celestial and atmospheric, of directional terms more generally.<sup>61</sup> Though exegetes did allegorise the directions both in terms of the solar regions and winds, there is nevertheless a strong equivocation between the two, and indeed they are explicitly equated in the *Glossa*.<sup>62</sup> There are only a handful of material characteristics, also found in encyclopaedic material, that are used in the *Glossa* for each direction. East is, first of all, associated with rising and the sun, for example, in Zechariah *ad orientem* is glossed ‘whence the sun of justice rises’.<sup>63</sup> The west is typically associated with setting and death, following the ambiguity inherent in the meaning of *occidens*, and with darkness and shadows.<sup>64</sup> Hence it can be used to mean: ‘where the day ends and the stars fall (*occidere*), that is, on account of the death of all the elect and the general end of the world’.<sup>65</sup> The north is typically used in reference to its coldness and numbness, and their oppressive power, frequently, in this case, in relation to the wind.<sup>66</sup> Hence it is common to find interpretations of north on the basis of, for example the *frigor infidelitatis*, *torpor peccati*, or *ventus durus*.<sup>67</sup> Finally, south is allegorised typically in terms of the heat and light of the sun at mid-day and occasionally with regard to the burning wind.<sup>68</sup> From this we find interpretations such as: ‘where light is full and the sun of justice is set on the highest peak of heaven’ or ‘warm south wind which melts the water frozen by winter through its warmth.’<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> See *supra* excursus 1; cf. Cecil H. Brown, 'Where Do Cardinal Direction Terms Come From?', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 25.2 (1983): 121-161.

<sup>62</sup> Ez 42:15 (*Glossa* 3:225v (454)). '*ventum orientalem: plagam scilicet*'

<sup>63</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 3.42.1-2, 13.1.4 (Barney et al., 101, 271); Zec 14:4 (*Glossa* 3:297v (593)). Cf. Eccl 1:5, Ez 46:1, 46:12 (*Glossa* 3:21v (46), 297v (593), 230r (463)). There are numerous examples picking up on only one of the characteristics of rising or the sun alone, for example Gn 11:2 (*Glossa* 1:20v (46)): '*cum proficiscerentur de oriente: relicto vero sole*', or Jo 1:15 (*Glossa* 1:216v (438)): '*contra solis ortum: a quo oritur omne bonum*.'

<sup>64</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 3.42.1-2, 13.1.4 (Barney et al., 101, 271).

<sup>65</sup> Ex 26:22 (*Glossa* 1:85v (176)). '*Bene in occidentali plaga tabernaculum consummatur, quo dies clauditur, et astra occidunt, propter obitum scilicet cuiusque electi vel generalem mundi terminum*.'

<sup>66</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 3.41, 13.11.13 (Barney et al., 101, 275).

<sup>67</sup> Eg. **Frigor**: Jdt 16:3, Eccl 11:3 (*Glossa* 2:179r (361); *Glossa* 3:27r (57)). **Torpor**: Ez 40:40, 44 (*Glossa* 3:222v (448), 223v (450)). **Durus**: Is 14:31, Jer 1:13, Ez 26:7 (*Glossa* 3:86v (176), 123r (249), 208r (419)).

<sup>68</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 3.42.3, 13.1.6, 13.1.6 (Barney et al., 101, 271, 275).

<sup>69</sup> Ez 40:2, Sir 43:17 (*Glossa* 3:220r (443), 69r (141)). '*Ad austrum: Ubi lumen plenum est, et sol iustitiae in summo coeli vertice positus.*' / '*Aspirabit notus: Qui et auster ventus calidus qui aquas frigore concretas calore suo dissoluit. Haec est gratia spiritussancti, quae delicti mortalis gelu constricta, calore dispergit.*'

The north and west are traditionally understood to represent characteristically negative aspects, with the former relating to the sin and the devil and the latter to death and finality.<sup>70</sup> However, the development of these ideas is a bit more involved. On a basic level, there are a number of common terms associated with the north. For example, it is frequently described with chill (*frigor*), sin (*peccatum*), numbness (*torpor*), evil (*malum*), and the devil (*hostis/diabolus*).<sup>71</sup> These basic allegorical concepts build into various moral and allegorical readings. For example, following Bede, the glossator explains that the north side of the temple relates to the gentiles since: ‘the second side, which lies to the north, signifies the gentiles who up to the time of the incarnation were numb from the darkness and chill of unfaithfulness.’<sup>72</sup> Although it can equally refer to the Jews: ‘these tables are next to the gate which goes to the north since they lead the people, *Synagoga* rages in persecution of our redeemer, rushing on to the numbness of perfidy’ and ‘because under the fear of threats, it constructs the frigid hearts of the Jews’.<sup>73</sup> But morally, the north tends to be those characteristics that are to be overcome, hence ‘from the memory of their iniquity the sinner accepts the grace of humility and the efficacy of good work’ and ‘through contrition they come to perfection’.<sup>74</sup> In this oppositional sense it can be associated both with trials, which vivify the faithful, and the positive virtue of hope, ‘because the sinner if he despairs of god’s mercy he will altogether perish, whence it is necessary that one who has perished through their iniquity is returned

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<sup>70</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 201.

<sup>71</sup> **Frigor**: Jdt 16:3, Eccl 11:3, cf. 1 Chr 26:14 (*Glossa* 2:179r (361), 3:27r (57), cf. 2:107v (218)). **Peccatum/torpor**: Ez 40:44, cf. Jb 37:22, Ez 40:19, 40:20, 40:23 (*Glossa* 3:233v (450), cf. 2:221v (446), 3:221v-222r (446-7)). **Malum**: Is 41:25, Jr 6:1, 50:9, 51:48, Ez 1:4, 8:3, 32:30, 38:15, 39:2, 40:20 (*Glossa* 3:104v (212), 127v (258), 159v-60r (322-3), 162v (328), 184r (371), 191v (386), 214r (431), 218v (440), 219r (441), 221v (446)). **Diabolus**: Ps 47:3, cf. Jer 3:18, Ez 1:4 (*Glossa* 2:256r (515), cf. 3:125v (254), 184r (371)).

<sup>72</sup> Ez 26:20 (*Glossa* 1:85r-v (175-6)). ‘Latus secundum quod vergit ad aquilonem gentes significat, quae usque ad tempus incarnationis tenebris et frigore infidelitatis torpebant.’

<sup>73</sup> Ez 40:40 (*Glossa* 3:222v-223r (448-9)). ‘hae mensae iuxta portam quae pergunt ad aquilonem sunt, quia cum populo praessent, Synagoga in persecutione redemptoris nostri saeviens, ad torporem perfidiae prorupit’; ‘quia sub timore minarum, figida iudeorum corda constrinxit.’

<sup>74</sup> Ez 40:22, 40:19, cf. Ez 40:24, 40:46, 42:9 (*Glossa* 3:221v (446), cf. 3:222r (447), 223v (450), 225r (453)). ‘[peccator accipit] de memoria iniquitatis suae gratiam humilitatis et efficaciam bonae operationis’; ‘[peccatores] per poenitentiam ad perfectionem veniunt’.

to life through the hope of mercy.<sup>75</sup> Although it is rarely used, Job 37:22 gives ample ground for a further positive understanding of the north as the place from which gold comes.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the confluence of clearly negative portrayals within the biblical text with the geopolitical realities of the late antique and Carolingian world assured a predominantly negative allegorical portrayal of the north.<sup>77</sup>

The west is the least clearly characterised direction, although some relatively consistent points emerge.<sup>78</sup> In particular, it is broadly associated with various terms for ending, finishing and dying: *finire/finis*, *terminare/terminus* and *occidere*.<sup>79</sup> On this basis it is most frequently used to represent the end of life or the world.<sup>80</sup> We can likewise see how this can provide certain moral interpretations, such as the end of vice (*occasum viciorum* or *occidunt peccata*) and desire (*passiones usque ad mortem tolerant*).<sup>81</sup> However it can represent broader allegorical aims, for which an instructive example is the interpretation of Deuteronomy 33:23:

the Jews are represented by the sea, which is understood here as western, who are subject to a shadow or copy and do not have the light of knowledge and truth, and because for them the sun of justice lay buried, they remained in perpetual darkness. The apostles inherited this west, when from there they made many, illuminated by the grace of faith, subject to Christ, that those who were once of darkness, could be light in the Lord.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> **Trials:** Sg 4:16, Sir 43:18, Jer 6:1 (*Glossa* 3:32r (67), 69r (141), 127v (258)). **Hope:** Ez 40:24, cf. Nm 2:18, Ez 40:44 (*Glossa* 3:222r (447), cf. 1:141r (287), 3:223r (449)). ‘quia peccator si de dei misericordia desperat omnino perit, unde necesse est ut qui per suam iniquitatem extinctus est, per spem misericordiae reviviscat.’

<sup>76</sup> *Glossa* 2:221v (446).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 129-34.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 201.

<sup>79</sup> **Finire:** Nm 2:18, 1 Chr 26:15 (*Glossa* 1:141r (287), 2:107v (218)). **Terminare:** Ex 26:22, 27:12 (*Glossa* 1:85v (176), 87v (180)). **Occidere:** Ex 27:12, Ps 74:6 (*Glossa* 1:87v (180), 2:275r (553)).

<sup>80</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 201; Ex 26:22, 27:12, Nm 2:25, 1 Chr 26:15 (*Glossa* 1:85v (176), 87v (180), 141r (287), 2:107v (218)).

<sup>81</sup> **Vice:** Gn 28:14, Ps 102:12 (*Glossa* 1:36v (78), 2:293r (589)). **Desire:** Mt 8:11, cf. Nm 3:23 (*Glossa* 4:936v (38), cf. 1:142r (289)).

<sup>82</sup> *Glossa* 1:213v (432). ‘Per mare enim occidentale (quod hic intelligitur) Judaei figurantur, qui umbrae et exemplari deserviunt, nec habent lucem scientiae et veritatis, et quia eis sol justitiae occubuit, perpetuis remanserunt in tenebris. Hunc occidentem apostoli possederunt, cum ex eis plurimos gratia fidei illuminatos Christo subjecerunt, ut qui fuerunt aliquando tenebrae, lux essent in Domino.’

This highlights nicely the way that both the idea of setting and finality can be leveraged into a particular allegorical signification, and also how the west could, more readily than the north, serve as a transitional space which the church comes to inhabit historically and allegorically.<sup>83</sup>

There is some degree of overlap between west and north particularly at the moral level, since north can also be interpreted in relation to the mortification of desires while west can stand for enduring persecution and tribulations.<sup>84</sup> But we can distinguish linguistically between the two. To take Genesis 28:14 as an example, west (*occidens*) is glossed: ‘*occasum viciorum*’ where north (*septentrio*) is ‘*contractionem voluptatis et mortificationem desiderii*’.<sup>85</sup> Although the language of mortification can be used in relation to the west, it is also framed here in terms of finality in a way that is not mirrored in language about the north, for example: ‘the ministers of the tabernacle ought to mortify carnal desires *and await the last day and the end of labour*’.<sup>86</sup>

The south and east, on the other hand, have traditionally positive associations, representing especially the second and third person of the Trinity, and the Church.<sup>87</sup> The south is the most uniform on this front, as it is uniquely and consistently used, particularly in relation to moral interpretations, as a referent to the Holy Spirit. The south is characteristically associated with warmth (*calor*), light (*lumen*) and the activities of the holy spirit.<sup>88</sup> It is this idea of illumination and the activity of the holy spirit that drives the majority of interpretations of the south.<sup>89</sup> Hence it is normally the Jews, bearing the light of the law and the knowledge of God prior to Christ, or less

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<sup>83</sup> Cf. Nm 2:18 (*Glossa* 1:141r (287)); Lapina, *Warfare*, 129-32.

<sup>84</sup> Gn 28:14, Ez 41:11, Ez 47:20 (*Glossa* 1:36v (78), 3:224r (451), 231v (466)).

<sup>85</sup> Gn 28:14 (*Glossa* 1:36v (78)) (emphasis mine). ‘the passing away of vice’; ‘the contraction of pleasure and mortification of desire’.

<sup>86</sup> Nm 3:23, cf. Mt 8:11 (*Glossa* 1:142r (289), cf. 4:936v (38)) Emphasis mine. ‘[ministri tabernaculi debent] carnalia desideria mortificare, *diem ultimum et finem laboris expectare*’.

<sup>87</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 201.

<sup>88</sup> **Calor**: Eccl 11:3, Sir 43:17 (*Glossa* 3:27r (57), 69r (141)). **Lumen**: Ez 40:2, 24, 45, Ob 1:9, Hab 3:3, 1 Macc 5:65 (*Glossa* 3:220r (443), 222r (447), 233v (450), 271r (545), 283v (570), 307r (617)). **Spiritus Sanctus**: 1 Kgs 7:39, Jb 9:9, Job 39:26, Ps 125:4, Sir 43:17, Ez 40:2 (*Glossa* 2:56v (116), 198r (399), 225v (453), 313v (630), 3:69r (141), 220r (443)).

<sup>89</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 117-28.

frequently the Gentiles, brought into the light of faith by the apostles.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, it pertains morally to the full illumination of the mind in internal joy and wisdom, and fervour in virtue and faith.<sup>91</sup> It is also associated, more directly, with the virtue of *caritas*: ‘to the south is *caritas*, since it burns with the fire of love. For indeed, in the southern gate, the sun is led on high, because through *caritas* the light of faith is raised up in love of God and neighbour’.<sup>92</sup> In its positive moral connotations, south is often explicitly or figuratively contrasted with the north, particularly in terms of a movement from one to the other: ‘Like ice in the sun, when the warm south wind blows, it melts the ice’.<sup>93</sup> However, the south can also represent negative characteristics. Though Maurmann downplays its significance, the *Glossa* picks up on a trend, founded particularly in Bede’s interpretation of Song of Songs 4:16 as representing different trials of the church, presenting the south as the worldly pleasures (*blandimenta*).<sup>94</sup> This remained a significant interpretation throughout the twelfth century, and indeed we find a parallel interpretation of the south in Hugh’s *Ark tract*.<sup>95</sup>

As with the south, the east is also generally associated with another person of the Trinity, in this case the Son. But unlike the south, the east is directly associated with the person of the Son, as opposed to merely his works. This relationship is based especially on the explicit association in the Vulgate itself: ‘Behold a man, his name is east’ (Zc 6:12) and ‘the east has visited us from on high’ (Lk 1:78).<sup>96</sup> However, this connection is also made through other passages like ‘I am the door’

<sup>90</sup> **Jews:** Ex 26:18, 20, 35, 27:11, Nm 2:10, 18, 1 Kg 7:39, 1 Chr 26:15 (*Glossa* 1:85r-v (175-6), 86v (178), 87v (180), 141r (287), 2:56v (116), 107v (218)). **Gentiles:** Dt 33:23, Ob 1:19 (*Glossa* 1:213v (432), 3:271v (546)).

<sup>91</sup> Gn 28:14, 1 Kgs 7:39, 1 Chr 26:15, Jb 9:9 (*Glossa* 1:36v (78), 2:56v (116), 107v (218), 198r (399))

<sup>92</sup> Ez 40:24, cf. Gn 24:62, 1 Kgs 7:39, Ez 40:44 (*Glossa* 3:222r (447), cf. 1:32r (69), 2:56v (116), 3:233v (450)). ‘Ad meridiem charitas: quia igne amoris ardet. In meridiana etenim porta, sol in altum ducitur, quia per charitatem lumen fidei in Dei et proximi dilectione sublevatur’.

<sup>93</sup> Ps 125:4, cf. Ez 48:16 (*Glossa* 3:313v (630), cf. 3:232r (467)). ‘sicut glacies in sole ... quando autem flat calidus ventus auster, liquescit glacies’.

<sup>94</sup> *Glossa* 3:32r (67); Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 123. See also, Ex 10:13, Nu 2:18, and more tenuously, Jo 11:2, 15:1 (*Glossa* 1:64v (134), 141r (287), 225r (455), 236v (478)).

<sup>95</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 123n27; Hugh of Saint Victor, *De archa Noe*, 4.9 (CCCM 176, 111) [hereafter HoSV, *De arch.*]; cf. HoSV, *De scrip.* 16 (PL 175, 23C).

<sup>96</sup> 1 Chr 4:38, Jb 1:3, Ez 11:1, Ez 40:6, Zc 6:12 and Ez 40:44 (*Glossa* 2:94v (192), 188r (379), 3:193v (390), 220v (444), 293r (589), 233v (450)). ‘ecce vir oriens nomen eius’; ‘visitavit nos oriens ex alto’.

(Jn 10:9), 'the light of the world' (Jn 8:12), or 'the way etc.' (Jn 14:6).<sup>97</sup> This relationship can also be established through as simple a connection as Judea's location in the east.<sup>98</sup> Naturally, further interpretations of the east tend to relate with the idea of arising or beginning, particularly *ortus* and *initium*.<sup>99</sup> Thus a common allegory is the beginning of the church or the new creation: 'the sun of the whole church sets in the west so that after the darkness has passed it may arise more truly in the east with the life of the present age having ended in the advent of the lord'.<sup>100</sup> This is also linked to the virtue most clearly associated with east, *fides*: 'in the east is faith, through which true light is born in the mind'.<sup>101</sup> Though more generally it can be the beginning or rise of justice, our illumination and good works.<sup>102</sup> In line with this image of faith, the east can likewise be used on occasion in reference to false Christians and heretics, an interpretation that will ultimately be echoed in Guibert of Nogent's castigation of the Eastern Church.<sup>103</sup>

The act of glossing can also be used to blur the boundaries of related exegetical categories, like south and east. For example, the south is interpreted as Jesus in Ezekiel 40:44, when 'towards the southern way (*via*)' is glossed 'that is, the one way for all, who said I am the way (*via*)'.<sup>104</sup> Although it is drawn from Gregory the Great's homily on Ezekiel, where the reference is made about the east, since Jesus is between north and south, Jew and Gentile, the glossator has

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<sup>97</sup> **Jn 10:9:** 1 Kgs 6:8, Ez 42:12 (*Glossa* 2:50v (104), 3:225r (453)). **Jn 8:12:** Nm 2:3 (*Glossa* 1:141r (287)). **Jn 14:6:** Ez 40:6 (*Glossa* 3:220v (444)).

<sup>98</sup> Is 41:2, 41:25, 46:11 (*Glossa* 3:104r (211), 104v (212), 108r (219)).

<sup>99</sup> **Ortus:** 1 Chr 12:15, 2 Chr 5:12, Ps 74:7, Ez 40:19, 46:1, Zc 14:4 (*Glossa* 2:100r (203), 114r (231), 275r (553), 3:221v (446), 229v (462), 297v-298r (598-9)). **Initium:** Ex 27:13, Nm 2:18, Ez 40:19 (*Glossa* 1:87v-88r (180-1), 141r (287), 3:221v (446)).

<sup>100</sup> Ex 26:22, cf. Num 2:18, 1 Chr 26:14 (*Glossa* 1:85v (176), cf. 1:141r (287), 2:107v (218)). 'Occidit omni ecclesiae sol in occidente, ut verius in oriente praeteritis tenebris oriatur cum finita in adventu domini vita praesentis saeculi'.

<sup>101</sup> Ez 40:24, cf. Gn 28:14, Ex 27:13, Jdt 5:4, Ez 40:44 (*Glossa* 3:222r (447), cf. 1:36v (78), 87v (180), 2:173v (350), 3:233v (450)). 'In oriente est fides: per quam lux vera nascitur in mente'.

<sup>102</sup> **Justice:** Jb 30:12, Ps 74:6, Is 41:2, Ez 41:11, Ez 48:16 (*Glossa* 2:214r (431), 275r (553), 3:224r (451), 232r (467)). **Illumination:** Ps 67:34 (*Glossa* 2:269r (541)). **Works:** Ex 27:13, Nm 2:18 (*Glossa* 1:87v (180), 141r (287)).

<sup>103</sup> Jd 6:33, Jr 49:28 (*Glossa* 1:233v (472), 3:159r (321)); Guibert, *Dei Gesta* 1.2, 2.4 (CCCM 127A, 89-90, 113-16; Levine, 30-1, 43-4).

<sup>104</sup> Ez 40:44 (*Glossa* 3:233v (450)). 'contra viam australem'; 'id est una via est omnibus, quae dicit: ego sum via'.

recontextualised it by situating it, originally in the interlinear gloss, above the south through the connection with the term *via*.<sup>105</sup>

As should be evident by now, the basic allegorical notions tend to crystallise within particular narrative contexts. We can see best how these constellations are narratively constructed in some of the more involved interpretive programs. Dependent on the particular circumstances, these can stick fairly close to the individual ideas of the various directions, but they can also be very divergent. The gloss on Ezekiel 48:10, for example, is driven particularly by the individual meanings:

That, abandoning the cold of the north, we come to the west, where evidently vices may perish for us and pass away. Thence we may cross over to the east, and, as the sun of justice has risen for us, let us come to the south, in which the light is brightest and complete.<sup>106</sup>

In this interpretation, the basic moral characterisations of each direction are simply linked together into a narrative structure, providing ground for this more complex exegesis. In this case, the narrative structure is driven by the context of the verse it is commenting upon, Ezekiel 48:10, which simply lists the measurements of the priest's allotment in each direction following the same order: north, the sea (i.e. west), east, and south. However, this relationship of basic association and contextualisation plays out differently in every case. As a result, the directions can be put to various different uses as required. For example in the gloss on Ezekiel 40:20, the movement is from north to south and then 'to perfect virtue, that is, to the eastern door', following the progression of Ezekiel through the heavenly temple.<sup>107</sup>

But the diversity of possibilities is exemplified in the allegorical interpretation of directions as Jews and gentiles. The Jews alone are independently represented at points by every direction,

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<sup>105</sup> Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ez.* 2.10.11 (CCSL 142, 386-7; trans. Theodosia Thomkinson (Etna: Centre for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 2008), 447-8) [hereafter Greg., *Hom. in Ez.*].

<sup>106</sup> *Glossa* 3:231v (466). 'Ut Aquilonis frigora relinquentes, ad Occidentem veniamus: quo scilicet occidunt nobis vitia et intereant. Inde ad Orientem transeamus: et orto nobis sole justitiae, veniamus ad Meridiem, in quo clarissimum lumen, est atque perfectum.'

<sup>107</sup> *Glossa* 3:221v (446). 'ad perfectam ... virtutem, id est, ad portam Orientalem'.

although there are notable differences in the way they are characterised in each case. In the east the Jews are the ‘rise of the knowledge of the law’ and ‘of the sun of justice’;<sup>108</sup> in the south they are those ‘who previously admitting the light of knowledge enjoyed the love of God’ as well as ‘the common people illuminated by the law and the prophets’;<sup>109</sup> the west is the ‘casting out of the Jews’;<sup>110</sup> and finally in the north are the ‘frigid hearts of the Jews’ and ‘*Synagoga* in persecution of the redeemer’.<sup>111</sup> Through the four directions, the full scope of history is encapsulated in the Jewish people and their theological position vis-a-vis Christianity. The gentiles are not so varied a subject of interpretation as the Jews, nevertheless, they are also variously interpreted depending on the direction in question. The gentiles are characteristically associated with the north, which signifies the ‘multitude of gentiles, numb with the chill of unfaithfulness up to Christ’;<sup>112</sup> conversely, in the south they are ‘inflamed by the light of the gospel’ and the east is ‘the vocation of the gentiles’.<sup>113</sup> However, the real meat of the allegorical interpretations of Jews and gentiles lies in the way that passages with a number of cardinal points were tied together in this theme. For example, when Ezekiel 46:9 describes how the people of the land who enter the temple by the north shall leave by the south and vice versa, this is interpreted in terms of Jews and gentiles:

It is taught to the people that if they should have entered through the northern door to worship, they would leave by way of the southern door. This is the gentile people, who, if they should have entered the temple, abandoning the northern door – *from which evils flare up over the earth* – they should not leave except by way of the southern door, that is, of light and heat, in which the bridegroom rests in the south. Whence: *Arise north wind and come south wind*. But he who enters by way of the

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<sup>108</sup> 1 Chr 12:15, cf. 1 Kgs 7:39 (*Glossa* 2:100r (203), cf. 2:56v (116)): ‘ortum scientiae legis’. Ez 40:19, cf. Rv 21:13 (*Glossa* 3:221v (446), cf. 4:1208r (581)): ‘ortus sol iusticiae’.

<sup>109</sup> Ex 26:20, cf. Ex 26:18, 35, Nm 2:10, 18 (*Glossa* 1:85r (175), cf. 1:86v (178), 141r (287)): ‘quae dudum lucem scientiae legis accipiens, amore dei fruebat’. 1 Chr 26:15, cf. 1 Mc (*Glossa* 2:107v (218), cf. 3:311r (625)): ‘plebem lege et prophetis illuminatam’.

<sup>110</sup> Zc 14:4, cf. Dt 33:32 (*Glossa* 3:298r (599), cf. 1:214v (432)). ‘abjectione iudaeorum’.

<sup>111</sup> Ez 40:40 (*Glossa* 3:223r (449)): ‘frigida iudeorum corda’. Ez 40:40, cf. Ez 40:2 (*Glossa* 3:223r (449), cf. 3:221v (446)): ‘Synagoga in persecutione Redemptoris’.

<sup>112</sup> Nm 2:25, cf. Ex 26:20, 26:35, Nm 2:18, 1 Chr 26:14, Job 37:22, Ps 47:3, Ez 40:19, Rev 21:13 (*Glossa* 1:141r (287), cf. 1:85r (175), 86v (178), 141r (287), 2:107v (218), 221v (446), 256r (515), 3:221v (446), 4:1208r (581)). ‘multitudinem gentium usque ad christum frigore infidelitatis torpentem’.

<sup>113</sup> Dt 33:23, cf. Acts 8:26 (*Glossa* 1:213v (432), cf. 4:1157r (479)): ‘luce eungelii feruentes’. Zec 14:8 (*Glossa* 3:298r (599)): ‘vocatione gentium’.

southern door etc., this is the Jewish people, who, abandoning the door of light, cross over to the northern door about which it is said: *the north is the harshest wind* and the cauldron of Jeremiah is kindled *from the face of the north*.<sup>114</sup>

This passage ties together the various individual characterisations of Jews and gentiles by giving them a more extended narrative interconnection. It also shows the fluidity of the cardinal directions to symbolise varied analogues even within the span of a particular concrete interpretation.

So while, overall, the cardinal directions developed relatively stable associations in patristic and Carolingian exegesis, the way that these associations functioned was not always a straightforward application of the dominant allegorical interpretation. Rather, each had a collection of associated terms, ideas, and characteristics which served as the basis for the exegete's work in a given concrete circumstance. As such, despite their stability, the individual associations are not determinative of the direction's meaning in any given circumstance.<sup>115</sup> Rather, in every case there are interpretations, even in this conservative collection, that depart from the standard good-bad dichotomies. And although these are not a prominent feature of the more extended exegesis of the Fathers, at least so far as it is reflected in the *Glossa*, they remain latent possibilities. Thus, in the correct context, particularly from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we find that these traditional dichotomies can be entirely overturned, as in the writing of Ralph Glaber and Guibert of Nogent.<sup>116</sup>

### *The Hermeneutics of Space*

There is a more specific issue about the relationship of literal and allegorical that should be addressed before moving onwards. We should clarify in what sense geographical space is used as a

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<sup>114</sup> *Glossa* 3:230r (463), cf. Ez 40:28, 40:44, Rev 21:13 (*Glossa* 3:222r (447), 223r-v (449-50), 4:1208r (581)). 'Praecipitur populo, ut si ingressus fuerit per portam Aquilonis ut adoret, egrediatur per viam portae meridianae. Hic est iste populus gentilium, qui relinquens portam Aquilonis, a quo exardescunt mala super terram (Jr 1:14), si templum fuerit ingressus, non debet egredi nisi per viam portae meridianae, id est, luminis et caloris, in qua cubat sponsus in meridie. Unde: *Surge, Aquilo; et veni, Auster* (Sg 4:16). Qui vero ingreditur per viam portae meridianae, etc.; hic est Judaeorum populus, qui relinquens portam luminis, transit ad portam Aquilonis de quo dicitur: Aquilo ventus durissimus (Sir 43:22); et olla Jeremiae a facie aquilonis accenditur (Jr 1:13).'

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 201-3.

<sup>116</sup> Glaber, *Hist.* 1.5.24 (France, 40-3); Guibert, *Dei Gesta* 2.4 (CCCM 127A, 115-6; Levine, 44).

literal basis for allegorical interpretation. Contrary to the idea that medieval people viewed space as inherently meaningful, spatial relations are rarely the crux of a given interpretation in themselves.<sup>117</sup> Even when they are, they tend to be fairly trivial, as when in Isaiah the east is interpreted in relation to Christ on the basis of the fact that Judaea lies to the east.<sup>118</sup> Rather, allegory is normally based on characteristics of the space in question. When Hugh of Saint Victor discusses the referential power of space, this is precisely what he does. Since the north is ‘always cold and dark’, it is spiritually characteristic of the demons that the Babylonians represent: ‘inasmuch as [they are] numb by the cold of faithlessness and deprived of the light of truth.’<sup>119</sup> Even though this is a discussion of space, Babylon is characteristic of the north not because it is positioned in the north, but because it has an allegorical similarity to it.

But Hugh of Saint Victor provides a broader case study on how spatial allegory functions across his writings. This issue has been discussed particularly in terms of the relationship between Hugh's *Descriptio mappae mundi* and *Libellus de formatione arche*.<sup>120</sup> There are broadly two arguments as to how we should think about the relationship between the literal map and its figurative exposition embodied in these two texts. On the one hand, Kupfer wants to view the movement from one to the other of these documents as the movement from one existential condition to another. That is to say, the two present ‘the same object under two guises and from two points of view [viz. the aspect of description and the aspect of interpretation]’.<sup>121</sup> According to this view, therefore, the positions of Jerusalem, Babylon and Egypt are immediately significant as a result of their positions on the earth and it is the exegete’s job to discover the connection already

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<sup>117</sup> Cf. Gautier Dalché, ‘Considérations intempestives’, 133-6.

<sup>118</sup> Is 41:2, 41:25, 46:11 (*Glossa* 3:104r (211), 104v (212), 108r (219)).

<sup>119</sup> HoSV, *De scrip.* 16 (*PL* 175, 23C). ‘ubi frigus perpetuum et obscuritas est’; ‘Per Assyrios igitur, id est Babylonios, daemones competenter designantur, qui ad aquilonem sedem sibi elegerunt, utpote frigore infidelitatis torpentes, et veritatis luce privati.’

<sup>120</sup> See for example, Patrick Gautier-Dalché, ‘“Réalité” et “symbole” dans la géographie de Hugues de Saint-Victor’, in *Ugo di San Vittore. Atti del XLVII Convegno storico internazionale (Todi, 10-12 ottobre 2010)*, (Spolète: Fondazione CISAM, 2011), 359-381 and Marcia Kupfer, ‘Medieval world maps: embedded images, interpretive frames’, *Word & Image* 10, no. 3 (1994): 262-288.

<sup>121</sup> Kupfer, ‘Medieval world maps’, 270.

there. Gautier-Dalché argues to the contrary that this interpretation would imply that the *Libellus* was already contained as such in the *Descriptio*, but that this cannot stand ‘because of the different status of the spatial realities in the *Libellus* and in the *Descriptio* [that is, *in ratione* and *in actu*]’.<sup>122</sup> As such, there must be a sense in which the two maps are presenting two different objects, produced through a synthetic relationship between the world (*situs locorum*) and a particular principle of representation. On this basis, Gautier-Dalché argues that the *Descriptio* is a wholly autonomous entity, synthesised according to limited human faculties, where the *Libellus* adds another step, involving a process of purification according to the divine archetype, stripping it down to only those spiritually significant entities.<sup>123</sup> While the difference between these views seems to some extent overstated, an analysis of this material will show that there are important advantages to the latter position. Furthermore, by setting this material within an exegetical context, we can better appreciate just what it means to consider the *situs locorum* according to the divine archetype.

Hugh addresses the idea of space referring directly in the example of the allegorical status of Babylon and Egypt, which he returns to no less than three times across his writings. The spatial relationship is the same in all three instances, with the position of Babylon and Egypt presented as relative either to Jerusalem, in the two Ark treatises, or the promised land, in *De scripturis*: ‘Egypt is south of Jerusalem and Babylon is north’.<sup>124</sup> But is this really the case geographically? Certainly, neither was typically representative of north or south, although Egypt was increasingly shifting in that direction.<sup>125</sup> But Egypt is at least relatively in the right location, since it is normally represented south or south east of Jerusalem on medieval maps. Babylon, on the other hand, is not. Hugh even

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<sup>122</sup> Gautier-Dalché, “‘Réalité’ et ‘symbole’”, 18. ‘à cause du statut différent des réalités spatiales dans le *Libellus* et dans la *Descriptio*’.

<sup>123</sup> Gautier-Dalché, “‘Réalité’ et ‘symbole’”, 18-21.

<sup>124</sup> HoSV, *De arch.* 4.9 (CCCM 176, 112; Squire, 148); cf. HoSV, *De scrip.* 16 (PL 175, 23B-C) and Hugh of Saint Victor, *Libellus de formatione arche* 4 (CCCM 176A, 155). ‘Egyptus a Ierusalem ad austrum est, Babilon uero ad aquilonem’.

<sup>125</sup> See *supra* ch. 1.

situates it to the south within the western region of Asia.<sup>126</sup> This is also born out in various *mappaemundi*, where it is frequently placed either directly on the east-west axis, as in the Sawley and Hereford maps, or slightly south, as in the Ebstorf and Munich 'Isidore' maps. This places it almost directly east of Jerusalem. There is, therefore, no overriding geographical reason to pick Babylon and Egypt as typically north and south of Jerusalem. This is sufficient to exclude the notion that the *Descriptio* and *Libellus* are representing numerically the same spatial schema, or that geographical relations alone underlie Hugh's interpretation of Babylon and Egypt.

We should not be surprised that space alone is not inherently meaningful for Hugh, but only potentially. *Res* are not allegorically meaningful on their own, rather, they are only made meaningful insofar as God is speaking through them. This is, after all, why scripture 'excels all other writings ... since ... in it not only words but also things are significant.'<sup>127</sup> It is the window through which sinful man may access the rationally inaccessible contingencies of God's archetype. For indeed, Hugh does not suggest that we should be able to discern the significance of these places from the context of their relative positions alone. Rather, it is in the context of biblical history that they are imbued with meaning, as he notes: 'we read that the ancient people of the Hebrews first served in Egypt ... and then after an interval of many years was led off captive into Babylon.'<sup>128</sup> It is the Bible, more than geography, that serves to contextualise these cities spatially. Babylon is understood exegetically as archetypically northern, particularly through the major prophets.<sup>129</sup> Indeed, Hugh's characterisation of Babylon as meaning 'confusion' in *De archa* is drawn from Jerome's commentary on Isaiah, which also provides the standard association with Isaiah 14:13: 'I will sit on the mountain of the covenant, on the sides of the north'. The 'I' in this case is also

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<sup>126</sup> HoSV, *Desc.* 10 (Gautier-Dalché, 142).

<sup>127</sup> HoSV, *De sacramentis* prol.5 (PL 176, 185; Deferrari, 5); cf. Gautier-Dalché, "'Réalité" et "symbole"', 21. 'caeteris omnibus scripturis ... praecellat; cum ... in hac ... non solum voces, sed etiam res significativae sint.'

<sup>128</sup> HoSV, *De arch.* 4.9 (CCCM 176, 112; Squire, 148); cf. HoSV, *De scrip.* 16 (PL 175, 23B-C). 'Legimus autem, quod ille antiquus Hebreorum populus prius in Egypto in luto et latere seruiuit, ac deinde multis annis intercurrentibus captiuus in Babilonem abductus est.'

<sup>129</sup> Eg. Jer 15:12, Ez 20:47 (Glossa 3:135r (273), 203r (409)).

interpreted as Nebuchadnezzar and is equally alluded to in *De scripturis*.<sup>130</sup> Hugh's interpretation of the south, on the other hand, does not have quite the same degree of scriptural precedent, although its placement to the south of Israel is noted in the Bible.<sup>131</sup> As with Babylon, Hugh draws on patristic sources for his etymological discussion of Egypt and in this case follows Augustine's etymological interpretation of Egypt as darkness (*tenebra*) or troubles (*tribulatio*).<sup>132</sup> As an interpretation of the south itself this is more uncommon, but there is some precedent for associating southwardness with earthly temptations. The most notable example here is Bede's interpretation of Song of Songs 4:16, where the south wind is interpreted as the delights and temptations of the world that test the Church.<sup>133</sup> Though the physical geography, like the literal level of interpretation, conceptually grounds the allegory in some sense, the practice of interpretation has little to do with the geography as such. Rather it depends more on exegetical context and content of the interpretation.

We can see the exegetical logic of Song of Songs 4:16 at work in Hugh's interpretation more generally. The exodus of the Israelites from Egypt through the desert serves as an allegory for the religious life, fleeing from earthly vices and desires, but just as the Israelites were oppressed by the south and then the north, so: 'the devil does not have any power over us unless we are first drawn by our own earthly desires.'<sup>134</sup> This is highly reminiscent of the double ordeal of the trials and allurements of the world, from the north and south, that oppress the Church in Song of Songs. Hugh's interpretation fits within this broader context of scriptural interpretation, where in this case a series of biblical episodes has been drawn together to frame an allegorical point. This is driven by

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<sup>130</sup> Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam* 6.13.1 (CCSL 73, 223-4); Is 14:12 (Glossa 3:85v (174)); HoSV, *De scrip.* 16 (PL 175, 23C): 'qui ad aquilonem sedem sibi elegerunt' as compared with 'sedebo in monte testamenti in lateribus aquilonis' (Is 14:13).

<sup>131</sup> For example, the southernmost tribe, Juda, is described as bordering Egypt to the south (Jo 15:1-4).

<sup>132</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 77.28 (CCSL 39, 1088); HoSV, *De arch.* 4.9 (CCCM 176, 112).

<sup>133</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 117-28, esp. 123n27; Bede, *In Cantica canticorum* 3.4 (CCSL 119B, 270-1; trans. Arthur Holder, *The Venerable Bede: On Song of Songs and Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 2011), 138-9); cf. Glossa 3:32r (67).

<sup>134</sup> HoSV, *De scrip.* 16 (PL 175, 23D). 'Aegyptii opprimunt Israel, deinde Assyrii, non enim in nobis potest quidquam diabolus, nisi prius trahamur a propriis concupiscentiis.'

an underlying spatial logic consisting in a series of scriptural and material relationships that serve to connect the directions and their various associations. This sort of logic and interconnection with biblical exegesis drives other quasi-geographical aspects of Hugh's ark. For example, he inscribes 'Mount Zion' and 'the northern parts' on the upper right and left of the ark, which are interpreted as the Jews and Gentiles respectively.<sup>135</sup> And this is drawn quite directly from Psalm 47 and its standard interpretation: 'the Jews are signified by mount Zion, the gentiles by the northern side'.<sup>136</sup> As such, whether explicitly or not, this series of spatial tropes was a well known and commonly drawn upon exegetical resource.

Considering, therefore, the practice of interpreting space, and geographical categories, as allegorically significant one must be attentive to the exegetical foundation upon which this practice is based. Though much of the literature has focused on a small selection of works by Hugh of Saint Victor, his work can be usefully viewed in the broader context of biblical exegesis more generally. From this vantage point we can see that drawing an unnecessarily close relationship between the *Descriptio* and *Libellus* is somewhat misleading as it suggests too direct a move from one to the other. Rather, what we find in the *Libellus* and related works is a practical method of allegory that is quite close to that being employed in biblical exegesis more generally, one that is driven by the same practices and is drawn from the same pool of exegetical material. It also agrees with the picture that Gautier Dalché presents of the *Descriptio* being a passive precondition for a meditative ascent of the soul through allegory according to the divine exemplar. But by setting this in the context of exegesis more generally, we can begin to see how the Bible functions, even in the less explicitly scriptural examples given by Hugh, as such an archetype, according to which the otherwise unremarkable aspects of the *situs locorum* can gain spiritual significance.

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<sup>135</sup> Hugh of Saint Victor, *Libellus de formatione arche* 4 (CCCM 176A, 139).

<sup>136</sup> Glossa 2:256r (515), cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 47.3 (CCSL 38, 540). 'per montem syon iudaeos significat, per latera aquilonis'.

With this methodology in mind, we can draw spatial exegesis into the context of history, and address its concrete historical development. The twelfth century saw not only a revivification of the historical level of scriptures, but also the development of a new awareness of history itself, a process in which theology and exegesis have been centrally implicated.<sup>137</sup> This development has often been addressed under the problematic rubric of the ‘German Symbolists’, a group of writers characterised by their progressive apocalypticism and inventive historical periodisations.<sup>138</sup> What is more, a number of its central figures, especially Honorius Augustodunensis and Hildegard of Bingen, but also Otto of Freising and Hugh of Saint Victor, make prominent use of the cardinal points throughout their writings as a manner of presenting historical periods or indeed historical development.<sup>139</sup> However, little work has been done to tie down the place of the cardinal points within the broader historical imagination of this milieu.

One of the most extended examples of this use of the cardinal points is found in Honorius Augustodunensis’s commentary on the Song of Songs.<sup>140</sup> After a standard ‘type C’ prologue, which came into vogue during the first quarter of the twelfth century particularly among the students of Anselm of Laon, Honorius explains that all the books of scripture have their own numerical division.<sup>141</sup> Unlike the Psalms, which are divided in three for the periods *ante legem*, *sub lege*, *sub*

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<sup>137</sup> Chenu, ‘Theology’; R. W. Southern, ‘Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 2. Hugh of Saint Victor and the Idea of Historical Development’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (1971): 159-79; Classen, ‘Res gestae’.

<sup>138</sup> The term comes from Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium: Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1929) and is substantially developed in Horst Dieter Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter: Von Tyconius zum Deutschen Symbolismus* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973); however for an apt criticism of the phrase see Bernard McGinn, review of *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter*, by Horst D. Rauh, *Church History* 45, no. 2 (1976): 247-8. More recently, see Brett E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), ch. 3.

<sup>139</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Vorstellungswelt und zur Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984), 158n132; E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 64.

<sup>140</sup> Hon., *In Cant.* (PL 172, 347-496). See generally Matter, *Voice*, 58-76 and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ‘Synagoga conversa: Honorius Augustodunensis, the Song of Songs and Christianity’s “Eschatological Jew”’, *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (2004): 309-340.

<sup>141</sup> Matter, *Voice*, 60-2; Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), ch 2.

*gratia*, this book is divided into four ‘because the Church, the bride of Christ of whom it sings, is drawn from the four regions of the world into the marriage bed of the bridegroom by the four evangelists’.<sup>142</sup> This serves as an extension of the previous formula, with the eastern bride arriving ‘when the multitude of the chosen were elected into the faith of the patriarchs before the law’; the southern ‘when the crowd of peoples was gathered into the faith of the prophets under the law’; the west ‘when the multitude of the gentile was drawn together by the apostles to the faith of Christ under grace’; and the north ‘when the crowd of infidels converts to faith under the Antichrist’.<sup>143</sup> But these periods, and the figures they go on to represent, serve as an eschatological backdrop to the major tension of the work, between the two natures of the Church, *Synagoga* and gentile, and the apocalypse, driven by the figure of *Synagoga conversa*, which represents the eschatological unity of Jews and Gentiles.<sup>144</sup>

As Matter points out, this use of the cardinal points as representative of salvation history is hardly unique to Honorius. Hildegard likewise uses them to refer to the periods of salvation history, and Rupert of Deutz also relates them to the ages of man.<sup>145</sup> More significant, however, is the close relationship that this interpretation shares with the interpretation of the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>146</sup> This connection is not incidental, since, as Matter emphasises, not only is the *Glossa* a significant influence on Honorius, but there is also a close interconnection between Song of Songs and the Apocalypse in Latin exegesis.<sup>147</sup> As such, to understand the use of the cardinal points as historical categories in twelfth-century exegesis, we will unpack the development of the exegetical

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<sup>142</sup> Hon. *In Cant.* prol. (PL 172, 351C; trans. adapted from Matter, *Voice*, 63). ‘quia Ecclesia sponsa Christi quam canit, de quatuor plagis mundi, per quatuor Evangelia in thalamum sponsi colligitur’.

<sup>143</sup> Hon. *In Cant.* prol. (PL 172, 351C-D). ‘quando multitudo electorum ante legem in fidem patriarcharum est electa’; ‘quando turba populorum sub lege in fidem prophetarum est collecta’; ‘quando multitudo gentium sub gratia per apostolos ad fidem Christi est attracta’; ‘quando sub Antichristo turba infidelium ad fidem convertitur’.

<sup>144</sup> Cohen, ‘*Synagoga*’, 313-20. Cf. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 94-5.

<sup>145</sup> Matter (*Voice*, 64 n.64) highlights Hildegard, *Epistula* 49 (PL197, 254A-C) but see also Hildegard, *Scivias* 3.2.6-7, 3.5.15, 3.6.9 (trans. Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 328, 378, 393); Rupert of Deutz, *In Apocalypsim* 12 (PL 169, 1197A-B).

<sup>146</sup> Rev 21:13 (*Glossa* 4:1208r (581)).

<sup>147</sup> Matter, *Voice*, 14, 59.

connection of Jews and gentiles with the cardinal points, particularly through the case study of Revelations 21:13, and suggest that this use of the cardinal points was in fact losing its relevance for the exegetical avant-garde of the twelfth century.

### *In Patristic and Carolingian Exegesis*

The cardinal points have been used as allegorical referents for the Jews and Gentiles in Latin exegesis since at least the time of the Nicene Fathers.<sup>148</sup> There are only a handful of references in the major Latin Fathers of the early-fifth century – Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose. For Jerome, it is found exclusively in his commentaries on the major and minor prophets. Here, its use is especially focused on the moment of change at the coming of Christ. As he notes in his commentary on Jeremiah: ‘This [that is, the arrival at the promised land] is properly fulfilled at the advent of Christ, when those from the twelve tribes at once believed in the gospel, abandoning the land of the most harsh and cold north wind.’<sup>149</sup> Insofar as this historicises the transition from Judaism to Christianity, Jerome focuses specifically on the moment of Christ’s advent and its implications.<sup>150</sup> However he likewise approaches this subject from a de-historicised perspective, exemplified in his commentary on Zechariah where, when discussing the fourfold division of the Mount of Olives, he explains that:

After the Mount of Olives had been divided to the east and west by the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews, again another fissure of north and south was formed. The north is joined to the western side, the south to the eastern; to the left will stand the circumcision, to the right the Christian people.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> On the theological relationship of Jews and Gentiles more generally, see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>149</sup> Jerome, *In Hier.* 1.60 (CCSL 74, 37); cf. *Glossa* 3:125v (254). ‘Hoc proprie in christi completur aduentu, quando de duodecim simul tribubus euangelio crediderunt relinquentes terram aquilonis durissimi frigoris.’

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Jerome, *In Mic.* 1.2.11/13 (CCSL 76, 455); Jerome, *In Is.* 12.41.1/7, 25/29 (CCSL 73, 468, 477-8).

<sup>151</sup> Jerome, *In Zach.* 3.14.5 (CCSL 76A, 881); cf. *Glossa* 3:298r (599). ‘Postquam mons oliuarum ad orientem et occidentem uocatione gentium et abiectioe iudaeorum fuerit separatus, rursum alia scissura fiet aquilonis et austri. Aquilo iungetur occidenti, auster orientali plagae; ad sinistram stabit circumcisio, ad dextram populus christianus.’

Jerome uses this analogue here to emphasise the theological significance of either group, and the duality of the church (Gal 2:9), more than their historical instantiation. We can see this in the specific focus on *uocatio* and *abiectio*. It also highlights a common fluidity of spatial categories in Jerome's exegesis, as multiple directions are associated with either group here as in the movement between spatial areas in his exegesis on Ezekiel 46:8.<sup>152</sup> Finally, it looks towards the division of the final judgement, going on to explain how, once the two peoples have been divided throughout the whole world, the righteous will flee to the valley, which represents the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>153</sup>

The story is quite similar for Augustine and Ambrose, except that they almost exclusively make use of this trope in their respective commentaries on the Psalms, with the one exception being a single reference in Augustine's *Comments on Job*.<sup>154</sup> As with Jerome, Augustine focuses on the event of Christ's incarnation. In his commentary on Psalm 47, he portrays the Church and Christ as the cornerstone that joins both peoples, with the incarnation serving as the active force that grafts the Gentiles onto the Jews (Rm 11:17):

The peoples set free from unbelief and demonic superstition, now believers in Christ, have been aligned with the city. They have come to meet the wall that juts out from the circumcised, and have joined it at the corner; accordingly those who were once companions of the north have become part of the city of the great king.<sup>155</sup>

Cassiodorus provides more or less the same interpretation of this passage.<sup>156</sup> Although Augustine uses it to express a Pauline theology of Jews and Gentiles by developing the interpretation around the Gentiles as the 'wild olive' that is 'grafted onto the richness of the olive tree'.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Jerome, *In Ez.* 14.46.8/11 (CCSL 75, 696-7).

<sup>153</sup> Jerome, *In Zach.* 3.14.5 (CCSL 76A, 881-2); cf. *Glossa* 3:298r (599).

<sup>154</sup> Augustine, *Adnotationes in Iob* 37 (CSEL 28.2, 598).

<sup>155</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 47.3 (CCSL 38, 540; trans. Maria Boulding, 6 vols. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2000-4), 2:338); cf. *Glossa* 2:256r (515). 'liberati homines ab infidelitate et superstitione daemoniorum, credentes in Christum collineati sunt illi civitati, occurrerunt in angulo illi parieti de circumcissione venienti, et facta est civitas regis magni quae fuerant latera aquilonis.'

<sup>156</sup> Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* 47.3 (CCSL 97, 426).

<sup>157</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 47.3 (CCSL 38, 540); cf. Rm 11:17. 'oleastrum interti in pinguedinem oliuae'.

Likewise, Ambrose uses this trope to express another essentially Pauline position on Jews and Gentiles, this time drawn from Romans 1:16. In his interpretation of Psalm 118 he explains that:

The same east ... rushes to the south and turns to the north, that east certainly who said: east is my name, who always rises over the pious, never sets. The same east went to the south for the Hebrew people. ... But because they persisted in their crimes and did not corrected their error, for that reason the sun of justice turned to the Gentiles, ... the north is indeed a harsh (*gravis*) wind, just like the people of the nations.<sup>158</sup>

Here again we have an essentially moral reading of the transition from Jews to Gentiles, with the east transition due to the *vitia* and *error* of the south. This is drawn into the context of Pauline theology and the incarnation in the next paragraph:

Or surely rise up, this is the north, arise you who sleep and rise up from the dead; people of the nations who have slept for a long time before, be wakeful at last, and Christ will dawn for you. At last, all are invited to the church, both the people of the synagogue and of the Gentiles. But the people of the synagogue come first, because the apostles from the Jews believed first, and subsequently through them the peoples of the nations were assembled.<sup>159</sup>

Although this presents a more historicised relationship between north and south, Jew and Gentile, in line with the previous examples, it is unambiguously framed in terms of a specific theology of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles predicated on the moment of Christ's incarnation. As such, for Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose the north and south consistently refer to the Gentiles and Jews respectively. Likewise, this opposition is presented within a narrow historical framework, focused specifically on the incarnation of Christ with its moral and theological implications.

Unlike the other three major Latin Fathers, Gregory the Great makes more extensive use of the trope. This is especially true of his *Homilies on Ezekiel*, though there are a number of references

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<sup>158</sup> Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio Psalmi cxiii* 12.23 (CSEL 62, 264). 'Ipse oriens ... uadit ad austrum et gyrat ad aquilonem, ille utique oriens, qui ait: oriens nomen est mihi, qui semper oritur piis, numquam occidit. Ipse oriens populo Hebraeorum ad austrum iuit. ... Sed quia perseuerabat in uitiiis nec emendabat errorem, ideo sol iustitiae gyrauit ad gentes, ... aquilo enim grauis uentus ut populus nationum.'

<sup>159</sup> Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio Psalmi cxiii* 12.24 (CSEL 62, 265). 'Aut certe exsurge, aquilo hoc est: surge qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis; populus nationum, qui diu ante dormisti, euigila aliquando, et inlucescet tibi Christus. Postremo omnes inuitantur ad ecclesiam, et synagogae populus et gentilium, sed prius synagogae, quia priores ex Iudaeis apostoli crediderunt, per ipsos postea nationum populi congregati sunt.'

in the *Moralia* as well. As with Augustine and Ambrose, Gregory follows a mostly standard typology of directions. Gentiles are associated with the north and Jews with the east and south.<sup>160</sup> Unlike Jerome's interpretation of Ezekiel however, Gregory tends to frame the relationship of north and south around a static relationship, rather than a movement between spaces.<sup>161</sup> So, for example, the union of the Jews and Gentiles in the Church is represented by directional measurements: 'because the Almighty Lord Incarnate made perfect within Holy Church some from Judea and others from the Gentiles, He measured a hundred cubits not only to the east but also to the north.'<sup>162</sup> Likewise the Gentiles face the south, rather than move there: 'Thus these same treasure-chambers as well, placed also beside the north, look toward the south. For behold we came from the Gentiles, but inasmuch as we are warmed by the love of the Holy Spirit we look to the Fathers of Judea...'<sup>163</sup> Like the other Fathers, however, this trope is particularly focused on the event of Christ's incarnation and its theological implications:

Gold, therefore, is said to come from the north; because through the favour of the grace of the Redeemer, the life of the faithful, which is precious before God, is increased within Holy Church, from the Gentile world, which had been long frozen in the torpor of unbelief. ... For as the Gentile world is signified by the 'north,' so is the Jewish People signified by the 'south,' which was warmed, as it were, by the mid-day sun, because when our Redeemer appeared in the flesh, it first received the warmth of faith. Give up, then, is said to the north, when the Gentile world is ordered to offer to God the gifts of its faith. But the south is commanded not to keep back, because the Hebrews who stood firm in the faith were ordered not to condemn and reject the life of the Gentiles.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Eg. Greg., *Hom. in Ez.* 2.6.20, 2.8.13 (CCSL 142, 309, 345-6; Tomkinson, 368, 406-7).

<sup>161</sup> Jerome, *Com. in Ez.* 14.46.8 (CCSL 75, 696-7).

<sup>162</sup> Greg., *Hom. in Ez.* 2.6.20 (CCSL 142, 309; Tomkinson, 368); cf. *Glossa* 3:221v (446). 'Quia itaque incarnatus omnipotens dominus alios perfectos ex iudaea, alios perfectos ex gentilitate intra sanctam ecclesiam fecit, centum cubitos non solum ad orientem mensus est, sed etiam ad aquilonem.'

<sup>163</sup> Greg., *Hom. in Ez.* 2.10.8 (CCSL 142, 385; Tomkinson, 446); cf. *Glossa* 3:223v (450). 'Vnde ipsa quoque gazophylacia et in aquilonis latere posita oculos ad uiam australem tendunt. Ecce enim ex gentibus uenimus, sed in hoc quod per sancti spiritus amorem calemus, iudaeae patres aspiciamus...'

<sup>164</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, 27.43.71 (CCSL 143B, 1386; J.G.F. Rivington and J. Rivington, *Morals in the Book of Job*, 3 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1844-50), 3/1:253); *Glossa* 2:221v (446). 'Ab aquilone ergo aurum uenire dicitur, quia per respectum gratiae redemptoris a gentilitate dudum perfidiae torpore frigida intra sanctam ecclesiam pretiosa deo uita fidelium multiplicatur. ... Sicut enim per aquilonem gentilitas, sic per austrum iudaea signatur, quae quasi meridiano sole incaluit, quia redemptore in carne apparente, feruorem fidei prima suscepit. Aquiloni ergo da dicitur cum offerre deo suae fidei munera gentilitas imperatur. Austro autem iubetur ne prohibeat, quia hebraeis in fide consistentibus praecipitur ne uitam gentium repellendo contempnant.'

Thus the central point of the interpretation is Christ's incarnation and its implications for the respective categories of Jews and gentiles. Though both focus on the event of Christ's incarnation, unlike Jerome, Gregory more often deals with this in terms of the earthly church, which is normally characterised at the axis of both peoples. This point is driven home in the fact that he presents this analogy hand in hand with a discussion of Jesus sitting at the axis of the Synagogue and the Church, as well as of divinity and humanity, both respectively understood as south and north.<sup>165</sup>

Before departing from the patristic era, there is one last point that should be made about the relationship of representations of *Synagoga* to representations of Jews in Gregory in particular. Gregory tends to use *Synagoga* as simply a different term for the Jews, likewise associated with the south or east.<sup>166</sup> However, he also uses the cardinal points to express the relationship of *ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. This relationship represents an inversion of the previous one, with *ecclesia* inhabiting the south and *Synagoga* the north. Gregory makes this point very clearly: '[the Holy Church] is therefore said to bend towards the south because, if it were said plainly, that other city, viz. the synagogue, stood to the north amid its faithless citizens and grew hard in the cold of treachery.'<sup>167</sup> In a sense we can read this as a shifting of the geographical positions of the Jews and gentiles, as here *Synagoga* is reserved for the Jews after the advent of Christ. However, lacking a similar characterisation of the Jews, otherwise expressed, with the north, we ought to distinguish to some extent between representation of the Jews and of *Synagoga*. This fits with the broader picture of Gregory who, as compared with the other Fathers, represents a step towards a more schematic use of the cardinal points in this sort of exegesis. He is more ready to simply state that directions signify this or that group, and maintains a more consistent typology across a wider number of references.

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<sup>165</sup> Greg., *Hom. in Ez.* 2.8.13 (CCSL 142, 345-6; Tomkinson, 406-7); *Glossa* 3:222r (447).

<sup>166</sup> Greg., *Hom. in Ez.* 2.8.13, 2.10.8, 2.10.11 (CCSL 142, 345-6, 385-6; Tomkinson, 407, 446-7); cf. Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio Psalmi cxviii* 12.24-5 (CSEL 62, 264-5); Ambrose of Milan, *Explanatio Psalmorum xii* 47.6 (CSEL 64, 350).

<sup>167</sup> Greg., *Hom. in Ez.* 2.1.6; cf. 2.9.7 (CCSL 142, 213, 362; Tomkinson, 266, 422). 'Haec ergo civitas [Sancta Ecclesia] ad Austrum vergere dicitur, ac si aperte diceretur quod prior illa civitas, scilicet Synagoga, in infidelibus suis ad Aquilonem stetit, quae in frigore perfidiae duravit.'

But it is with the exegetes of the Carolingian world that these ideas are really fleshed out and solidified. We can take as an example the two most extensive passages in the *Glossa*. The first is that on Numbers 2:18. It is an abbreviation of Rabanus Maurus's commentary on the placement of the tribes around the tabernacle, which is itself substantially drawn from Bede's description of the tabernacle.<sup>168</sup> But while Rabanus has a reputation for lacking originality and acting more as a compiler than an exegete, the act of compilation itself provides new meaning to the content of the interpretation.<sup>169</sup> As such, we will move through Rabanus's commentary and then consider how it relates to Bede's exegesis on the tabernacle, as well as patristic views more generally.

Rabanus Maurus is unambiguous about the intention of his commentary on Numbers 2 and the role that the cardinal points play. After some preliminary remarks about the content of the section and his role as a commentator, as well as some scattered interpretations, he explains that: 'the four sides of the world ... according to mystery signify the assembly and arrangement of the holy Church.'<sup>170</sup> He then moves through each of the directions in turn, providing a general characterisation of the side, usually drawn near verbatim from Bede's *De tabernaculo* with a few added lines of interpretation about the names of the tribes. First, the east, 'where the entrance into the tabernacle stands open, signifies the beginning of conversion and confession of the catholic faith and the reception of baptism and the primitive church'.<sup>171</sup> The three tribes here merit this side as confessors of Christ's labour. Although this is not drawn verbatim from Bede, it closely resembles his discussion of the eastward court, which is also associated with the beginning of conversion, confession and the remission of sins.<sup>172</sup> Next, the south 'designates that ancient people of God who,

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<sup>168</sup> *Glossa* 1:141r (287); Rabanus Maurus, *Enarrationes in Numeros*, 1.3 (PL 108, 603C-604A) [hereafter Rab., *En. in Num.*]

<sup>169</sup> De Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1:106.

<sup>170</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 603A-B). 'Quatuor ergo plagae mundi ... secundum mysterium conuocationem et dispositionem sanctae Ecclesiae significat.'

<sup>171</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 603B). 'ubi introitus in tabernaculum patebat significat initium conversionis et confessionis fidei catholicae atque baptismatis perceptionem primitivamque Ecclesiam'.

<sup>172</sup> Bede, *De tabernaculo*, 2.13 (CCSL 119A, 87; trans. Arthur G. Holder (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 99-100) [hereafter Bede, *De tab.*].

having received the light of knowledge of the law a long time ago, were accustomed to burn with the love of their Creator’, and the tribes merit this place after the holy fathers who, equipped with the arms of justice, resist the midday demon (*daemonium meridianum*).<sup>173</sup> The north, conversely, ‘depicts that multitude of the Gentiles which did not cease to languish in the darkness and cold of unbelief right up to the time of the Lord’s incarnation.’<sup>174</sup> The tribes merit this side because the Jews scorned the Word of the Lord and so the Church was expanded from the Gentiles. Finally, west ‘designates the completion of the entire Holy Church universal which is perfected at the end of this world, when also during the persecution of the Antichrist the arising elect are approved in [their] good merits.’<sup>175</sup> Rather than describing the tribes, Rabanus gives a brief comment about the eternal fate of the just and unjust. This interpretation of the directions and tribes concludes with a discussion of the Levites, who, lying at the centre of the four directions, are free to perform divine offices without concern since they are fortified from each side, as they still ought to be in modern times.<sup>176</sup>

Although Rabanus’s commentary is based on Bede’s *De tabernaculo*, the thrust of his interpretation has changed. The most immediate difference is the relative placement of discussion of the directions: while Rabanus is self-conscious in presenting an interpretation of all four directions as directions, Bede is not. The majority of the material is drawn from Bede’s discussion in chapter six of the arrangement of the boards that tabernacle is made of. However, this section only deals with north, south, and west, following the Biblical account, a point that is not lost of Bede, who

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<sup>173</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 603C). As this is a direct quotation from Bede’s *De tabernaculo* 2.6 (CCSL 119A, 64), the translation is drawn from Holder, 71. ‘antiquam illam Dei plebem designat, quae lucem scientiae legalis jam dudum accipiens, amore sui conditoris fervere solebat’.

<sup>174</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 603C-D), trans. Holder, 71; cf. Bede, *De tab.* 2.6 (CCSL 119A, 64). ‘eamque tenebris ac frigore infidelitatis usque ad tempus Dominicae incarnationis torpere non destiterat, gentium multitudinem figurat’.

<sup>175</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 603D), italicised as in trans. Holder, 72; cf. Bede, *De tabernaculo*, 2.6 (CCSL 119A, 65). ‘ad impletionem totius sanctae universalis Ecclesiae, quae cum fine hujus mundi perficitur designat, quando et persecutionem Antichristi crescentes in bonis meritis probantur electi’.

<sup>176</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 604A).

notes later that Moses had previously omitted the east.<sup>177</sup> The discussion of north and south in this section, as representative of the Jews and Gentiles, is very reminiscent of Gregory's:

The south side of the tabernacle, which faces southward, designates that ancient people of God who, having received the light of knowledge of the law a long time ago, were accustomed to burn with the love of their Creator, but the second side, which faces northward, depicts that multitude of the Gentiles which did not cease to languish in the darkness and cold of unbelief right up to the time of the Lord's incarnation.<sup>178</sup>

The section goes on to paint a unitary picture of the Church as constituent of both peoples through the same quotation from Isaiah 43:6. This discussion of north and south is separated from the discussion of west by an exposition about the literal reading of the western end with a long quotation from Josephus. This is followed by a long discussion of various allegorical readings of the western end, such as the final judgement and the six ages of the world. Although they are not related here to north and south, this discussion is tied back to the Jews and Gentiles who are both to remain in the Church until the end of time.

Following the order of *Exodus*, the discussion of the east does not come for a few chapters. After a quick recap of the relationship of north and south, in which the Church is surprisingly associated with north since it is composed of gentiles, Bede introduces a discussion of the east at the beginning of chapter nine.<sup>179</sup> Although it is not until chapter ten that the east is described as Christ, serving as the cornerstone of Jew and Gentile.<sup>180</sup> Then, midway through chapter thirteen, after another brief recap of the previous three directions, Bede resumes the discussion of east in terms of the eastward width of the court. Here we find a summary of all four directions together with explicit reference to the description of north and south in chapter six. The west, however, is given a new

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<sup>177</sup> Bede, *De tab.* 2.9 (CCSL 119A, 70; Holder, 82).

<sup>178</sup> Bede, *De tab.* 2.6 (CCSL 119A, 64; Holder, 71); cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, 27.43.71 (CCSL 143B, 1386; Rivington and Rivington, 3.1:253). 'Latus meridianum tabernaculi quod uergebat ad austrum antiquam illam dei plebem designat quae lucem scientiae legalis iamdudum accipiens amore sui conditoris feruere solebat, porro latus secundum quod uergebat ad aquilonem eam quae tenebris ac frigore infidelitatis usque ad tempus dominicae incarnationis torpere non destiterat gentium multitudinem figurat'.

<sup>179</sup> Bede, *De tab.* 2.8-9 (CCSL 119A, 73; Holder, 82).

<sup>180</sup> Bede, *De tab.* 2.10 (CCSL 119A, 76; Holder, 85); cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 47.3 (CCSL 38, 540).

treatment as the heavenly reward for good works to parallel the discussion of east as their beginning.<sup>181</sup> Overall, Bede is largely following the Gregorian paradigm here. Although he diverges from Gregory in his association of the Church with the north and his historicising of the west, he is fundamentally presenting an eschatological union of Jews and Gentiles (north and south) in the Church.

Although Rabanus Maurus uses substantially the same material, the act of compilation adds a different context to the way that the information is presented. The first obvious difference is the textual relationship between the directions in either text. Where, in Bede, the directions are discussed at uneven intervals over a span of eight chapters, without being explicitly linked in a single interpretation, in Rabanus they are evenly spaced and explicitly discussed in tandem.<sup>182</sup> Secondly, Rabanus moves east to the beginning of the discussion. For Bede, the east represents the initiation to the Christian way of life and hope for the remission of sins, to mirror his second discussion of the west, representing the sacraments of *paenitentia*, *confessio* and *remissio peccatorum*.<sup>183</sup> Rabanus has mixed Bede's discussion of the east in chapter thirteen with his brief note in chapter nine about the screen that represents the *primitiva Ecclesia*.<sup>184</sup> He has, as a result, rendered the east as the *confessio fidei catholicae*, *baptismatis perceptio*, and *primitiva Ecclesia*. We see a similar shift in emphasis with the west, since Rabanus adds a discussion of the Antichrist and the proving of the elect.<sup>185</sup> So although this is evidently related to Bede's interpretation, the east and west no longer represent the beginning and end of good works for Rabanus, but the beginning and end of the Church as such.

With north and south as well, the Gregorian notion of both Jews and Gentiles becoming one

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<sup>181</sup> Bede, *De tab.* 2.13 (CCSL 119A, 86-7; Holder, 98-100).

<sup>182</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 603A-B).

<sup>183</sup> Bede, *De tab.* 2.13 (CCSL 119A, 87; Holder, 100).

<sup>184</sup> Bede, *De tab.* 2.9 (CCSL 119A, 74; Holder, 82).

<sup>185</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (PL 108, 603B-D).

in the primitive church is lost in Rabanus's reconstruction. Instead, the discussion of the north is followed by a note on the just rejection of the Jews who scorned Christ, again casting this as a succession from one people to the other.<sup>186</sup> As such, Rabanus sets the whole discussion in the context of the historical conditions of the church, moving progressively from east to west and south to north, rather than a focus on its trans-historical, theological character as in Bede and Gregory. Although, it is quite likely that Rabanus did not view the cardinal points as explicitly related temporal categories, as he does not note this in his explicit discussion of their figurative meanings in *De universo*, we nevertheless see a shift in the way the topic of the Church is being conceptualised from a Pauline theology of Jews and Gentiles to a more universal historical approach.<sup>187</sup>

#### *Interpreting the Gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem*

The other major gloss covering the Jews and Gentiles in the context of all four cardinal points is that on Revelation 21:13. The origin of this gloss is somewhat complicated; it is drawn ultimately from Haimo of Auxerre, but considering its highly abbreviated form and later textual relations, it was almost certainly passed through the intermediary of some late eleventh or early twelfth century Apocalypse commentaries, particularly within the circle of Anselm of Laon. Of note here is the Apocalypse commentary edited in *PL* 162:1500-1586, falsely attributed to Anselm of Laon, with

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<sup>186</sup> Rab., *En. in Num.* 1.3 (*PL* 108, 603C-D).

<sup>187</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* 9.1 (*PL* 111, 260C-261D).

which the *Glossa* shares verbatim sections that it does not with Haimo.<sup>188</sup> This is evident in their textual relationship:<sup>189</sup>

*Glossa* 4:1204v (574):

Oriens, Judaei: a quibus sol justitiae ortus est, et in his portae tres, quia in his primum fides Trinitatis, nuntiata ab apostolis et a prophetis. Aquilo, frigidae gentes: quae post Judaeos crediderunt. Ab austro, id est a claritate fidei, quae est ab adventu Christi. Ab occasu, id est ab ultima aetate mundi quae per Heliam et Enoch fidem Trinitatis recipiet.

*PL* 162, 1577D:

Judaei oriens dicuntur, a quibus ortus est Sol justitiae, et in his portae tres; quia his primum fides civitatis nuntiata est: aquilo, frigidae gentes, quae post Judaeos crediderunt; austrum, ardentem, ut sancti martyres; occasus significat illos, in quibus fides et charitas frigescent, vel illos qui in novissimis temporibus credituri sunt in praedicatione Heliae et Enoch...

As we can see in the comparison here, east and north are nearly identical, save the reference to the Trinity, apostles and prophets, which follows Haimo: ‘this is the faith of the Holy Trinity, it was first announced in them by the prophets and other just men’.<sup>190</sup> The *Glossa* likewise follows Haimo in its interpretation of the south: ‘we understand clarity of faith, which shines in the entire world ... signifying Christ’, and the west: ‘through the west let us understand the last age of the world, in which through Elijah and Enoch ... the same faith of the Holy Trinity will be diffused through the quadripartite orb’.<sup>191</sup> This picture is further complicated by the fact that the *Glossa*’s subsequent interpretation once again follows *PL* 162 almost to the letter.<sup>192</sup> This corroborates Châtillon’s

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<sup>188</sup> Guy Lobrichon, ‘Conserver, reformer, transformer le monde? Les manipulations de l’Apocalypse au Moyen Age central’, in *La Bible au Moyen Age* (Paris: Picard, 2003), 119 n. 39; cf. Andrée, ‘Anselm Unveiled’, 229-30 and Jean Châtillon, ‘La Bible dans les écoles du XIIe siècle’, in Riché and Lobrichon, *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, 175-7.

<sup>189</sup> *Glossa* 4:1204v (574); *PL* 162, 1577D. ‘East: the Jews, from whom the sun of justice arose and in these three gates, because in them faith of the Trinity was first proclaimed by the apostles and by the prophets. North, the frigid peoples, who believed after the Jews. From the south, that is, from clarity of faith, which is from the advent of Christ. From west, that is, from the last age of the world which will accept the faith of the Trinity through Elijah and Enoch.’ / ‘The east is said to be the Jews, from whom the sun of justice arose and in these three gates; because from them faith of the city was first proclaimed. North, the frigid peoples, who believed after the Jews. South, those burning, as the holy martyrs. The west signifies those, in whom faith and love grow cold, or those who in the end times will believe in the preaching of Elijah and Enoch...’

<sup>190</sup> Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 7.21 (*PL* 117, 1199C). ‘hoc est fides sanctae Trinitatis, in illis primum annuntiata est a prophetis et caeteris justis’.

<sup>191</sup> Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 7.21 (*PL* 117, 1199D-1200A). ‘claritatem fidei intelligimus, quae in toto orbe terrarum lucet ... significans Christum’; ‘Per occasum novissimam mundi aetatem accipiamus, in qua per Heliam et Enoch ... eadem fides sanctae Trinitatis per quadripartitum orbem diffundetur.’

<sup>192</sup> *Glossa* 4:1204v (581): ‘Numerus portarum duodecim quae per quattuor mundi partes sub ternario comprehenduntur ad mysterium pertinet duodecim apostolorum per quos fides trinitatis diffunditur per orbem quadripartitum.’ *PL* 162, 1577D: ‘numerus duodecim portarum, quae per quattuor mundi partes sub ternario ponuntur, pertinet ad ministerium apostolorum, per quos fides Trinitatis per orbem quadripartitum diffunditur.’ Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 7.21 (*PL* 117, 1200A): ‘Duodenarius enim numerus portarum, qui per quattuor mundi partes sub ternario comprehenditur, ad ministerium pertinet duodecim apostolorum, per quos fides sanctae Trinitatis per quadripartitum orbem diffusa est.’

suggestion that the anonymous commentary in *PL* 162 was a product of Anselm's circle at Laon and sets it in a close relationship to the *Glossa*, which is a product of the same group.<sup>193</sup> As such, we can think about both of these as part of a larger family of commentaries as Lobrichon describes.<sup>194</sup>

Before we evaluate this group of twelfth-century commentaries further, we should look at the development of this particular interpretation. The first author to interpret each direction independently was Ambrose Autpert. Writing in the tumultuous environment of southern Italy in the late-eighth century, he produced a heavily allegorised and apocalyptically driven commentary on Revelation.<sup>195</sup> As compared with his predecessors he gives an extensive commentary on Revelation 21:13, providing an extended account on the meaning of each direction.<sup>196</sup> He sets out the standard four-part interpretation that ultimately makes it into the *Glossa*, with east standing for the Jews, north the Gentiles, south the height of faith and west looking towards the end of the world. However, his focus throughout is very specifically on the proclamation and remembrance of true trinitarian faith. This is the focal point of each direction in his interpretation. The east represents specifically the patriarchs and prophets 'who sometimes openly, sometimes obscurely proclaimed the glory of the Trinity to the Hebrew people' and the apostles 'who lead the first-fruits of the Jews to the same confession of the Trinity'.<sup>197</sup> In the north as well, the Gentiles are led by the preachers of the holy Church to understanding of the Holy Trinity.<sup>198</sup> The south is those who neither rest nor

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<sup>193</sup> Châtillon, 'Les écoles du XIIe siècle', 177; cf. Smith, *Glossa*, 31-3.

<sup>194</sup> Lobrichon, 'Conserver, réformer, transformer', 119.

<sup>195</sup> Lobrichon, 'Conserver, réformer, transformer', 112.

<sup>196</sup> Many previous authors provided brief accounts. Tyconius, for example, influentially interprets the three and four, of gates and directions, as the preaching of the Trinity throughout the world. Jerome associates them with prudence, fortitude, justice and temperance or the authors of *Commemoratorium de Apoc.* and *De enigmatibus* who associated them with the conversion of different kinds of people, such as young or old. Cf. Tyconius, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 7.37 (CCSL 107A, 224); Jerome/Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin* 21 (CSEL 49, 140-53); Caesarius of Arles, *Explanatio in Apocalypsin* 19 (*PL* 35, 2450); Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* 5.21.13 (CCSL 92, 290); *Commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Johannis Apostoli* 21.13 (CCSL 107, 226); *De enigmatibus ex Apocalypsi Johannis* 99 (CCSL 107, 293); *Commemoratorium a Theodulpho auctum* 21.13 (CCSL 107, 335); Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 37 (CCSL 121A, 527). For a catalogue of patristic Apocalypse commentaries see Francis X. Gumerlock, 'Patristic Commentaries on Revelation', *Kerux* 23.2 (2008): 3-13.

<sup>197</sup> Ambrose Autpert, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 10.21.13 (CCCM 27A, 802). 'qui gloriam Trinitatis hebraico populo nunc aperte, nunc per enigmata praedicauerunt', 'qui ad eandem Trinitatis confessionem primitias Iudaeorum perduxerunt.'

<sup>198</sup> Ambrose Autpert, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 10.21.13 (CCCM 27A, 803). 'sanctae Ecclesiae praedicatores non solum iudaicum populum, uerum etiam gentilem ad cognitionem sanctae Trinitatis perduxerunt.'

cease proclaiming praise of the Trinity, at which point Ambrose Autpert digresses into a discussion of how the Trinity is both three and one.<sup>199</sup> Finally, west is the holy preachers ‘who even while they rectify the Jewish perfidy and error of the Gentiles by newest proclamation to knowledge of the Trinity, as if they become the three gates for them by which they may enter into life eternal.’<sup>200</sup> From Ambrose Autpert onward a new degree of attention is paid to the figurative meaning of each direction in this passage. However, in his interpretation, although it involves descriptions of certain historical changes, such as the influx of Gentiles and the height of the Church, the interpretation is not about these sorts of shifts. Instead it is about universal aspects of the Church throughout history, that is, the proclamation and confession of the true trinitarian faith.

However significant the developments of Ambrose Autpert’s commentary, it was through a Carolingian adaptation of his commentary, by Haimo of Auxerre, that his interpretation both of this passage and of Revelation more generally achieved an authoritative status for subsequent generations.<sup>201</sup> Like Ambrose, Haimo fundamentally set out to present a spiritualised understanding of Revelation as a vision of the heavenly Church, but he was nevertheless confronted with, and incorporated, many of the historical aspects of Bede’s commentary.<sup>202</sup> This sort of tension between historical and spiritual readings is at play in Haimo’s interpretation of Revelation 21:13. Though it is fundamentally about a spiritual vision of the Church in totality, by adapting Ambrose, Haimo adopts a more historical view of the Church. In the first place, Ambrose’s excursus on the nature of God’s unity and Trinity has been abbreviated and moved from the south to the east, similarly quoting *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, but from Isaiah 6:3 rather than Revelation 4:8. In this way,

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<sup>199</sup> Ambrose Autpert, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 10.21.13 (CCCM 27A, 803-4). ‘Requiem scilicet non habent, subaudis calamare non cessant.’

<sup>200</sup> Ambrose Autpert, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 10.21.13 (CCCM 27A, 804). ‘qui dum iudaicam etiam perfidiam atque errorem gentilium nouissima praedicatione ad Trinitatis notitiam reducunt, quasi tres portae eis fiunt quibus ad uitam aeternam introeant.’

<sup>201</sup> Lobrichon, ‘Conserver, réformer, transformer’, 117.

<sup>202</sup> E. Ann Matter, ‘The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis’, in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 47-9; Guy Lobrichon, ‘L’ordre de ce temps et les désordres de la fin: Apocalypse et société, du IXe à la fin du XIe siècle’, in *La Bible au Moyen Age*, 130.

Haimo shifts the meaning of this exposition from a discussion of the content of true faith to a discussion of the first trinitarian faith, as he considers it to have existed among the prophets.<sup>203</sup> For north, Haimo changes the unifying vision of Gentiles being preached to alongside the Jew to a successive account, wherein the ‘Jews believed earlier and the Gentiles after’.<sup>204</sup> The south is mostly a straightforward abbreviation. However, in this abbreviation the discussion of the content of orthodox faith that dominates Ambrose's interpretation is replaced by an emphasis on the Church itself, with the light of Christ shining over the world, illuminated through trinitarian baptism. Finally, the west has taken on a decidedly more eschatological tone. It is no longer the memory of Church, which is preserved in expectation of the life to come, but is instead straightforwardly: ‘the final age of the world’.<sup>205</sup> So despite Haimo’s suggestion that ‘nothing historical should be understood in this revelation’, he has adapted Ambrose’s universalised account of trinitarian faith into a periodised history of the Church and indeed the world.<sup>206</sup>

Haimo’s commentary looms large over subsequent interpretation of Revelation 21:13, and is particularly influential on a circle of commentaries related to Anselm of Laon. Besides the already noted *Glossa* text and anonymous master of *PL* 162, there are three further commentaries, that of Anselm himself, that of a certain Menegaudus, and finally one which Lobrichon attributes to Lambert of Saint-Omer, due to its unusual transmission alongside a copy of the *Liber Floridus*.<sup>207</sup> Two of these likewise contain very similar interpretations to the *Glossa*. First, Lambert’s commentary provides a similar discussion of each of the four directions along quasi-temporal lines, though it goes into more detail than either the *Glossa* or anonymous master. Lambert gives multiple

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<sup>203</sup> Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 7.21 (*PL* 117, 1199C).

<sup>204</sup> Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 7.21 (*PL* 117, 1199D). ‘prius Judaei crediderunt, deinde gentiles’.

<sup>205</sup> Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 7.21 (*PL* 117, 1200B). ‘Per occasum novissimam mundi aetatem accipiamus.’

<sup>206</sup> Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* prolog., cf. 2.4 (*PL* 117, 938C, cf. 1010D-1011A). ‘In hac autem revelatione nihil historicum est accipiendum’.

<sup>207</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 8865, 3v-31r, for Rev 21:13, 27v, col. 1; Lobrichon, ‘Conserver, réformer, transformer’, 119. Lobrichon also adds the commentaries of Anselm himself and of a certain Menegaudus to this group.

interpretations of the four sides of the heavenly Jerusalem. First he explains, regarding the east, that only those with faith in the Holy Trinity may enter ‘that city’ (the Church), although ‘granted the Jews will believe themselves to have been saved, saying that they have known the Lord, even though they deny Christ and the Holy Spirit’.<sup>208</sup> This interpretation is then applied to all the directions.<sup>209</sup> Next Lambert gives an interpretation of each set of gates individually. The east is the *parte iudeorum*, where faith in the Trinity first arose before they entered the city. After the Jews, the Gentiles entered, who are signified by the north due to the excessive coldness of sins. In the south, the Church is constituted from Jews and Gentiles who warm in the love of God ‘in these middle times’.<sup>210</sup> Finally, in the west, ‘after that middle time’ is the time of the Antichrist, when those who faithfully serve the Trinity enter the city as the world is decaying and passing away.<sup>211</sup> Though there is no direct textual relationship, this commentary follows the *Glossa* and Haimo very closely.

Menegaudus follows the same essential pattern. He begins with a description of the city and its walls, though he notes the angels standing in the gateways and the names of the twelve tribes.<sup>212</sup> He similarly makes the standard move of associating the tripartite arrangement of the gates on either side with the Trinity being preached through the four corners of the world.<sup>213</sup> He goes on to give a standard interpretation of each side of the heavenly Jerusalem, with east being ‘the church of the Jews, in which faith was born’, and north likewise the ‘gentiles who had been frozen in all evil’.<sup>214</sup> Similarly, the south is seen as the warming of the church in faith and the west as the *ultima tempora*.<sup>215</sup> Thus, even if they each word their discussions slightly differently, all four of these early

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<sup>208</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 8865, 27v. ‘licet iudei se saluari credent dicentes se nosse dominum cum chrisum et spiritum sanctum negent.’

<sup>209</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 8865, 27v. ‘ab aquilone porte tres similiter et ab austro porte tres similiter et ab occasu porte tres similiter.’

<sup>210</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 8865, 27v. ‘in hiis mediis temporibus’.

<sup>211</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 8865, 27v. ‘post istud medium tempus’.

<sup>212</sup> Leipzig, UB, ms 173, 77v.

<sup>213</sup> Leipzig, UB, ms 173, 78r.

<sup>214</sup> Leipzig, UB, ms 173, 78r. ‘ab ecclesia iudeorum in quo ortus fidei fuit’; ‘a gentilitate quae in omni malo congelata fuerat’.

<sup>215</sup> Leipzig, UB, ms 173, 78r.

twelfth century interpretations similarly appropriate Haimo's tendency to interpret these sides of the city as temporal periods of the Church.

But at the centre of this circle, this historicised, Carolingian interpretation seems to have lost its relevance. The anomaly of this group is Anselm himself. Unlike the previous four commentaries he provides no discussion of each side of the heavenly Jerusalem. As is normally the case, he begins this section with a discussion of the twelve gates as representative of the Holy Trinity and the four representing the four parts of the world and the four gospels which were preached there. He also goes on to discuss the Jews and Gentiles, but does not relate them to any of the directions, rather he makes the Gregorian point that they are like two walls coming together in the church.<sup>216</sup> At this point, Anselm reaches the verse presenting the twelve gates, which he uses to reinforce the previous point that it is through faith in the Trinity that all come to the Church, from no matter which side.<sup>217</sup> He then goes on to discuss instead the walls of the city, as the holy defenders of the Church.<sup>218</sup> The entire discussion of different periods of the church has been either erased or merely subsumed within the offhanded reference to sides.

But Anselm is not alone in sidelining this historicised interpretation of Revelation 21:13, all of the more 'innovative' exegetes of the twelfth century likewise ignore this fundamentally Carolingian interpretation. Neither Rupert of Deutz nor Joachim of Fiore provide any seriously historicising interpretation of the four walls of the heavenly Jerusalem in their respective commentaries, nor is there a comparable interpretation in any of Gerhoch of Reichersberg's works.<sup>219</sup> Instead, Rupert simply associates them with the ages of man, since people of all ages

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<sup>216</sup> Leipzig, UB, ms 172, 88v. 'quia duos populos iudaycum et gentilem coniunxerunt sicut anguli duos parietes'.

<sup>217</sup> Leipzig, UB, ms 172, 89r. 'a quacumque parte ueniant per fidem sancte trinitatis intrabunt in ecclesiam'.

<sup>218</sup> Leipzig, UB, ms 172, 89r. 'quia murus ciuitatis, id est, santi uiri qui defendunt ecclesiam orationibus suis uel praedicationibus, habent fundamenta, id est, prophetas qui dicuntur fundamenta quia illorum scriptis et auctoritate noui testamenti praedicationis confirmatur. Et merito in illis confortatur noua doctrina quia in ipsis fundamentis dictis duodecim propter fidem dei trini et unius et quattuor ewangeliorum quam credebant in quattuor partibus mundi praedicandam, erant nomina apostolorum duodecim et agni.'

<sup>219</sup> Classen, *Res gestae*, 403-14.

enter the Church through the same trinitarian faith.<sup>220</sup> And while the ages of man are at least potentially historicising, Rupert does not take this step. Joachim, on the other hand, actually follows Anselm, and sidesteps the directions altogether with a discussion of the ‘wall of the city’ as representing the defenders of the Church.<sup>221</sup> As such, this interpretation may actually seem somewhat antiquated by the twelfth century, or at least a mode of allegorical exegesis that does not appeal to the new exegetical avant-garde.

There are two other near contemporary apocalypse commentaries, of Bruno of Segni and Richard of Saint Victor, which, although they were not widely circulated, fall within the same interpretive tradition as the *Glossa*.<sup>222</sup> Though Bruno predates the earliest composition of the *Glossa*, he falls very much within this received line of interpretation.<sup>223</sup> He offers two different interpretations of the passage. He introduces the interpretation of the directions as the different ages of man at which one may enter the Church.<sup>224</sup> However, he also offers an explicitly historical characterisation, interpreting each direction as an age of the world. Accordingly, east represents the beginning of the world up to the time of the Babylonians, north spans the time from Nebuchadnezzar to Christ, south covers the period from Christ to the Antichrist and finally west is from then to the end. From this, Bruno characterises the south and east as prosperous periods, where the north and west are those of adversity.<sup>225</sup> On the other side of the *Glossa*’s composition, Richard’s commentary represents a later appropriation of this tradition. Richard offers a slightly reorganised version of the same broad tradition. In his case, east represents the just people at the beginning of the world; the north is again the gentiles, who are mentioned here before the Jews; the

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<sup>220</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Apocalypsim* 12 (PL 169, 1197A-B); cf. Rupert of Deutz, *De victoria verba Dei* 9.15 (MGH QQ 5, 292).

<sup>221</sup> Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 7 (Venice, 1527, 217v); cf. Joachim of Fiore, *Psalterium decem cordarum*, 2.7 (MGH QQ 20, 145). ‘Murus ciuitatis’.

<sup>222</sup> Lobrichon, ‘Conserver, réformer, transformer’, 115-6.

<sup>223</sup> John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 275.

<sup>224</sup> Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 7.21 (PL 165, 721D-722B); cf. Rupert of Deutz, *In Apocalypsim* 12.21 (PL 169, 1196C-1197B).

<sup>225</sup> Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 7.21 (PL 165, 722B-C).

south is the just Jews of antiquity who are to be warmed by faith; and the west is finally those who convert at the end of the world.<sup>226</sup> Both these commentaries show interesting variations on the general pattern set down in the tradition of Haimo and Anselm, and in the case of Bruno a very explicitly historicising one. They also give context to the way that Haimo was being appropriated in the environment of the late-eleventh century and the early impact of the *Glossa* tradition.

Returning then to Honorius's Song of Songs commentary, we are now in a better position to think about its context within the broader exegetical environment of the early twelfth century. He was not writing in a vacuum, but to a widespread and well known exegetical presentation of the four cardinal points as representing four ages of the salvation history. This was also linked into a broader use of particularly north and south to represent the theological relationship of Jews and Gentiles both as it unfolds in a salvation historical sense and as they relate to one another within the heavenly Jerusalem. But it is a tradition that seems to have calcified as an authoritative reading by the twelfth century, as we can see by its inclusion in the *Glossa* and its broader circulation among minor apocalypse commentaries. As such, exegetes of the twelfth century were increasingly ready to play with the interpretation of this passage. Rupert of Deutz has no problem reordering the directions when he presents them as the ages of man, allowing him to conjoin the north with the age of decrepitude.<sup>227</sup> Likewise with Honorius, the order of the directions is not east, north, south, west but east, south, west, north. This allows Honorius to reshape the trope as a more explicitly eschatological succession, by interpreting the north, the period of the Antichrist, after the last historical period, the west.<sup>228</sup> Other authors took this flexibility even further, as when Hildegard interprets one of her visions with two successively different orders of directions.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Richard of Saint Victor, *In Apocalypsim* 7.4 (PL 196, 866C-D).

<sup>227</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Apocalypsim* 12.21 (PL 169, 1197A).

<sup>228</sup> Hon. Aug., *In Cant.* prol. (PL 172, 351).

<sup>229</sup> Hildegard, *Scivias* 3.2.6-7 (Hart and Bishop, 327-8).

But the specific place of this exegesis within the early-twelfth century has also been somewhat problematised. Although the historicised accounts of salvation history emerged among Carolingian exegetes of the ninth century, the particular historicity of them is not altogether evident. Indeed, the more historicised reading of Revelation 21:13, both in the early Middle Ages and the twelfth century, occur in the context of commentaries that are generally considered less historicising in general. Thus it was the tradition following Ambrose Autpert, not Bede, that developed this interpretation, and in the twelfth century it is the mainstream, spiritualising commentaries that interpret the passage in this light, as opposed to the historicising commentaries of people like Rupert of Deutz or Joachim of Fiore.<sup>230</sup> Obviously we should not discount the apocalyptic framework for this trope in both Hildegard and Honorius, but at the same time the use of this trope seems to be, at this stage, both a bit old fashioned and to point to a conservative, Augustinian account of salvation history, which conceives of it as a spiritualised and transcendent reality, removed from the progressive development of history in the sixth age. As such, more often than not, it is used to present the totality of salvation history, as a whole, rather than its development per se.

This material from the late-eleventh and early-twelfth century thus provides a window into a very interesting period in commentary on Revelation 21:13. Although the Anselmian tradition was far from the only development of the era, it represents an important side of this dynamic moment in the interpretation of Revelation more generally and of this passage in particular. And while the *Glossa* version is that which would be cited by future generations, as can be seen, for example, in the *Postilla* of Hugh of Saint-Cher, we should not forget the diversity of interpretation among which it was produced in the early twelfth-century.<sup>231</sup> Indeed, two particularly interesting trends emerge around the axis of the twelfth century. There is an increasing proliferation of interpretations in

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<sup>230</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Apocalypsim* 12.21 (PL 169, 1196C-1197B); Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 7 (Venice, 1527, 217v).

<sup>231</sup> Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla* (ed. N. Pezzana, 7 vols. (Venice, 1703), 7:425r). On the *Postilla* see David Burr, 'Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse', in Emmerson and McGinn, *Apocalypse*, 90 and Robert Lerner, 'Poverty, Preaching, and Escatology in the Revelation Commentaries of "Hugh of St Cher"', in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine J. Walsh and Diana S. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 157-89.

comparison with authors of the early Middle Ages. Though certain key points remain, as Tyconius's numerological interpretation, the symbolic possibilities of the cardinal points proliferate. Secondly there is a general trend of further historicising Haimo's interpretation, although one that needs to be carefully qualified. The more historicised reading of Revelation 21:13 seems to generally correspond, both in the early Middle Ages and the twelfth century, with the less historicising exegetes of the Apocalypse more generally.

### *Conclusion*

The growth of interpretations of the cardinal points around the turn of the twelfth century nicely highlights the broader significance in their exegetical use. In this chapter we have repeatedly emphasised a tension that runs through the exegesis of the cardinal points, between the narrow consistency of the 'standard' interpretations with the possibility for their inversion and a radical departure therefrom. Given even the most austere reference to a cardinal point, we can see how these exegetes were able to develop an ever-expanding mountain of interpretations. And while many of these can be thought of as mere variations on a theme, they present, equally, both subtle and radical departures from tradition. Even among the supposedly compilatory exegetes of the ninth century, indeed even in the very process of compilation, we can find new and interesting interpretations that reshape the meaning and use of the cardinal points. But by the twelfth century, surely in part due to the well known status of Haimo's commentary, authors were increasingly prepared to play with the now traditional interpretation of the passage, by shifting the ages of the world metaphor to the ages of man or by reordering the verse to suit their exegetical needs. In these pursuits the stable foundation of a family of conceptual parallels provided a basis from which to imbue these references with far ranging significances not already present in the base material. More broadly, these exegetical tropes forged important links between ideas of salvation history and

morality with these basic categories of a broader *Weltbild* which could cross-pollinate between different genres of text and different fields of knowledge.

## **Part II**

### Chapter 3 – The Idea of North in Universal Chronicles

Over the last few decades, scholars have increasingly addressed medieval history writing in terms of authorial consciousness and intention. This has involved moving away from a view of medieval histories as mere collections of facts, and the field has largely embraced a more complicated view of the medieval author as a ‘concerned observer’, whose conception of history deserves study in its own right.<sup>1</sup> As a result, it has been seen as increasingly important to consider the ways in which the authors of medieval histories conceived of the world and, more specifically, of the past. There has been a wealth of literature that seeks to characterise medieval historiography in terms of genre and that attempts to delineate, from various perspectives, the conceptual and institutional factors that shaped the manner in which medieval authors produced their historical writings.<sup>2</sup> This interrelation of genre and authorial intention has, since the 1970s, led to increased skepticism over the possibility of prescribing genres within the general framework of history in the period.<sup>3</sup> The result has been a more narrow analysis of medieval historians in terms of their individual context and an increasingly broad understanding of the way genre and mentality condition their historical approaches. This has led to some contention over how to situate medieval history writers within a tradition that can frame the way they approach history as a genre (or a collection of interrelated genres) and their historical consciousness.<sup>4</sup> By isolating a narrow theme and tracing it through a few particular authors we can better speak to this interaction of general and particular, providing insight

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<sup>1</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz, ‘Historical Writing, Historical Thinking and Historical Consciousness in the Middle Ages’, *Revista Diálogos Mediterráneos* 2 (2012): 111-12; cf. Lake, ‘Current Approaches’, 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> For a general introduction to medieval historiography: Guenée, *Histoire*; Deliyannis, *Historiography*; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*; Kempshall, *Rhetoric*.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview up to 1974 see Ray, ‘Medieval Historiography’, and for a discussion of more recent trends see Justin Lake, ‘Authorial Intention in Medieval Historiography’, *Historical Compass* 12, no. 4 (2014): 344-60.

<sup>4</sup> On genre see Guenée, *Histoire*, 200-7; Lake, ‘Intention’, 345-7; on historical consciousness see Goetz, ‘Historical’; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 13-39.

into the way that these authors perceived their intellectual heritage and manipulated it within their particular environment.

In this context, there have been a number of useful studies on the presentation of geographical space within medieval history writing, and for our purposes more specifically within the context of universal historiography. Much of this research has focused on the nature, role, and scope of geographical description within universal histories.<sup>5</sup> But there has been less focus on the use of geographical ideas, such as the cardinal points, within medieval history-writing to shape conceptions of historical space and development or to impart meaning to their histories.<sup>6</sup> The object of this chapter is therefore to evaluate the function of the cardinal points as cultural concepts and analytical tools within the context of universal history writing in the twelfth century. For this, we will focus primarily on three universal chronicles from that period, the *Chronicle* of Sigebert of Gembloux, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis and the *Chronicle* of Romuald of Salerno. Although the selection of authors is in part a pragmatic one, as there are complete modern editions of each, it also represents a varied geographical selection, as well as a range of historical styles, within the bounds of the twelfth century. In each case, the use of the cardinal points as a spatial theme will be evaluated in terms of its function within a particular historical narrative, with a focus on the way that each author has adapted this idea of space to their particular historical context and concerns.

The cardinal points as a concept are a difficult subject to address, in terms of their use by, and their influence on, the authors in question. In the most general sense they are, as we have seen, a cultural system and literary *topos* inherited from antiquity through the writings of the late-antique Fathers. However, in all the periods in question they were used not only as geographical descriptors,

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<sup>5</sup> For example, the rhetorical context of geographical excursus is discussed in Guenée, *Histoire*, 166-72 and Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 136-7, 305-7, passim. A useful taxonomy of the uses of geography in universal historiography is given in Gautier Dalché, 'L'espace de l'histoire'. There are some exceptions, as for example Goetz, 'Universality', which discusses the conceptual function of the geographical scope provided in some histories.

<sup>6</sup> Eg. Merrills, *History and Geography*.

but *inter alia* as tools of political distinction, and derision, as well as analytical devices for speculation about history. As such, on one level, this knowledge plays the role of something taken for granted within the medieval world-picture. For example, implicit in the language is a distinction between the negative connotations around *aquilo* compared with the relative neutrality of *septentrio*.<sup>7</sup> This is the sort of conception that we can call ‘implicit’, in that it is not clear that the subject has recognised the significance of the language that they are using, or of the conceptions they are expressing. We can see this sort of ‘taken-for-granted-ness’ made explicit in the *Glossa*’s explanation for the description of Job as ‘great among all the people of the east’ (Jb 1:3b) by noting that this means: ‘richer than the rich, for it is well known that easterners are exceedingly wealthy’.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the cardinal points are also used explicitly tools for the theoretical analysis of history and its development. This is most evident in Otto of Freising’s systematisation of the notion that ‘all human power and learning had its origin in the East, but is coming to an end in the West’.<sup>9</sup> Naturally it can be difficult to draw a clear line between these two notions, particularly since, in the words of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ‘the orator’s skill conceals his art’ – the authors in question are not necessarily apt to display the conceptions they are using.<sup>10</sup> As such, although we will argue that each of these authors is aware of the presence and use of space in history, self-consciously adapting it to the aims of their writing, of necessity this use will lie along a spectrum between explicit theorisation and application, and implicit reflection of a broader cultural understanding.

The exegetical function of the cardinal points has often been taken as an unproblematic starting point to assess the meaning of the cardinal points in history.<sup>11</sup> There is indeed close relationship between the Bible as history and medieval historical consciousness as has been long

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<sup>7</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, ch.2, esp. 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Glossa* 2:188r (379). ‘id est, ditior diuitibus, quia orientales constat esse prediuites’.

<sup>9</sup> Otto, *Chron.* 1.prol. (Mierow, 95; Hofmeister, 8). ‘omnis humana potentia seu scientia ab oriente cepit et in occidente terminantur’.

<sup>10</sup> Ps.-Cic., *Rh.* 4.7.10 (Caplan, 251); cf. Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 28, 190, 447.

<sup>11</sup> Fischer, *Europa*, 70-4, 77-8; Lapina, *Warfare*, 129-30; cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 114-129.

been recognised.<sup>12</sup> But this relationship is hardly unproblematic, and indeed there is a notable difference in the use of cardinal points in universal histories as compared with exegesis. Where in the Bible, and in its exegesis, there is a tendency towards discussion of north, south, east and west in roughly that order of frequency, there is almost no discussion of the south as a region in the aforementioned histories.<sup>13</sup> The only notable exception is perhaps discussion of Africa, although it is not clearly identified as representing or typifying southernness or ‘the south’ in these histories. A broader discussion of east and west emerges, very often in relationship to one another, references to which are normally clustered around either discussion of the crusades or during the period of division between the eastern and western empires. The only point of clear overlap with exegetical material is the frequent discussion of the north in these histories. This is unsurprising, given the increasingly northern orientation of European geography in the early Middle Ages as well as the perceived northern origins of most European peoples.<sup>14</sup> There is, therefore, a broad difference between exegesis and history in terms of interest and breadth of vision. This is in part a product of differing goals, as exegetical and theological authorship is concerned fundamentally with the theoretical idea of history as a whole and with characterising salvation history irrespective of how the particular events fit in, the events of history are all presupposed.<sup>15</sup> But while such overarching historical conception may lie in the background of medieval history writing, it is not often a direct topic of discussion.<sup>16</sup> As such, we must approach the use of the Bible and exegesis in medieval histories first of all from the perspective of the histories themselves and their use of the cardinal points considered on its own terms. So while the role of exegesis in history will be an important

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<sup>12</sup> Goetz, ‘Historical’, 114; de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:47; Ray, ‘Medieval Historiography’, 42-8.

<sup>13</sup> See *infra* excursus 2.

<sup>14</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Représentations géographiques de l’Europe’, 67-71; Rix, *Barbarian North*, ch. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Amos Funkenstein, *Heilsplan und natürlich Entwicklung: Gegenwartsbestimmung im Geschichtsdenken des Mittelalters* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1965), 58-9, 70-2, 117; cf. Goetz, *Translatio*, 120-1 and Joachim Ehlers, *Hugo von St. Viktor: Studien zum Geschichtsdenken und zur Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973), 134.

<sup>16</sup> Goetz, ‘Historical Writing’, 116-7; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 92-3. Although cf. Van Nuffelen, *Orosius*, intro. and Goetz, ‘Kritische Anmerkungen’.

theme throughout this analysis, it will be addressed in terms of the historian's active role as an exegete.

Given the extremely asymmetrical use of the cardinal points within these histories, and the broader aim of identifying the particular use of space in universal historiography, we will not attempt to systematically address the cardinal points in general.<sup>17</sup> Rather, the majority of the chapter will focus on the one direction that receives extensive, explicit discussion by these authors – the north. Previous work on this subject has already stressed the negative connotations associated with the north, particularly *aquilo*, which was already associated with darkness, cold, and ferocious and destructive peoples in antiquity.<sup>18</sup> Through the biblical and patristic tradition as well, *aquilo* was further associated with pagans and the devil, particularly through the book of Jeremiah.<sup>19</sup> While we certainly do not wish to diminish the use of north to denote a place of evil and unbelief, it is our intention to draw out further how it functioned narratively in the historical conception of our twelfth-century authors. To this end, there are a number of interlinking themes that we wish to draw out, building upon some basic notions related to northernness, namely that it is the place of *frigor infidelitatis* and *torpor peccati*, and that it is the source of evils. However, as we shall argue, from this basis, a number of narrative functions developed out of the notion, narrative functions that were replicable in various contexts and used in reference to a variety of subjects, usually, though not limited to, those peoples beyond the Elbe.<sup>20</sup> In the most narrow sense, the north functions quite naturally as a source of chaos over and against the order within the Christian world. Closely related to this, and indeed frequently overlapping with it, is the use of the north as a source of God's punishment of the peoples of the world.<sup>21</sup> Yet, moving beyond the strictly negative, there is equally

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<sup>17</sup> On which see *infra* ch. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 40, who cites Lucan, 5.601-4 and Horace, *Odes* 3.30.

<sup>19</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 40-2; Skånland, '*Calor Fidei*', passim.; Gabriele, 'Frankish Kingship', 29; Coupland, 'Rod of God', 537-8; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 176-83.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Fraesdorff, 'Pagan North', 310; Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 20-2, 101, passim.

<sup>21</sup> Coupland, 'Rod of God', 537-8.

an important use of the north as that place from which the Christian nations of the Latin west emerged.<sup>22</sup> Through this analysis we can evaluate how ideas of space more generally impacted upon medieval historical narratives, and how the cardinal points could serve as a mutually intelligible framework for the conceptualisation and discussion of space in history.

### *Sigebert of Gembloux*

We can usefully begin with arguably the most self-conscious and certainly most influential of the authors in question, Sigebert of Gembloux. Known mostly through his own entry in his *Libellus de viris illustribus*, Sigebert was most likely born in the vicinity of Gembloux, in Hesbaye between the Meuse and the Dyle, probably within a few years of 1026. He entered the school at Gembloux during the reign of Olbert (1012-48), but moved to St-Vincent in Metz, itself closely related to Gembloux, between 1047 and 1051 to take over the school there, where he remained until his return to Gembloux in the early 1070s.<sup>23</sup> Some ten years after his return to Gembloux he began to write his *magnum opus*. Preserved in at least forty-two extant manuscripts, half of which come from the twelfth century, with another twenty or more whose existence is attested, the *Chronicle* is one of the great successes of the medieval period generally and turn of the twelfth century in particular.<sup>24</sup> Written and edited over twenty years, through the tumultuous period of the investiture controversy, particularly so in the diocese of Liège during the second redaction, Sigebert's *Chronicle* represents a carefully researched historical argument against the Papal position by showing the correct ordering

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<sup>22</sup> Rix, *Barbarian North*; more generally see Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006) and Magali Coumert, *Origines des Peuples: Les récits du Haut Moyen Âge occidental (550-850)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 34-5, 39-40, 59-60; Mireille Chazan, 'Sigebert de Gembloux est-il français?', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Metz* (2012): 85-6, 89.

<sup>24</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 311-12; Chazan, 'Sigebert de Gembloux', 94-5; for the metric of success see Guenée, *Histoire*, 248-58.

of Christian society.<sup>25</sup> Picking up where Eusebius-Jerome finished, in 381, Sigebert draws his *Chronicle* down to 1084 with the coronation of Henry IV as Emperor in the first redaction and to 1111 with the coronation of Henry V in the second.

Though a continuation of Jerome, Sigebert reframes his *Chronicle* in a number of significant ways right from the outset. Following Jerome, the historical-theological framework of the *Chronicle* is immediately established in the context of the four world empires of Nebuchadnezzar's dream: 'I do not consider saying anything about the kingdom of the Romans except what the prophet Daniel expounded regarding the fourth empire: that, just as iron smashes, subdues and destroys all things, so from its origin [Rome] will have beaten, subdued and destroyed almost all the kingdoms of the world'.<sup>26</sup> Here, already, Sigebert has subtly diverged from Jerome and the Vulgate by qualifying the complete domination of the fourth empire, presenting it not as dominating 'all', but only 'almost all the kingdoms of the world'.<sup>27</sup> In so doing he distinguishes the universal domination that is proper to the Roman Empire from its historical reality. This serves to set the *Chronicle* in expectation of the end times, when the iron of the fourth kingdom is mixed with the clay of human weakness and begin to fall.<sup>28</sup> This interplay of strength with fragility, and of universal aspiration with finite dominion in the relationship between empire and the peoples and kingdoms of the world, forms the central theme of Sigebert's *Chronicle* and underscores the role of empire within the order of the world.

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<sup>25</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 110-21, passim. Sigebert had was likely preparing this work before this, as he used sources that would only have been available at Metz, which he left around 1071. (Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 59, 178.) For the close relationship of Liège to the empire see Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l'Église impériale aux XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981).

<sup>26</sup> Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 300); on the relation of the terms *regnum* and *imperium* see Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 288-91. 'De regno Romanorum non aliud dicendum puto, nisi quod Danihel propheta interpretatus est de quarto regno: quod, sicut ferrum comminuit, domat et conterit omnia, sic ab origine sui tutuderit, domuerit et contriverit omnia paene mundi regna'.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel 2:40: 'et regnum quartum erit velut ferrum quomodo ferrum comminuit et domat omnia'; Jerome, *In Dan.* 1.2 (CCSL 75A, 794): 'regnum autem quartum, quod perspicue pertinet ad romanos, ferreum est, quod comminuit et domat omnia'; Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 300): 'quod, sicut ferrum comminuit, domat et conterit omnia, sic ab origine sui tutuderit, domuerit et contriverit omnia **paene** mundi regna'.

<sup>28</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 188-9; Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 300): 'novissimo vero tempore regnum illud, quod in tibiis suis ferreis diutissime et firmissime sine aliqua lassitudine steterat, tandem ferro suae fortitudinis commixto cum testa humanae imbecillitatis, ex alto dominationis suae gradu cum fragore terribili labare coeperit.'

The finitude of the Roman Empire also has important implications for Sigebert's geographical vision. By qualifying its universal scope, Sigebert highlights a geography around and beyond its edges. This is particularly evident when one compares the political scope at the point of transition, around 381, from Jerome's *Chronicle* to Sigebert's continuation. By 381 there is only one empire left on Jerome's synchronic list, the Roman Empire, and this has been the only subject of its latter section. Sigebert begins immediately by enumerating eight different *regna* among which the Roman Empire is but one. As Goetz notes, this is no longer the world of the Roman empire, but one of Germanic kingdoms.<sup>29</sup> This implies a coordinate change in geographical conception as well. No longer is this a geography that stretches from the Mediterranean to the nebulous ends of the world, but is instead in keeping with an overall geographical shift in the conception of Europe from the core of the Roman Empire to a greater focus on its northern periphery from Carolingian Francia.<sup>30</sup> Sigebert's *Chronicle* is thus not only predicated upon the problem of the Roman Empire's finitude, but it is immediately framed in terms of Rome's relationship with various other *regna* and a geography beyond its bounds.

It is here that idea of the north, and more specifically of northern peoples, enters into Sigebert's historical vision. After discussing the specific histories of nine peoples (the Romans, Persians, Franks, Vandals, English, Lombards, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Huns), he proclaims:

Beyond these there were also other peoples, who tore the Roman Empire to pieces, that is, the Gepids, Alans, Turks, Bulgars, and many others, who all emerged from the region of the north; so that, in this, the statement by the prophet can perhaps be seen: *from the north shall an evil break forth upon the entire world.* (Jer 1:14)<sup>31</sup>

Yet the precise place of the northern people in the *Chronicle* is not specified. Although this exhortation is central to the prologue, underscoring the coming fall of Rome and the central crisis of

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<sup>29</sup> Goetz, 'Universality', 255.

<sup>30</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Représentations géographiques de l'Europe', 65-73.

<sup>31</sup> Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 302). 'Extra has et aliae gentes fuerunt, quae Romanum imperium dilaceraverunt, id est Gepides, Alani, Turchi, Bulgares, et alias plures, quae omnes ab aquilonis plaga exierunt; ut super hoc fortasse videatur dictum per prophetam: *Ab aquilone pandetur malum super universam terram.*'

imperial activity in history, it is unclear who here is northern and in what sense they were considered as such. The introduction gives us some hint in its long list of non-Roman kingdoms ‘who all emerged from the region of the north’: the nine specifically discussed, plus the four listed, and ‘beyond these other peoples also’.<sup>32</sup> Taking this list as a starting point there are two immediate observations that leap out. First, although most of these emerge from areas considered geographically north of the Roman Empire, such a geographical origin does not appear to be a necessary condition of the characterisation. This is clearest in the case of the Persians, the first *regna*, after Rome, to be discussed in the introduction. Although the Parthians, who are sometimes conflated with the Persians, were considered a Scythian people of the north, the Persians are fairly characteristically eastern.<sup>33</sup> When, in 1079, the Turks overcome the Arabs and ‘Saracens’, the regnal successors to the Persians since 632, Sigebert describes this as occurring ‘at this time in the east’.<sup>34</sup> Secondly, categories can change over time. As Chazan has shown, Sigebert's *regna* already fall into two general categories, those that could not maintain their kingdom for an extended period, as the Huns, Vandals and Ostrogoths, and those that establish longstanding kingdoms, such as the Franks, Visigoths, Bulgars and Angles, all of whom, with the exception of the ‘Saracens’, adopted Christianity.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, it is these previously northern peoples, who establish stable kingdoms, that come to form not only the regnal, and geographical, locus of the Roman Empire themselves in 801, but most are specifically listed as part of the ‘western peoples’ who join the First Crusade.<sup>36</sup>

We can be a bit more precise as to what exactly makes a group ‘northern’ in Sigebert’s estimation. Their role is most clearly defined within the first narrative arc of the *Chronicle*, to 800. Its central narrative follows the translation of imperial dignity within the former Roman Empire,

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<sup>32</sup> Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 302). ‘quae omnes ab aquilonis plaga exierunt’; ‘extra has et aliae gentes’.

<sup>33</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.8-12 (Barney et al., 286); cf. Lucan, 8.363-8 and WM, *GR* 4.347.7-8, 360.2 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 600-4, 632-3); although see Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, ch. 8.

<sup>34</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 632, 1079 (MGH SS 6, 323, 364). ‘Hoc tempore in oriente.’

<sup>35</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 252-3.

<sup>36</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 801, 1096 (MGH SS 6, 336, 367). ‘Occidentales populi’.

falling roughly within two general stages, that is, before and after the translation to the Franks.<sup>37</sup> In the first stage, the demise of the Western Roman Empire, Sigebert presents the defeat of Julian the Apostate by the Persians as the crucial turning point.<sup>38</sup> He makes this quite clear in his introduction to the Roman *regna*:

Thus that kingdom, which for so long held almost all peoples of the world for plunder and dominion, now, with God's omnipotence mixing twice as much for it in the glass (Rev 18:6) as it mixed for others, lay open to almost all peoples for plunder and mockery; and who once contended with other peoples for sole glory, could now scarcely care even for its own preservation.<sup>39</sup>

By paraphrasing Revelation, Sigebert evokes the punishments of Babylon for her sins and for her corruption of the nations and applies this to Rome.<sup>40</sup> This must be read together with the subsequent quotation from Jeremiah, itself also understood historically as a reference to Babylon's persecution of Israel.<sup>41</sup> This double allusion to Babylon bookends the presentation of *regna* that establishes the *Chronicle*. Rome stands as a figure of Jerusalem, beset by the kingdoms of the north (i.e. Babylon) for its sins.<sup>42</sup> Thus, in this section of the *Chronicle* at least, the northern peoples function quite explicitly as the instrument of God's punishment, itself a familiar Carolingian trope.<sup>43</sup> As such, through this section of the *Chronicle*, Sigebert focuses on the repeated incursions against Roman Empire, beginning with the 'Germanic tribes' and continuing with the Bulgars and 'Saracens' in the seventh century, as well as fall of the eastern emperors into iconoclasm and persecution.<sup>44</sup> And

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<sup>37</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 205-29.

<sup>38</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 190-2.

<sup>39</sup> Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 300). 'Ita regnum illud, quod tanto tempore omnes paene mundi gentes praedae et dominationi habuit, modo Dei omnipotentia miscente ei duplum in poculo, quo ceteris miscuit, cunctis gentibus paene praedae et ludibrio patuit; et qui olim cum aliis gentibus pro sola gloria certabant, modo saluti suae vix satis consulere poterant.'

<sup>40</sup> Rv 18:6b: 'in poculo quo miscuit miscite illi duplum'; cf. Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 191.

<sup>41</sup> Jer 1:13-5 (*Glossa* 3:123r (249)).

<sup>42</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 202-3, 251-2.

<sup>43</sup> Coupland, 'Rod of God', 538; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 180.

<sup>44</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 208.

indeed, all the *regna* listed in the introduction appear in the *Chronicle* for the first time before 800, with the last being the Turks in 762.<sup>45</sup>

These incursions of northern peoples have a fairly clear pattern through this first section of the chronicle. There are a number of narrative features that frequently accompany these cycles of northern people. To see how this works we can look first at the clearest case in the *Chronicle*, and the only one where the north is explicitly invoked, the invasion of the Huns under Attila. Sigebert's account, and its reference to northern peoples, is itself drawn ultimately from Paul the Deacon's *Historia romana*, but through the intermediary of Landolf Sagax's *Historia romana*.<sup>46</sup> The immediate account of Attila's invasion is a fairly close summary paraphrase. Sagax gives an extensive list of all the various peoples under Attila, listing two kings and six other petty rulers along with 'other barbarian nations of the north beyond these'.<sup>47</sup> Sigebert abbreviates this list, leaving only the two major kings, of the Ostrogoths and Gepids – both *regna* highlighted in Sigebert's introduction – and 'many other northern peoples subject to him', who all invade the Western Empire from Pannonia.<sup>48</sup> But more significantly, to emphasise their northern nature and its influences on the text, Sigebert inflects this account both with authorial commentary and by framing Huns' invasion with heavenly signs.

There are four particular characteristics of the Attila cycle which serve to highlight the function of the north more generally in the chronicle. First, there are heavenly signs. At the end of the year preceding Attila's invasion, Sigebert records a long list of portents: the northern sky turns

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<sup>45</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 200.

<sup>46</sup> The particular passage goes back originally to Paul the Deacon's *Historia romana*, for the relationship between these works see Lars Boje Mortensen, 'The Diffusion of Roman Histories in the Middle Ages. A list of Orosius, Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Landolfus Sagax manuscripts', *Filologia mediolatina: rivista della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini* 6-7 (1999-2000): 101-200.

<sup>47</sup> Landolf Sagax, *Historia romana* 15.2 (ed. Amedeo Crivellucci, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano, 1912-13), 2:4). 'Erat siquidem eius subiecti dominio rex ille Gepidarum famosissimus Ardaricus, Uualamir etiam Gothorum regnator, ipse cui tunc seruebat rege nobilior, fortissime nihilominus gentes Marcomanni, Sueui, Quadi, preterea Heruli, Turcilingi siue Rugi cum propriis regulis **alique preter hos barbare nationes Aquilonis** in finibus commanentes.'

<sup>48</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 453 (MGH SS 6, 309). 'multarum aquilonarium gentium sibi subiectarum'

red as fire, almost constant earthquakes, an eclipse of the moon, comets and ‘many other’ signs. What is more Sigebert also comments that ‘the present progression of events reveals that these [signs] are not empty.’<sup>49</sup> Secondly, it is framed around divine judgement. The devastating impact of their initial invasion of Gaul is specifically framed in terms of God's wrath. Indeed the prophetic signs are so clear that the peoples themselves are described as mere instruments of the true divine agency: ‘God’s indignation seethed through them so much that’ scarcely a fortification remained in all of Gaul.<sup>50</sup> Thirdly, their invasion is exceptionally violent.<sup>51</sup> Sigebert emphasises the destruction they wreak on both east and west (447, 450, 453, 454) and highlights the martyrs they create (453).<sup>52</sup>

The last characteristic, defeat as the product of a rightly ordered empire, is more complicated in this case. Due the lack of a virtuous emperor in the west and the weight of Paul the Deacon’s story about Attila and Pope Leo, Attila’s arc is rather atypical, but Sigebert manages to mould the narrative to fit his broader argument. He follows Paul’s story, itself entirely repeated in Sagax, but he shifts the emphasis away from the Pope in a number of subtle ways. In Paul’s version, Attila is approached by Leo, a most holy man (*vir sacrissimus*), and acquiesces to the priest of Christ, departing from Italy. He then explains to his subordinates that he did not fear the person of Leo, but another figure beside him ‘in priestly garb, with a most majestic figure’ and bearing a drawn sword who threatened him with death. In Sigebert’s abbreviation, the positive adjectives around the Pope have been left out and, more significantly, he has removed the broader priestly bearing from the vision of St Peter, describing the figure as simply ‘a certain venerable old man’ with a sword. Likewise, in Paul’s version, Attila dies of his nosebleed and on the same night God

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<sup>49</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 452 (MGH SS 6, 309); cf. Hydace, *Continuatio chronicorum Hieronymianorum* 149 (MGH AA 11, 26). ‘Luna obfuscat, cometes apparet, et **multa alia. Quae non esse otiosa, ostendit instans rerum consequentia.**’

<sup>50</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 453 (MGH SS 6, 309). ‘per totas Gallias, tanta per eos Dei efferbuit indignatio, ut nullam omnino civitatem, castellum vel oppidum aliqua a furore eorum potuerit tutari munitio’.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Carolingian portrayals of vikings in Coupland, ‘Rod of God’, 540-7.

<sup>52</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 447, 450, 453-4 (MGH SS 6, 309-10).

appears to the Eastern emperor Martian in a dream to announce his death. In Sigebert's account this story is told backwards. God appears to Martian to tell him that Attila's stronghold is broken, 'and this was not false' for on the same night Attila dies of a nosebleed.<sup>53</sup> Although only a subtle change, it reverses the causality of the story, shifting the focus instead to God's interaction with the emperor. A similar pattern emerges elsewhere. Various *regna* enter into the story, seize sections of the Roman Empire and often persecute the Church, before either passing out of existence or slowly assimilating into the Church and ultimately the empire.<sup>54</sup> Likewise there is a pattern of virtuous empire and, to a lesser extent, virtuous (mostly Frankish) kings, holding back these various peoples.<sup>55</sup>

With these features in mind we can see a more typical example of how this all comes together in a particular cycle of violent incursion, which need not be reserved to one group or have such a clear cut beginning and end. Consider for example the events between 398 and 414: in 398, following a terrible storm in Constantinople and internal division between the eastern and western Roman armies, the Visigoths break their treaty with the Romans. Two years later the Visigoths and Huns attack Roman provinces and then a few years after that, in 403, a number of Christians are martyred by pagans. Next the Goths invade Italy from Scythia, in 407, after which Sigebert proclaims: 'from this a great clamour of the blasphemies bellows at Christ, and blaming the Christian times they extol the fortune of the pagans'.<sup>56</sup> Though the Romans push the Goths back in 410, at the instigation of Stilicho, the madness of the Vandals rages through Gaul – they destroy cities and churches, and martyr more Christians. In 412 the Visigoths debauch themselves throughout Italy until the western emperor, Honorius, grants them land in Gaul. The tide begins to turn in 413 when Alaric is finally defeated by the Franks and at last, in 414, for his faithfulness,

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<sup>53</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 453-5 (MGH SS 6, 309-10); Paul the Deacon, *Historia romana* 14.12 (ed. Amedeo Crivellucci (Rome: Istituto storico italiano, 1914), 197); Landolf Sagax, *Historia romana* 15.8 (Crivellucci, 2.7-8); cf. Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 240. 'in habitu sacerdotali... forma augustiore'; 'semen quendam venerabilem'; 'Nec id vanum est'.

<sup>54</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 239-42.

<sup>55</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 207, 210.

<sup>56</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 407 (MGH SS 6, 305). 'Ex hoc murmur multus blasphemantium infremit in Christum, et christianitatis tempora culpantes, felicitatem gentium attollunt.'

God frees the emperor Honorius from the threat of tyrants, whom Sigebert goes on to list.<sup>57</sup> This provides a typical, albeit somewhat compressed, account of a particular cycle of northern peoples rising in the first section of the *Chronicle*. It contains multiple characteristic aspects, such as the weakness of the emperors in 398 and the natural signs in close proximity to the calamitous events. There are then successive incursions, particularly ones involving martyrdoms, until the cycle finishes through the work of a virtuous emperor.

There are further resonances here with the Major Prophets and their description of the invasion of northern peoples. Though in the case of Sigebert there does not seem to be a direct linguistic relationship with the Vulgate, the pattern bears a striking resemblance. Both Isaiah and Jeremiah, as well as Habakkuk (1:5-11), make use of an enemy from the north as way of representing a cosmic struggle between chaos and the divine. These stories have a series of fairly typical elements, which must in part lie at the background of Sigebert's conceptualisation of the migration period specifically and the function of the north more generally. Both Isaiah and Jeremiah describe a series of invasions from the north (Is 14:31; Jer 1:14, 4:6, 6:1, 22) and indeed distant lands (Is 5:26; Jer 4:16, 5:15, 6:22), by a foreign (Jer 5:15) and mighty (Jer 5:16) nation. They attack suddenly (Jer 4:20, 6:26) and swiftly (Is 5:26-28; Jer 4:13), without mercy (Jer 6:23), and are described especially through the use of storm metaphors.<sup>58</sup> These invasions are likewise naturally predicated on a discussion of God's judgement of his people for their iniquity (Is 5:25; Jer 4:4, 17, 27-8, 5:11-13, 6:6, 21). It is difficult to say whether Sigebert is specifically alluding to this sort of dynamic, however through his quotation of Jeremiah 1:14 there is an evident intertextual connection between his *Chronicle* and a prophetic representation of God's judgement. As such, whether through him or his sources, the themes of the prophets resonate through the use of the north in the *Chronicle*.

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<sup>57</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 398-414 (MGH SS 6, 304-6).

<sup>58</sup> Brevard S. Childs, 'The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78, no. 3 (1959):190-2.

Although the activity of northern peoples as northern, in the manner established in the introduction, is most evident in the first arc, up to the coronation of Charlemagne, it is not clear that their activity is restricted to this section. Given the above parameters, there seem to be a number of peoples in the latter half of the *Chronicle* who fit this formula as well. Following just one example, that of the Normans from 882 to 896, we can see how the idea of the north as a category of chaos, set against Christian order, functions generally as a historical principle throughout the *Chronicle*. Before continuing, however, the use of *Normanni* by Sigebert needs to be clarified. The term itself is quite ambiguous, as even in the twelfth century it can refer not only to ‘the Normans’, but also to Scandinavians generally, hence Ælnoth, an Anglo-Saxon exile writing from Denmark, describes William as ‘duke of the southern Northmen’.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, for his Carolingian sources of the mid- to late-ninth century, *Nordmanni* and *Dani* were used indistinctly to refer mostly to the Vikings.<sup>60</sup> However, Sigebert appears to conceptualise the *Normanni* as a specific political entity distinct from the Danes, hence in 882 the Danes are described as joining the *Normanni* in their invasion, likewise, the Norman kings Christianise in 931, where the Danes do so in 966.<sup>61</sup> And although some of the plurality of the Carolingian understanding remains, as when in 958 ‘many northmen are baptised with their leaders’, there is no major discontinuity between the *Normanni*, who found Normandy (*Normannia*) in 888, and the *rex Normannorum* who conquers England in 1066 or the crusaders who come from Normandy (*a Normannia*) in 1096.<sup>62</sup> As such, translating *Normanni* as ‘Normans’ throughout will emphasise the early twelfth century context of Sigebert’s writing and historical vision, and the continuity that this vision implies.

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<sup>59</sup> Ælnoth of Canterbury, *Gesta Canuti Regis et martyris* 11 (ed. M. CL. Gertz, *Vitae sanctorum Danorum* (Copenhagen, 1908-12), 96) [hereafter Ælnoth]; cf. Thomas, *English*, 34. ‘Willelmus australium Normannorum dux’.

<sup>60</sup> Ildar H. Garipzanov, ‘Frontier Identities: Carolingian Frontier and the *Gens Danorum*’, in *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary and Przemysław Urbańczyk (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2008), 115-25.

<sup>61</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 882, 931, 966 (MGH SS 6, 343, 347, 351). ‘Northmanni, adiuctis sibi Dani’.

<sup>62</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 888, 958, 1066, 1096 (MGH SS 6, 343, 350, 361, 367). ‘plures Nortmannorum cum principibus eorum baptizari’.

Returning to the subject at hand, after a largely negative portrayal of Charles the Bald, who failed to rebuff the Normans twice (846, 853), Charles the Fat ascends the throne and receives the papal blessing as emperor in 882.<sup>63</sup> This is immediately followed by a long and detailed account of the invasion of France and Lotharingia by the Normans, aided by the Danes.<sup>64</sup> The very next year they continue down to Trier and are explicitly set in opposition to Christendom.<sup>65</sup> Although in 884 the emperor forces the Normans to make a treaty and has one of their kings, Godfrey, baptised, they return again the next year and France is forced to call again upon the emperor. But, unlike 884, he instead subjugates the French and ‘achieves nothing worthy’ in battle against the Normans.<sup>66</sup> The invasions continue in 887, when they besiege Paris and butcher duke Henry, who fell into a Norman pit trap; in 888 the emperor, unable to expel the Normans, is forced to concede a section of France to them. The reign of Charles the Fat culminates in his deposition in 890, where Sigebert proclaims that ‘the Roman Empire and the kingdom of the French are miserably mutilated’, and then discusses the tyranny throughout Italy and the political turbulence in France.<sup>67</sup> With the ascension of Arnulf order begins to be restored, with the Normans repulsed from Paris in 891, 892 and 894 as well as Sens in 891 and Britain in 894.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, they burn Troyes in 892 and ravage Lotharingia, martyring the archbishop of Worms, in 895, until finally this cycle is brought to an end in 896 when their king Hundeus is baptised by Charles the Simple.<sup>69</sup> The Norman kings are only fully Christianised after the *translatio ad saxones* with emperor Henry the Fowler in 931.<sup>70</sup> From this point, along with the other nations who Christianised and established stable kingdoms, the Normans

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 167-8, 233.

<sup>64</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 882 (MGH SS 6, 343).

<sup>65</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 883 (MGH SS 6, 343). ‘ibique conserto prelio christianos vincunt’.

<sup>66</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 884-5 (MGH SS 6, 343). ‘nihil dignum fecit’.

<sup>67</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 887-90 (MGH SS 6, 343). ‘Romanum imperium et regnum Francorum misere discerpitur’.

<sup>68</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 891-4 (MGH SS 6, 343-4); Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 233-4.

<sup>69</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 892-6 (MGH SS 6, 343-4).

<sup>70</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 931 (MGH SS 6, 347); cf. Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 231-6.

are also counted among the ‘western peoples’ who took up the sign of the cross in 1096.<sup>71</sup> A similar pattern emerges for other pagan peoples, such as the Hungarians and Slavs, in the second section of the *Chronicle*.<sup>72</sup> Just as with the unambiguously northern peoples in the first section, they variously irrupt onto the stage of Christian kingdoms, and their activities are in a general sense linked with the order, or lack thereof, of the Christian west. Furthermore, it is disproportionately the duty of the emperor to defend Christendom against these people, either removing them from history or drawing them into the fold.

With these peoples of the latter section in particular, the Carolingian heritage of Sigebert’s *Weltbild* is set in clearer focus. The chronicle’s overarching concern for peoples external to the Roman empire, who, besides the Persians, ‘Saracens’, and Turks, are actually from the north, did not come out of nowhere. This section turns towards a specific collection of northern groups – Scandinavians, Bohemians, Slavs, and Hungarians – who had only (relatively) recently, or not yet fully, converted and whose paganism remains fresh in the minds of eleventh- and twelfth-century Latin authors.<sup>73</sup> Although the *Chronicle* is by no means a missionary record, the progressive Christianisation of the north is a key feature of the latter half of the chronicle, normally tied in some way to the activities of the emperors or major kings and in contrast to the portrayal of the ‘Saracens’ through the latter section, which is entirely one of armed confrontation culminating in the Crusade.<sup>74</sup> This perception of the north as the final frontier is expressed quite clearly in his second life of St Lambert, in a speech to some pagans in the vicinity of the *provincia Tessandrorum* (north-west of Maastricht):

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<sup>71</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 1096 (MGH SS 6, 367).

<sup>72</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 235.

<sup>73</sup> Lars Boje Mortensen, ‘Sanctified Beginnings and Mythopoeitic Moments: The First Wave of Writing on the Past in Norway, Denmark, and Hungary’, in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000-1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2006), 247-274; Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London: Penguin, 1994), ch. 1, 136-7; Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), ch. 6; R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Grey Arrow, 1959), 27-8.

<sup>74</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 242-4, 251-3.

Now almost the whole world has come to believe. As the sun touches three regions of the world – east, south and west – with its presence; it illuminates the northern region, however, with rays cast from afar. Thus the sun of the world, Christ, consecrated the east with his birth, he visited the south fleeing into Egypt, nor did he abandon the west, where he sent the apostles, through whom the head of the world, Rome, now bows its neck. This fourth region, which you inhabit, although it admits light slowly due to the sun's absence, still sees those illuminated from afar and even if it lacks the sun's presence, it still needs to receive its light no less.<sup>75</sup>

This profoundly reflects the Carolingian notion of the north, that developed from the ninth century, as a missionary space in need of conversion.<sup>76</sup> This fundamentally Carolingian vision of Europe broadly underlies not only Sigebert's perception of the north and its peoples but his *Weltbild* more generally.

It is through the notion of order that these northern peoples develop a real historical significance for Sigebert. Throughout his *Chronicle* there is a clear relationship between a rightly ordered Empire and a rightly ordered world. Within this picture, the northern peoples serve as agents of disorder, attempting to undermine the Church and Empire. As such, we find a common correlation between the failure of emperors and the success of northern peoples, as well as between the success of emperors and the defeat and Christianisation of external peoples. This development is clearly displayed in the decline of the eastern Roman Empire in preparation for the rise of Charlemagne. Under Justinian, the Persians (527, 541) and the Bulgars (539) are repressed and *ex iussu Dei* he liberates Africa from the Vandals (533). He also institutes laws (532) and builds Hagia Sophia (533).<sup>77</sup> From the seventh century, the decline of the Byzantine empire sets in. When Heraclius moves to stem a series of Persian victories in 624, he receives a miraculous icon and wages a victorious campaign for six years, ending with the restoration of the cross to Jerusalem.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita altera sancti Lamberti* 3.31 (PL 160, 795B-C). 'Iam pene totus mundus credit. Ut sol tres mundi cardines, Orientem, Meridiem, Occidentem, sua praesentia attingit: Septentrionalem vero cardinem iactis radiis a longe illustrat; sic Sol mundi Christus Orientem nascendo sacravit, Meridiem in Aegyptum fugiens invisit, nec reliquit Occidentem, ubi apostolos misit, per quos jam caput mundi Roma inflexit cervicem. Quartus hic cardo, quem incolitis, quamvis propter solis absentiam tardius lucem admittat, tamen a longe illuminatos videt, et si praesentia solis caret, solaris tamen lucis usu non minus eget.'

<sup>76</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 57-82; Skånland, 'Calor fidei', 97-8.

<sup>77</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 527-39 (MGH SS 6, 315-16); Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 207.

<sup>78</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 624-30 (MGH SS 6, 322-3); Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 207.

However, falling into the heresy of monotheletism, Heraclius ‘confounds church and empire’ and in the very same year the ‘Saracens’ take up arms against Rome.<sup>79</sup> Similarly in the ninth century, Charles the Fat’s seizure of France, in the wake of the Norman assault of 885, signals the end of his ability to deal with this people and more broadly his inability to maintain order in the empire, resulting in the permanent forfeiture of Normandy three years later, leading Sigebert to exclaim in 890: ‘the Roman Empire and kingdom of the Franks are miserably mutilated.’<sup>80</sup> Though not the only force of disorder in the world, the northern peoples play an important role throughout the *Chronicle*, serving as instruments of divine punishment and trials for good Christian rulers to overcome.

This use of north as a trope is further enriched by drawing it into the context of its use in the investiture polemics of Sigebert’s era, where it was frequently employed on either side. Sigebert himself was closely involved in this polemical literature during the reigns of Henry IV and V, the same period in which he was drafting the *Chronicle*, and indeed we have already noted the role of the *Chronicle* as a part of this discourse.<sup>81</sup> To get a sense of its relevance, we will briefly compare Sigebert’s use of the north to a prominent pro-imperial polemic of his milieu, the *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda*. Written at Hersfeld some time in the early 1090s, it represents not only a significant articulation of the pro-imperial position but also a work that is closely, indeed probably directly, intellectually related to Sigebert’s writings, both historical and polemical.<sup>82</sup> Comparing the work of Gregory VII to that of the devil, it states:

Indeed, behold Gregory, who is also Hildebrand, the pope of our time. Whenever he opened his mouth, he divided the church and, besides those things which were said

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<sup>79</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 633 (MGH SS 6, 323). ‘confundit aecclesiam et imperium’.

<sup>80</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 885-90 (MGH SS 6, 343); Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 233. ‘Romanum imperium et regnum Francorum misere discerpitur.’

<sup>81</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 80-94, 110-21, 285-8; cf. Hans-Werner Goetz, ‘Geschichte als Argument: Historische Beweisführung und Geschichtsbewußtsein den Streitschriften des Investiturstreits’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 245, no. 1 (1987): 31-69.

<sup>82</sup> Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030–1122)*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2:423-6; Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 227.

above, he kindled the prophetic cauldron from the north to such an extent that, for these seventeen years or more, there have been wars and rebellions everywhere in the Roman Empire, the burnings and destructions of churches and monasteries, and such that bishop is set against bishop, priest against priest, nation against nation, no indeed son against father and father against son and brother against brother.<sup>83</sup>

There is a clear equation here between the north and evil forces in the world. What is more, this section refers centrally to Jeremiah 1:13, for the reference to a cauldron (*olla*) from the north. This is the verse immediately prior to Sigebert's own introductory quotation from Jeremiah (1:14), and both use this trope to a similar end. It serves to highlight not only a sort of chaotic evil that is taking place in the world, but both use this text to identify a rupture in world order that has caused this chaos. As such there is an important intertextual use of the idea of north expressed in the first chapter of Jeremiah as a prophetic description of a breakdown of almost cosmological order, either as a result of literal invasions by northern peoples mutilating the Roman Empire, or as a result of an upstart pontiff usurping the powers proper to the Roman Emperor.

Sigebert himself also uses this concept at least once in one of his own investiture polemic, the *Epistula adversus Paschalem papam*. The text was written in 1102, in the context of a proxy conflict in which Pope Pascal II, in a letter to Robert II, count of Flanders, invoked the recently successful Crusade and instructed Robert to take up arms against the 'excommunicated pseudo-clerics of Liège', who were themselves supported by imperial troops of Henry IV under the command of Otbert, Bishop of Liège.<sup>84</sup> Sigebert responds to this letter directly, line by line. In response to the pope's benediction and comparison of Robert to the Crusaders who 'seek the heavenly Jerusalem by the works of the just soldier', Sigebert compares Robert to some other

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<sup>83</sup> *Liber de unitate*, 1.7, cf. 1.7, 2.42 (MGH Ldl 2, 193, cf. 213, 274). 'Ecce autem nostri temporis Gregorius papa, qui et Hildebrant, cum aliquando os suum aperuit, ecclesiam divisit et praeter ea, quae dicta sunt supra, prophetica ollam ab aquilone in tantum accendit, ut per hos XVII aut eo amplius annos ubique sint in regno Romani imperii bella et seditiones, ecclesiarum et monasteriorum incendia et destructiones, et ut sit episcopus adversus episcopum, clerus adversus clerum, populus adversus populum, immo filius adversus patrem et pater adversus filium et frater adversus fratrem.'

<sup>84</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 86; Kupper, *Liège et l'Église*, 399-400; Paul Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis*, vol. 1 (Ghent, 1889), n. 10, pp. 14-15. 'Leodiensibus excommunicaticis pseudoclericis'.

‘servants’ of God: Nebuchadnezzar, Absalom, and Assyria.<sup>85</sup> Explaining, via Augustine and Isaiah, that God both ‘makes peace and creates evil’ (Is 45:7), he queries whether merely acting as God’s punishment for his people really merits the heavenly Jerusalem. ‘God said through his prophet: *I will call my servant Nebuchadnezzar from the north, that he may do all my will.* What will is that, if not that he should destroy sinners? As due reward for such service God turned this his servant into a cow.’<sup>86</sup> This passage highlights once again the interconnection of the north and evil forces in the world, but it does more than that. Sigebert not only emphasises God’s direct authorship of history and situates the diocese of Liège as God’s people, but also builds upon his broader conception of history. Through this explicitly polemical invocation of Babylon, Sigebert’s use of Jeremiah 1:14 as an introductory prophetic remark in the *Chronicle* can also be drawn into this polemical context. This introductory invocation of northernness can be seen not just as a prophetic foretelling of the beginning of the admixture of clay into the iron of the Roman Empire, but also as a warning to the papal partisans about the implications of their disruption of world order.

As we can see, the idea of the north holds a particular position in Sigebert’s historical vision. Unlike his contemporaries, he does not understand it as specifically demonic, rather it is a category of evil activity in the world based upon the notion of God’s judgement of the nations and in particular the rulers who embody them. As such, the north stands, for Sigebert, as a sort of prophetic flag, marking instances of God’s interaction with the world and highlighting, if unsystematically, his overarching plan. This point is made openly in the introduction of the *Chronicle* in reference to the peoples who tore apart, and settled in, the lands of the western Roman Empire and it is explicitly set in a prophetic context. But this pattern is generalisable throughout history, both in the decline of the western empire up to its renewal under Charlemagne and in its development under the Frankish

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<sup>85</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Epistola adversus Paschalem* 3, cf. 1 (MGH Ldl 2, 454, cf. 451-2). ‘opera iustae militiae ... contendere ad caelestem Ierusalem’.

<sup>86</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Epistola adversus Paschalem* 3 (MGH Ldl 2, 453). ‘Dicit Deus per prophetam: *Vocabo ab aquilone servum meum Nebuchodonosor; quia faciat omnem voluntatem meam.* Quam voluntatem nisi ut peccantes disperderet? Hunc servum suum Deus pro merito talis servitutis in bovem convertit.’

emperors. Within this overall picture, the northern peoples serve as a chaotic and violent pressure against which it is the role of the emperor and the rightly ordered Christian society to bring peace.<sup>87</sup> It is in this context of creating peace and expanding Christianity into the pagan borders that these northern people are ultimately brought back into the fold and take their place with Christendom, in this case becoming western peoples. This whole historical conception finally takes on a sharper edge within the context of the investiture controversy, for Sigebert is not merely passively theorising about the nature of historical progression, but is rather presenting a polemical argument on the basis of history about the right ordering of the world. For it is also his object to show that it is only within the correct relationship of *ecclesia* and *imperium* that these evils can be subdued, and that just as these previous evils were cast upon the western Empire for its turn to paganism under Julian, so the admixture of clay continues to threaten the peace and stability of the west.

#### *Romuald of Salerno*

Both annalistic and compilatory in form, the *Chronicle* attributed to Romuald II, archbishop of Salerno (1153-81), is a useful counterpoint to the carefully crafted and author-driven chronicle of Sigebert. It is the earliest extant medieval universal chronicle written in Italy and survives in three manuscripts, one of which, from the twelfth century, was kept in Salerno cathedral until the seventeenth century, although it is almost certainly faulty in places and contains some later revisions not attested in the other manuscripts.<sup>88</sup> Romuald himself was educated as a physician, but ended up as a leading prelate and diplomat of Norman Italy. He represented the king of Sicily at the Peace of Venice 1177 and likely wrote the *Chronicle's* famous and extended account of the negotiations.<sup>89</sup> As a universal chronicle, however, it follows first Bede's *Chronica minora*, with its

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<sup>87</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 298-302.

<sup>88</sup> Matthew, 'Romuald', 241-2. For the complete manuscript tradition see the introduction to Arndt's edition (MGH SS 19, 396ff.).

<sup>89</sup> Matthew, 'Romuald', 239; Lucia Sinisi, 'Romuald of Salerno' in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2:1293-6.

post-Christian history being drawn primarily from Orosius and Paul the Deacon.<sup>90</sup> The *Chronicle* focuses heavily upon the modern era: in the 294 pages of Garufi's edition, the sixth age is reached by page 43, the barbarian invasions are at their zenith around page 100, and the turn of the twelfth century is around page 200. The attribution to Romuald is based primarily on a sentence at the end of the negotiations at Venice, as well as an additional comment in the thirteenth century Paris MS.<sup>91</sup> On this basis Matthew convincingly argues that only the latter section from around 1125 was composed by Romuald, and he attached this to an earlier chronicle which he may have viewed as useful reference material for political negotiations. The pre-1125 chronicle was likely composed in Troia for the Norman aristocracy there, but even this section evinces the work of multiple compilers.<sup>92</sup> Although we will focus mostly on the pre-1125 section of the *Chronicle*, as a matter of convention, and convenience, we will still refer to Romuald as the 'author', but any statement of authorial agency attributed to Romuald should be understood more broadly in terms of the argument of the text and what it represents for an early to mid twelfth century Italian Norman audience.

Even without such clear authorial asides or introductory framing, the *Chronicle* of Romuald clearly distinguishes itself from Sigebert's both in its historical vision and Italian context. As with Sigebert, the account of Attila's invasions of the west is a key event in the downfall of empire for Romuald. But even though both ultimately follow Paul the Deacon and emphasise the great number of barbarians irrupting into the Roman Empire from the north, these events have a notably different significance for Romuald.<sup>93</sup> Sigebert reads these events through Landolf Sagax, who, following Cassiodorus, considered the emergence of the Goths and the death of Valens as the crucial moment

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<sup>90</sup> Matthew, 'Romuald', 244.

<sup>91</sup> Romuald, 293-4; Paris, BnF Lat. 4933, 153r-v as cited in Matthew, 'Romuald', 255. 'Ab hoc loco adjunctum est huic chronice per Romoaldum / secundum Salernatanum archiepiscopum.'

<sup>92</sup> Matthew, 'Romuald', 252-8, 271.

<sup>93</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Historia romana* 14.2 (Crivellucci, 191); cf. Romuald, 100.

for the end of the Roman Empire.<sup>94</sup> Romuald, on the other hand, follows Paul the Deacon and makes no such judgement on this point.<sup>95</sup> Rather, he presents the subsequent invasion of the Huns, and particularly the death of Flavius Aetius, as the crucial moment of decline for the empire, noting that: ‘thus the most warlike Aetius and Attila, formerly the terror of the most powerful king, lay dead, with whom equally the empire of the west and the health of the republic collapsed, lacking also the strength to rise again beyond this point.’<sup>96</sup> This event marks a turning point in the *Chronicle* as from this point on subsequent emperors in the west are no longer presented as ruling a unified empire. Instead they are linked to particular cities. For example, after Avitus is drawn away from Italy, Majorian usurps the empire *in Ravenna*.<sup>97</sup> These internal tribulations soon give way to external invasions of Italy by Odoacer and then Theodoric. With the migration period, the *Chronicle* focuses especially on the Franks and Lombards, the only two *gentes* who receive an origin story in the *Chronicle*. Most of the barbarian peoples either just appear or their place of origin is briefly noted. For example, the Goths, Saxons and Burgundians are noted together as emerging barbarian peoples, and the Saxons, Huns and Turcilingi are described as a coming from the shores of the ocean, lofty mountains and the farthest ends of Pannonia respectively.<sup>98</sup> However, when the Franks and Lombards are introduced, the *Chronicle* specifically announces that their histories and deeds should be briefly recounted.<sup>99</sup> It provides the standard origin of the Lombards (*Langobards*) in

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<sup>94</sup> Landolf Sagax, *Historia romana* 12.14 (Cribellucci, 1.320); cf. Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita* 8.13 (CCSL 71, 485): ‘Hoc ergo fuit initium ut illo tempore romna respublica calamitatibus subderetur.’ As Chazan (*L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 190-1) notes, this view was found also in Jerome and Rufinus.

<sup>95</sup> Romuald, 88; Paul the Deacon, *Historia romana* 11.10-11 (Crivellucci, 155-6).

<sup>96</sup> Romuald, 101-2; cf. Paul the Deacon, *Historia romana* 14.15 (Crivellucci, 199). ‘Ita uir bellicosissimus Etius, et quondam Attile regis potentissimi terror occubuit, cum quo pariter Occidentis imperium, salusque reipublice corruit, nec ultra hactenus ualuit releuari.’

<sup>97</sup> Romuald, 103.

<sup>98</sup> Romuald, 87-8, 104.

<sup>99</sup> Romuald, 108. ‘Hic admonet locus, ut et de Langobardorum historiis, Francorumque gestis, pro ut tempus exigit, summam aliquid interponatur.’

Scandinavia, following Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, and has the Franks come originally from the Meotide swamps, following the *Liber historiae Francorum*.<sup>100</sup>

As with Sigebert, the emergence of northern peoples predicates the shift to the next stage of European history leading to the reestablishment of empire in the west under Charlemagne. However, for Romuald this serves to establish a dominant theme of the remainder of the *Chronicle*: the history of Italy and its relations with the empire. While the significance of the Franks, as proto-Carolingian, is fairly evident in the context of a twelfth-century universal chronicle, the focus on the Lombards is more unusual. Given the generally secular context of this *Chronicle*, almost certainly composed for the Norman aristocracy of southern Italy, the immediate point of departure ought to be portrayals of kingship among the Lombards.<sup>101</sup> Although their conquest is described at points as bringing famine and death to Italy, their portrayal is broadly positive. A clear example of this is Liutprand, whose virtuous deeds as king are recounted by the chronicler upon his death: he increased the laws, he was a man of much wisdom, exceedingly pious, and a lover of peace.<sup>102</sup> His actions fit clearly within a broader picture of the good Lombard kings and represent a model for Norman kingship in Italy. When he first enters the *Chronicle* the Lombard King hears that 'Saracens' have ravaged Sardinia, Saint Augustine's resting place since the devastation of Hippo by 'barbarians'; he immediately sends for the remains and, paying a great price, has them translated to Pavia.<sup>103</sup> Liutprand goes on to besiege Rome, but Gregory III, himself praised for his divine inspiration, sends for Charles Martel to liberate the papacy. After being made a godfather of his son Pepin through a haircutting ceremony, when Charles asks Liutprand to lift the siege, he joyfully

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<sup>100</sup> Romuald, 108-9; cf. Coumert, *Origines des peuples*, 335-6.

<sup>101</sup> Matthew, 'Romuald', 272-4; cf. Diego Zancani, 'The Notion of "Lombard" and "Lombardy" in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. Alfred P. Smyth (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998).

<sup>102</sup> Romuald, 118, 142.

<sup>103</sup> Romuald, 139.

assents to the request of his ‘co-father’ (*compater*).<sup>104</sup> Liutprand goes on to support Charles against the ‘Saracens’ in Gaul and, returning to Italy, was petitioned by the Pope to stabilise Italy, which he proceeded to do.<sup>105</sup> As such, Liutprand serves as a sort of microcosmic progression of the relationship of the southern Italian Normans to the papacy, if not to the empire. But this particular series of events can be contextualised within a broader spatial system underlying the chronicle at large.

The chronicler is generally thoughtful about his use of the spatially located signs. It can be hazardous to interpret the use of *signa*, however: as we have already seen with Sigebert, they were self-consciously a key tool for the chronicler not only to identify the significance of events but also to spatially inflect their history.<sup>106</sup> We can see how this chronicle manipulates the spatiality of signs with the example of Pope Donus. Drawing from the *Liber pontificalis*, the *Chronicle* recounts that during his reign a star appeared in the east. In the *Liber pontificalis*, the author is self-assured about the meaning of this sign: it occurred on the occasion of the election, ‘in the August *while he was bishop-elect*’, and, more pointedly, ‘*after turning in its tracks it disappeared; on which count a very great mortality ensued from the east*’.<sup>107</sup> In the *Chronicle* however, the italicised section and the entire second sentence have been omitted. Now the context is merely: ‘at this time in the month of August’.<sup>108</sup> So although it is still found within the account of Donus, its relationship to his pontificate has been largely severed. The point of this change becomes clear when we look at the broader context in Romuald. Less than a dozen lines earlier, the *Chronicle* describes how, after an unsuccessful attempt to wrest southern Italy from the Lombards, the eastern emperor Constans II

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<sup>104</sup> Romuald, 140-1; cf. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 6.53 (MGH SS rer. Lang. 1, 183; trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 296).

<sup>105</sup> Romuald, 142.

<sup>106</sup> See generally C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 47-55.

<sup>107</sup> *Liber pontificalis* 80.3 (ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-92), 1:348; trans. Raymond Davis, *Ancient Biographies* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 71-2). ‘Hic dum esset electus, per augusto mense... Qui post semetipsa reversa disparuit; pro quo capitulo et maxima mors a parte Orientis subsecuta est.’

<sup>108</sup> Romuald, 130. ‘Huius temporibus mense augusto’.

was murdered in the bath by his soldiers.<sup>109</sup> What is more, this sign can not be taken to reference subsequent events, as there is a further sign immediately after, during the pontificate of Agatho, for which the *Chronicle* follows the *Liber pontificalis*'s interpretation: 'the moon underwent an eclipse and it was immediately followed by very grave mortality', in this case only truncating the further detail that it was through 'July, August, and September ... in Rome'.<sup>110</sup> We can see, therefore, how the *Chronicle* has manipulated this sign to change its historical reference, instead highlighting the interrelationship of eastern emperors and Lombards.

The *Chronicle* has a consistent interest in spatial signs. Almost whenever a heavenly sign is given a spatial designation, the *Chronicle* finds a plausible interpretation which attends to its directionality. This can take some work, as when in the discussion of Gregory II, following the *Liber pontificalis*, a star appears in the west and shines to the north (*aquilonis*).<sup>111</sup> While the *Liber pontificalis* does not suggest any particular meaning for this event, the *Chronicle* provides it with a further implication. In the first place, the *Chronicle* has rearranged the material in the *Liber pontificalis*, moving an earlier comment immediately after the celestial sign: 'through Boniface, a monk and bishop, the doctrine of light converted the German people, sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, to Christ.'<sup>112</sup> These patterns become more evident as it draws closer to the twelfth century. In 1066 a comet appears in the east and a star in the west, the tails of which extended to the south. Immediately subsequent to this, the emperor of Constantinople dies and Robert Guiscard takes the city of Vieste.<sup>113</sup> The point is reinforced by the fact that in this last example, the *Chronicle* appears to have added the directional designators to comet. As such, this appears to be a clear

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<sup>109</sup> Romuald, 130.

<sup>110</sup> Romuald, 130; *Liber pontificalis* 81.16, cf. 81.17 (Duchesne, 1:350; Davis, *Ancient*, 72). 'luna pertulit eclipsim statimque mortalitas grauissima subsecuta est'; 'iulio, augusto, septembri, in urbe Roma'.

<sup>111</sup> Romuald, 138; *Liber pontificalis* 91.21 (Duchesne, 1:407; trans. Raymond Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), 14).

<sup>112</sup> Romuald, 138; cf. *Liber pontificalis* 91.3 (Duchesne, 1:397; Davis, *Eighth-Century*, 4). 'Hic per Boniface monachum et episcopum gentem Germanorum sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis doctrina lucis convertit ad Christum.'

<sup>113</sup> Romuald, 186; cf. *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, 3.23 (MGH SS 34, 390) and *Annales Beneventani*, 1066 (MGH SS 3, 180).

interpretive liberty on the part of the chronicler, attempting to discern the course of history through these signs.

Given the attention that seems to be paid to the directionality of signs, it is significant that in both 1110-1 and 1117-8 the conflict between Henry V and the pope (Paschal II and Gelasius II respectively) is prefaced by a heavenly sign to the north (*septentrio*). In the first case a comet appeared to the north (*septentrionali*), and although the very next sentence discusses the founding of a castle in Miglionico, the following year begins with a long discussion the invasion of Italy by Henry V, king of the Germans, with an army of Germans and Swabians (*Suauorum*).<sup>114</sup> In this case, again, the spatial designation is not found in other accounts of the event.<sup>115</sup> In the second case the year begins first with an eclipse, then, in the same month, the sky turns red from *septentrio* to *arctos*. The following month Paschal II dies and Gelasius II is elected, leading to another sudden intervention by Henry V.<sup>116</sup> In both cases the contest between Papacy and Empire is followed by a reaffirmation of the Normans' right to southern Italy.<sup>117</sup>

The use of *septentrio* is interesting in this case as, if this is an intentional addition and meant as a polemic against Henry V, one would expect *aquilo* instead. But this is perhaps a convention of the particular chronicler or one peculiar to heavenly signs. For example, Sigebert never uses *septentrio* in his chronicle, but the first continuer uses it almost immediately to locate points of fire that appeared in the sky.<sup>118</sup> This is reinforced by the fact that, for this period from the late eleventh century to 1127, the *Chronicle* is notably more methodical about historical minutiae, giving unusual concern to ironing out the dating and chronology.<sup>119</sup> As such the compiler of this section could have also attempted to lend greater geographic specificity to this section. On this point, *septentrio* is

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<sup>114</sup> Romuald, 204-5.

<sup>115</sup> *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, 4.35 (MGH SS 34, 500); *Annales Beneventani*, 1110 (MGH SS 3, 184); *Annales Casinenses*, 1110 (MGH SS 19, 308).

<sup>116</sup> Romuald, 208-9.

<sup>117</sup> Romuald, 207, 210.

<sup>118</sup> Anselm of Gembloux. *Continuatio Sigeberti*, 1117 (MGH SS 6, 377).

<sup>119</sup> Matthew, 'Romuald', 250, 266-7.

occasionally used by other authors in relation to the same negative aspects as *aquilo*.<sup>120</sup> More broadly this sort of association of the German Emperors with the north is in keeping with other polemical literature. For example, Bonizo of Sutri, in the late-eleventh century, decries Antipope Honorius II, elected by Empress Agnes, mother of Henry IV, through the citation of Jeremiah 1:14.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, in the context of Frederick Barbarossa's invasion of Italy, John of Salisbury also equates him with the north (*aquilo*) and west in three letters.<sup>122</sup> Though some peculiarities remain in this case, these signs seem to offer the author a means of locating themselves politically and spiritually vis-a-vis the Holy Roman Empire through their history, without intruding into the narrative as an author, in keeping with the annalistic style of the work.

Unlike Sigebert's, Romuald's *Chronicle* is not explicit about its broader framework and historical principles, but it finds different ways of inflecting and commenting upon the history it presents. Although it occurs in historical authorship of every sort, the identification of *signa* is a key method for this chronicler in particular and is well suited to the annalistic mode of much of the *Chronicle*. Through the use of heavenly signs, Romuald's *Chronicle* depicts another side of the investiture debate, framed in terms of the interests of the southern Italian Normans. Where in Sigebert the barbarian peoples inhabit the north, serving as agents of God's judgement, and the Empire stands against this threat to maintain the right order of the world, now for Romuald, it is the empire itself that is identified with the north and unjustly invades Italy, disrupting the proper order of Christendom. But both authors draw upon a broader cultural notion of the north and northern peoples through which to address their particular theme. It is difficult to tie down the exact tradition from which these notions are being drawn. The idea of 'northern peoples' is a tradition that predates

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<sup>120</sup> Eg., Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronicle* (MGH SS 6, 178) [hereafter Frutolf, *Chron.*] in reference to the Normans, a 'gentes ferocissimas'. It seems to have been used here to emphasise the four cardinal points.

<sup>121</sup> Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, 4 (MGH Ldl 1, 595; trans. I. S. Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 207).

<sup>122</sup> John of Salisbury, *Epistulae* 220, 250, 273 (ed. and trans. W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 380, 504, 572).

Christianity and which passed down to the Middle Ages both in a wide range of classical texts, be they historical, geographical or medical. But this tradition equally had a Christian basis, particularly in the prophecy of Jeremiah, which is occasionally evident at a very basic level in this text, as for example in the manuscript variant which replaces *Babylonis* with *Aquilonie*.<sup>123</sup> But the idea is so omnipresent that it may be misleading to think of this in terms of a particular source that informs every author. Rather, there is a broader cultural system within which any given individual may encounter this idea through one of a variety of sources. And although both Sigebert and Romuald are quite traditional in their use of the north, as we shall see, this tradition offered more possibilities for twelfth-century authors.

#### *Orderic Vitalis*

Born near Shrewsbury in 1075, Orderic Vitalis entered the cloister at Saint-Évroul in Normandy in 1085, which was to be his home for the remainder of his life. He likely began book three (the first written) in the 1110s, at the command of Abbot Roger of Le Sap, as a history of his monastery, but it was not finished until around 1123-4. The bulk of the remaining twelve books was written over the next quarter century up to 1137.<sup>124</sup> Preserved largely in the autograph, aside from books seven and eight, the *Ecclesiastical History* saw minimal diffusion in the Middle Ages.<sup>125</sup> As it is certainly too cumbersome to copy in full, no complete medieval copy exists and it is not referred to by any other author. Certain books were copied as stand alone volumes, as for example the twelfth-century copy of books seven and eight at Caen, itself the only surviving copy of these books. Similarly, a handful of Norman authors, such as Robert of Torigni, seem to have been acquainted with the work.

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<sup>123</sup> Romuald, 24. From B. On this point, it is an open question if the association of Babylon with the north is a specifically Christian innovation, for Babylon naturally plays an important role in Roman thought as well, however it is more clearly associated with the east. See particularly Lucan, 8.415-430, where the defeat in the east with Babylon is contrasted with the loss of the north to the Dacians.

<sup>124</sup> Chibnall in OV, 1:1-32.

<sup>125</sup> Chibnall in OV, 1:118-23.

But by and large it appears to have been restricted to the monks of Saint-Évroul.<sup>126</sup> It was likely used in this context as a record of the monastery itself, and there is evidence that at least large portions were designed to be read aloud, primarily to the monks themselves although Chibnall suggests some lay audience as well.<sup>127</sup>

Orderic Vitalis begins book three with a discussion of the purpose of his work, emphasising in this case its role as a national history of the Normans:<sup>128</sup>

But now another task is laid on me by my masters, and the subject offered me is the deeds of the Normans, who issuing from Denmark were more addicted to the pursuit of arms than of learning, and up to the time of William the Bastard devoted themselves to war rather than reading or writing books.<sup>129</sup>

This passage establishes an immediate tension that is closely related to the idea of northern peoples. Orderic immediately distinguishes the Normans from the Danes, setting this distinction in parallel with a division between the pursuit of arms and of learning. By tracing this distinction through the first nine books of the *Ecclesiastical History*, but particularly books three and four, we can observe the role that the north and its peoples play in Orderic's historical vision. As such, we will begin with a discussion of the language which Orderic uses for northern peoples, especially the Danes, and compare this with his characterisation of the Normans as a northern people. From here we will show how Orderic distinguishes the Normans from the Danes and how this is used to build a particular vision of the Normans as members of Christendom.

The traditional characteristics of the northern peoples are writ large in Orderic's discussion of the Danes and Normans as warlike peoples. Since at least the ancient Greeks there had been a

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<sup>126</sup> Chibnall in OV, 1:112-15.

<sup>127</sup> Chibnall in OV, 1:36-9.

<sup>128</sup> The literature on Orderic as a historian of the Normans is vast. For his role in the development of Norman identity see *infra* ch. 4, n237-40. For interpretations of Orderic's history see Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1997), 96-105; Emily Albu, *The Normans in their Histories* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), ch. 5; Amanda Jane Hingst, *The Written World: Past and Place in the Work of Orderic Vitalis* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009); and Charles C. Rozier et al., eds., *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016).

<sup>129</sup> OV, 3.- (Chibnall, 2:2-3). 'Nunc autem a magistris aliud michi opus iniungitur, et de Normannicis euentibus materia porrigitur, quoniam ipsi de Dacia prodeuntes non litteris sed armis studuerunt, et usque ad Guillelmi nothi, tempora magis bellare quam legere vel dictare laborauerunt.'

notion of human characteristics being determined by geography and climate. This tradition held that warm climates produced timid, unwarlike peoples who were naturally submissive to monarchies; the colder climates were the polar opposite, producing instead hardy, warlike peoples, resistant to any sort of political domination. Though the Greek ethnographical writings themselves, at least prior to the reintroduction of Aristotle, had minimal direct impact on the Latin Middle Ages, these ideas permeated the Latin literature of the Roman empire though late antiquity.<sup>130</sup> Vitruvius provides a particularly clear example of how this north-south distinction functioned: ‘those who are nearest the southern axis (*axem meridianum*), subjected to the course of the sun ... Because of the meagerness of their blood they are more timid in resisting military attack ... Bodies born in the north (*septentrione*) ... because of their abundant blood they resist military attack without fear.’<sup>131</sup> Similarly, northerners are normally presented as not only fierce and barbarous but also as pagan or gentile.<sup>132</sup> Orderic uses ‘barbarian’ and ‘pagan’ liberally as terms of alterity throughout his history, particularly in reference to traditionally northern peoples like the Huns and Goths, but also the ‘Saracens’ and peoples of the Holy Land as well as the peoples on the boundaries of England, like the Welsh and Scots.<sup>133</sup> There is some overlap in the presentation of broadly amalgamated eastern peoples (‘Saracens’/Turks/Persians) and northern peoples, however this is not systematic for Orderic in the way it is for Sigebert. On this point, Orderic notes Sigebert as an author who gives particularly useful treatment of ‘barbarian’ peoples, noting specifically his treatment of the Goths,

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<sup>130</sup> For a basic outline see Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, 45-57, esp. 45-7; more generally see Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, ch. 1.

<sup>131</sup> Vitruvius, *De architectura* 6.1.4 (trans. Ingrid D. Rowland, *Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 76); cf. Lucan, 1.450-60. ‘qui autem sunt proximi ad axem meridianum subiectique solis cursui ... propter sanguinis exiguam timidores sunt ferro resistere ... corpora quae nascuntur sub septentrione ... sanguinis autem abundantia ferro resistunt sine timore’.

<sup>132</sup> Eg. portrayals of the Scythians in Orosius, 1.4.2 (Fear, 51); cf. Merrills, *History and Geography*, 56. The omnipresence of this idea is seen in Col 3:11: ‘Where there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free. But Christ is all, and in all.’ On the association of barbarians and pagans see Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 187-200.

<sup>133</sup> OV, 3.-, 4.-; 4.-, 7.12; 3.-, 9.17, 11.26; 8.3, 13.37 (Chibnall, 2:188-9, 276-7 [Huns and Goths]; 2:276-7, 4:56-7 [Turks]; 2:56-7, 5:180-1, 6:114-15 [‘Saracens’, etc.]; 4:138-9, 144-5, 6:518-19 [Welsh and Scots])

Huns, and Persians.<sup>134</sup> However, for Orderic, the group most frequently cited as barbarous is the Danes, whose portrayal is closely linked with that of the Normans.<sup>135</sup>

The Danes serve as the archetypical northern people in the first half of the *History*. Their link with the north is explicitly noted on a number of occasions, most clearly in Orderic's account of Swein usurping the kingship from Æthelred the Unready in book four. Orderic notes that 'in the time of Ethelred son of Edgar a terrible storm swept on the English from the north (*aquilone*), to winnow the wheat where numerous tares abounded.'<sup>136</sup> With this the 'fierce idolator Swein, king of the Danes' descended like a 'mighty whirlwind' on the unsuspecting English, driving Æthelred to Normandy. Were this not enough, they also burnt down Canterbury, martyred St Ælfheath and, as will be relevant later, they destroyed the books there.<sup>137</sup> Orderic concludes: 'the Christian flock everywhere suffered in the storms, and falling a helpless prey to heathen wolves was cruelly torn to pieces by them.'<sup>138</sup> We see here a classical use of the north as the locus of God's punishment. This is made entirely explicit here through a number of biblical allusions. There is the direct allusion to the winnowing of the wheat, a biblical analogy for God's judgement.<sup>139</sup> More broadly, there is also the relationship of storm imagery with the invasion of a northern people, in this case through the metaphor of *turbo* and *tempestas*.<sup>140</sup> And, importantly for Orderic's history more broadly, they are likewise associated with wolves, one of Orderic's favourite metaphors for violence and treachery.<sup>141</sup> Although Orderic prefers the language of barbarism and paganism for the Danes, we can see how

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<sup>134</sup> OV, 3.- (Chibnall, 2:188-9).

<sup>135</sup> OV 4.-, 6.9, 10 (Chibnall, 2:208-9, 244-5, 340-1, 3:282-3, 302-5)

<sup>136</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:244-5). 'ad expurgandum triticum ubi exuberantia zizaniorum nimis multiplicata est, iterum sub Egelredo rege filio Edgari grauissima tempestas ab aquilone Anglis oborta est.'

<sup>137</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:244-5). 'uesanus ydolatra Suenus rex Danorum'.

<sup>138</sup> OV, 3.- (Chibnall, 2:244-7). 'Grex quoque fidelium per diuersa tot procellis agitatus est, et luporum dentibus patens uariis modis horribiliter dilanitus est.'

<sup>139</sup> Ps 1:4, Mt 3:12, Lk 3:17. There is perhaps a relationship here to the idea of divine wrath on the English, as in HH, 1.4, 5.prol. (Greenway, 272-5).

<sup>140</sup> Childs, 'Enemy', 191; cf. Ez 1:4 (*Glossa* 3:184r (371)).

<sup>141</sup> Albu, *Normans*, 205-9.

ideas of northernness fit into this broader context of an inherited vocabulary for dealing with peoples geographically dislocated from the ‘centre’.<sup>142</sup>

The Danes have a more specific function in Orderic’s history, as a point of comparison by which to assert the ‘civility’ of the Normans against the barbarism of their northern origin. Orderic is consistently concerned with the Normans’ own barbarism, a trait that is intrinsically related to their place of origin. This point is noted explicitly on a number of occasions, but it is seen most clearly in the discussion of the origin of the Norman *gens*. This origin story is notably set within book nine, itself devoted to the First Crusade. After the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Clermont, Orderic discusses the lack of peace within the Church among the Normans, particularly decrying ‘a great stirring of evil throughout the land’.<sup>143</sup> This leads to an excursus on the Normans’ untamed nature, a product of their northern origin. It begins with a supposed Scythian origin for the Trojans and the story of Antenor’s journey to settle on the shore of the northern (*boreali*) ocean, from whose son Danus the Danes would take their name.<sup>144</sup> In this way, Orderic establishes not only the northern and Trojan origin of the Danes and Normans, but through Antenor he links them with the Franks as well. The intersection of these ideas is reinforced in book four where he has Antenor settle in Denmark (*Dacia*), not Pannonia as in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the original source of this myth.<sup>145</sup> He explains how they were ‘always a cruel and warlike *gens*’, contrasting this with their ultimate, if late, acceptance of Christ, before finally noting that Rollo and the Normans, who ultimately conquer Neustria to found Normandy, are of this race (*genus*).<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> OV, 4.-, 6.9, 10 (Chibnall, 2:208-9, 340-1, 3:282-3, 302-5).

<sup>143</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-5). ‘discolis per totam regionem grandis’.

<sup>144</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-5); cf. Hingst, *Written World*, 26-7, 161n42.

<sup>145</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:274-5); *Liber historiae Francorum* 1 (MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, 241-2); cf. Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 300).

<sup>146</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24; trans. mine). ‘gens crudelis semper et bellicosa’.

Orderic takes this description of the origin of the Normans from the warlike Danes as an opportunity to reinforce his point through an excursus on the nature of the Norman *gens* itself. He explains the nature of the Normans on the basis of an etymology of their name ‘*Normannus*’.

For in the English language ‘*aquilo*’ means ‘north’ and ‘*homo*’, ‘man’; Norman therefore means “man of the north”, and his bold roughness (*austeritas*) has proved deadly to his softer neighbours as the bitter north wind (*aquilo*) to young flowers. For up to now natural ferocity and love of fighting for its own sake have existed together in the same race...<sup>147</sup>

Here we see an explicit association of the northern origin of the Normans, and the Danes for the matter, with specifically ‘racial’ characteristics. He clearly paraphrases the characteristics of the Danes in the Normans themselves with *crudelis* and *feritas* as well as *bellicosa* and *ardor preliandi*. That this is a particularly ethnographic characterisation is further confirmed in book ten, when Orderic uses precisely the same language to describe the Gothic nature of Bernard of Valence: ‘he came to be hated because of his avarice and his great severity (*austerus*), arising from the natural ferocity (*feritate*) of the Gothic race from which he was sprung.’<sup>148</sup> The pertinent ethnographic context here is given in Isidore’s *Etymologies*. In a very similar way, Isidore describes how the Germanic nations (*Germanicae gentes*) receive not only their great stature and savagery from the harsh cold (*saevissimis ... frigoribus*), but likewise ‘they took their behavior from that same severity (*rigore*) of climate – fiercely courageous and ever indomitable’.<sup>149</sup> Isidore’s ethnography likewise explains the connection that Orderic implies between the Goths and Normans. Isidore links his description of the Goths to the Dacians with a quotation from Lucan: ‘let here a Dacian press forward, there a Getan rush at the Iberians.’<sup>150</sup> This allows him to infer that ‘the Dacians were

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<sup>147</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-7); more generally see *infra* ch 4. ‘North enim anglice aquilo, man uero dicitur homo. Normannus igitur aquilonalis homo interpretatur, cuius audax austeritas delicatis affinibus ut gelidus aquilo teneris floribus nomis infesta comprobatur. Nam in eadem adhuc gente naturalis feritas coalescit, et genuinus ardor preliandi seuit...’

<sup>148</sup> OV, 10.24 (Chibnall, 5:356-7). ‘factus est odibilis quia auarus, et ex naturali feritate gentis Gothorum unde processerat nimis austerus.’

<sup>149</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 9.2.97 (Barney et al., 197). ‘qui mores ex ipso caeli rigore traxerunt, ferocis animi et semper indomiti’.

<sup>150</sup> Lucan, 2.54 (trans. as in Barney et al., 197). ‘Hinc Dacus premat inde Getes occurrat Iberis.’

offshoots of the Goths, and people think they were called Dacians (*Dacus*) as if the word were *Dagus*, because they descend ‘from the stock of the Goths’ (*de Gothorum stirpe*).<sup>151</sup> Given Orderic’s acceptance of Dudo’s conflation of Dania and Dacia, we can read Isidore’s commentary in this light.

Remaining with the etymology for just a bit longer, Orderic’s choice of words hints at a further quite specific reference. The characteristic immediately associated with the man of the north is *austeritas*. This is translated by Chibnall as ‘roughness’, though it may better translated as harshness or severity, as of a ruler or the weather, or even cruelty.<sup>152</sup> The term itself is unusual in histories, more often appearing in religious writing, with no references in Henry of Huntington, Geoffrey of Monmouth or Bede’s *Historia*. The only exception among Anglo-Norman historians of the early-twelfth century is William of Malmesbury, who uses it once in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* for the harshness of fate, as well as a few times between the *Historia novella* and *Gesta potificum*.<sup>153</sup> Among commentators on Orderic, only Albu picks up on the opposition of *austeritas* and *aquilo*, suggesting that *austeritas* may be a pun on *auster*, the south wind.<sup>154</sup> Beyond a slightly clever pun, Albu is right to draw our attention to this particular association, as *austeritas* is an unusual pairing with *aquilo*. Although the north wind is frequently described as harsh, this is most often done with adjectives like *durus* (especially Jerome’s oft-repeated ‘*aquilo uentus durissimus*’), *saevus*, or even *asper*, each of which furnishes an equally suitable noun.<sup>155</sup> But the use of *austeritas*

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<sup>151</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 9.2.90 (Barney et al., 197). ‘Daci autem Gothorum soboles fuerunt, et dictos putant Dacos, quasi Dagos, quia de Gothorum stirpe creati sunt.’

<sup>152</sup> *DMLBS* s.v. *austeritas*; as describing wind cf. Alain of Lille, *De planctu naturae* prosa 8 (ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. 19, no. 2 (1978): 833).

<sup>153</sup> WM, *GR* 1.10.1 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 30-1).

<sup>154</sup> Albu, *Normans*, 194.

<sup>155</sup> **Durus**: Origen., in *Num. homiliae* 1.3 (Baehrens, 7); Jerome, *In Is.* 6.14.31-2 (CCSL 73, 253); Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* 9.prol (PL 111, 261B). **Durissimus**: Jerome, *Tractatus in Ps.* 106.3 (CCSL 78, 197); Jerome, *In Zac.* 1.2.6/9 (CCSL 76A, 766); Jerome, *in Is.* 6.14.13-14 (CCSL 73, 241); Jer., *in Hier.* 6 (CCSL 74, 301). **Saevus**: Propertius, *Elegiae* 3.7; Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 658 (CSEL 61, 108); Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae* 1.ca6 (CCSL 94, 14). **Asper**: Virgil, *Aeneidos* 3.285; Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 29.31.73 (CCSL 143B, 1485; Rivington and Rivington, 3.1:354); Hildegard, *Liber diuinorum operum* 1.4.96 (CCCM 92, 25). ‘the north wind is the harshest wind’.

in conjunction with aquilo is not entirely unprecedented, and there is at least one very important example in Bede's influential commentary on the Song of Songs.<sup>156</sup>

Bede deviates from the standard interpretation of Song of Songs 4:16, according to which the north wind is the devil being driven out by the Holy Spirit as the south wind.<sup>157</sup> Instead, he reinterprets the north and the south wind as two different trials that the church must face; the north is the terrifying harshness of the world (*austeritas mundi terrentis*) and the south is its deceitful charms (*blanditia fallentis*). Bede interprets these trials as the sinfulness of man that God permits, providing the example of Pharaoh's hardened heart in the Exodus story, and the holy men who are buffeted by these hardships as those who spread the garden's fragrance.<sup>158</sup> These ideas of *austeritas* and *blanditia/blandimentum* are both used elsewhere in a similar fashion by Orderic to highlight the moral disposition of different figures.<sup>159</sup> We have already seen the example of Bernard of Valence, but Peter the Venerable likewise strays into excessive *austeritas*, trying to outdo the Cistercian novelties, in book thirteen.<sup>160</sup> On the other hand, *blanditia* causes the decline of the late Carolingians who, 'yielding to the temptations of the world', fell into vice after the reign of Louis the Pious and were ultimately defeated by the Danes.<sup>161</sup> What is more, we can be nearly certain that Orderic had read this work as not only do we know that Saint-Evroult had a copy of Bede's commentary in the early-twelfth century, but it is listed on a booklist that begins in Orderic's

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<sup>156</sup> Bede, *In Cantica canticorum* 3.4 (CCSL 119B, 270-1); cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam*, s.v. aquilo (PL 112, 860A-B); Rupert of Deutz, *In Zach.* 2.6 (PL 168, 740D). On Bede's commentary and its influence see Matter, *Voice*, 97-101 and Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 123, esp. n27.

<sup>157</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 117-28; eg. Robert of Tombelaine (PL 79, 516A-B) (see. Matter, *Voice*, 206), whose commentary Orderic mentions (OV, 8.1 (Chibnall, 4:116-17)).

<sup>158</sup> Bede, *In Cantica canticorum* 3.4 (CCSL 119B, 270-1; Holder, 138-9).

<sup>159</sup> On morality and history-writing see generally Sønnesyn, *William*; on Orderic, see Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, 'Studiosi abdita investigant': Orderic Vitalis and the Mystical Morals of History', in Rozier et al., *Orderic Vitalis*, 284-97.

<sup>160</sup> OV, 13.13 (Chibnall, 6:426-7).

<sup>161</sup> OV, 3.-; cf. 5.19 (Chibnall, 2:4-7; cf. 3:192-3). 'mundique blandimentis succumbens'.

hand.<sup>162</sup> There is, therefore, a further level to Orderic's use of the north through reference to Bede's description of the north as a particular source of violent, worldly persecution against the Church through which God achieves his end.

Returning once more to the Danes, the activity of early Normans, in the period of Rollo, is equally associated with Danish violence. In the invasions of the Carolingian Empire in the late-ninth century, for example, Orderic notes that, during the quarrel between Lothair and Louis the Pious, 'then, for the first time, the Normans ravaged Brittany and other lands.'<sup>163</sup> And again, after the division of the kingdom between Louis, Lothair and Charles the Bald, they sack Rouen. Soon after, Rollo appears and ravages Neustria to such an extent that Charles the Simple is forced to cede it to him, which is, as Orderic will go on to discuss in book nine, the origins of Normandy.<sup>164</sup> Of note here is the fact that Orderic is already referring to these invaders as *Normanni* prior to the emergence of Rollo, creating a unclear continuity between Danes and Normans in this early period.

This function of Danes and the early Normans as northern peoples is further highlighted in the original destruction of Évroul. There is an interesting ambiguity in Orderic's treatment of this event, for, as Chibnall notes, while Orderic suggests initially that the decimation of Ouche is a result of the Danes he goes on to explain how it was carried out by Hugh the Great, duke of Orleans.<sup>165</sup> Chibnall suggests that the initial inconsistency was 'probably a slip of the pen' and subsequently with Ascelic's speech about the destruction of Évroul she suggests that Orderic changed his views on the matter due to further research between his interpolations in William of Jumièges and the

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<sup>162</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 10062, 80v; Henri Omont, ed., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 2, *Rouen*, 468; Charles C. Rozier, 'Orderic Vitalis as Librarian and Cantor of Saint-Évroul', in *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Rozier et al., 65-6 and Jenny Weston and Charles C. Rozier, 'Appendix 2: Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Featuring the Hand of Orderic Vitalis', in *Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Rozier et al., 391. Bede's commentary is no. 65, and though the list also notes (no. 38) 'Bernardus abbas super Cantica canticorum', a work not published until after Orderic's death, it is a later addition to the MS.

<sup>163</sup> OV, 5.9 (Chibnall, 3:76-7). I have adapted the translation since Chibnall translates 'Normanni' as 'Northmen', which obscures the continuity between this invasion and those of Rollo one page later. 'Tunc primitus Normanni Britanniam et alias terras uastauerunt'.

<sup>164</sup> OV, 5.9, 9.3 (Chibnall, 3:78-9, 5:24-5).

<sup>165</sup> OV, 6.9, 10 (Chibnall, 3:276-7, 308-17).

*Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>166</sup> However, it seems implausible to suggest that this is merely a slip of the pen, for Orderic consistently frames the issue around the Danes. First, he prefaces his discussion of Évroul's destruction with a discussion of early Norman history and its historians, noting initially the devastation of monasteries by 'pirates [who] came out of Denmark ... lead first by Hasting and then Rollo'.<sup>167</sup> Secondly, the immediate context of the events is the death of William Longsword and the power struggle that emerged as a result. King Louis is embroiled in this power struggle and, according to Orderic, attempts to usurp Normandy by establishing Hugh the Great. Bernard the Dane, the regent in Normandy, cunningly convinces the king to turn on Hugh, whose underlings sack Évroul in response.<sup>168</sup> Of note here first is the negative portrayal of Bernard in this instigation of Louis. In the crucial context he is described as tricking the king through *blandis sophismatibus* and as *uersipellis*.<sup>169</sup> Once again, *blandis* is Bede's *blanditia*, connoting specifically evil temptations.<sup>170</sup> *Versipellis* is a term for sly or cunning, from changing shape, that is likewise especially associated with devil's work.<sup>171</sup> The only other characters in this story who receive a comparably negative portrayal are Herluin the chancellor and Ralph of Drachy, who are together, for Orderic, the Babylonians sacking the temple of Évroul.<sup>172</sup> Thirdly, in Ascelin's speech after the fact, even though he explains that the Franks have served as God's judgement on them, this judgement, and the speech itself, is framed around the destruction of Normandy by the Danes and early Normans, which is the archetypical case of divine judgement against which these present

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<sup>166</sup> Chibnall in OV, 3:277n, 326n.

<sup>167</sup> OV, 6.10 (Chibnall, 3:302-3). 'piratae [qui] de Dacia egressi sunt ... prius Hastingo ductore ac postmodum Rollone'.

<sup>168</sup> OV, 6.10 (Chibnall, 3:306-17).

<sup>169</sup> OV, 6.10 (Chibnall, 3:310-12).

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Pr 6:23-4: 'quia mandatum lucerna est et lex lux et via vitae increpatio disciplinae ut custodiant te a muliere mala et a blanda lingua extraneae'; and the gloss on Sg 4:16: 'In aquilone mundi adversa, in austro blandimenta intellige, quia gemina expugnatione probatur ecclesia.' (*Glossa* 3:33r (69).)

<sup>171</sup> *DMLBS* s.v. versipellis 1; cf. its one use in the Vulgate, Pr 14:25: 'liberat animas testis fidelis et profert mendacia versipellis'.

<sup>172</sup> OV, 6.10 (Chibnall, 3:316-17).

calamities can be compared.<sup>173</sup> So, although Orderic singles out particular Franks, the overall picture is contextualised in terms of God's punishment through the Danes, not the Franks. Furthermore, it is through the Danes that this chaotic element exploits such a weakness of kingship in Christendom.

Returning to Chibnall's second suggestion, it is worth considering a certain coherence within the account found in Orderic's interpolation of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*. The story presented in the *Gesta* is an almost completely typical account of the judgemental function of barbarian peoples. In the fictive speech of William, son of Giroie, he describes the destruction of Èvroul specifically in terms of the Danes functioning as agents of God's judgement: 'our Creator wished to punish the manifold crimes of his people living in that country. With his permission Hasting, that son of perdition, came to Neustria and [*inter alia* destroyed Èvroul]'.<sup>174</sup> Hasting's function here as an agent of divine punishment is doubly reinforced by his description as *filius perditionis*, itself a crucial description of the Antichrist.<sup>175</sup> Given the already noted framing of the event in the *Ecclesiastical History*, we can reasonably question whether Orderic really changed his mind. Rather, he seems to have consistently wished to view the events around the destruction of Èvroul in the context of God's judgement on Neustria through the Danes and early Normans. This does not mean that there is necessarily an overall coherence to the statements of Orderic on this point. But the narrative expectations for the role of the northern barbarians, which creep into Orderic's interpretation of the events, at least partially explain the ease with which such an apparent contradiction may not have seemed so obviously contradictory to the twelfth-century author. As

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<sup>173</sup> OV, 6.10 (Chibnall, 3:326-7).

<sup>174</sup> *Gesta Normannorum ducum* 7.(23) (ed. and trans. Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992-5), 2:138-9) [hereafter *GND*]. 'Conditor noster multiplicata plebis sue in his partibus consistentis crimina punire uoluit. Eius igitur permissu Hastingus, perditionis filius, in Neustriam venit, et [destruxit *inter alia* coenobium Ebrulfi]'

<sup>175</sup> 2 Th 2:3: 'ne quis vos seducat ullo modo quoniam nisi venerit discessio primum et revelatus fuerit homo peccati filius perditionis'; cf. *Glossa* 4:1121v (408): 'diaboli qui perdidit homines, vel quod ipse perdendus et alios perdens' and 'Filius perditionis. Antichristus non per naturam, sed per imitationem'.

such, there is a certain, perhaps implicit, reasonableness or sensibility to Orderic's discussion of the destruction as enacted by both the Danes and the Franks.

But Orderic's history is not about the Danes, it is about the Normans, and how, from the time of William of Conqueror, they became a people no longer devoted to war but to books.<sup>176</sup> Yet this transition is not completely about learning, nor is it unrelated to their relationship to the Danes. Rather, this shift is about drawing the Normans into the body of Christendom. Returning once more to the story of Swein, who drove Æthelred to Normandy and destroyed Canterbury with its books, we can see how the Danes are likewise central to the cultural revival of the Conquest. After telling this story, Orderic explains that he has made this digression into early annals 'so that the patient reader may clearly understand why the Normans found the English a rustic and nearly illiterate people'.<sup>177</sup> For although the English were once a learned and religious people, instructed in 'the best customs' by Pope Gregory, 'when the Danes ... had long raged through England, showing no respect for things divine or human, the law of God began to be shamelessly disregarded'.<sup>178</sup> (Once again, one of the two trials the church will face.) Orderic concludes that it was not until the Normans came that canonical discipline was restored to England. This point provides a transition into a discussion of Norman learning. Orderic describes the rise of Bec as an educational centre under Lanfranc and concludes when Lanfranc 'was by God's will sent to instruct the English' as Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>179</sup> Thus the idea of northern peoples, here the Danes, provides a conceptual vocabulary around which to frame the activities of the Normans in history. It is against the shadow of unruly tyrants from Denmark and Norway that Norman rule in England is cast as just and reformative.

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<sup>176</sup> OV, 3.- (Chibnall, 2:2-3).

<sup>177</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:246-7); cf. Shopkow, *History*, 100n8. 'ut causa manifeste pateat studioso lectori, cur Anglos agrestes et pene illiteratos inuenerint Normanni'.

<sup>178</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:246-7). 'optimis institutionibus'; 'dum Daci ... diuino et humano metu carentes per Angliam diu debachati sunt, innumerae contra Dei legem praeuaricationes temere patratae sunt.'

<sup>179</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:254-5). 'diuinitus Anglis institutor datus est'.

There is also a deeper ecclesiastical and monastic context here, particularly read in the context of the trials and flowering of the Church in Song of Songs, that extends beyond merely the rustication of the English in preparation for the Norman renovation. The entire excursus is originally framed around William the Conqueror's love for true religion 'on which the peace and prosperity of the world depend.'<sup>180</sup> He defends church property, opposes the 'heresy of simony', and appoints virtuous abbots to the monasteries of England to restore monastic discipline.<sup>181</sup> This description of William serves to launch Orderic on his story of English monasticism. It begins with Augustine and Laurence who founded many great monasteries that prospered for 200 years, through the reign of numerous kings. It ends when Edmund and two other English kings are martyred by the heathen Danes, who burnt monasteries and churches, and slaughtered the people of God like sheep. Religion was again renewed under king Alfred, at which time Oswald traveled to Fleury to adopt the monastic life at the site of St Benedict's relics, before returning to England to found Glastonbury and Abingdon.<sup>182</sup> Orderic therefore prefaces Swein's invasion by noting that:

So the monastic order was reformed in England; and in many houses a noble army of monks was armed with the power of virtue against Satan and taught to fight unremittingly in the Lord's battles until they should win a glorious victory. But after some years in the time of Ethelred son of Edgar **once again** a terrible storm swept on the English from the north, to winnow the wheat where numerous tares abounded.<sup>183</sup>

Orderic highlights the function of monks specifically in standing against Satan and the north, a point which we can compare with Frutolf of Michelsberg's description of his own abbey as a refuge against the 'cold winds of him who set his seat in the north, whence all evil breaks forth'.<sup>184</sup> Thus,

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<sup>180</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:238-9). 'cui pax interdum et prosperitas mundi famulatur'.

<sup>181</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:238-9). 'Simoniacam heresim'.

<sup>182</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:240-5).

<sup>183</sup> OV, 4.- (Chibnall, 2:244-5). I have added the bolded words, since Chibnall's translation omits the important '*iterum*'. 'Sic in Anglia monasticus ordo renouatus est, et in multis coenobiis gloriosum agmen monachorum contra Sathanam uritutum armis munitum est, et perseueranter dimicare in praelio Domini donec uictoria potiatur nobiliter edoctum est. Verum post aliquot tempus ad expurgandum triticum ubi exuberantia zizaniorum nimis multiplicata est, **iterum** sub Egelredo rege filio Edgari grauissima tempestas ab aquilone Anglis oborta est.'

<sup>184</sup> Frutolf, *Chron.* 1001 (MGH SS 6, 192; trans. mine, cf. translation by T. J. H. McCarthey, *Chronicles of the Investiture Contest: Frutolf of Michelsberg and his Continuers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 86). 'contra refrigerantes flatus illius, qui in aquilone, unde malum omne pandetur, sedem ponere disposuit'.

not only is Orderic establishing the rusticity of the English through the story, but also tying it into a broader pattern of the church's persecution by northern peoples and its renovation through just kings and saints. This also serves to tie the Normans into a particular cycle of English kingship with William set directly alongside Alfred the Great.

There is more to Orderic's account than kingship and learning, for as much as he opposes the violent nature of the Normans, this too is reformed through crusading. As Shopkow notes the First Crusade is, for Orderic, a moment of moral clarity.<sup>185</sup> This is made clear in the grammatical opposition of temporal disorder and divine providence in the opening sentence of book nine, itself devoted to the First Crusade: 'vicissitudines temporum et rerum aeternus conditor sapienter salubriterque ordinet'.<sup>186</sup> So also, Orderic frames the Crusade around his concerns about violence within Christendom. He begins this book with an invocation of the great troubles throughout the world in 1094, stressing particularly their violent and evil nature. Similarly, he notes the council of Piacenza that year, in the context of the investiture contest, underlining its intention to restore peace to the Church.<sup>187</sup> After an account of the council of Clermont, in the subsequent council of Norman bishops at Rouen, the problem of violence and peace is again re-emphasised by reordering the canons and their relative significance. Where the canons of Clermont are more concerned with reformist interests like investiture and clerical practice, the first half of the council of Rouen is taken up with discussion of the Truce of God, itself only briefly noted at Clermont. But Orderic concludes that this council was 'almost without effect', whence his discussion of the unrest within Normandy follows.<sup>188</sup> It is no coincidence, therefore, that this is the context for Orderic's discussion of the etymology of *Normannus* as 'man of the north' – it explains their violent behaviour. It also

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<sup>185</sup> Shopkow, *History*, 104.

<sup>186</sup> OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4-5). 'The eternal Creator wisely and providently ordains seasonal and historical change'.

<sup>187</sup> OV, 9.2 (Chibnall, 5:8-9).

<sup>188</sup> OV, 9.2, 3 (Chibnall, 5:10-15, 20-5). 'pene irrita fuerunt.'

provides a broader context for the book, since it is through the Crusade that Orderic Christianises their violent nature.

Through his account of the First Crusade, drawn largely from Baudri of Bourgueil, the role of the Normans, and particularly Bohemond, is consistently emphasised.<sup>189</sup> This is perhaps unsurprising, given that Baudri's account is based on the *Gesta Francorum*, itself written by a follower of Bohemond.<sup>190</sup> However, Orderic's descriptions of Bohemond in relation to Crusading in other books is consistent not only with this presentation of him as a figure, but also with the meritorious function of violence in support of Christendom. Bohemond is a recurrent figure from book five to twelve. His prominence in Orderic's mind can perhaps be seen in the fact that Orderic, perhaps unwittingly, repeats the story of Bohemond's arrival in France in 1106 and subsequent marriage to Constance, daughter of Philip I of France, three times! Twice this event is predicated by a comet appearing in the west (*occiduis/Hesperiae*), with the last account noting its tail trailing towards the east (*eoas*). Similarly his renown from the Crusade is noted in each case, with the last case noting his fame 'in the furthest corners of the world' and acclaim across 'the three continents'.<sup>191</sup> On his relevance to Christianised violence, we can compare Orderic's criticism of Bohemond to his praise. Though he is at least implicitly critical of Bohemond for his involvement in 'worse than civil wars' through Italy, Orderic's stronger criticism pertains to his lust for plunder, notably in his abortive campaign against Durazzo.<sup>192</sup> This point is made through Bohemond's companions who complain that: 'no hereditary right drew us to this bold enterprise; no prophet sent

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<sup>189</sup> Eg. OV, 9.8-9. (Chibnall, 5:58-61, 62-3, 70-5.)

<sup>190</sup> Rosalind Hill in *Gesta Francorum* (ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill, *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962)), xi. [hereafter *GF*]

<sup>191</sup> OV, 5.19, 8.20, 11.12 (Chibnall, 3:182-3, 4:264-5, 6:68-73, at 6:70-1). 'per totum mundum ... in tripartito climate'.

<sup>192</sup> OV, 8.8 (Chibnall, 4:168-9); Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, 127-8. Chibnall seems to imply a deep criticism of Bohemond by Orderic through the last three books, although equivalently we should keep in mind the rhetorical function of combining criticism and praise. (Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 165-6.) 'plus quam ciuilia bella'.

from God roused us with a message from heaven; only lust to rule in the dominions of another'.<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless, in the context of crusading, he is presented as the standard-bearer of the Christian army and his release from captivity is described as being properly for the defence of Christendom (*Christianitas*).<sup>194</sup> Through this example we see how the Norman's violent, 'northern' nature is ordered within the Christian world and turned to the greater benefit of Christianity.

For Orderic, the northern peoples play the opposite role as they did for Sigebert and Romuald. Where for the latter two the north was in some sense external to their point of reference, as the *regna* against Rome, and the Germans against Lombardy, for Orderic the north is in the first place internal to his point of reference. For Sigebert, the north serves as an explanatory device in relation to his subject: the role of empire. For Orderic, it serves, in the first instance, as a problem his history has set itself the job of solving, namely, how the barbaric Normans could be distinguished from their point of origin. We see again a difference in the way that the north is conceived of as an explanatory device for Orderic. His notions fall more clearly in line with classical notions of geographic determinism, although he does not explicitly describe it as such, in that the violent activities of the Normans is explained by their origins in the north. There is also a biblical background to this notion, for the Danes serve as an instrument of God's punishment. This is perhaps in keeping with Mègier's suggestion that Orderic uses both the biblical and classical side-by-side specifically as historical *exempla*, giving meaning to particular events, rather than as prophetic or allegorical explanations of history more broadly.<sup>195</sup> As such, in Orderic we see a clear

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<sup>193</sup> OV, 11.24 (Chibnall, 6:102-3); cf. Orderic's description of Normans: 'they strive to rule and often become enemies to truth and loyalty through the ardour of their ambition.' (OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-5).) 'Ad tantos ausus nec hereditarium ius nos illexit, nec prophetarum aliquis a Deo destinatus coelesti nos oraculo exciuit, sed cupiditas in alterius dicione dominandi ardua te incipere persuasit'.

<sup>194</sup> OV, 8.20, 10.24 (Chibnall, 4:265, 5:355); on *Christianitas* see *infra* ch. 4 and Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu: Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006), 196-203.

<sup>195</sup> Elizabeth Mègier, 'Divina pagina and the Narration of History in Orderic Vitalis' *Historia ecclesiastica*, in *Christliche Weltgeschichte im 12. Jahrhundert: Themen, Variationen und Kontraste; Untersuchung zu Hugo von Fleury, Ordericus Vitalis und Otto von Freising* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 291-7.

example of the synthesis of the classical and the biblical at work. They are drawn upon together not so much as competing traditions but as equivalent expositions of the same truth about the world.

### *Conclusion*

At this point we can start to make some general remarks about narrative function of the cardinal points, particularly the north, across these three authors. Though they serve quite different historical agendas, the same pattern of northern peoples emerges through the histories of Sigebert, Romuald and Orderic Vitalis. Each presents it as a source of chaos and frequently also as a locus of God's judgement. For Sigebert this is understood as a positive historical device, used specifically and repeatedly to identify God's activity within the world, both in punishing the sins of his people and providing opposition for them to overcome. This serves to highlight God's activity throughout history, casting a spotlight on the Roman Empire's struggle for eschatological universality. Romuald likewise identifies chaotic northernness as a means of underlining certain themes through his work, albeit in a less systematic manner than for Sigebert. Though both build upon Paul the Deacon's presentation of Attila's invasion of Italy, for Sigebert this becomes an explicit tool for understanding God's activity in history, while for Romuald it serves more to transition to a narrative of the Lombards and Franks through the Carolingian period. However, for Romuald this chaos does not point to an overall pattern, but instead looks towards the establishment of the Lombard kingdom in Italy and a picture of the right relationship between Italy and empire through the Carolingians. The north reemerges for Romuald in the contemporary section of the *Chronicle* where, through heavenly signs, it is used to underscore a breakdown of the previous order. Finally, for Orderic, the north is not so much a principle as a problem to overcome, as he must justify the activity of the (admittedly northern) Normans within the context of Christian society.

These tropes create certain narrative expectations for the way history is supposed to play out. In each case the chaotic north is overcome in some way. For Orderic this poses a clear problem:

how could the savage Normans distinguish themselves (or indeed not) from the tyrannical Danes in their rulership of England. Romuald also turns this northernness to the advantage of his protagonists, the Italian Normans. He does so first through the prefiguration of the Normans in the Lombards, who themselves emerged from the north and came legitimately to hold Italy. Secondly, he associates that the German Emperors with the north and thereby contrasts them with the positive relationship between the Normans and the Papacy. Finally for Sigebert, the northern peoples serve one of two positive purposes, either forming the foundation of Christendom through converting and establishing stable kingdoms or as a foil against which the rightly ordered empire can establish itself.

In all cases there are clearly similar narratives on display. The north serves these authors as a source of chaos against the right order of the Christian world, often framed in terms of God's punishment, and conversely as the place from which and against which the peoples of the Christendom emerge. That such disparate authors can intelligibly present these similar notions, often without much in the way of explanation, implies a shared cultural inheritance upon which all three authors are drawing. Though these ideas are found in both the classical and biblical traditions, it can be hard to say whether and to what extent they are being drawn upon from one or the other. On the authors' own accounts, Sigebert frames this presentation in terms of the Bible through Jeremiah, Romuald makes no explicit statement as to his sources for this tradition and Orderic gestures towards, *inter alia*, a geographical tradition through the proverbial analogy to the north wind. Therefore, it is not clear that we should conceive of this background as a unified entity or tradition, but as more of a set of familial resemblances emergent from a broader cultural, literary, and intellectual environment.

It may be more useful, having noted some general characteristics of the shared discourse, to instead consider why these authors have framed it in terms of particular traditions. Focusing on Orderic and Sigebert, there are some clear differences in purpose between the two authors that

explain why they position themselves within these different traditions. Sigebert is writing very clearly within the genre of universal history and his subject, empire, is obviously appropriate to that context. But what is more, his interest in writing seems clearly historical, he has done a great deal of work ironing out the minutiae of the dating of his chronicle, developing a synchronic list of *regna*, and indeed throughout his writing broadly he understands himself as falling in the tradition of Bede and especially Jerome.<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, in his introduction Sigebert establishes a specifically prophetic notion of Rome, declaring that he will say no more than the prophet Daniel.<sup>197</sup> Finally, empire is, by its nature, universal in scope. As such, it is natural for him to approach history from a theological perspective, attempting to frame it as a coherent whole. On the other hand, Orderic has a fairly idiosyncratic approach to his history. Though it is ultimately framed as a universal chronicle, running from the birth of Christ, it is just as much a national and institutional history, in many ways splitting the difference between these genres. Similarly, though Orderic apparently sees many similarities between contemporary events and biblical stories, he famously sets aside ‘allegorical interpretations and explanations appropriate to human customs’.<sup>198</sup> Orderic’s association here connects allegorical interpretation with subjects universal to human history as a whole, rather than to the interests of particular groups and institutions. It is the latter, through Christ’s daily activity through the church in Normandy, that is the subject of Orderic’s history.<sup>199</sup> It is appropriate, therefore, that Orderic draws upon a more classical, geographical tradition as a means of framing his national history.

The north is, therefore, a particularly useful case study for the way that different authors adapt their background to their particular contexts and particularly the way that history as a subject adapts to these contexts. Distinguishing the subject of history from the genre, we can note more

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<sup>196</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 101-4.

<sup>197</sup> Sig., *Chron.* intro. (MGH SS 6, 300).

<sup>198</sup> OV, 8.16 (Chibnall, 4:228-9). ‘allegoricas allegationes et idoneas humanis moribus interpretationes’.

<sup>199</sup> Megiér, ‘Jesus, a Protagonist’.

clearly the way that exegesis relates to history as a subject of study. As far as the authors are interested in history itself, we can see that ideas of north are drawn from different traditions as appropriate to the subject in question.<sup>200</sup> Sigebert draws upon a fairly traditional repertoire of exegetical and theological constructions in his history. But to do so, Sigebert takes on the active role of an exegete and indeed, his engagement is most directly with the Bible itself, rather than the exegetical tradition, which stands in the background. This is not just historical theology, in the sense of discerning a providential form for history as well as divine activity in history, but there is also a process of historical exegesis at work.<sup>201</sup> In his adaptation of Daniel and in his prophetic use of Jeremiah, Sigebert is acting as an exegete, using these texts not simply as an explanatory device, but at once performing a mutual interpretation of text and history. Where, for Orderic, although he makes use of biblical and exegetical language, and the conceptual forms that this implies, he is not properly speaking functioning as an exegete. Orderic uses these forms in the assessment of historical particulars, rather than the other way around like Sigebert.<sup>202</sup> Finally, Romuald makes no such pretence in the first instance. Insofar as the Bible is involved in his history it lies in the background. And although his interpretations of *signa* stands in a certain formal relationship with prophecy as a biblical concept, this can at most be read as a similarity at the broadest cultural level. The Bible certainly lies at the background of these authors' engagement with history and spatiality, but that relationship is neither monolithic nor static, but a product of their authorial activity and the complex of social forms within which it is constituted.

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<sup>200</sup> The idea of interest in 'history itself' here follows the taxonomy presented in Lars Boje Mortensen, 'The Glorious Past: Entertainment, Example or History? Levels of Twelfth-century Historical Culture', *Culture and History* 13 (1994): 57-71.

<sup>201</sup> On historical theology see Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 91-4.

<sup>202</sup> Megiér, '*Divina pagina*', 292-7.

## Chapter 4 – The Construction of Spatial Identities

Beyond its relevance to particular genres of literature, as the previous chapters have discussed, the use of the cardinal points cuts across the massive social and cultural upheaval that characterised the first half of the twelfth century. Western Europe was turning outwards in a decisive fashion. This period stands at a key axis in the double process of physical expansion – in the north, in Spain and in the Eastern Mediterranean – and the cultural interconnection that Bartlett describes as ‘the Europeanisation of Europe’.<sup>1</sup> This coincides with a growing awareness of Eastern Christianity and the place of Islam in the Mediterranean world that had been developing from the mid-eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> This expanding perception of the world, and the developing colonial structures of centre and periphery that came along with it, spurred the development not only of categories of alterity, as Bartlett emphasises, but also necessitated a renegotiation of already existing Carolingian ideas of space and identity.<sup>3</sup> This chapter will extend and complicate this idea of renegotiating late antique and Carolingian ideas of spatial identity through a series of case studies that highlight the changing spatial categories in the first half of the twelfth century. Focusing especially on the north and west as loci of self-identity, we will consider how the First Crusade, the idea of *translatio*, and the establishment of the Norman *gens* each involved a conscious and extended renegotiation of the idea of the north and west in a way that heralds, if only faintly, the opening of a new perception of Europe and its place within the world.

Though the study of identity has seen a renaissance over the last few decades, it has focused specifically on ethnic identity in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Other forms of identity

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<sup>1</sup> Bartlett, *Europe*; see also J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), ch. 2-3 and Thomas F. X. Noble and John van Engen, eds., *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London: Vintage, 2013), ch. 1, 6; Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West from the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), ch. 5; Gabriele, *Empire*, ch. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> Bartlett, *Europe*, 18-23; cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 169-75

have received less consistent treatment.<sup>4</sup> The standard account of Christian or European corporate identity in the Middle Ages had substantially settled by the late 1950s. But both Christendom and Europe have seen a revival in interest over the last two decades, particularly with the renewed focus on the ideological function of those two notions. The standard account of Christendom was most influentially developed in Rupp's still fundamental book on the subject, augmented during the late 1950s by the work of Ladner, van Laarhoven and Alphan  ry, which established the idea of *Christianitas* as a quasi-political corporation of Christian kingdoms under the Pope, following the Gregorian reform.<sup>5</sup> Although Geelhaar has recently undertaken a broader linguistic reconsideration of the use of the term *Christianitas*, the central features of this scholarship remain broadly accepted and work of the last two decades, particularly by Iogna-Prat and Berend, has focused largely on evaluating and extending the conceptual and geographical boundaries of Christendom, as well as, in the work of Nagy and Geelhaar, reevaluating its use in the Carolingian period.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, the study of medieval ideas of Europe is still essentially built around two books, both published in 1957, by Fischer and Hay, according to whom the idea gained political prominence under the Carolingians, but lost its relevance between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> Although there was some incremental scholarship since the 1950s, it has only been in the last decade or so that scholars

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<sup>4</sup> For two good examples, see Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) and Bartlett, *Europe*, ch. 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> Jean Rupp, *L'Id  e de Chr  tient   dans la pens  e pontificale des origines    Innocent III* (Paris: Les Presses modernes, 1939); Gerhart B. Ladner, 'The Concepts of *Ecclesia* and *Christianitas* and their Relation to the Idea of Papal *plenitudo potestatis* from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII', *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 18 (1954): 49-77; Jan van Laarhoven, 'Christianitas et la R  forme gr  gorienne', *Studi Gregoriani* 6 (1959-61): 1-98; Paul Alphan  ry, *La Chr  tient   et l'idee de Croisade*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Michel, 1954-9); and Paul Rousset, 'La notion de Chr  tient   aux XIe et XIIe si  cles', *Le Moyen   ge* 69 (1963): 191-203. For a brief overview of this scholarship see Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu*, 200-201.

<sup>6</sup> Tim Geelhaar, 'Talking about *christianitas* at the Time of Innocent III (1198-1216): What Does Word Use Contribute to the History of Concepts?', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 10, no. 2 (2015): 7-28; Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000-1150)* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002; 1st. ed. Paris: Aubier, 1998), 265-74.; Nora Berend, 'Defense de la Chr  tient   et naissance d'une identit  : Hongrie, Pologne et p  ninsule Ib  rique au Moyen   ge', *Annales* 58 (2003): 1009-27 and Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000- c. 1300* (Cambridge, 2001); Pirooska Nagy, 'La notion de Christianitas et la spatialisation du sacr   au Xe si  cle: un sermon d'Abbon de Saint-Germain', *M  di  vales* 49 (2005): 121-140; Tim Geelhaar, 'La *christianitas* carolingienne: une nouvelle "Chr  tient  "?' in *La Chr  tient   dans l'histoire: une notion mouvante*, ed. Nicole Lemaitre (Paris: Parole et silence, 2014), 29-45 and Tim Geelhaar, *Christianitas: Eine Wortgeschichte von der Sp  tantike bis zum Mittelalter* (G  ttingen, 2015). See also Bartlett, *Making*, 250-5; Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu*, 196-203, 394-8.

<sup>7</sup> Fischer, *Europa* and Hay, *Europe*. For a complete overview of the historiography see Oschema, *Bilder*, ch. 2.

(particularly Oschema) have attempted to rehabilitate the political and ideological relevance of Europe for the High Middle Ages.<sup>8</sup> Thus both Europe and Christendom have been increasingly drawn into a broader framework of intersecting Latin identities during the High Middle Ages that function in relation to one another on a number of levels.

Despite the revival of research into Europe and Christendom in the last two decades, study of the use of the ‘west’ as a language of supra-national identity has received no similar attention. This is puzzling given that its prominence as a language of self-identification is, ostensibly, at least as prevalent as the notion of Europe.<sup>9</sup> But with the exception of some work on medieval Orientalism, especially that of Akbari, research on this idea has been piecemeal, either concerning particular authors, or scattered throughout works devoted to different subjects.<sup>10</sup> Of note is the recent work by Rouxpetel, which shows how western authors constructed a notion of eastern Christianity in the later Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup> But despite the massive number of references to *Abendland*, *Okzident* and *Westen* in the index to Oschema’s *Bilder von Europa*, there is no detailed discussion of the relationship between the idea of Europe and the west. Fischer did directly address this relationship in 1957, suggesting that, as a language to identify the earthly city of God, Europe won out over *occidens* for the Carolingians due to the negative exegetical characteristics associated with the latter, but even here, the relationship is only briefly discussed.<sup>12</sup> This lack of research is partially

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<sup>8</sup> Karl Leyser, ‘Concepts of Europe in the Early and High Middle Ages’, *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 25-47 and Timothy Reuter, ‘Medieval Ideas of Europe and Modern Historians’, *History Workshop* 33 (1992): 176-80. Klaus Oschema, *Bilder*; cf. Baumgärtner and Kugler, *Europa im Weltbild*, esp. Gautier Dalché, ‘Représentations géographiques de l’Europe’, 63-80.

<sup>9</sup> For example, Oschema notes how, from the latter half of the twelfth century, the east-west dichotomy is one of the linguistic formula which supersedes Asia and Europe as a rubric for discussing the relationship of Europe and the Crusader States. (Oschema *Bilder*, 196 and Klaus Oschema ‘L’Idée d’Europe et les croisades (XIe-XVe siècle)’, in *Relations, échanges et transferts en Occident au cours des derniers siècles du Moyen Âge: Hommage à Werner Paravicini*, ed. Bernard Guenée and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2010), 83-6.)

<sup>10</sup> Eg. Ilse Schöndorfer, *Orient und Okzident nach den Hauptwerken des Jakob von Vitry* (Frankfurt aM: Peter Lang, 1997); Alphanéry, *Chrétienté*, 2:91-3, 178-80; Hay, *Europe*, 50-1; Oschema, *Bilder*, 187-191. Akbari, ‘Due East’; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, ‘Alexander in the Orient: Bodies and Boundaries in the *Roman de toute chevalerie*’, in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105-26; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, ch. 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> Rouxpetel, *L’Occident*.

<sup>12</sup> Fischer, *Europa*, 77-8.

explained by the ideological baggage of the modern concept, in particular of ‘Abendland’ in the German academy.<sup>13</sup> Yet it remains a notable lacuna in our understanding of the terminology of Latin self-identification in the Middle Ages. To evaluate this concept, it will be necessary to develop an account of medieval notions of the west, concretely based in contemporary terminology. As such, we will focus on particular appeals to *occidens* as a locus of supra-national identity and contextualise them within a broader intertextual network of references.

### *The West and the First Crusade*

Unlike Christendom, the west did not function as a central ideological construction for the Latin world at the turn of the twelfth century. Instead, like Europe, it was part of an auxiliary vocabulary of self-identification. As such, a significant challenge in studying the concept is finding a context that not only highlights its use, but that does so in sufficient instances across a variety of authors. The First Crusade offers just such a context for the history of the early-twelfth century, as it stands not only at the juncture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but, as many scholars have noted, it stands at a significant intersection of the various forces driving the construction of supra-national identity in this period.<sup>14</sup> It also provided a context for reviving the vocabulary of east and west.<sup>15</sup> Finally, although it has received little direct research, as Classen notes, the First Crusade deeply resonated throughout twelfth-century historical writings both thematically and structurally.<sup>16</sup>

Oschema has already noted the linguistic impact of the Crusade on the ‘window of time’ (*Zeitfenster*) between 1095 and the 1120s. This was a period that saw an unusual proliferation of continental terminology in papal correspondence. Between the new terminological requirements

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<sup>13</sup> Oschema, ‘Europe et les croisades’, 86.

<sup>14</sup> See particularly Rousset, ‘La notion’, 195-7 and Alphanféry, *La Chrétienté*, passim.; the point is broadly emphasised though, see Hay, *Europe*, 29-34; Iogna-Prat, *La Maison*, 394-7; Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, 265-274; Whalen, *Dominion*, ch. 2. Likewise for Europe: Oschema, ‘Europe et les croisades’, 83-6 and Oschema, *Bilder*, 263-90.

<sup>15</sup> Lapina, *Warfare*, ch. 6; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 322-4; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 35.

<sup>16</sup> Classen, ‘*Res Gestae*’, 414; cf. Rubenstein, ‘What is the *Gesta Francorum*’, 180-1, 201.

created by the success of the Crusade and the acquisition of the Crusader States, along with the need to negotiate the fraught political environment of investiture and the relationship with the Greek Church, a period of terminological flux emerged, where the papacy experimented with continental terminology as a means of articulating a space distinct from both the Empire and Greek Church.<sup>17</sup> But, as Oschema emphasises, the use of Europe and Asia is but one of a group of competing linguistic strategies, which ultimately lost out to the language ‘sides of the ocean’ and the east-west dichotomy.<sup>18</sup> But even within Oschema’s *Zeitfenster*, *occidens* is used in many of the same contexts as Europe and for many of the same reasons. Indeed, in Oschema’s very first example, Paschal uses *occidens* alongside the Europe-Asia dichotomy to describe Hospitaller possessions in western Europe and the Levant respectively.<sup>19</sup> This window of relative terminological anarchy that emerged around the First Crusade provides a useful context within which to evaluate the use of *occidens* as it saw the development of new vocabularies of identification, and the success of the Crusade served to calcify these developments for later generations.

Inconsistent terminology has also been identified as an issue for the Crusade itself. A longstanding, puzzling feature of the Crusades during the twelfth century has been the lack of terminological or conceptual precision on the part of medieval commentators.<sup>20</sup> In the responses of contemporaries and subsequent generations there is no question about the gravity of the conquest of Jerusalem. Robert the Monk, for example, poses the question whether ‘a more miraculous undertaking has occurred since the creation of the world, aside from the mystery of the redeeming

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<sup>17</sup> Oschema, *Bilder*, 195-200.

<sup>18</sup> Oschema, *Bilder*, 196.

<sup>19</sup> Oschema, *Bilder*, 195n2, 4; Paschal II, *Epistolae* 356 (PL 163, 314C-315D).

<sup>20</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), ch. 1, esp. p. 10.

cross, than what has been done in our times on this journey of our Jerusalemites?’<sup>21</sup> This sort of sentiment is pervasive among not only the accounts of the Crusade itself, but also throughout general histories over the next half-century.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, there is no consistent terminology for what the Crusade was, for who took part, or for attempts to emulate it.

Already in the histories of the First Crusade there is some divergence in the language of group identification. Riley-Smith has emphasised the general agreement among the crusading sources in their portrayal of the crusaders as soldiers of God, although he hints at a certain divergence around the importance of the ‘French’.<sup>23</sup> A loose convention of core terminology seems to have developed fairly early, however it is applied inconsistently and with different emphases. For example, the use of *Franci* as a general designator for the crusaders is widely adopted. But even here there are complications, since ‘German’ authors more often distinguished between eastern and western Franks.<sup>24</sup> While the issue of racial terminology has been addressed a number of times in a concerted and nuanced manner, with the exception of Lapina’s recent chapter on the subject,

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<sup>21</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana* prol. (ed. D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 4; trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 77) [hereafter Robert, *Hist.*]; Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades, 1099-2010* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 8. On the legacy of the First Crusade see especially Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), ch 2 and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 1986), chs. 4, 6. I have slightly adapted Sweetenham’s translation. ‘Sed post creationem mundi quid mirabilis factum est preter salutifere crucis misterium, quam quod modernis temporibus actum est in hoc itinere nostrorum Iherosolimitarum?’

<sup>22</sup> Among other crusade histories: Guibert, *Dei gesta* pref., 1.1 (CCCM 127A, 80-1, 86; Levine, 25, 28); Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* prol.3 (ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), 116; trans. Frances Rita Ryan, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 58) [hereafter Fulcher, *Hist.*]; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* 1.1 (ed. and trans. Susan Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 2-3). Among chronicle sources: HH, 7.5 (Greenway, 422-3); WM, GR 4.305.5 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 542-3); OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4-7); Ps.-Frotolf, *1106 Continuation* 1099 (MGH SS 6, 211; McCarthy, 142).

<sup>23</sup> Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 111-12, 135. On the use of ‘French’ as the translation for *Franci*, see Marcus Bull, ‘Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade’, in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel à la croisade: Actes du colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (23-28 juin 1995)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1997), 195-211.

<sup>24</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* 1.6, 7.6, 25, 10.8 (Edgington, 44-7, 594-5, 618-9, 726-7); Ps.-Frotolf, *1106 Continuation* 1099 (MGH SS 6, 213-4; McCarthy, 148); Léan Ni Chléirigh, ‘The Crusaders and their Enemies: The Latin Terminology of Group Identity in Chronicles of the First Crusade’ (PhD diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2010), 204-6, 327-8, 330, passim.; Alan V. Murray, ‘National Identity, Language and Conflict in the Crusades to the Holy Land 1096-1192’ in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 116-8; Bull, ‘Overlapping and Competing Identities’, 208. This language is not unique to the ‘German’ sources, cf. Fulcher, *Hist.* 1.7.1 (Hagenmeyer, 163; Fink, 74).

scholarship still treats the use of ‘*occidentales*’ in a substantially undifferentiated manner.<sup>25</sup> Both Bull and Riley-Smith lump it together with a collection of miscellaneous terminology, giving little indication of the contours of its use.<sup>26</sup> On closer examination, however, there is some significant variation across records of the First Crusade. As a strategy of identification, it had little appeal for many historians of the Crusade. There is no reference to the west whatsoever in Raymond of Aguilers and no substantial reference in the *Gesta Francorum* or Albert of Aachen, while, on the other hand, it is famously evoked by Fulcher of Chartres and serves as an important principle among the so called ‘northern French Benedictine mafia’ of Baudri of Bourgueil, Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk.<sup>27</sup>

The case of the *Gesta Francorum* serves as a useful starting point. It is not altogether clear to what extent we should consider the *Gesta Francorum* an individual text so much as a collection of related material that coalesced in a number of ways.<sup>28</sup> But, questions of authorship aside, the *Gesta* tradition is unquestionably one of the most important foundations for subsequent histories of the First Crusade, with many explicitly building upon its account. The west is marginal at best within the *Gesta Francorum* itself. The noun *occidens* is used only three times, two of which are unremarkable, local spatial descriptors.<sup>29</sup> The third case, however, is of interest. The *Gesta* describes how the Crusaders, trapped in a now besieged Antioch, watched as one night a fire emerged from the sky out of the west and swept through the Turkish army, scattering a portion of their forces.<sup>30</sup> Although the text does not explicitly identify the Crusaders with this sign, given the general use of spatial *signa*, we may reasonably infer this meaning, as contemporary readers did.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Lapina, *Warfare*, ch. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Bull, ‘Overlapping and competing Identities’, 202; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 111-12.

<sup>27</sup> Tyerman, *Debate*, 9; Albert does implicitly contrast the Latin world with the east on a few occasions, but never identifies the former as explicitly ‘western’ (eg. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* 9.14 (Edgington, 654-5)).

<sup>28</sup> Rubenstein, ‘What is the *Gesta Francorum*’.

<sup>29</sup> *GF* 10.32, 37 (Hill, 77, 87). Respectively noting the river Orontes on the west side of Antioch and the leaders who besieged Jerusalem from west side.

<sup>30</sup> *GF* 9.26 (Hill, 62).

<sup>31</sup> See *supra* ch. 3; Lapina, *Warfare*, 139.

Regardless of its intention, this story provides a powerful and resonant image of the west as prophetically combatting the Turks.

The early history of the general *Gesta* tradition shows some interest in geographically contextualising the crusaders as western. This can be seen already in the history of Peter Tudebode, a text closely related to the early formation of the *Gesta* itself.<sup>32</sup> At the inception of his siege of Antioch, when a soldier brings him a rusted sword, Kerbogha takes the opportunity to mock the Franks asking ‘are these the warlike and splendid weapons which the Christians have brought into Asia against us[!?’<sup>33</sup> Tudebode inserts a sentence here explaining that ‘the Christians are originally from western lands, by that I mean Europe, which is a third part of the world.’<sup>34</sup> Likewise, the *Descriptio sanctorum locorum Hierusalem*, a text found in almost every complete manuscript of both the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode, begins: ‘if anyone, coming from the western lands, wishes to go to Jerusalem, let him direct his course due eastwards...’<sup>35</sup> In a sense this is fairly mundane information, that the participants in the First Crusade came geographically from Europe and the ‘west’ was not controversial and providing geographical context for historical works was standard practice.<sup>36</sup> And indeed, an early copy of Tudebode circulated in a manuscript alongside two short geographical treatises: *De orbe*, and one beginning ‘Mundus tripartus est.’<sup>37</sup> But merely making this geographical point does show a general and important conflation of a few

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<sup>32</sup> Rubenstein, ‘What is the *Gesta Francorum*’, 197-202. Rubenstein suggests that Tudebode did not actually ‘write’ his history, but instead lightly annotated a variant version of the ‘Jerusalem history’. I will, nevertheless, conventionally refer to Tudebode as the author, but by this the relevant textual variant ought to be understood.

<sup>33</sup> *GF* 9.21 (Hill, 51). ‘Haec sunt arma bellica et nitida, quae attulerunt Christiani super nos in Asiam’.

<sup>34</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* 4.3 (trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), 91; RHC Occ. 3, 67). ‘orti in occidentali terra, scilicet in Europa, quae est mundi pars tertia’.

<sup>35</sup> *Descriptio sanctorum locorum Hierusalem* (ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill, *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 98); Hill in *GF*, xxxviii-xlii; compare also Hill and Hill in Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, 5-6 with MIRABILE, DB mediolatino, s.v. *Descriptio sanctorum locorum Hierusalem* (<http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/descriptio-sanctorum-locorum-hierusalem-title/195074>; accessed July 28, 2017) and Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur, von 333 bis 1878* (Berlin: H. Reuther’s Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890), 28-9 (s.v. *Innominatus I*). ‘Si quis ab occidentalibus partibus Hierusalem adire uoluerit, solis ortum semper teneat...’

<sup>36</sup> Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 305-7.

<sup>37</sup> Rubenstein, ‘What is the *Gesta Francorum*’, 190; Paris, BnF, Lat. 4892, 243rb-244ra and 245rb-245v.

interconnected notions. There is already a conceptual blending of Europe and the ‘west’, but more importantly ‘west’ and Europe are presented as triumphant and conflated, in a qualified manner, with Christianity. Nevertheless, within the immediate *Gesta* tradition, these ideas remain sparse and unsystematic.

It is at the point of so-called theological refinement that a consistent interest in the west, and its relationship to the east, emerges. Likely related to Bohemond’s 1106 tour of northern France, three northern French Benedictines set out explicitly to rewrite the crude and insufficient account in the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>38</sup> In particular, they sought to set it on proper theological grounds, clarifying the context and justifications for the venture, as well as establishing its place within a biblical exegetical and prophetic framework.<sup>39</sup> Although it mostly remains marginal, each author also elaborates to varying degrees on the western origin of the crusaders.

We will deal first with Baudri of Bourgueil. Born in 1046, abbot of Bourgueil and subsequently archbishop of Dol, he attended the Council of Clermont and produced his history in 1108, just a year after receiving his bishopric.<sup>40</sup> Though his account of the west is the least systematic, he does explicitly frame the Crusade around east and west. In the prologue to the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Baudri describes how ‘in our times, [Jesus] aroused almost the whole of Christendom, in whatever land it was’ so as to assemble (*concurreret*) the *militia Christiana* to wrest Jerusalem from Turkish control.<sup>41</sup> He then extols their wonderful sacrifice, specifying the western origin and eastern goal of the crusading movement: ‘for without divine inspiration it should not be believed that [his faithful], wealthy in all things (*omnium rerum copiosos*), would wish to go

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<sup>38</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 136-7; Rubenstein, ‘Lambert’, 70; Nicholas L. Paul, ‘A Warlord’s Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade’, *Speculum* 85, no. 3 (2010): 534-66.

<sup>39</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, ch 6.

<sup>40</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 136.

<sup>41</sup> Baudri, *Hist.* prol. (Biddlecombe, 3). ‘Ipse [i.e. Jesus] temporibus nostris Christianitatem suam, ubicunque terrarum erat, pene totam excitavit’.

from the west into the east as soldiers' to combat barbarian nations.<sup>42</sup> Through this repetition of Jesus's inspiration of the Crusade, Baudri highlights not only the western origin of the crusaders, but also hints at a preeminent position for the west as a Christian region, since that is where 'almost the whole of Christendom' move from. This introduction is recalled also in Baudri's account of Urban's call, although it does not contain a reference to the west: 'go forth soldiers of Christ (*Christi milites*), and hasten together (*concurrere*) at once to defend the Eastern Church.'<sup>43</sup> Thus Baudri contextualises his history around a distinction between the western soldiers and both the Eastern Church and the barbarian peoples of the east.

Beyond the initial section, there are only three further references to the west in Baudri, two of which are drawn near verbatim from the *Gesta* tradition.<sup>44</sup> In the last case, Baudri inserts a panegyric to *Gallia* during the siege of Nicaea, describing how 'armed, you have taken the route from western Europe, and set up your tent and the stakes of your canopy in Asia'.<sup>45</sup> The similarity between Tudebode's geographical excursus and this panegyric, both contrasting Europe and *occidens* with Asia, supports Rubenstein's contention that the *Gesta* which Baudri used may not have been our version but one closer to Tudebode's.<sup>46</sup> Doubly so as this panegyric looks forward to Baudri's only other personification of *Gallia* in his rendition of Kerbogha's speech about the rusty sword, the context for Tudebode's excursus. Here he changes the 'Christiani' of the *Gesta* to 'those locusts from pitiful *Gallia*', an otherwise unusual decision given his preference for the term

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<sup>42</sup> Baudri, *Hist.* prolog. (Biddlecombe, 3). 'Non enim sine diuina inspiratione credendum est, ab Occidentali in Orientalem plagam, [fideles suos] omnium rerum copiosos uelle militatum iri'.

<sup>43</sup> Baudri, *Hist.* 1.4 (Biddlecombe, 9). 'Christi milites audacter procedite, et ad defendendam orientalem ecclesiam uelocius concurrere.'

<sup>44</sup> The description of Antioch and the fire from the west. Baudri, *Hist.* 3.10, 24 (Biddlecombe, 72-90); cf. *GF* 9.26, 10.32 (Hill, 62, 77).

<sup>45</sup> Baudri, *Hist.* 1.24 (Biddlecombe, 26). 'Ab occidentali Europa armata iter arripuisti; et in Asia tentoria tua et conopeorum tuorum paxillos collocasti.'

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* 6 (Hill and Hill, 91; *RHC Occ.* 3, 67). Rubenstein ('What is the *Gesta Francorum*', 188-9) provides some highly indicative suggestions about the different versions of the 'Jerusalem history' that the three French Benedictines may have read. In particular, Baudri makes reference to a few stories and narrative variations unique to Tudebode.

‘Christiani’.<sup>47</sup> Among the French Benedictines, however, Baudri is by far the least interested in this theme and only frames the history initially in these terms.

Guibert of Nogent, a student of St Anselm and, from 1104, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, has a more systematic portrayal of an east-west dichotomy in his *Gesta dei per Francos*.<sup>48</sup> In the first place, Guibert situates the Crusade initially within a ‘geopolitical’ analysis of the east. He begins by lambasting the instability of the easterners’ faith, claiming in particular that, except for the British Pelagius, the east has been the source of all heresies and that the political upheavals in this region of the world are God’s punishment for those heresies.<sup>49</sup> This serves to contextualise the Crusade around a contrast between the pious Western Church and heretical Eastern one.<sup>50</sup> The Western Church thus serves as a reference point for orthodoxy, with Eastern practices described as at odds not only with the ‘ancient laws of the fathers’, but also ‘with the holy ritual of the Western Church’.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, Guibert’s interpretation of clerical celibacy is ‘confirmed by the authority of the Western Church’.<sup>52</sup> This criticism of the east must be read against the preceding praise for the Latin crusaders’ piety. Guibert contrasts the crusades with the pagan wars of old, citing Lucan on the madness and pointlessness of civil war.<sup>53</sup> The crusaders, on the other hand, ‘with such a keen desire to overthrow the enemies of the Christian name, sought exile and passed beyond the Latin

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<sup>47</sup> Baudri, *Hist.* 3.2 (Biddlecombe, 62); cf. *GF* 9.21 (Hill, 51) and Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* 6 (Hill and Hill, 91; RHC Occ. 3, 67). On the prominence of *Christiani* in Baudri see Ní Chléirigh, ‘Crusaders and their Enemies’, 127-37. ‘Hec sunt arma bellica, arma nimis pretiosa, que attulerunt locuste ille de mendica Gallia.’

<sup>48</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 136.

<sup>49</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta* 1.2 (CCCM 127A, 89-90; Levine, 30-1); the notion that the east is the source of heresies is hardly new, see for example Liutprand of Cremona, *De legatione Constantinopolitana* 22 (CCCM 156, 196-7); cf. Léan Ní Chléirigh, ‘The Impact of the First Crusade on Western Opinion Towards the Byzantine Empire’, in Kostick, *Crusades and the Near East*, 161-89.

<sup>50</sup> On Guibert’s discussion of heretics in the west see especially Guibert, *Monodiae* 3.17 (ed. and trans. Edmond-René Labande, *Autobiographie* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), 428-434); cf. Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 114-6.

<sup>51</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 1.2 (CCCM 127A, 92; Levine, 31). ‘Cum ab institutis paternorum canonum et ab Occidentalis aeccliesiae pio ritu sensu ac multimoda actione discordent’.

<sup>52</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 1.2 (CCCM 127A, 93; Levine, 32). ‘constantissime Occidentalis aeccliesiae auctoritate firmetur’.

<sup>53</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 1.1 (CCCM 127A, 86-7; Levine, 27-8); cf. Lucan 1.8-9, 12.

world, even the known world'.<sup>54</sup> This passage also highlights Guibert's flexible use of *latinus* and *occidentalis*, as seen also in his contrast between *latinus orbis* and the east and Africa.<sup>55</sup> But the notion of the easterners and westerners is broader than ecclesiastical. At its core it seems to be a basic notion of climatic determinism. Thus, the instability of the Eastern Church is a product of 'the purity of the air and the sky in which they are born, as a result of which their bodies are lighter and their intellect consequently more agile', and the instability of the eastern kingdoms is caused by *Asiatica levitas* (Asiatic instability).<sup>56</sup> Though, Guibert does not offer a comparably broad principle for other groups, his history is replete with this sort of ethnic stereotype.<sup>57</sup>

Unlike Baudri, Guibert maintains the theme of western peoples, recurrent through his history. In Urban's speech, he compares God's restoration of the 'mother of churches' with returning faith to *partes orientis*.<sup>58</sup> More importantly, Urban exhorts his audience to remember how God said of the Church: 'I will bring your seed from the east, and gather you from the west' (Is. 43:5).<sup>59</sup> Guibert interprets this as a literal historical development. The Church was founded in the east and brought to the west, 'but out of the west he assembled us, for through those who last began the proof of faith, that is the westerners (*occidentales*) ... Jerusalem's losses will be restored.'<sup>60</sup> Likewise, once assembled, it is an army drawn 'from nearly every region of the western parts'.<sup>61</sup> Book seven serves to highlight all these themes again in reverse order. It begins with a clear

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<sup>54</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 1.1 (CCCM 127A, 87; trans. mine, cf. Levine, 28). '[Deo ergo incentore motas vidimus nationes...] tanta aviditate ad christiani nominis hostes evertendos exilium petere orbemque Latinum, noticias etiam terrarum excedere'.

<sup>55</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 1.2 (CCCM 127A, 90; Levine, 30).

<sup>56</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 1.1 (CCCM 127A, 90-1; Levine, 30). Chléirigh ('Western opinion', 166) is right that the identification of the Greeks with *levitas* is likely drawn from Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 9.2.105 (Barney et al., 198)). 'Ipsi plane homines pro aeris et celi cui innati sunt puritate cum sint levioris corpulentiae et idcirco alacrioris ingenii'.

<sup>57</sup> Eg. Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 1.1, 2.1, 7.26 (CCCM 127A, 89, 109, 319; Levine, 29, 41, 150). Respectively, about the Scots, Germans and the Eastern love of astronomy.

<sup>58</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 2.4 (CCCM 127A, 113; Levine, 43). 'matrem aecclesiarum'.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Lapina, *Warfare*, 135-7. 'ab oriente adducam semen tuum, et ab occidente congregabo te.'

<sup>60</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 2.4 (CCCM 127A, 115-6; Levine, 44). 'sed ab Occidente eam congregat, dum per eos qui ultimi fidei documenta ceperunt, Occidentales scilicet. ... Iherosolimitana dampna restaurat.'

<sup>61</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 3.1 (CCCM 127A, 136; trans. mine, cf. Levine, 57). 'Ex cunctis fere Occidentalium partium regionibus'.

statement of the point: 'it offers no small example for our faith that by the labour of the western faithful the church of east is restored.'<sup>62</sup> Likewise, in his biblical panegyric on the fall of Jerusalem, Guibert recalls Urban's speech once more through the quotation from Isaiah and makes two further references to the west as the source of the crusading army.<sup>63</sup> Thus, for Guibert, east and west are more than a mere framing device: they serve as significant categories of differentiation throughout his history of the Crusade. They likewise form part of a broader image of the division of the Roman empire and Christian church between east and west, and Latin and Greek, grounded in cultural stereotypes and climatic determinism.

We know less about Robert the Monk than the other two. He may have been a student of Baudri prior to becoming abbot of St Remy, where he remained until 1097 and during which period he was an eyewitness to the Council of Clermont. He was later deposed, seemingly for administrative incompetence, though Kempf and Bull also point to a context of local ecclesiastical politics. After a successful appeal to Urban II, he went to Senac, but fared little better there, being deposed again shortly before his death in 1122.<sup>64</sup> His *Historia Iherosolimitana* is by far the most popular history of the First Crusade, surviving in over 90 manuscripts.<sup>65</sup> He develops largely the same theology of Crusade as the Baudri and Guibert, but, as Sweetenham emphasises, what differentiates him from his compatriots is the quality of his storytelling and the clarity of his writing.<sup>66</sup>

Robert not only provides a clear and unambiguous discussion of east and west, but he also explicitly disambiguates some of the obscurities of the *Gesta* tradition on this point. This is seen particularly clearly in his rendition of the heavenly fire story from the *Gesta* tradition. All three

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<sup>62</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 7.prol. (CCCM 127A, 266; trans. mine, cf. Levine, 124). 'Fidei nostrae incentivum non minimum prebet quod Occidentalium labore fidelium Orientalis restauratur aeclesia.'

<sup>63</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, 7.21, 22, 43 (CCCM 127A, 301, 309, 344; Levine, 141, 145, 162).

<sup>64</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 135-6; Kempf and Bull in Robert, *Hist.*, xvii-xxv.

<sup>65</sup> Sweetenham in Robert, *Hist.*, 8-9; Tyerman, *Debate*, 9-10.

<sup>66</sup> Sweetenham in Robert, *Hist.*, 61-8. Guibert, on the other hand, chastises the weak intellect of those who cannot follow his prose. (Guibert, *Dei Gesta*, pref. (CCCM 127A, 82; Levine, 25).)

Benedictines repeat the story of how the crusaders, besieged within Antioch, see fire fall from western sky onto the Turkish army.<sup>67</sup> The original passage in the *Gesta* is quite obscure. The Turks (what portion of the army is unspecified), terrified by the fire, flee to Bohemond's gate (for reasons unstated). Each author seeks to clarify this passage in some way. Baudri explains that this sign encouraged the Christians as well, since both sides saw it; that only some (*quidam... eorum*) of the Turks fled; and that since they were terrified they camped wherever they could (*ubi potuerunt*), that is, in front of Bohemond's gate. Guibert also adds that both sides saw the miraculous sight and that the Turks quickly fled that spot where the flames fell, though he does not link this to Bohemond's gate. He also explains that the sign presaged the Turks' destruction. Robert, however, is the only one to comment on the western origin of the flame. In fact, he focuses exclusively on the meaning of the sign, entirely dropping the bit about the Turks moving their camp. He explains that the fire represents God's anger and that it came from the west because the Franks are its manifestation. This association of the west with the crusaders may be implied in the other renditions of this trope, although the issue of the use and interpretation of heavenly signs is a deeply problematic and understudied issue in medieval historiography, but Robert is the only one to make this explicit.<sup>68</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Robert's history is his peculiar geography. Like Guibert, Robert begins his book on the composition of the crusading army with their western origin, but he also makes a distinction between the northern and southern dukes. Thus book two begins: 'meanwhile, as these things were done, out of remote western regions, from the northern part (*a parte aquilonis*)' God brought two counts, of Flanders and Normandy, along with lesser known lords (*optimates et ... consules*) of Britain and Brittany (*majoris et minoris Britanniae*).<sup>69</sup> Like

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<sup>67</sup> *GF* 9.26 (Hill, 62); Guibert, *Dei Gesta* 5.22 (CCCM 127A, 224-5; Levine, 102); Baudri, *Hist.* 3.10 (Biddlecombe, 72); Robert, *Hist.* 7.4 (Kempf and Bull, 69; Sweetenham, 164).

<sup>68</sup> Lapina, *Warfare*, 137-40.

<sup>69</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 2.1 (Kempf and Bull, 13; trans mine, cf. Sweetenham, 89). I have retranslated this passage to maintain the word order and spatial logic of the Latin text which is somewhat obscured in Sweetenham's translation. 'Interea, dum haec aguntur, de remotis occidentalium partibus a parte aquilonis...'

many other chroniclers, Robert uses Britain to emphasise the remote origins of the crusaders; indeed its very northernness is underscored by the word's position at the very end of the paragraph on the north.<sup>70</sup> This language is mirrored in the next paragraph, which begins: 'from the southern part (*a parte australis*)' came the armies of Adhemar and Raymond.<sup>71</sup> This is then raised to the level of prophecy with a slightly modified quotation from Isaiah 43:

So now we see demonstrated in actual fact what God promised through the mouth of the Prophet Isaiah: *Fear not, for I am with you: I will bring your seed from the north, and gather you from the west; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.* Now we see the sons and daughters of God making for Jerusalem from the ends of the earth, and neither the South nor the North wind dare to stand in the way of their children. In very truth God now raises above the West, resting as he does in the spirit of the Westerners. The West prepares to illuminate the East...<sup>72</sup>

Although the adaptation of Isaiah is a bit awkward, as it breaks from the original east-west, north-south oppositions that structures the passage, its purpose is very clear. It establishes the spatial significance of the crusading army as western while simultaneously both expanding the west and very specifically locating it. The west, in line with the broader message of the divinely elected position of the Franks, is paradoxically limited largely to France, bounded on the north by Flanders, Normandy and Britain and on the south by Auvergne, Occitania and Provence.<sup>73</sup> While Robert does mention both the German and Italian contingent of the Crusade, they are not listed among the prophetic call to crusade at the start of book two. Godfrey is discussed alongside Peter the Hermit and meets the crusading army in Constantinople. Bohemond likewise links up with the Crusade in Apulia and, recognising its divine inspiration, joins it there.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Cf. Guibert, *Dei Gesta* 1.1 (CCCM 127A, 86; Levine, 28) and Baudri, *Hist.* 1.8 (Biddlecombe, 12-13).

<sup>71</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 2.2 (Kempf and Bull, 13; trans mine., cf. Sweetenham, 90).

<sup>72</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 2.2 (Kempf and Bull, 13; Sweetenham, 90). 'Ecce nunc praesentialiter videmus in re, quod olim Dominus promisit per os Ysaie prophete. Ait enim: *Noli timere, quia ego tecum sum. Ab aquilone adducam semen tuum, et ab occidente congregabo te. Dicam aquiloni: "Da"; et austro: "Noli prohibere. Affer filios meos de longinquo, et filias meas ab extremis terre."* Nunc, ut videmus, filii Dei et filie, Iherosolimam tendunt ab extremis terre; et auster et aquilo nutritos suos non audent prohibere. Revera Dominus nunc ascendit super occasum, quoniam requiescit in animabus occidentalium. Nunc occidens illustrare parat orientem...'

<sup>73</sup> On the Franks as chosen people see Sweetenham in Robert, *Hist.*, 51-2 and Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 147-8.

<sup>74</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 2.3-8 (Kempf and Bull, 14-16; Sweetenham, 91-4).

What is more, by modifying the verse from Isaiah, Robert qualifies the universal expression by changing the four directions to three and, in his exegesis, further reduces two more to regions within the west. This reduction not only inflates the world-historical significance of France, but also establishes one of the clearest east-west dichotomies of the early-twelfth century. Although, as Akbari has shown, this is not the sort of all encompassing east-west division that would become central to the development of modern Orientalism. That does not emerge until Gower in the fourteenth century, prior to which some third term is normally present as well as an underlying tripartite or quadripartite division of the world.<sup>75</sup> Guibert is a case in point for Akbari's suggestion that Africa served as a 'third term', distinguishing Africa in principle from the 'east', even if they remain conceptually grouped: 'I would be surprised if, with the exception of the east and Africa, any books about heretics could be found in the Roman world.'<sup>76</sup> But Robert, perhaps adopting the oppositional sentiment of the *chanson de geste*, not only homogenises north and, more surprisingly, south into the west, but also implicitly blocks Africa into the east.<sup>77</sup> In describing Constantinople as the capital of the east, itself set up as in opposition to Rome as capital of the west, Robert explains how it served as a refuge for eastern Christianity, where the relics of the east were brought as it fell to the pagans. He then notes in an aside that 'Asia and Africa were once Christian possessions; they are now subject to the filthy rituals of the Gentiles.'<sup>78</sup> Unlike other near contemporary authors, like Peter the Venerable, Robert makes no overt qualification here of Africa as southern.<sup>79</sup> This lopsided geography has a specific eschatological function for Robert. He holds the idea that Christianity keeps but one part of the world (Europe) in tension with the three corners that it inhabits and, as

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<sup>75</sup> Akbari, 'From Due East'; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 35-50. See *supra* ch. 1.

<sup>76</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta* 1.2, cf. 1.4 (CCCM 127A, 90, cf. 98-9; Levine, 30, cf. 35); cf. Akbari's example of Peter the Venerable ('From Due East', 20n8). 'mirabor si preter Orientem et Affricam vix aliqui [i.e. omnium hereseon catalogi] sub Latino orbe cernentur'.

<sup>77</sup> On the influence of vernacular epic on Robert see Sweetenham in Robert, *Hist.*, 61-3.

<sup>78</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 2.20 (Kempf and Bull, 21; Sweetenham, 101-2). 'Asia et Africa fuerunt olim Christianorum, que nunc subiciuntur ritibus immundis gentilium.'

<sup>79</sup> Akbari, 'From Due East', 20; Pet. Ven., *Cont. sect.* 1, D 1811s (Kristzeck, 231); cf. Peter the Venerable, *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* A 2vd (ed. James Kristzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 208).

Lapina astutely notes, this looks forward to the prophecy of Kerbogha's mother that the Christians will be victorious and that 'from east and from west, from north and from south shall [their] coast be.'<sup>80</sup> The east is all that remains to complete the expansion of Christianity.

Finally, this passage furnishes us with one of the clearest statements of both the ideological significance of western identity, with the west being not only conflated with the Franks as God's elect but also explicitly singled out as preeminently Christian. Not only does the west now illuminate the east, but Robert specifically draws upon the language of Psalm 67 to recast the west as now inhabiting the spiritual position of the east. For it is no longer '[Deus] qui ascendit super caelum ad orientem' but 'revera nunc Dominus ascendit super occasum'.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, the exegetical tradition reinforces the poignancy of this reference. The standard received interpretation of this passage is seen in the *parva*, *media* and *magna glosaturae* of Anselm of Laon, Gilbert de la Porrée and Peter Lombard respectively.<sup>82</sup> They all draw particularly upon Augustine and Cassiodorus to emphasise not only the identification of Christ with the rising figure but also Jerusalem with the east.<sup>83</sup> What is more, the *parva* and *magna* glosses specifically identify this ascension with illumination: '*he ascended to the rising (orientem) of our illumination, that is so that he could make the light of grace to rise for us*'.<sup>84</sup> Gilbert also sets this text in an eschatological context: 'To the east, or from the east, where Jerusalem is. To the east is said either because he is the east (Zec 6:12), the word begotten of the Father, or because through him all are risen to life; and one day he will

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<sup>80</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 6.12 (Kempf and Bull, 63; Sweetenham, 156); Lapina, *Warfare*, 137n59. '*A solis ortu et occasu, ab Aquilone et mari, erunt termini vestri...*'

<sup>81</sup> Ps 67:34; Robert, *Hist.* 2.2 (Kempf and Bull, 13; Sweetenham, 90). 'Who mounteth above the heaven of heavens, to the east'; 'In very truth God now raises above the west'.

<sup>82</sup> On the relationship see Smith, *Glossa*, 76-9.

<sup>83</sup> *Glossa* 3:283v (570); Gilbert de la Porrée, *Super Ps.* 67 (Troyes, BM, MS 488, 79ra; Paris, BnF, Lat. 14418, 53rb); Peter Lombard, *In Ps. commentarii* 67.36 (PL 191, 618B-C). Augustine, *Enarrationes in Ps.* 67.42 (CCSL 39, 899); Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* 67.34 (CCSL 97, 602).

<sup>84</sup> *Glossa* 3:283v (570); Peter Lombard, *In Ps. commentarii* 67.36 (PL 191, 618B-C). The section in italics is added in the *magna glosatura*. '*ascendit ad orientem nostrae illuminationis, id est ut lumen gratiae nobis oriri faceret*'.

come thence to judgement etc.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, by mirroring the language of Psalm 67, Robert is both relocating the spiritual heritage of the east in the west, and establishing it as the new locus of Christ's illuminating activity. Likewise, the passage's evocation of Jerusalem, as the site of Jesus's ascension, cannot have been lost on a monastic audience.

Thus all three of the French Benedictines make a clear point of framing the First Crusade in an overt manner around an east-west dichotomy between the Latin world and both the Greek Church and the peoples of the east. While Baudri only goes as far as identifying these as relevant categories of identification, in this he nevertheless tacitly equates 'almost all Christendom' with the west.<sup>86</sup> Both Guibert and Robert, on the other hand, develop concerted theories about the relationship of east and west. They depict the Latin west as the last bastion of Christianity, and focus on providing a prophetic account of the west's enlightenment of the east. A point which Lapina rightly highlights in her analysis of these authors, emphasising particularly the way in which they draw upon preexisting *topoi* about the sun and the original mission of the apostles to show how this can be read as a self-conscious inversion of the original apostolic movement.<sup>87</sup> This inversion reinforces the construction of the west, by these authors, as preeminently or even uniquely Christian and as a region charged with an apostolic mission towards those regions of the world still not or no longer Christian.<sup>88</sup>

There is one other author, beyond the theologians, who furnishes a famous account of the west in his history. Fulcher of Chartres, chaplain to Baldwin I and witness to the Council of Clermont, provides a unique and important account of the Crusade. Not only was he one of three independent eyewitness accounts, but as a resident of Jerusalem from 1100, his is one of the only

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<sup>85</sup> Gilbert de la Porrée, *Super Ps.* 67 (Troyes, BM, MS 488, 79ra; Paris, BnF, Latin 14418, 53rb). 'ad orientem uel ab orientem, ubi est ierusalem. Siue ad orientem dictum, quia ipse oriens est uerbum genitum a patre, siue quia per eum omnes oriuntur ad uitam. Et quondam ad iudicium inde uenturus est; sequitur.'

<sup>86</sup> Baudri, *Hist.* prolog. (Biddlecombe, 3). 'Christianitatem suam ... pene totam'.

<sup>87</sup> Lapina, *Warfare*, 132-7.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Glaber, *Hist.* 1.5.24 (France, 40-43).

histories of the decades after the First Crusade written by a settler in the Latin Kingdoms.<sup>89</sup> Fulcher initially contextualises the crusaders as ‘western’, describing the crusading army as ‘a multitude from all western countries’ and the crusade was an act of ‘all western people’.<sup>90</sup> However, this language plays only a marginal role in Fulcher's account, mostly in the one famous chapter in book three where Fulcher exhorts his reader to:

Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transformed the west into the east. For we who were western have now become eastern. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinean. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth ... For those who were poor there, here God makes them rich. ... Therefore why should one return to the west who has found the east like this?<sup>91</sup>

Though this has been taken as an obvious opposition between two all-encompassing regions, the language of east and west in Fulcher is more ambiguous.<sup>92</sup> In this passage, east and west are specifically delimited to western Europe and the Latin kingdoms. This serves an important purpose, since this passage is not describing a world historical *translatio*, but God's miraculous dispensation to the Franks specifically, who take the place of God's chosen people. It is therefore no accident that Fulcher has a narrower geographical vision here and which is set in the context of God's heavenly signs and earthly miracles.<sup>93</sup>

This sense of partiality pervades Fulcher's geographical vision. Although east-west is the operant geographical axis of Fulcher's history, as seen in for example the description of the river Geon, flowing from Paradise to the Mediterranean, this geography is constantly relativised to the

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<sup>89</sup> Harold S. Fink, Introduction to Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, trans. Ryan, 3-7.

<sup>90</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* prol.5, 1.6.9 (Hagenmeyer, 118, 161; Ryan, 59, 73). ‘omnis populus occidentalis’; ‘tanto collegio ab occidentalibus partibus’.

<sup>91</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* 3.37.2-7 (Hagenmeyer, 748-9; cf. Ryan, 271-2). I have slightly modified the translation in a few places. ‘considera, quaeso, et mente cogita, quomodo tempore in nostro transvertit Deus Occidentem in Orientem. nam qui fuimus Occidentales, nunc facti sumus Orientales. qui fuit Romanus aut Francus, hac in terra factus est Galilaeus aut Palaestinus. qui fuit Remensis aut Carnotensis, nunc efficitur Tyrius vel Antiochenus. iam obliti sumus nativitatibus nostrae loca ... qui enim illic erant inopes, hic facit eos Deus locupletes. ... quare ergo reverteretur in Occidentem, qui hic taliter invenit Orientem?’

<sup>92</sup> Akbari, ‘Alexander in the East’, 106n5; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 35-6.

<sup>93</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* 3.37.2, cf. prol.3 (Hagenmeyer, 116-17, 747-8; Ryan, 58, 271). Julian Jay Theodore Yolles, ‘Latin Literature and Frankish Culture in the Crusader States (1098–1187)’ (PhD diss., Harvard, 2015), 333-6.

Latin Kingdoms.<sup>94</sup> Yolles reads this as part of a broader process of the east's sublimation into and homogenisation with Paradise.<sup>95</sup> Though the rhetorical point is apt, the contextual nature of Fulcher's geography does seem to admit such a geographical conflation of the east. In the very example of the Geon, he very clearly distinguishes Palestine from Paradise. The river Geon 'has the Red Sea between itself and the east, [for] we understand that Paradise is in that east (*in quo oriente*).'<sup>96</sup> By constructing the sentence this way, rather than, for example, 'habet enim mare Ruberum inter se et Orientem, in quo intelligimus esse Paradisum' or 'Orientem, ubi intelligamus esse Paradisum', Fulcher has established a clear grammatical distinction between 'that east' of Paradise and the 'eastern region (*orientale plaga*)' evoked by Urban II or the 'eastern parts (*orientalibus partibus*)' of the Turks in the first recension.<sup>97</sup> We see this likewise in the description of the crusaders, in the prologue, as surrounded by their enemies: 'from one side Egypt and Ethiopia, from another Arabia, Chaldea and Syria, from another Assyria and Media, from another Parthia and Mesopotamia and from another Persia and Scythia.'<sup>98</sup> Although the geography here is a little strange, as with the seemingly inverted positions of Parthia and Persia, this presents a roughly anti-clockwise sweep around the Latin Kingdoms, from south to north. In both cases, Fulcher's geography always extends outwards from Palestine. So, while Fulcher certainly focuses upon an east-west geographical dichotomy, this is not an exclusive binary in the way that Akbari seems to imply nor a homogenous totality as Yolles suggests. Unlike Robert or Guibert, Fulcher has no pretence of proving a complete taxonomy of world geography or the east.

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<sup>94</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* 2.57-8 (Hagenmeyer, 596-9; Ryan, 216-7); Yolles, 'Latin Literature', 333-6.

<sup>95</sup> Yolles, 'Latin Literature', 333-6, 341.

<sup>96</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* 2.58.1 (Hagenmeyer, 599; trans. mine, cf. Ryan, 217). 'habet enim inter se et Orientem mare Ruberum, in quo Oriente intelligimus esse Paradisum.'

<sup>97</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* 1.3.2, 1.11.4 (Hagenmeyer, 132-3, 193; Ryan, 65-6).

<sup>98</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* prol.4 (Hagenmeyer 117; trans. mine). Ryan's translation of prol.4 should not be trusted in its presentation of the geographical logic. 'hinc Aegyptus et Aethopia, hinc Arabia et Chaldaea atque Syria, hinc Assyria et Media, hinc Parthia et Meopotamia, hinc Persida et Scythia'

Rather, Fulcher's geography fits in with the broader function of his history as a 'recruitment manifesto' for Latin settlers. This is particularly evident in the focus given to integration and to the great wealth available to even those of meagre assets.<sup>99</sup> His consciousness of east and west must therefore be understood in terms of his position as a settler in Palestine. The west is framed around a settler mentality, a point made clear in the joyful greeting that some new arrivals received around 1101 'when we saw that they had come from our countries in the West.'<sup>100</sup> Taken along with his highly contextual geography of the east, encircling Palestine, and the narrow qualification of his key passage on the east-west distinction, Fulcher's understanding of the west is also local and pragmatic, based not on the Church and the Roman Empire, but around places of Latin habitation, either in Europe or the Middle East. Despite this difference in geographical scope, however, both Fulcher and the French Benedictines show how the First Crusade had provided a crucial context for the use of east and west as language of identification for Latin authors.

To appreciate the significance of this moment, we must take a step back from the narrow context of Crusade histories themselves and look at how the immediate memory of the Crusade disseminated and calcified the use of the west to identify the Latin world. As Rubenstein describes, it is easy for us, 900 years later, to think about the First Crusade in terms of the ultimate futility of the crusading movement over the next two centuries. But for the early-twelfth century, this was a literally apocalyptic moment.<sup>101</sup> Even as late as the 1150s, Otto of Freising describes how prior to the Second Crusade, the 'western peoples' were still 'inspired by the pilgrim God' and that the Sibylline books, 'concerning the storming of the royal city and also ancient Babylon, [which

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<sup>99</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* 3.37.4-6 (Hagenmeyer, 748-9; Ryan, 271-2). Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The Authoritative History of the War for the Holy Land* (New York: Harper Collins, 2011), 177; Yolles, 'Latin Literature', 333.

<sup>100</sup> Fulcher, *Hist.* 2.6.6, cf. 3.37.2-7 (Hagenmeyer, 388, 748-9; Ryan, 149, 271-2). 'quos cum de partibus nostris occidentalibus advenisse videremus'.

<sup>101</sup> Rubenstein, *Armies*, 313-19; Rubenstein, 'Lambert', 71-88; cf. Matthew Gabriele, 'From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Verb Tenses of Jerusalem in Robert the Monk's *Historia* of the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 42, no. 3 (2016): 304-16.

promised] a triumph over the entire Orient' were being read throughout in Gaul.<sup>102</sup> But in the immediate aftermath, as Tyerman describes, it was unclear how to describe what had just happened.<sup>103</sup> Mirroring the inconsistency within crusade chronicles themselves, twelfth-century annalistic and chronicle accounts found various ways to describe the Crusade. Sometimes it was merely a journey to Jerusalem, be it an *iter*, *motio*, *via*, *expeditio*, or similar, without a specified subject, as in the *Annales Mellicenses*: '1095. Expedition to Jerusalem'.<sup>104</sup> Elsewhere it is a people or army, among which the diversity is sometime emphasised, as in the *Annales Ottenburani*: '1096. A vast multitude of diverse peoples proceed to Jerusalem armed, with no leader'.<sup>105</sup> Finally, many identify it as a venture of Christians, normally to set them in explicit opposition to the pagans or enemies of the cross of Christ, as the *Annals of Christ Church, Canterbury*: 'at this time the Christian people went to conquer the pagans'.<sup>106</sup> Though these are the broadest categories of identification, a variety of other patterns emerge as well, often overlapping one another.

The use of the west, in particular, gains significance in these chronicle sources as a supranational identifier for the Crusaders. A number of significant annals and chronicles from

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<sup>102</sup> Otto, *Gesta* 1.prol. (Waitz, 10; Mierow, 25). 'occidentales populos'; 'de expugnatione regiae urbis necnon et antiquae Babylonis et ... totius orientis triumphus.'

<sup>103</sup> Tyerman, *Inventing*, 10.

<sup>104</sup> *Annales Mellicenses* 1095 (MGH SS 9, 500); cf. *Annales Besuenses* 1095 (MGH SS 2, 250); *Annales Einsidlenses* 1096 (MGH SS 3, 146); *Annales S. Vincentii Mettensis* 1095 (MGH SS 3, 158); *Ex annalibus S. Albini Andegavensis* 1096 (MGH SS 3, 168); *Auctarium Claustro-neoburgense* 1095 (MGH SS 9, 628); *Annales Stederburgenses* 1095 (MGH SS 16, 203); *Annales Catalaunenses* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 488); *Annales Aquicinctini* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 503); *Annales Parchenses* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 604); *Annales Marchianenses* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 615); *Annales Aquenses* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 685). '1095. Expeditio in Hierosolimam'.

<sup>105</sup> *Annales Ottenburani* 1096 (MGH SS 5, 8); cf. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E)* 1096 (ed. Susan Irvine, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 7, *MS. E* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 107; trans. M. J. Swanton (London: J. D. Dent, 1996), 232); *Annales Wirziburgenses* 1096 (MGH SS 2, 246); *Annales Augustani* 1096 (MGH SS 3, 134); *Annales Beneventani* 1096 (MGH SS 3, 183); *Annales S. Germani minores* 1097 (SS 4, 4); *Annales S. Benigni Divionensis* 1096 (MGH SS 5, 43); *Lupi Protospatrii annales* 1096 (MGH SS 5, 62); *Gesta Treverorum, continuatio prima* 17 (MGH SS 8, 190); *Auctarium Zwetlense* 1095 (MGH SS 9, 540); *Auctarium Garstense* 1095 (MGH SS 9, 568); *Annales Admutenses* 1095 (MGH SS 9, 576); *Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis prima* 1095 (MGH SS 9, 609); *Annales S. Petri Erphesfurdenses* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 16); *Annales Sancti Pauli Virdunensis* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 501). '1096. Ingens diversarum gentium multitudo nullo duce armata Iherusolimam pergit.'

<sup>106</sup> London, BL, Cotton Caligula A XV, 136r; cf. *Ex codice annalium Saxoniorum* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 481). Cf. Lamb., *Lib. flor.*, 43v; *Annales Mosomagenses* 1096 (MGH SS 3, 162); *Annales Beneventani* 1096 (MGH SS 3, 183); *Annales Blandinienses* 1096 (MGH SS 5, 27); *Annales Formoselenses* 1096 (MGH SS 5, 36); *Annalista Saxo* 1096 (MGH SS 6, 728-9); *Annales Egmundani* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 448); *Annales Sancti Iacobi Leodiensis* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 639); *Lamberti Parvi Annales* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 647); *Annales Brunwilarenses* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 726). 'Her ferde the christene folc, to gewinnene the haedene.'

around the diocese of Liège adopt this terminology very early. The *Annals of Liège* and the *Chronicle* of Sigebert of Gembloux, in particular, refer respectively to a rising of the ‘western Christians’ and ‘western peoples’.<sup>107</sup> Although the relationship is unclear, these are central to a network of histories that adopt this convention.<sup>108</sup> Thus, when the *Annals of Floreffe* were established in 1139, they used the *Annals of Liège* for this entry.<sup>109</sup> Likewise, the *Chronicle of Saint Humbert in Ardennes*, in the diocese of Liège, also identifies those who respond to Urban’s call as the ‘Christian people of the entire west’.<sup>110</sup> Finally, the *Annals of Voormezele*, Ypres, do not directly identify the crusaders as western, but after the capture of Nicaea in 1097, it records that a comet appeared in the west, perhaps again following the *Annals of Liège*.<sup>111</sup> There is some variation among these sources, but again there is an important imputation of collective activity to this body of westerners. Both Sigebert and the *Annals of Liège* describe the west as acting ‘in the same breath (*una a-/conspiratione*)’ where the *Chronicle of St Humbert* has them driven by ‘one and the same intention’.<sup>112</sup>

Another early and influential trend, which also points to the influence of the Investiture Contest on this terminology, grew out of the chronicle of Frutolf of Michelsberg (d.1103). He presages the crusade with various signs, and describes how numerous people from ‘nearly all parts of the world, but chiefly the western kingdoms’ took up the journey to Jerusalem.<sup>113</sup> A more extensive discussion is found in the 1106 continuation, written by a participant in the crusade of

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<sup>107</sup> *Annales Leodiensis* 1095 (MGH SS 4, 29) and Sig., *Chron.* 1096 (MGH SS 6, 367). ‘occidentales christiani’; ‘occidentales populi’.

<sup>108</sup> Pertz in MGH SS 4, 8-9 and Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 108.

<sup>109</sup> *Annales Floreffenses* 1096 (MGH SS 16, 623).

<sup>110</sup> *Chronicon Sancti Humberti Andaginensis* 82(102) (MGH SS 8, 615). ‘totius occidentis christianos ... populos’.

<sup>111</sup> *Annales Foroselenses* 1097 (MGH SS 5, 36). Cf. *Annales Leodiensis* 1097 (MGH SS 4, 29).

<sup>112</sup> *Annales Leodiensis* 1095 (MGH SS 4, 29); Sig., *Chron.* 1096 (MGH SS 6, 367); *Chronicon Sancti Humberti Andaginensis* 82(102) (MGH SS 8, 615).

<sup>113</sup> Frutolf, *Chron.* 1096 (MGH SS 6, 208; McCarthy, 130); on Frutolf and his continuers see McCarthy, intro. ‘ex omnibus pene terrae, sed maxime ab occidentalium regnorum partibus’.

1101 and Gregorian sympathiser.<sup>114</sup> This continuation substantially rewrites the history of the Crusade under the year 1099. It draws Urban back into the picture and describes the overtures from Alexius asking for the aid from the ‘West, which was already entirely committed to Christianity’.<sup>115</sup> The use of the west in Liège, an anti-Gregorian hotbed, and by Frutolf, may suggest that this language was used to qualify the papacy’s involvement and to connect the Crusade to a Roman unity in the west by recalling the western Empire.<sup>116</sup> However, this evidence is too partial to draw any determinate conclusion.

There are a few other scattered examples of heavenly signs linking the events of the First Crusade with the west. The *Annals of Seligenstadt*, from the diocese of Mainz, and the *Annals of Montecassino* both record the meteor shower of 1095, each adding that it was in the western region of the sky.<sup>117</sup> The *Chronicle of Montecassino* takes the further step of drawing an explicit parallel with the Crusade: ‘Innumerable stars were everywhere seen to fall from the sky against the western region. At the same time a movement of an innumerable and inestimable multitude of western peoples occurred...’<sup>118</sup> Likewise, the *Annals of Harsefeld*, in the diocese of Bremen, and the *Annals of Magdeburg* explain that ‘it was judged that [the heavenly sign] was not fire but angelic powers, signifying with their wandering that movement, which afterwards seized almost the entire western

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<sup>114</sup> McCarthy in Frutolf, *Chron.*, 44-56. Though historically identified as Ekkehard of Aura, McCarthy suggests greater caution on this point.

<sup>115</sup> Ps.-Frutolf, *1106 Continuation 1099* (MGH SS 6, 213, cf. 217, 220; McCarthy, 146, cf. 157, 162). ‘occidentem, qui iam ex integro christiana professione censeretur’.

<sup>116</sup> On the Liège see Kupper, *Liège et l’Église*, pt. 3.

<sup>117</sup> *Annales Seligenstadenses 1095* (MGH SS 17, 31); *Annales Casinenses ex annalibus antiquis 1095* (MGH SS 30.2), 1426; cf. Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 171n14 for a list of other references to this meteor shower. There may be a direct link between Seligenstadt and Montecassino, given the textual similarity between the two annals. Pertz suggests that the Annals of Seligenstadt were present in Rome for a certain time, although given that they go on to 1138 in the first recension it is difficult to see how they can be the source of a comment in the Montecassino annals completed in 1098. (MGH SS 17, 31n1).

<sup>118</sup> *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* 4.11 (MGH SS 34, 475). ‘stelle innumerabiles de celo versus occidentalem plagam ubique terrarum cadere vise sunt. Eodem tempore innumerabilis et inestimabilis multitudinis occidentalium gentium facta est motio...’

world'.<sup>119</sup> Thus, in one way or another, the memory of the First Crusade had been widely linked with the idea of the west as a region of Christian and divinely providential activity.

The Crusade and its connection to the west also resonate through Anglo-Norman historiography of the early-twelfth century. Both William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis make a particular and explicit point of including the Crusade in their general histories. Likewise, both describe the significance, and difficulty, of telling such a story.<sup>120</sup> And despite major differences in their accounts, both construct the west as a space of joint moral and political activity through the Crusade. William's account of the crusade is perhaps better known for its very prominent use of continental terminology and establishment of the Crusades as a contest between Europe and Asia.<sup>121</sup> This is not for nothing, as continental language is immensely prominent in his account, but it goes hand in hand with an east-west opposition as well. Urban's sermon evokes, like Guibert, a world near devoid of Christianity but for Europe, 'and how small a part of that do we Christians live in!'<sup>122</sup> To emphasise the threat they pose, William has Urban describe the peoples of Asia according to climatic characteristics, through an extended paraphrase of Lucan:

It is in fact well known that every nation born in an Eastern clime (*Eoa plaga*) is dried up by the great heat of the sun; they may have more good sense, but they have less blood in their veins, and that is why they flee in battle at close quarters: they know they have no blood to spare. A people, on the other hand, whose origin is in the northern frosts (*Arctois pruinis*) and who are far removed from the sun's heat, are less rational but fight most readily in proud reliance on a generous and exuberant supply of blood. You are a race originating in the more temperate regions of the

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<sup>119</sup> *Annales Rosenveldenses* 40 (MGH SS 16, 101); cf. *Annales Magdeburgenses* 40 (MGH SS 16, 179). On the heavenly signs around 1095 see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 31-4. 'Quod non ignem set angelicas fuisse potestates, animadversum est, vagacione sua eam, que postea totum pene mundum corripuit occidentem, significantes mocionem'.

<sup>120</sup> WM, *GR* 4.343 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 592-3); OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4-9). Cf. Rod Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury, Historian of the Crusade', *Reading Medieval Studies* 23 (1997): 121-2.

<sup>121</sup> Oschema, 'L'idée', 61-5; Oschema, *Bilder*, 268-9; Thomson, 'William', 127-9; John Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English? The English histories of William of Malmesbury and David Hume', *Historical Research* 74, no. 183 (2001): 30-1.

<sup>122</sup> WM, *GR* 4.347.6 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 600-1). 'cuius quantulam partem inhabitamus Christiani!'

world, men whose readiness to shed blood leads to a contempt for death and wounds...<sup>123</sup>

Although the east-west opposition is clear, if not explicit, in the reference to the ‘more temperate regions of the world’, William later recalls this description and makes it explicit. In the siege of Antioch, when describing the Persian ruler he explains the duration of the Persian empire again through their ‘unwarlike nature ... who being short of active blood cannot unlearn the servile habit they have once acquired’.<sup>124</sup> The Persians are quickly set up in contrast with the crusaders. ‘The western peoples, on the other hand, are bold and fierce, and reject the long-continued lordship of any one nation... Thus the Roman rule passed first to the Franks and later to the Teutons, while in the East the Persian Empire goes on for ever.’<sup>125</sup> Thus, like Baudri and Tudebode, William conflates Europe and the west in his construction of Christianity through the Crusade.

But this idea of western knights as champions of Christendom builds into a broader ethnic spatialisation that creeps into the work more broadly. When William describes Ecgberht’s exile from Britain, he casts this an act of divine providence, that he could learn ‘the art of government from the Franks; for in both martial exercises and in polish of manners the men of France are easily first among the nations of the West.’<sup>126</sup> Gillingham rightly emphasises the use of the present tense in William’s description of the Franks and Thomson notes how William projects present notions of chivalry into the past, but we can take this a step further.<sup>127</sup> This is cast as a specifically civilising event, as Ecgberht is able to acquire ‘a civility of manners very different from the barbarity of his

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<sup>123</sup> WM, *GR* 4.347.8 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 602-3); cf. Lucan, 8.363-6. ‘Constat profecto quod omnis natio quae in Eoa plaga nascitur, nimio solis ardore siccata, amplius quidem sapit, sed minus habet sanguinis; ideoque vicinam pugnam fugiunt, quia parum sanguinis se habere norunt. Contra, populus qui oritur in Arcto is pruinis, et remotus est a solis ardoribus, inconsultior quidem sed largo et luxurianti superbus sanguine promptissime pugnat. Vos estis gens quae in temperatioribus mundi provinciis oriunda, qui sitis et prodigi sanguinis ad mortis vulnerumque contemptum’.

<sup>124</sup> WM, *GR* 4.360.2 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 632-3). ‘parum ... bellicosa et uiuacis sanguinis inops, semel acceptum nescit dediscere seruitium’.

<sup>125</sup> WM, *GR* 4.360.2 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 632-5). ‘At uero gens occidentalis, audax et effera, diurnam unius populi dedignatur dominationem... Denique Romanum imperium prius ad Francos, post ad Teutones declinauit, orientale apud Persas semper durat.’

<sup>126</sup> WM, *GR* 2.106.2 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 152-3); ‘regnandi disciplinam a Francis acciperet. Est enim gens illa et exercitio uirum et comitate morum cunctarum occidentalium facile princeps.’

<sup>127</sup> Thompson in WM, *GR*, vol. 2, 76. Gillingham, ‘Civilizing’, 37.

native land.’<sup>128</sup> What is more, the entry of Britain into a community of western nations is dated to Charlemagne’s reign, folding this event into a broader nexus of ideas about Christianity in general and the Crusade specifically.<sup>129</sup> In this way the west assumes a transhistorical significance as a locus of identification. It is this martial and moral prowess, exemplified in the Franks, that unifies Europe and the west through the Crusade. Indeed, William looks forward to this in the first book when, describing how God aroused the Franks’ ‘native might’ to prevent the ‘Saracens’ from overwhelming Europe, he explains that ‘in our time’ the ‘Franks and other Christian peoples of Europe’ have retaken a great part of Asia.<sup>130</sup> The Franks serve here as the vanguard of the west, just like in Urban’s exhortation: ‘Let the celebrated valour of the Franks, with the nations under their sway, advance, and the mere terror of their name will shake the whole earth.’<sup>131</sup> Thus, for William, there is an important distinction between Europe and the west. Europe serves as a community of religio-political cooperation, it is the stage of politics; the west is the locus of moral and ‘racial’ characteristics and activity, the community of nations. The Franks are therefore the preeminent *gens* among western peoples, but defenders of Europe.

Writing from the other side of the channel, around a decade later, Orderic Vitalis likewise viewed the crusade as an epoch making moment in history. Its significance and providential character are unambiguously established in the word order of the opening clause to book nine: ‘Vicissitudines temporum et rerum aeternus conditor sapienter salubriterque ordinat’.<sup>132</sup> The Crusades are a moment of moral clarity within the uncertainty of the created order, a point which Orderic continues to affirm by stressing that it is by divine ordination that crusades were assembled

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<sup>128</sup> WM, GR 2.106.2 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 152-3); Gillingham, ‘Civilizing’, 37. ‘mores longe a gentilitatia barbarie alienos indueret.’

<sup>129</sup> Gabriele, *Empire*, ch. 5; cf. WM, GR 4.367.3, 373.1 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 642-3, 654-7).

<sup>130</sup> WM, GR 1.92 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 134-7). Note the distinction between the Franks and other peoples as well as his previous distinction between Franks and French (1.68.8). ‘ingenitum robur’; ‘nostros diebus ... per Francos et omnis generis ex Europa Christianos.’

<sup>131</sup> WM, GR 4.347.10 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 602-3). ‘Eat famosa Francorum uirtus cum appenditiis sibi gentibus, solo sui nominis terrore totum orbem motura.’

<sup>132</sup> OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4-5). ‘The eternal Creator wisely and providently ordains seasonal and historical changes’.

and conducted.<sup>133</sup> Following Baudri's account closely, Orderic does not include much language of east and west within the actual account of the Crusade, but it is consistently framed this way both in book nine and throughout the history. Within the course of the introduction alone he describes how 'a single company is marvellously assembled from many western peoples and one army is led against the infidels in the eastern regions (*Eoas partes*)' and these 'western faithful' were inspired to do so by God's miracles.<sup>134</sup> This use of west makes sense in the broader context of its function as a space of moral and religious activity more broadly in the *Ecclesiastical History*. We see this conjunction particularly in the fame of Bohemond that 'resounded everywhere as the peoples of the west acclaimed the noble standard-bearer of the armies of Christendom'.<sup>135</sup> Bohemond goes on to lead thousands of westerners (*occidentalium*) on crusade against the eastern pagans (*in eoas ... ethnicos*).

This focus on religious community permeates beyond the Crusade. The west is for Orderic a space of religious activity more generally. In the controversy around the election of Innocent II, Orderic describes how Gregory gained great authority among the westerners (*apud occiduos*) due to Cluny's preference for him over Peter. This afforded him pontifical legitimacy in the eyes of the French (*in Gallis*) and thereafter he was accepted by the princes and bishops of the west (*occiduis principibus et episcopis*). Likewise, after travelling to France (*Franciam*) and conferring with emperor Lothar, he summoned a council of all bishops and abbots from the entire west (*totius occidentis*).<sup>136</sup> In this story we see how the west serves Orderic as the relevant community of religious organisation. It also functioned as a political arena, as in the story of Odo's aspiration to the papacy. Hearing that Roman soothsayers predicted his ascension, Odo forsook the wealth and

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<sup>133</sup> Cf. Shopkow, *History*, 97-105, esp. 104.

<sup>134</sup> OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4-7). 'a multis occidentalium populis unus grex miro modo congeritur, et contra ethnicos in Eoas partes unus exercitus conducitur'; 'occiduos fideles'.

<sup>135</sup> OV, 8.20 (Chibnall, 4:264-5). 'ab occidentalibus populis utpote precipuus christiani exercitus signifer susceptus ubique claruit.'

<sup>136</sup> OV, 13.11 (Chibnall, 6:420-1).

power of the western kingdom (*regni occidentalis*) in hopes of achieving authority over not only the Latins but the whole world and lavished gifts upon the Roman aristocracy. He likewise invited Hugh, earl of Chester, and together the Normans, unsatisfied with England and Normandy, ‘resolved to abandon the great estates that they possessed in the western parts and took an oath to follow the accompany the bishop beyond the Po.’<sup>137</sup> Needless to say, this venture is unsuccessful. ‘Wise’ King William immediately steps onto the scene to voice his disapproval at Odo, and arrest him for abandoning his responsibilities in England and drawing men across the Alps who ought to be standing against the Danes and Irish.<sup>138</sup> Orderic presents this as Normans, by their nature, desiring too much. But it also involves a key conflation of the west with the Latin world and the abandonment of the west as a morally significant action for Norman actors. Note also the spatial differentiation between Italy and the west, which underscores the geographical significance of the Alps in the early-twelfth century.<sup>139</sup> As such, the west is not merely the geographical location of Normandy for Orderic, but it is also the locus of a particular religious and political community of which the Normans are a member.

It is difficult to summarise such a varied collection of material. As was noted early on, the turn of the twelfth century, and particularly its first few decades, was a particularly significant moment in the development of supranational collective identity in the Latin world. This coincided with a period of relative terminological anarchy, with authors, often up to the middle of the century, experimenting with language in ways that break from prior conventions. From the early-twelfth century, especially emanating from the memory and histories of the First Crusade, the nascent notion of a community of western peoples and kingdoms, conflated broadly with the Latin world, begins to emerge. Especially in the theological refinement of the crusading narrative some more

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<sup>137</sup> OV, 7.8 (Chibnall, 4:40-1). I have slightly modified Chibnall’s translation. ‘Ingentes quoque fundos quos in occiduis climatibus possidebant deserere decreuerunt, ac ut prefato presuli trans Padum comitarentur per fidem sponderunt.’

<sup>138</sup> OV, 7.8 (Chibnall, 4:40-3). ‘prudens rex’.

<sup>139</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Représentations géographiques de l’Europe’, 70-1.

developed ideas of the west also emerge. They use the division between the Eastern and Western Churches to ground a relocation of religious significance to the west. In this context the west becomes a locus of divine activity, with particular reference to the Franks as God's elect. This development within crusade histories also filters into Latin history writing more broadly, as evidenced in a wide range of chronicle accounts. Historians throughout the Latin world must negotiate this new relationship of the west with the Crusade and the community of Latin kingdoms. It is used by investiture partisans as a means of discussing the relationship between the papacy and kingdoms of Europe in religious activity. It is likewise brought into conversation with the flowering of a medicalised, ethnographic discourse, the contours of which are deeply unclear in this early period, but which nevertheless has captured the interest of a number of northern French historians. Anglo-Norman historians in particular grapple increasingly with the west as a category through which to characterise the place of the Normans and English with the community of European, Christian kingdoms. Thus, broadly speaking, the west comes to represent more than a mere geographical identifier for these authors. Rather it serves not only as a space for religious and political activity and identification, but it also provides a malleable basis from which to impute climatic characteristics. It remains, however, most fundamentally a context for divine activity in history.

### *East-West Movement*

Closely interrelated with the issue of 'western' identity is the idea of westward progression in history. The *translatio imperii et studii* has been widely picked up in scholarship not only for its importance as literary trope from the twelfth century onwards, but it is also frequently cited as a means of establishing a western identity against the east.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, the idea of east-west

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<sup>140</sup> Loren Baritz, 'The Idea of the West', *The American Historical Review* 66, no. 3 (1961): 623-6; Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 35; Lapina, *Warfare*, 126-7.

movement within the *translatio* has been taken to be a standard aspect of high-medieval historical consciousness and, although this view is increasingly qualified in recent scholarship, it is still commonly described as a standard feature of medieval historical theology.<sup>141</sup> This identification is almost invariably made in reference to one or both of Hugh of Saint Victor or Otto of Freising. Useful though these authors may be for their clear theoretical approach to history and the historical method, this particular aspect of their thought has been broadly mishandled. Although a general idea of east to west movement in history is an important trope for twelfth-century authors, the use of Hugh and Otto as a hermeneutic key to medieval historical consciousness has obscured other spatial aspects within medieval historical thought. As such, this section will look first to clarify and delimit the sense in which an east-west movement underlies medieval historical consciousness. From this basis we will then look to complicate this narrative by considering the often deemphasised influence of Orosius's four-directional model of *translatio* and more broadly the way in which a variety of texts normally considered from the perspective of an east-west *translatio* could be equally understood from the perspective of spatial universality and liminality.

The influence of a westward *translatio* is surely a product in part of the prominence of Otto of Freising and Hugh of Saint Victor in modern reconstruction of twelfth-century historical consciousness and practice. Otto of Freising, and particularly his *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, was foundational for the study of medieval historical thought among the crucial figures of German *Ideen-* or *Geistesgeschichte* from the 1930s to 1960s, a period that serves as the basis for

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<sup>141</sup> John Kirtland Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1925), 233-5; Chenu, 'Theology', 186-8. More recently, Lapina, *Warfare*, ch. 6; on maps cf. Edson, *Mapping*, 26, 115; Evelyn Edson, 'The Medieval World View: Contemplating the Mappamundi', *History Compass* 8, no. 6 (2010): 508; Hartmut Kugler, 'Hochmittelalterliche Weltkarten als Geschichtsbilder', in *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistoriographischer Quellen*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998), 181, 194; Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), ch. 6, esp. 125-8; cf. McKenzie, 'Westward'. Goetz gives a more qualified appraisal ('Historical writing', 118; *Gott* 1.2, 229-30; cf. Hans-Werner Goetz, 'The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick J. Geary (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2002), 154), although accepts the idea that it is expressed on *mappaemundi* with less qualification (*Gott* 1.2, 143n733, 146).

current research into medieval historiography.<sup>142</sup> In particular, Otto served them as the archetype of medieval historical consciousness, founded upon the intersection of historiography and historical theology that Otto so well exemplifies.<sup>143</sup> Otto's role as a point of intersection between history and theology is particularly relevant to our modern perception of western progression in medieval thought. And under the rubric of the German Symbolists, as the only historian *per se*, Otto was considered *the* historian par excellence. For example, Grundmann describes how, although the Frutolf's chronicle remained authoritative in Germany, it served as but a stepping stone to Otto's *Chronica*, the 'most profound picture of world history in the Middle Ages', which would 'bring world historiography to completion'.<sup>144</sup> Since the 1980s historians have tended to take a more cautious approach to Otto's preeminence and exemplary status. Increasingly scholars have distinguished between Otto's preeminence as a historical theoretician and his potential exemplarity, although his historical method is still seen as representative. Lehtonen concludes his survey of Otto's typicality by noting that: 'although Otto's systematic adaptation of theology of history was exceptional, if not unique, he did articulate essential presuppositions which were commonly shared among learned clergy in the twelfth century'.<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless, his position still lingers, prompting Mégier's insistence that Otto's historiographical development between the *Chronica* and *Gesta*

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<sup>142</sup> On the influence of *Geistesgeschichte* see esp. Ray, 'Medieval historiography', 33-5; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 32-4; cf. R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 1. The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20 (1970): 173n.

<sup>143</sup> Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'History, Tragedy and Fortune in Twelfth-Century Historiography with Special Reference to Otto of Freising's *Chronica*', in *Historia: The Concept and Genres in the Middle Ages*, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Paivi Maria Mehtonen (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2000), 32-3; Mégier, '*Tamquam lux post tenebras*, oder: Ottos von Freising Weg von der Chronik zu den Gesta Friderici', in *Christliche Weltgeschichte* 40n5; Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 107.

<sup>144</sup> Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 21-2, cf. 73; Haskins, *Renaissance*, 237-8; Funkenstein, *Heilsplan*, 117; Werner Goetz, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1958), 107. 'Weitverbreitet, oft fortgesetzt und ausgeschrieben, lieferte sie [die Frutolf-Ekkehard-Chronik] auch dem Werke den Stoff, das in der nächsten Generation diese Weltchronistik zur Vollendung brachte: der *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* des Bischofs Otto von Freising... Vom Weltbeginn bis zum Weltende umfaßt Ottos Chronik das Ganze des menschlichen Daseins, das in sich geschlossenste, tiefstninnigste Bild der Weltgeschichte im Mittelalter.'

<sup>145</sup> Lehtonen, 'History, Tragedy and Fortune', 33; Goetz (*Geschichtsbild*, 315-27) presents substantially the same view, affirming both that: 'das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising, dessen Werk in dieser Form einmalig und ohne Nachfolger geblieben ist, bildet zweifellos einen besonderen und eigenen Beitrag hochmittelalterlichen Geschichtsdenkens' (316) and that: 'Otto von Freising ist ein typischer und zweifellos ein sehr gewichtiger Repräsentant seiner Zeit.' (327)

cannot be seriously considered until it is removed from the context of a normative ‘Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters’ that takes his work as paradigmatic.<sup>146</sup> Although Anglophone historiography has remained more ambivalent towards Otto, seeing him as something of an exceptional historian of the twelfth-century renaissance but not typical properly speaking, the importance of the German scholarship on medieval historiography still weighs on the Anglophone tradition more broadly.<sup>147</sup>

Hugh has not held quite the same preeminent position as Otto, at least in German scholarship, but his influence has been in many ways broader and more significant. His relationship to Otto’s idea of westward progression has been a point of discussion since the nineteenth century, although the particular nature of their relationship remains elusive.<sup>148</sup> But, on his own terms, Hugh has been viewed as crucial in the development of a historically progressive theology in the early-twelfth century.<sup>149</sup> Furthermore, he continues to be used for a number of particularly schematic statements that he makes about the nature of history and historiographical practice. Most prominently, both in the introduction to his *Chronicle* and in the *Didascalicon* he describes how history is constituted in *persona*, *locus*, *tempus* and, in the latter only, *negotium*.<sup>150</sup> Goetz has, for example, picked up on this as a rubric for medieval historiography generally.<sup>151</sup> Likewise, Hugh’s description of the concurrence of time and space, as well as his candid discussion of symbolism, in his Ark tract is used consistently to show how medieval viewers might have considered figural

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<sup>146</sup> Mègier, ‘*Tamquam lux*’, 40; on the broader methodological divergence between Goetz and Mègier that drives this point, see Mègier, ‘Jesus Christ’, 261n4 and Goetz, *Gott und die Welt*, vol. 1, bk. 2, 232n341.

<sup>147</sup> Hay, *Annalists and Historians*, 50-3; Smalley, *Historians*, 100-3; Southern, ‘Historical Writing: 2’, 176-7.

<sup>148</sup> Goetz, *Geschichtsbild*, 158n132; Ehlers, *Hugo*, 134; Joachim Ehlers, *Otto von Freising: Ein Intellektueller im Mittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013), 191-3.

<sup>149</sup> Classen, ‘*Res Gestae*’, 406-7; Southern, ‘Historical Writing: 2’, 163-5; Chenu, ‘Theology’, 169-73; Smalley, *Bible*, 87-97; cf. *supra* ch. 2.

<sup>150</sup> Hugh of Saint Victor, *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum* (William M. Green, *Speculum* 18, no. 4 (1943): 491), HoSV, *Didas.* 6.3 (Buttimer, 114; Taylor, 136).

<sup>151</sup> Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 164-77; cf. Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, ‘Mappa mundi und Chronographia: Studien zur *imago mundi* des abendländischen Mittelalters’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968): 124.

representations of time and space.<sup>152</sup> But even with such a broad influence, Goetz correctly notes that there is no evidence of an east-west *translatio* in Hugh's *Chronicle*, nor is there any clear evidence of such a progression in his *Descriptio*. As such it remains for Hugh a specifically spiritualised reading of history.<sup>153</sup> Both Hugh and Otto therefore remain key figures in our reconstruction of medieval attitudes towards history and historical theology, and rightly so. This has, nevertheless, created lingering assumptions that still permeate the field.

Although their historical theology is no longer presented as normative with the same conviction as it was up to the middle of the last century, their continued influence is still very clear. Nowhere is this more evident than in the study of medieval cartography, where the influence of Hugh's Ark tracts on the idea of westward development in medieval maps remains explicit.<sup>154</sup> To provide a handful of prominent examples, Scafi, Kugler and Lecoq all take Hugh to straightforwardly justify positing an east-west spatial logic across medieval maps generally.<sup>155</sup> But the point is broader than this. Hugh and Otto still serve as the interpretive lens through which many scholars engage with the reception of Orosius's historical theology in the Middle Ages, occluding, *inter alia*, the influence of his fourfold directional *translatio*. Von den Brincken confidently asserts that the Orosian model of world empires had 'no influence on cartography'.<sup>156</sup> Likewise, in his most recent survey of the material, Goetz contrasts the four-part *translatio* of Orosius, with the east-west *translatio* of Hugh, Otto and 'other high-medieval authors', which seems to imply the primacy of the latter in the Middle Ages, although no other authors proposing such a view are cited.<sup>157</sup> The

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<sup>152</sup> Scafi, *Mapping*, 126-7; David Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', in Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography*, 335; David Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 4 (1985): 513.

<sup>153</sup> Goetz, *Translatio*, 120; on his geography see *supra* ch. 1.

<sup>154</sup> See *contra* McKenzie, 'Westward'.

<sup>155</sup> Scafi, *Mapping*, 126-7; Alessandro Scafi, 'Defining *Mappaemundi*', in Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, 348; Kugler, 'Hochmittelalterliche Weltkarten', 181, 194; cf. McKenzie, 'Westward', 335.

<sup>156</sup> Von den Brincken, 'Mappa mundi und Chronographia', 136. 'das u.a. räumlich bestimmte Schema des Geschichtsablaufs nach vier Weltreichen, das in der orosianischen Version auch noch nach Himmelsrichtungen als Babylon, Makedonien, Karthago und Rom gedacht wurde, hat z.B. keinen Einfluß auf das Kartenwesen genommen.'

<sup>157</sup> Goetz, *Gott und die Welt*, vol. 1, bk. 2, 229-30, 230n329; cf. Goetz, *Geschichtsbild*, 158n132.

consistent reliance on these two closely associated authors alone, only one of whom had a broad geographical diffusion, is somewhat puzzling set alongside the assertions of broad influence, either as a structuring principle of medieval maps or toward unspecified ‘other authors’.<sup>158</sup> This is doubly so since, at least in the case of cartography, the sources do not clearly or consistently present a Hugonian model. Thus Scafi qualifies the assertion that the translation of the four world empires, east to west, is a consistent feature of the medieval maps by noting that Persia is normally east of Babylon.<sup>159</sup>

The case for the *translatio studii* is even more stark, and serves as a case in point for the unhelpful extrapolation from Otto. The standard account of the role of *translatio* generally in medieval thought is still the 1958 study by Goetz, which follows the standard teleology of medieval historical thought for its period, naturally culminating in Otto’s *Chronicle*, ‘the most important work of this kind [that is, world chronicles]’.<sup>160</sup> But despite his qualifications of Otto’s direct influence, Goetz still attempts to draw this trope’s rise to popularity in from the mid-twelfth century back to Otto himself, suggesting a pattern of dissemination directly through Godfrey of Viterbo and indirectly through Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>161</sup> This thesis was, however, soundly put to rest in the late 1960s by Jongkees and Worstbrock. Both point out that the *translatio studii* cannot possibly be constructed as a singular tradition, since at least two major strands already exist in the twelfth century and that it has deeper roots in the literature of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages than Goetz allowed.<sup>162</sup> Worstbrock in particular, through his brilliant article on the subject, offers a better

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<sup>158</sup> On Otto and Hugh’s *Chronicle*: Guenée, *Histoire*, 258-9, 263-4. On Hugh’s Ark tract: Rudolf Goy, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor: Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976), 212-37; Patrice Sicard, *Iter Victorinum: La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Hugues et de Richard de Saint-Victor; Répertoire complémentaire et études* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 88ff.

<sup>159</sup> Scafi, *Mapping*, 128n23.

<sup>160</sup> Goetz, *Translatio*, 111. ‘[...] für die Gattung der Weltchronik.] Das bedeutendste Werk dieser Art ist die sog. Chronik des Bischofs Otto von Freising aus dem Hause der Babenberger’.

<sup>161</sup> Goetz, *Translatio*, 121-4.

<sup>162</sup> Adriaan Gerard Jongkees, ‘Translatio Studii: Les avatars d’un thème médiéval’, in *Miscellanea in memoriam Jan Frederick Niermeyer* ed. Dirk Peter Blok (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1967), 41-51; Franz Josef Worstbrock, ‘Translatio artium: Über die Herkunft und Entwicklung einer kulturhistorischen Theorie’, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 47, no. 1 (1965): 1-22.

approach to the issue than its common homogenisation through one or two authors. Worstbrock carefully details not only how the idea of a *translatio artium* permeated classical literature, but how multiple traditions developed out of the interactions between the Ciceronian, Greek-centric *translatio* and the Greek-patristic, Egyptian or eastern-centric theory.<sup>163</sup> By reducing this idea not only to its major expressions, but also to its constituent, separable elements, we can better appreciate the development of the tradition and the work of individual authors. To give one example, Isidore, along with Cassiodorus, harmonises these traditions, following Cicero with Greek origins for the trivium and the patristics with Egyptian and eastern origins for the quadrivium.<sup>164</sup> But when Hugh of Saint Victor develops his own account of the *translatio studii*, itself drawn largely from Isidore, he reunifies the trivium with the patristic picture, identifying Egypt as the *mater artium*, which of course Otto follows.<sup>165</sup>

Likewise for the *translatio imperii*, we find a great plurality of underlying ideas that develop into multiple traditions. It is well known that there were already at least two major traditions of world empires, following respectively Jerome and Orosius.<sup>166</sup> There are likewise various traditions for the interpretation of the change of empires. For example, in the tradition of German vernacular world histories from the eleventh century, there is a rich interchange between the ideas of a *translatio* and a *renovatio imperii*.<sup>167</sup> In the reception of Sigebert of Gembloux in French world chronicles of the late-twelfth to fourteenth centuries, particularly after the establishment of a Latin dynasty in Constantinople, there are divergent views about the *translatio* or *divisio imperii*.<sup>168</sup> As

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<sup>163</sup> Worstbrock, 'Translatio', 1-15.

<sup>164</sup> Worstbrock, 'Translatio', 13; Isi., *Etym.* 2.2.1, 3.10.1, 15.1, 25.1, cf. 3.3.1 (Barney et al., 69, 93, 95, 99; 89). Arithmetic is the odd one out here, originating from Pythagoras.

<sup>165</sup> Worstbrock, 'Translatio', 13-15; Ehlers, *Hugo*, 134; HoSV, *Didas.* 3.2 (PL 176, 767C; Taylor, 86); Otto, *Chron.* 1.prol. (Hofmeister, 8; Mierow, 94-5).

<sup>166</sup> Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 199; Goetz, *Geschichtsbild*, 140.

<sup>167</sup> For an overview see Claudia Wittig, 'Political Didacticism in the Twelfth Century: The Middle-High German *Kaiserchronik*', in *Universal Chronicles in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Michele Campopiano and Henry Bainton (York: York Medieval Press, 2017), esp. 100-4; generally Uta Goerlitz, *Literarische Konstruktion (vor-) nationaler Identität seit dem Annolied: Analysen und Interpretationen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters (11.-16. Jahrhundert)* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 173-7.

<sup>168</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 471-539.

such, we should also look for the separable aspects of the tradition of a westward *translatio* which these authors use to develop their particular ideas.

There is, in the first place, an important history of east-west opposition within late-antique thought. We will focus on just the one example which must certainly be considered the most important for the Middle Ages, Augustine's idea of Rome as a new Babylon. In book eighteen of the *City of God*, Augustine turns to providing his own history of the earthly city, which he does under the rubric of two empires, Assyria and Rome. But, breaking with his contemporaries, Augustine denies that this should be understood as a providential development in expectation of Christ – the *praeparatio evangelica* that we find in Orosius – but instead as a broader mutual entanglement of the earthly city.<sup>169</sup> Nevertheless, there is still a sense of a providential progression from east to west in the transition from Babylon to Rome, which 'are ordered and distinguished in relation to one another in terms of time and place. For the former arose earlier, and the latter later; the one in the East, the other in the West.'<sup>170</sup> But Augustine does more than merely repeat the old notion of Rome's inheritance of the legacy of eastern empires.<sup>171</sup> Instead, as he goes on to describe later in the same chapter, this must be understood in terms of Babylon's role as the first Rome and Rome's as a second Babylon.<sup>172</sup> As Funkenstein notes, his point is to emphasise not the development of, but the parallelism between the earthly exemplars of the two cities.<sup>173</sup> This reading is corroborated in Orosius, since nowhere do we find a further development of any supposed east-west progression in Augustine. Rather Orosius emphasises the comparative aspect of Augustine's approach to Babylon and Rome, both through the harmonious mirroring of Babylon and Rome, and by opposing them

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<sup>169</sup> R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 52-3.

<sup>170</sup> Aug., *ciu.* 18.2 (Dyson, 822). '[duo regna cernimus ... Assyriorum ... Romanorum] ut temporibus, ita locis inter se ordinata atque distincta. Nam quo modo illud prius, hoc posterius: eo modo illud in Oriente, hoc in Occidente surrexit'.

<sup>171</sup> Johannes van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of his Doctrine of the Two Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 96-7; Joseph Ward Swain, 'The Theory of the Four Monarchies Opposition History under the Roman Empire', *Classical Philology* 35, no. 1 (1940): 14.

<sup>172</sup> Aug., *ciu.* 18.2.

<sup>173</sup> Funkenstein, *Heilsplan*, 48-9.

with another pair on the north-south axis.<sup>174</sup> As such, while Augustine does describe a sort of east-west *translatio*, it can hardly be taken as determinative of the later developments of Hugh and Otto.<sup>175</sup>

There is, secondly, a broader history of east and west as a temporal axis which must be distinguished from the progression of empires.<sup>176</sup> For example, Honorius Augustodunensis describes the flow of time: ‘as if a rope were extended from east to west, which is collected by coiling daily, eventually the whole thing would be taken up.’<sup>177</sup> Although the precise background for this idea is unclear, we can readily see how this could be constructed out of the standard *topoi* of east and west. Particularly through the metaphor of the sun’s movement, the east and west already contain ideas of origin and finality.<sup>178</sup> But it is likewise a significant feature of the discussion of time, since the day begins in the east and ends with the west.<sup>179</sup> Taken alongside the opening statement of the *Munich computus*, preserved in a ninth-century manuscript from St Emmeramm, Regensburg, Honorius’s statement is not a huge leap: ‘time is the interval extending from the beginning to the end’.<sup>180</sup> This conflation of beginning and east is reinforced further through the double reading of Genesis 2:8 according to which paradise was established both ‘from the beginning’ (*a principio*) and ‘to the east’ (*ad orientem*).<sup>181</sup> We see this drawn into a completely different idea of western development in Hermann of Carinthia’s *De essentiis* where he notes as evidence of Paradise’s location in the east that ‘it is reasonably certain that the series of things, as

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<sup>174</sup> Orosius, 7.2.8-11 (Fear, 321-2).

<sup>175</sup> Conrad Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 201, 534n672.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Lapina, *Warfare*, 128-31.

<sup>177</sup> Hon., *Im. mun.* 2.3 (Flint, 92). ‘Veluti si funis ab oriente in occidentem extenderetur qui cottidie plicando collectus, tandem totus absumeretur.’

<sup>178</sup> Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 30-3, 201.

<sup>179</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 13.1.4, 7 (Barney et al., 271).

<sup>180</sup> *Munich Computus*, 1 (ed. and trans. Immo Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and its Reception in Carolingian Times* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010), 2-3). ‘Tempus est spatium tendens de principio usque in finem’.

<sup>181</sup> *Glossa* 1:11r (25); cf. Hugh of Saint Victor, *De uanitate rerum mundanarum* 2 (CCCM 269, 168): ‘ea quae in principio seculi facta sunt **in oriente quasi in principio** mundi fierent’.

we have said, came to be in the east, and has gradually advanced in to the rest of the world'.<sup>182</sup> Although this is likely drawn in part from Hugh's Ark tract, Hermann's point is unrelated.<sup>183</sup> There is no discussion of world empires, but instead he points to the many varieties of exotic animals which 'have not yet reached' Europe.<sup>184</sup> So while this idea may be interconnected with the transition of empires, by failing to distinguish between them we fail to differentiate between the theoretical activities of a particular author and their use of the broader *topoi* around east and west.

By homogenising the aforementioned elements, it is easy to fall into the habit of adopting the theoretical work of Hugh and Otto as a mere *topos* through which we then interpret the broader intellectual output of the High Middle Ages. We can see this in the way that modern scholars have attempted to fill out the list of *translatio* theories. Thus, for example, Akbari rightly presents Otto of Freising as anomalous in his focus on an east-west dichotomy, suggesting that he draws on Orosius notion of *translatio imperii*, but also adds Fulcher of Chartres to this list.<sup>185</sup> Likewise, Lapina naturally notes both Otto of Freising and Hugh of Saint Victor as examples of an east-west temporal development, but adds Gerald of Wales to the list.<sup>186</sup> Though both Fulcher and Gerald draw upon the broader *topoi* of east and west, just like Hugh and Otto, neither author is properly, or at least uncontroversially, comparable in this respect. Rather, in Fulcher the directionality is reversed, with the west translating into the east, and it is a movement of people rather than empires, with the westerners finding a new promised land.<sup>187</sup> Likewise with Gerald, the example of Merlin's prophecies are not obviously referring to the movement of empires and are certainly better understood in terms of the immediately preceding contrast of Thomas the Apostle and Thomas

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<sup>182</sup> Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis* 2, 78vC-D (ed. and trans. Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 222-5). 'certum est **rerum seriem / ab oriente** (ut diximus) **orsam**, paulatim in orbem progressam'.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Hugh, *De arch.* 4.9 (CCCM 176, 112): 'ita **serie rerum ab oriente** in occidente recta linea **decurrente**'.

<sup>184</sup> Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis* 2, 78vD (Burnett, 224-5). 'plurima ... vel animalium genera que nondum ad nus usque per/venerunt.'

<sup>185</sup> Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 35.

<sup>186</sup> Lapina, *Warfare*, 126-7.

<sup>187</sup> See *supra*.

Becket, which Gerald describes in precisely the same terms, as a contrast between east and west, rising and setting, young and old.<sup>188</sup> What is more, as Oschema has shown, there was already a rich hagiographical tradition from the 1170s in which Becket was described as a western light illuminating the east.<sup>189</sup> In both cases, modern scholars have conflated medieval engagement with the cardinal points, with every east-west dichotomy being potentially understood as an explicit east-west *translatio*. This conceals the great variety of theoretical work being done by medieval authors by resolving their engagement with the cardinal points down to a mere repetition of cultural commonplaces.

#### *Translatio Models in the Early-Twelfth Century*

Even for Otto and Hugh, such a focus on their writing as normative occludes the theoretical work in which they are themselves engaging. Otto is very careful about precisely this point in the construction of his historical narrative. Not only does he expressly propose it as a theoretical principle at multiple points throughout his chronicle, but he also subtly adapts the Orosian material to better conform to his pattern of history.<sup>190</sup> Otto discusses this specifically in his adoption of Jerome's empires over Orosius's, which he suggest imply a fourfold spatial schema:

Some (*nonnulli*), however, including the kingdom of the Persians as well as that of the Medes and the Chaldeans with the Babylonians, have put the African kingdom in the second place among the four chief empires of the world. Thus they locate the four kingdoms of the world according to the four points of the compass: the Babylonian in the East, the African in the South, the Macedonian in the North, and the Roman in the West.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica* 1.20 (ed. and trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 72-5).

<sup>189</sup> Oschema, *Bilder*, 186-91.

<sup>190</sup> For explicit reiterations of the east-west theme: Otto, *Chron.* 1.prol., 2.13, 5.36, 7.35 (Hofmeister, 7-8, 81-2, 260, 372; Mierow, 94-5, 167, 358, 448); cf. Goetz, *Geschichtsbild*, 158-61

<sup>191</sup> Otto, *Chron.* 2.13 (Hofmeister, 82; Mierow, 167). 'Quamvis nonnulli Persarum regnum simul sicut Medorum ac Chaldeorum Babylonico annumerantes secundo loco Afffricanum inter IIIor mundi principalia regna posuerint regnum, ut sic secundum IIIor mundi cardines mundi quoque IIIor regna constituent, orienti scilicet Babylonicum, austro Afffricanum, septentrioni Macedonicum, occidenti Romanum tributentes.'

But Otto includes some more subtle changes to maintain the overall theme. When he adopts Orosius's account of Augustus receiving gifts from the Scythians and Indians, to highlight his position as ruler of the world, he carefully modifies the spatiality of the account. Where Orosius explicitly highlights that this represents the north and east supplicating to the west, Otto removes these identifications and describes the event as: 'the nations of the remotest east [coming] to the farthest west'.<sup>192</sup> Likewise he adopts this language to glorify the universal aspiration of the Church when he describes how Armenians come from nearly the farthest east (*ab ultimo pene oriente*) to be instructed in the Roman rite.<sup>193</sup> It would certainly be unfair to Otto's work to reduce his conscious engagement with both the *translatio* tradition as well as the tradition of interpreting the cardinal points to the mere application of a trope.

But Otto himself seems to suggest a disagreement with more than just Orosius. In citing the Orosian theory, Otto alludes to certain others (*nonnulli*) who maintain that position.<sup>194</sup> Although this is undoubtedly a reference to Orosius, as Hofmeister notes, the use of the plural is tantalisingly vague.<sup>195</sup> Indeed, the broader context of Otto's theory is itself already an issue. Goetz has noted the difficulty involved in proving a direct relationship between Otto's idea of east-west movement and the views of his contemporaries, and has suggested that we should perhaps look for a more widespread opinion from which Otto could be drawing.<sup>196</sup> But can we turn this question on its head and instead ask, who are these *nonnulli* with whom Otto is disagreeing and what is the state of the Orosian four-directional *translatio* among Otto's contemporaries.

This question is not easily answered since, besides Hugh and Otto, there is no comparably systematic discussion of a spatialised salvation history in the early-twelfth century. Thus, we will

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<sup>192</sup> Otto, *Chron.* 3.4 (Hofmeister, 140; Mierow, 228); cf. Orosius, 6.21.19-21 (Fear, 313-4). On Orosius's conjunction of north and east cf. Lucan, 8.363-6. 'a summo oriente gentes ad ultimum occidentem ... occurrunt.'

<sup>193</sup> Otto, *Chron.* 7.32 (Hofmeister, 360-3; Mierow, 441-2).

<sup>194</sup> Otto, *Chron.* 2.13 (Hofmeister, 82; Mierow, 167).

<sup>195</sup> Hofmeister in Otto, *Chron.* 82n4.

<sup>196</sup> Goetz, *Geschichtsbild*, 158n132.

need to evaluate not systematic engagements with history, but various remarks scattered throughout contemporary writings. Even on this front, spatialised interpretations of the fourfold *translatio* are rare. Nevertheless, the offhanded engagement with this tradition is indicative of a greater Orosian influence than is normally supposed. To get a sense of the way that the *translatio* was treated, two of Otto's contemporaries – Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) and Honorius Augustodunensis (fl. 1098-1140) – will serve as representative examples. Both were active in the first half of the twelfth century and the works of both were influential in southern Germany and to at least some extent available to Otto.<sup>197</sup>

Rupert is particularly known for his foundational role in the development of historical theology, along with Hugh of Saint Victor, throughout his extensive biblical exegesis.<sup>198</sup> The history of salvation and its theological contours are a constant theme through all of his works, and naturally the *translatio* is a feature of this discussion. The explicit spatialisation of this history, however, is not a consistent point of concern through his writing. When it does occur, a fourfold interpretation seems to leap more naturally to Rupert's mind. For example, the four world empires are a recurrent theme in his *Commentaries on the Minor Prophets* as he interweaves their prophecies with the prophecies of Daniel. Thus when Hosea (13:7-8) mentions a lioness, leopard, bear and beast of the field, Rupert conjoins with Daniel's prophecy (7:2-7) of the four beasts:

For indeed that vision of Daniel especially relates that through these four beasts the four kingdoms – sc. Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome – are understood, where he said: *I saw in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts, different one from another, came up out of the sea. The first was like a lioness, and had the wings of an eagle. Another like a bear. Another like a leopard. The fourth beast, terrifying and dreadful and exceedingly strong.*<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Classen, 'Res Gestae', 404; Flint, 'Place and Purpose', 100-5; Hofmeister in Otto, *Chron.*, XCII.

<sup>198</sup> Classen, 'Res Gestae', 404; see generally van Engen, *Rupert*.

<sup>199</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Osee* 6, 13 (PL 168, 193A-B). 'Per istas namque quatuor bestias regna quatuor, scilicet Babylonicum, Persicum, Macedonicum atque Romanum; illa maxime Danielis visio dat intelligi, qua dicit: Videbam in visione mea nocte, et ecce quatuor venti coeli pugnabant in mari magno; et quatuor bestiae grandes ascendebant de mari diversae inter se. Prima quasi leaena, et alas habebat quasi aquilae. Alia similis urso. Alia quasi pardus. Quarta terribilis atque mirabilis, et fortis nimis.'

Though he keeps Daniel's reference to the four winds, Rupert does not expand upon the relationship here. Rather, his engagement with Daniel's beasts develops through his interpretation of the subsequent minor prophets. Thus he returns to this topic at the beginning of Joel (1:4), relating the cankerworm (*eruca*) to the Assyrians, Babylonians and Chaldeans; the locust (*locusta*) to the Medes and Persians; the locust nymph (*bruchus*) to the Macedonians and their successors; and the mildew (*rubigo*) to the Romans, all four of which have eaten up the *residuum*, Judaea.<sup>200</sup>

The third extensive discussion of this subject is found in the commentary on Zechariah. This begins initially with Zechariah's vision (1:18) of a four horned beast, which Rupert relates to Daniel's statue (2:31-4) and beasts (7:2-7). The four horns are then associated with the four smiths (Zec 1:20) through the medium of angels, linking them further to the princes of Daniel 10.<sup>201</sup> This discussion weaves its way through the next few books of Zechariah until chapter six, where the vision of four chariots provides the last piece to draw these threads together to represent here four 'orders' of the church.<sup>202</sup> This is finally discussed through the lens of Revelation (7:1):

Hence it is that John said in the Apocalypse: *I saw four angels standing over the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of heaven so that no wind could blow on earth or sea or against any tree.* The four angels are in fact the four evil princes of angels, that is, they were the angelic strengths of the four principal kingdoms (Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman). From one of these there is a good angel, who said to Daniel: *But the prince of the kingdom of Persia resisted me twenty-one days.* It belongs to these kingdoms, or to the princes of the kingdoms, to hold the four winds of heaven, to restrain those four chariots from the worship or serving of God – that is, of those honouring God or whom we also call orders of those serving the Creator – but another angel, who ascended from the east, having the sign of the living God, called out and restrained them.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Joel*. 1, 1 (PL 186, 207A-B); cf. *Glossa* 3:259v (522).

<sup>201</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Zach*. 1.1 (PL 186, 708D-709D).

<sup>202</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Zach*. 2.6 (PL 186, 739B-741D); for an interpretation of the chariots as the four empires cf. Rupert of Deutz, *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius* 32, *In Dan*. 24 (CCCM 23, 1773-4).

<sup>203</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Zach*. 2.6 (PL 186, 741D-742A). 'Hinc est illud quod Joannes in Apocalypsi: Vidi, ait, quatuor angelos stantes super quatuor angulos terrae, tenentes quatuor ventos coeli, ne flarent super terram, neque super mare, neque super ullam arborem. Quatuor namque angeli quatuor angelorum mali principes, id est, angelicae fortitudines fuere quatuor regnorum principalium, Babylonici, Persici, Macedonici, atque Romani, de quorum uno angelus bonus, qui Danieli loquebatur: Princeps, ait, Persarum restitit mihi viginti et uno diebus. Regnis sive regnorum principibus illis hoc fuit tenere quatuor ventos coeli, cohibere a cultu sive servitio Dei quadrigas istas, id est, colentium Deum, id est, quos diximus ordines et servientium Creatori, sed inclamavit et compescuit illos alter angelus, qui ascendit ab ortu solis, habens signum Dei vivi.'

The four kingdoms stand in numerological apposition to the four winds of heaven, themselves representing the church and its universality. But what is particularly typical here is the lack of historical spatiality. Though spatial transition occurs, it is the chariots' movement from the sinfulness of the north to the Holy Spirit in the south.<sup>204</sup> This is typical of exegetical engagement with the four world empires. For example, Gerhoch of Reichersberg likewise makes multiple references to the fourfold transition, but never spatialises it.<sup>205</sup> Furthermore, even if the point is made only through apposition, it is apparently not a problem for Rupert to use Jerome's empires with an Orosian equation to the four corners of the world.

There are at least two other instances where Rupert is even more explicit about his preference for the fourfold interpretation. In the first case, in his *De uictoria uerbi Dei*, he interprets the four-horned beast of Daniel (8:8) as the four kingdoms that result after the death of Alexander the Great. He reinterprets the reference to the four winds of heaven as referring instead to these kingdoms. Thus, Egypt is to the south, Macedonia the west, Syria and Babylon the east and Asia the north (relative to Judea).<sup>206</sup> More interestingly, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, Rupert explicitly engages with the Orosian interpretation of Daniel, much in the same way as Otto. Drawing upon the same interpretive thread as in his subsequent commentary on the minor prophets, Rupert employs the four world empires to interpret the four angels of Revelation 9:14. He once again uses the four beasts of Daniel (7:3-7), providing, initially, Jerome's interpretation. However, in this case he also notes that others may disagree:

Most (*plerique*) writers omit the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, or count them as one with the kingdom of the Babylonians, putting the Africans in the third place, of which Carthage stands out as the head. *The first, they say, was that of the Babylonians, next that of the Macedonians, after that of the Africans, and finally that of the Romans, which remains to this day. Thus by ineffable arrangement, through*

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<sup>204</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Zach.* 2.6 (PL 186, 740C-741A, 743A-744B).

<sup>205</sup> Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Commentario In Psalmos* 39 (MGH Ldl 3, 435); Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tractatus in Psalmum LXIV* 61, 161 (ed. Pierluigi Licciardello (Florence: SISMEL, 2001), 92-4, 220-2).

<sup>206</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *De uictoria uerba Dei* 9.15 (MGH QQ 5, 291-2).

*the four axes of the world the four empires were pre-eminent to different degrees, such that the Babylonian kingdom [was] to the east, the Carthaginian to the south, the Macedonian to the north, [and] the Roman to the west.* However, an account of this sort does not relate to holy scripture in this sort of matter, since it deals, or ought to deal, with only those kingdoms which at different times afflicted the Hebrew people, who permit them on account of their sins.<sup>207</sup>

Here again, Rupert denies the usefulness of spatialising the four empires. Although he would seem to be a prime candidate for a symbolist reading of the four cardinal points alongside the four world empires, it does not seem to interest him particularly. There is one sense in which he prefers to ground his discussion on the biblical symbolism itself and the biblical text does not provide a straightforward association between figures of the empires and the four cardinal points. Neither the four winds in Daniel 7, nor the four angels in Revelation 7 appear sufficient for Rupert to wish to associate the kingdom directly with the cardinal points.<sup>208</sup> Nevertheless, as with Otto, the use of ‘*plerique*’ is again tantalisingly suggestive of a broader reception and use of Orosius on this point.

The twelfth century does offer us at least one piece of textual evidence for the use of the use of the four cardinal points in interpreting the four world empires. In his *Gemma animae*, Honorius Augustodunensis interprets the months of the year in terms of a historical progression through the history of the world. After describing January to August as the history of the world from the Flood to the kingdom of Solomon, he breaks from the month by month description to note that: ‘through the remaining four months the four kingdoms are principally denoted, which are formed in the manner of a cross, when the Babylonians ruled in the east, the Persians in the south, the Greeks in

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<sup>207</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *In Apocalypsim* 5.9 (PL 169, 994D-995A; cf. Munich, BSB, Clm 22230, 106rb); cf. Orosius, 2.1.4-5 (Fear, 73). I have modified the order of the kingdoms in the *PL* text to line up correctly with Orosius, in accordance with a twelfth century MS. Material from Orosius is in italics. ‘Plerique scriptores Persarum et Medorum regnum praetereuntes, sive cum regno Babyloniorum pro uno computantes, Africanum, cuius caput Carthago exstitit, tertio loco ponunt. *Principio*, inquit, *fuit Babylonium, deinde Macedonicum, post etiam Africanum, atque in fine Romanum, quod usque nunc manet.* Ita fuerunt ineffabili ordinatione per quatuor mundi cardines, quatuor regnorum principatus distinctis gradibus eminentes, ut *Babylonium regnum ab oriente, a meridie Carthaginense, a septentrione Macedonicum, Romanum ab occidente.* Verum hujusmodi computatio ad sacram Scripturam non pertinuit in tali negotio, cum de regnis ageret, vel agere deberet, tantum his quae gentem Hebraeorum propter peccata sibi permissam diversis temporibus affligerunt.’

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Orosius’s non use of Daniel (Merrills, *History and Geography*, 53) and Ambrose Autpert, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 4.7.1 (CCCM 27, 295-6).

the north, and the Romans in the west.’<sup>209</sup> Only the next three months actually correspond to these, though, with an unnamed September referring to both the Bablyonians and Persians.<sup>210</sup> Nevertheless, this is a deeply interesting passage that undercuts the simple picture painted by Rupert and Otto. According to them, there is a strict distinction between those authors who adopt Jerome’s interpretation of Babylon, Media-Persia, Macedonia and Rome on the one hand, and those who modify this according to Orosius for the sake of the spatial comparison. Honorius, however, adopts Jerome’s order while still drawing a correspondence between the empires and the regions of the world. Likewise, in his *Sacramentarium*, even though he directly paraphrases Orosius’s description of Macedonia and Carthage as the ‘teacher and guardian’ who fill the space between Babylon and Rome, he still maintains Jerome’s order.<sup>211</sup> Honorius, therefore, offers our best evidence for the use of this trope in the twelfth century. Although we should take his affirmation, along with Otto’s and Rupert’s suggestion of ‘others’, to indicate a broader oral culture around this issue. Since it does not seem to touch upon an issue of serious concern in the century and given the great paucity of evidence on both sides, we may suppose that it was largely addressed in informal theological discussions.

### *Orosian Universalism*

This brings us full circle to the issue of Orosius’s reception in the twelfth century. When considering the use of Orosius’s *translatio* model in these sources, we must note how it serves a different rhetorical function from Otto’s. Otto’s model is driven particularly by the inexorable march of time, mirrored in the spatial movement of history. Events are driven towards the end of time, which

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<sup>209</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae* 3.158 (PL 172, 687C). ‘Per quatuor reliquos menses quatuor principaliter regna denotantur, quae in modum crucis formantur, dum Babylonicum in oriente, Persarum in meridie, Graecorum in aquilone, Romanorum in occidente principabatur.’

<sup>210</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae* 3.159 (PL 172, 687D-688B).

<sup>211</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sacramentarium* 100 (PL 172, 801C-D); Orosius, 2.1.6 (Fear, 74). ‘tutor curatorque’.

stands as if a location within the world.<sup>212</sup> Such an image is pessimistic in focus, since it highlights the ultimately transitory nature of earthly powers and sets them structurally within an eschatological expectation.<sup>213</sup> Orosius, on the other hand, has no such eschatological interest. Rather the entire discussion of empires is framed around universality.<sup>214</sup> This intersection of God, power and dominion, is evident at the outset of the discussion of the *translatio*, which Orosius prefaces with an explanation about how all earthly power is really an extension of God's sovereignty.<sup>215</sup> Likewise, the spatialisation of the empires is set explicitly in this context with the fulcrum of the history set at the *Pax Augustana*.<sup>216</sup> The sovereignty of Christ is invoked again to justify the universality of Rome's conquest.<sup>217</sup> So while both establish a form of providential development within history, there is a significant difference between Otto and Orosius. The former emphasises the spatio-temporal progression of history into Europe and towards the end of time and space, while the latter is more concerned with the spatial universality towards which history drives. Framed in this manner, we can see how the Orosian model of history had greater influence than is often thought.

One of the overriding concerns of the early-twelfth century is the geographical finitude of Christianity and Empire. This issue is highlighted in a pointed manner by Sigebert of Gembloux with regard to the dominion of the Roman empire.<sup>218</sup> By modifying the statement of Daniel (2:40) and Jerome, he qualifies the rule of the fourth empire of iron to only 'almost all the kingdoms of the world'.<sup>219</sup> This creates a space for the northern *regna*, yet unconquered, and sets the *Chronicle*

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<sup>212</sup> HoSV, *De arch.* 4.9 (CCCM 176, 111); Hugh of Saint Victor, *De uanitate rerum mundanarum* 2 (CCCM 269, 168); Otto, *Chron.* 5.36 (Hofmeister, 260; Mierow, 358).

<sup>213</sup> Goetz, *Geschichtsbild*, 160-1.

<sup>214</sup> Merrills, *History and Geography*, 54-5.

<sup>215</sup> Orosius, 2.1.3 (Fear, 73).

<sup>216</sup> Orosius, 6.22.1 (Fear, 315); Merrills, *History and Geography*, 57; Lozovsky, 'Earth', 74-5.

<sup>217</sup> Orosius, 6.22.7-8 (Fear, 316); Merrills, *History and Geography*, 58.

<sup>218</sup> See *supra* ch 2.

<sup>219</sup> Sig., *Chron.* prol. (MGH SS 6, 300). Daniel 2:40: 'et regnum quartum erit velut ferrum quomodo ferrum comminuit et domat omnia'; Jerome, *In Dan.* 1.2 (CCSL 75A, 794): 'regnum autem quartum, quod perspicue pertinet ad romanos, ferreum est, quod comminuit et domat omnia'. 'quod, sicut ferrum comminuit, domat et conterit omnia, sic ab origine sui tutuderit, domuerit et contriverit omnia **paene** mundi regna'.

in expectation of the end of days.<sup>220</sup> But this eschatological qualification of Rome's dominion extends beyond Sigebert, forming something of a theme for chroniclers of his generation. His contemporary Bernold of Constance, a papal partisan, explains in his survey of the world empires how the 'most excellent kingdom of the Romans' through the work of Julius Caesar and Octavian ruled 'almost the entire world, and gradually declining it has endured up to these times'.<sup>221</sup> Indeed, Bernold finishes his discussion by repeating this sentiment, adding that the Roman empire had stood strong 'until by the idleness of the succeeding leaders, and the brutality of wars arising on every side it reached that state of decrepitude *that we see today*'.<sup>222</sup> Despite their disagreement about the nature of empire, both understand the present state of the world as conditioned by its incompleteness. Unlike Otto, who views the progression of history as the inexorable march of time and space, theirs is ultimately conditioned not by temporal progression but spatial finitude of an empire either aspiring to an unachieved universality or declining towards its predestined decrepitude.

This trope is likewise evident in Frutolf of Michelsberg. In his extended section on the *origines gentium*, set between the years AD 377 and 378, he uses this trope to contextualise the greatness of the Gothic kingdom. He explains that: 'for a long time the Goths ruled, to such an point that Caesar, who first claimed the *imperium* of all Romans for himself and had subjected almost the entire world to his dominion, often testing the Goths, was unable to conquer them.'<sup>223</sup> This entire section is drawn substantially from Jordanes's *Getica*, and this sentence is no different. Although it

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<sup>220</sup> Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle*, 188-9; Sig., *Chron. prol.* (MGH SS 6, 300).

<sup>221</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon De regnis principalibus* (MGH SS 5, 401); Goetz, *Translatio*, 108; on Bernold see I. S. Robinson, *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 41-57. 'Post hoc excellentissimum regnum Romanorum, quod iam pridem sub regibus et consulibus adoleverat, ab ipso Iulio Caesare et Octaviano Augusto consurgens, omni **prope** mundo imperavit, et usque ad haec tempora paulatim decrescendo perduravit.'

<sup>222</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon De regnis principalibus* (MGH SS 5, 402). 'donec succedentium ignavia principum, et undique insurgentium immanitate bellorum ad hunc quem hodie videmus perveniret defectum.'

<sup>223</sup> Frutolf, *Chron.* (MGH SS 6, 122). 'Diu itaque Gothi regnaverunt, adeo ut Caesar, qui primus omnium Romanum sibi vendicavit imperium omnemque pene suae ditioni subegerat mundum, Gothos sepe pertemptans, subicere non posset.'

is in substance a summary of Jordanes's more extended description, Frutolf shifts the emphasis of the passage further towards a deemphasis of Rome's dominion. Jordanes provides four clauses on the extent of Caesar's conquests, each surpassing the previous. He was the first to 'subdue almost the whole world', he 'conquered all kingdoms', he 'even seized islands lying beyond our world' and 'he made tributary to the Romans those that knew not the Roman name even by hearsay'.<sup>224</sup> Jordanes's point is clear: the greater Caesar's conquests, the greater the Goth's achievement in defying him. But Frutolf uses only the first of these clauses and the only one that provides a qualification for Rome's dominion. Although, unlike Sigebert and Bernold, this statement is not explicitly intertwined with the *translatio imperii*, it nevertheless shows how at the turn of the twelfth century, Rome's finitude was increasingly taken for granted.

But what relevance does this have to Orosius? These authors are not presenting an Orosian *translatio*; they all follow Jerome's interpretation of the four empires. Likewise, the optimism of the fourth century is long gone. There are, however, two important categories of thought that remain as an Orosian legacy. First, in contrast to Hugh's and Otto's idea of a westward *translatio* many authors approach the history of empire and faith not in terms of statio-temporal development along a particular continuum, but instead as striving towards universality. Thus, even if they have repackaged this idea in terms of an eschatological expectation in the gap between universal aspiration and finite dominion, it is driven by a concern for an ultimate universality. Secondly, the universality understood in the *translatio* process can be expressed through an appeal to the four cardinal points.

Returning once more to Sigebert, this concern for finitude can likewise be expressed in terms of the cardinal points and linked with the northern expansion of Christianity. Among his

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<sup>224</sup> Jordanes, *Getica* 11.68 (MGH AA 5.1, 73; Mierow, 70); the presentation of 'lands beyond our world' is similar to the rhetorical function of the antipodes in Virgil as a fulfilment of Roman *imperium* (Hiatt, *Terra incognita*, 24-6). 'Caesar vero, qui sibi primus omnium Romanum vindicavit imperium et **pene omnem mundum suae dicioni subegit omniaque regna perdomuit**, adeo ut **extra nostro urbe** in oceani sinu repositas **insulas occuparet**, et **nec nomen Romanorum auditu qui noverant, eos Romanis tributarios faceret**'.

extensive hagiographical output, Sigebert produced two separate lives of the same saint in only one case, that of St Lambert. The second life, commissioned by Henry of Montaigu, is more complex in its prose than the first and represents a clearer vision of the ‘*Reichkirchensystem*’.<sup>225</sup> In the process of the conversion story, as cited previously, Sigebert provides a grand spatial analogy for the spread of Christianity throughout the world:

Now almost the whole world has come to believe. Just as the sun touches three regions of the world — east, south and west — with its presence; it illuminates the northern region, however, with rays cast from afar. So also the sun of the world, Christ, consecrated the east with his birth, he visited the south fleeing to Egypt, nor did he abandon the west, where he sent the apostles, through whom the head of the world (*caput mundi*), Rome, now bows its neck (*inflexit cervicem*). This fourth region, which you inhabit, although it admits light slowly due to the sun’s absence, it still sees those illuminated from afar and even if it lacks the sun’s presence, it still needs to receive its light no less... If you cannot fix your sight upon that sun, turn your eyes to the mountains illuminated by the sun. Since through these mountains, that is to say through apostolic men, the light of faith has been spread far and wide, now Spain, tripartite Gaul, Germania, and even Britain and Scotia, withdrawn as if under another world, believe.<sup>226</sup>

Although in this case the north is in specific reference to the north of Flanders, the principle it expresses speaks to the broader concerns of Sigebert’s historical vision. Part of the historical role of St Lambert, and the diocese of Liège more broadly, is the expansion of Christianity to the north and moreover, with Lambert standing as a figure of king David, the expansion of right order within the world.<sup>227</sup> Indeed, this very much makes the implicit meaning of Sigebert’s *paene* explicit, the Roman empire and Christianity has not yet reached the north, except as rays of light from afar or as the light reflected from mountaintops.<sup>228</sup> But Sigebert’s overriding concern with the north, as well

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<sup>225</sup> Chazan, *L’Empire et l’histoire universelle*, 73, 78.

<sup>226</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita altera sancti Lamberti* 3.31 (PL 160, 795C-D); see *supra* ch. 3. ‘Jam pene totus mundus credit. Ut sol tres mundi cardines, Orientem, Meridiem, Occidentem, sua praesentia attingit: Septentrionalem vero cardinem jactis radiis a longe illustrat; sic Sol mundi Christus Orientem nascendo sacravit, Meridiem in Aegyptum fugiens invisit, nec reliquit Occidentem, ubi apostolos misit, per quos jam caput mundi Roma inflexit cervicem. Quartus hic cardo, quem incolitis, quamvis propter solis absentiam tardius lucem admittat, tamen a longe illuminatos videt, et si praesentia solis caret, solaris tamen lucis usu non minus eget... Si in ipsum solem non potestis aciem infigere, intendite oculos ad montes a sole illustratos. Per hos montes, per apostolicos scilicet viros, longe lateque fidei luce transmissa, jam credit Hispania, tripartita Gallia, Germania, et remotae sub alio orbe Britannia et Scotia.’

<sup>227</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita altera sancti Lamberti* 2.14-6 (PL 160, 787C-789A); Chazan, *L’Empire et l’histoire universelle*, 78-9.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. William of Malmesbury’s comparison of the Wends and the Saracens (*GR* 2.189.1 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 338-41)).

as his relative complacency about the south and east, was already losing prominence within his own lifetime.

The change elicited by the Crusade and the rise of Islam in the Latin imagination is captured nicely in one of Peter the Venerable's letters to John Komnenos. He extols him as emperor over all Christian kings, charged with the defence of the Church as God established his empire 'in the middle of east, west and north'.<sup>229</sup> So it is that 'whence of old with the northern barbarians, but also with the last and worst enemy of the Christian name, the Arabs, invading the western and southern regions, although [God] allowed parts of your kingdom to be attacked by them, never yet has he permitted it to be conquered'.<sup>230</sup> It is precisely this shift in perspective that we see emerging in the early post-history of the First Crusade. But rather than viewing this new east-west concern in terms of an Hugonian east-west *translatio*, with the present age representing a new locus of divine activity according to the spatio-temporal development of history, we can also consider its function in terms of an Orosian concern for the finitude and universality of Church and Empire.<sup>231</sup>

We see this concern in two particular impulses. On the one hand we have the authors whose writing, in the manner of Bernold of Constance, is driven by the great distance we have fallen from a previous or hypothetical universality. Both Guibert of Nogent and William of Malmesbury express this very clearly in their commentary on the great decline of Christianity in the east. Guibert laments how 'at the time, the obscurity of this nefarious sect first covered the name of Christ, but now it has wiped out his name from the furthest corners of the entire East, from Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya, and even the more remote coasts of Spain—a country near us.'<sup>232</sup> Likewise, William has Urban proclaim that 'there remains Europe, the third division of the world and how

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<sup>229</sup> Pet. Ven., *Ep.* 75 (Constable, 208). 'uelut in medio orientis, occidentis, aquilonis constituit.'

<sup>230</sup> Pet. Ven., *Ep.* 75 (Constable, 208). 'Vnde olim aquilonalibus barbaris, sed et ultimis ac pessimis Christiani nominis inimicis Arabibus, in occiduas et meridianas plagas irruentibus, regni uestri partes etsi oppugnari, nunquam tamen expugnari permisit'.

<sup>231</sup> Lapina, *Warfare*, ch 6, esp. 141-2.

<sup>232</sup> Guibert, *Dei Gesta* 1.4 (CCCM 127A, 98-9; Levine, 35). 'Huius nefariae institutionis obscuritas christianum tunc nomen obtexit et adhuc per Orientis pene universi, Affricae, Egypti, Ethiopiae, Libiae et iuxta nos Hispaniae remotissimos sinus obliterat.'

small a part of that do we Christians live in!’<sup>233</sup> On the other hand there are authors who, in the manner of Sigebert, are concerned about what little remains before achieving the aspiration of universality. Thus Robert the Monk’s invocation of north, south and west, through his modification of Isaiah 43, stands in expectation of the east being drawn into the fold.<sup>234</sup> In both cases, the fundamental issue is not the reframing of the west as the locus of activity so much as the concern over the those regions that represent the failure of Christian universality.

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The use of space in the historical output of the early twelfth century, and the Middle Ages more broadly, has been, and often still is, read by modern scholars through the lens of Hugh of Saint Victor’s and Otto of Freising’s idea of westward progression. It has been our contention that this focus, though not wholly unjustified, has been generally overemphasised in the literature with both narrow and broad implications. This has in a narrow sense occluded the role of Orosius in the spatial consciousness of early-twelfth century historians and has resulted in the overly narrow interpretation of their literary output. It has likewise paradoxically resulted in a superficial reading of Hugh’s and Otto’s theoretical developments as no more than a mere *topos*, as emphasised by both Rudolph and Mégier.<sup>235</sup> More broadly, this focus on east-west development has resulted in a narrow understanding of these categories in medieval thought. By drawing upon the implications of spatiality in Orosius’s *History*, we can usefully counterbalance the often dominant reading of east and west in medieval texts as pertaining to a specifically progressive and developmental understanding of history. By shifting our focus this way, we can better capture one of the dominant concerns among historians of the early-twelfth century about the failure of Roman and Christian

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<sup>233</sup> WM, *GR* 4.347.6 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 600-1). ‘Tertium mundi clima restat Europa, cuius quantulam partem inhabitamus Christiani!’

<sup>234</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 2.2, 6.12 (Kempf and Bull, 13, 63; Sweetenham, 90, 156).

<sup>235</sup> Rudolph, *Mystic Ark*, 201; Mégier, ‘*Tamquam lux*’, 40.

universality, both in the continued existence of pagans in the north and the increased awareness of the great extent of Islam throughout the eastern and southern regions of the world.

*Aquilonales homines*

Given the focus thus far on identification with the west, it is important to broaden and complicate the picture of spatial identification in the first half of the twelfth century that has been painted thus far. This is especially important as much of the research into identity, particularly of the ethnic variety, over the last forty years at least has stressed its contextual and multi-faceted nature.<sup>236</sup> But the insights that this scholarship has furnished for our understanding of ethnic identity can be applied to other forms of identification as well. Where identification with the west has served as a means of supra-national identification, establishing a stage on which and from which moral, political and religious activity could occur and serving to imbue this activity with prophetic and ‘scientific’ meaning, this was by no means the only manner of directional identification available in the twelfth century.

Another important manner of identification is with one’s point of origin, be it geographically, genealogically, or ‘racially’. This section will investigate just one prominent example of the use of space for identification of origins, the etymology of *Normannus* as ‘north man’ and particularly its sudden adoption among historians within the Duchy of Normandy from the mid-1130s. This adoption will serve to delimit previous scholarship on Norman identity, which has been discussed too often as an abstract and universal characteristic applied broadly to England, Normandy, and Italy from the early-eleventh century up to the late-twelfth. This will allow for a more narrow analysis of identity within Normandy as distinguished from Norman identity in England or Italy, and as it pertains to the mid-twelfth century specifically. In particular, the use of

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<sup>236</sup> Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, 35-45; Geary, ‘Situational construct’; Thomas, *English*, 72-6; Bates, *Normans and Empire*, 11-13.

this etymology connects to other trends within the broader political and intellectual environment within Normandy from the 1130s that provided a necessary context for the use of the north as an explicit locus of identification for Normans in Normandy but not England or Italy.

The historiography of *Normanitas* is normally taken to begin in the 1970s with Davis's *The Normans and their Myth*. Davis argued for the slow development of a 'Norman myth', by which the Normans were unified into one people, over the eleventh century and the culmination of this myth into a historically coherent picture in the twelfth century particularly through the work of Orderic Vitalis.<sup>237</sup> This argument set off a series of studies that sought to expand the notion of *Normanitas* historically and geographically. Most important was Loud's article on the *gens Normannorum*, in which Loud reevaluated the idea of Norman identity in the eleventh century, showing how this theme was not only stronger in Dudo than Davis supposed, but that many of the key features that Davis highlights for a fully developed 'Norman Myth' were already present among southern Italian Normans in the eleventh century.<sup>238</sup> Over the next two decades the concept of *Normanitas* was drawn back to the tenth century and solidified throughout the Norman world along the lines that Loud proposed.<sup>239</sup> Recent scholarship has taken a more mixed view on *Normanitas*. Plassmann has argued that the Normans favoured certain characteristics which underpinned their success as conquerors – courage (*Tapferkeit*), cunning (*List*) and ambition (*Ehrgeiz*) – and that these characteristics played a positive role as a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy for generations of Norman adventurers, seeking to live up to the examples of their history.<sup>240</sup> Conversely, Bates has recently forwarded a strenuous argument for the complete abandonment of *Normanitas* as a research framework, suggesting that the terms lacks analytically useful content and that research of this sort

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<sup>237</sup> R. H. C. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), ch 2.

<sup>238</sup> G. A. Loud, 'The "Gens Normannorum" – Myth or Reality?', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1981): 104-16.

<sup>239</sup> Cassandra Potts, 'Atque unum ex diversis gentibus populum effecit: Historical Tradition and the Norman Identity', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1995): 139-52; Nick Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity 911-1154* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005); Thomas, *English*, esp. ch. 3.

<sup>240</sup> Alheydis Plassmann, *Die Normannen: Erobern – Herrschen – Integrieren* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2008), 97-103.

must be grounded in particular lived experiences.<sup>241</sup> Although the disagreement here may be more apparent than real, since we can plausibly read William the Conqueror's self-comparison with Robert Guiscard or the commemoration of William as Conqueror by his children through Plassmann's idea of a self-fulfilling prophecy of the Normans as a conquering people.<sup>242</sup> Nevertheless, this research has broadly emphasised two major positive elements that constitute Norman identity – inherent characteristics that predispose this *gens* for conquest and the northern origin behind them – which though consistent are hardly stable, changing greatly across the spatial and temporal span of the Norman 'empire'.<sup>243</sup>

### *The Italian Backdrop*

Although the interrelationship between identity and origin myth has received a fair amount of attention for the Normans, the more narrow issue of etymologising the term '*Normannus*' has been dealt with less systematically.<sup>244</sup> There has been some scholarship on its emergence in southern Italy. The Italian material is particularly prominent since, although there are earlier non-Norman etymologies, its first use in a Norman history is in William of Apulia's *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* and the near contemporary *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae...* of Geoffrey Malaterra.<sup>245</sup> Both were composed some time in the later 1090s and each author begins his text with a brief description of the Norman *gens* including centrally an etymology of *Normannus* as derived from the word

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<sup>241</sup> Bates, *Empire*, 6-7, 64, 183-4, passim.

<sup>242</sup> Bates, *Empire*, 67, 92; cf. David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 524. On the significance of Norman leaders see, e.g., Webber, *Evolution*, 31.

<sup>243</sup> Thomas, *English*, 36-7; Plassmann, *Normannen*, 309-12; Webber, *Evolution*, 24-39; Albu, *Normans*, 57-63; although on the contrary cf. Ewan Johnson, 'Origin Myth and the Construction of Medieval Identities: Norman Chronicles, 1000-1100' in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini et al. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 153-64. On the development of Norman origin myths see, Plassmann, *Origogentis*, 243-64; Rix, *Barbarian North*, 65-8; and Johnson, 'Origin Myth', 153-61.

<sup>244</sup> See Kochanek, *Vorstellung*, 350n119.

<sup>245</sup> The earliest unproblematic example is Glaber, *Hist.* 1.5.18 (France et al., 32-3). Although cf. *Passio sancti Frederici episcopi* 19 (MGH SS 15.1, 354) which is likely from the thirteenth century (NaSo, NL0056) and Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* 5.15 (CCCM 156, 131; trans. Paolo Squatriti, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2007), 179), which uses the same etymology in reference to the Rus.

‘north’.<sup>246</sup> Particularly given the evident change in discussion of Normandy and the deeds of Norman adventurers when compared to Amatus of Montecassino, just 20 years earlier, these authors have been naturally interpreted as standing in an interim stage towards ‘forgetting Normandy’, as in Orderic’s story of William of Échauffour.<sup>247</sup> Webber describes Geoffrey and William as presenting an embattled Norman identity striving to survive within the polyethnic environment of southern Italy and Sicily. Likewise, both Plassmann and Johnson interpret the use of the etymology as part of this paring down of Norman identity.<sup>248</sup> Plassmann describes Geoffrey’s use as a mere reminiscence of the Scandinavian origin myth and suggests that in William it is no longer explicitly related to any particular northern region, but merely the wind that brought them to Italy. But by the mid-century, through the histories of Alexander of Telese, Hugo Flacandus and Romuald of Salerno, the idea of Norman origin is progressively diminished until, in Romuald, the Normans are already in Italy at the first reference.<sup>249</sup>

Johnson has further skepticism about the mental geography underlying these references to the north. He argues that, because Amatus etymologises *Normannus* in terms of the German language, he is placing ‘Nora’, the mythic island he has invented for his etymology, in Germany rather than Scandinavia and likewise for Wace’s use of English alongside Norse.<sup>250</sup> This use of linguistic references seems problematic as Johnson seems to suggest that the authors are imputing the language they use in the etymology to the ancestors of the Normans. So Johnson emphasises the

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<sup>246</sup> G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 5; William of Apulia, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* 1 (MGH SS 9, 241); Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis* 1.3 (ed. Ernesto Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 5, pt. 1 (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1927), 8; trans. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 52).

<sup>247</sup> OV, 3.- (Chibnall, 2:126-7). ‘Normanniam oblitus’.

<sup>248</sup> Webber, *Evolution*, 71-8; Ewan Johnson, ‘Normandy and Norman Identity in Southern Italian Chronicles’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27 (2005): 100; Alheydis Plassmann, ‘*Homini boreales* – Normannische Identität in Süditalien und Sizilien’, in *Siziliens Geschichte: Insel zwischen den Welten*, ed. Wolfgang Gruber and Stephan Köhler (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2013), 113-16.

<sup>249</sup> Plassmann, ‘*Homini boreales*’, 114-15.

<sup>250</sup> Johnson, ‘Origin Myth’, 162-3.

fact that Amatus etymologises *Normannus* in terms of the German language, suggesting that this is part of an intentional program to de-emphasise the Scandinavian history of the Normans.<sup>251</sup>

It seems equally plausible that authors familiar with a Germanic language etymologised the terms in terms of the language with which they were familiar. We may compare Amatus with another Italian who used this etymology. In the tenth century, Liudprand of Cremona, in his *Antapodosis*, describes various savage peoples who surround Constantinople, and in particular explains that those known as the *Πορσιοι* by the Greeks are called *Nordmannos* by Latins, going on to explain that in the German language the compound of *nord* and *man* mean ‘people of the north’.<sup>252</sup> Though Liudprand’s knowledge of German is plausibly inferred at least from his relationship with the Ottonian court, we know less about Amatus.<sup>253</sup> Nevertheless, Montecassino had close connections with the empire through the middle of the eleventh century, even having two German abbots in this period.<sup>254</sup> There was likewise a German presence in the ecclesiastical circles of southern Italy more generally in the mid-eleventh century, as Udalric of Benevento (1053-69) and Gerard of Siponto († p.1076), who was even a monk at Montecassino.<sup>255</sup> We do not know much about Geoffrey’s background either, besides the fact that he is from beyond the Alps and that his knowledge of Dudo suggests an origin in the Norman world. Given this context it is not wholly improbable to suppose that he may have been familiar with English, even if he was not from St Evroult, as some have suggested.<sup>256</sup> By comparison, Orderic Vitalis’s use of English is certainly a clearer case. Finally, it is not until the 1160s with Stephen of Rouen and Wace that an ostensibly

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<sup>251</sup> Johnson, ‘Origin Myth’, 163.

<sup>252</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis* 5.15, cf. 1.11 (CCCM 156, 131, cf. 10; Squatriti, 179, cf. 50). ‘Gens quaedam est sub aquilonis parte constituta, quam a qualitate corporis Greci vocant Πορσιοι, nos vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos. Lingua quippe Teutonum “nôrd” aquilo, “man” autem dicitur homo, unde et Nordmannos “aquilonares homines” dicere possumus.’

<sup>253</sup> Squatriti in Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, 4-5.

<sup>254</sup> Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 1:15-40.

<sup>255</sup> Norman Kamp, ‘The Bishops of Southern Italy in the Norman and Staufien Period’ in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G.A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 191, 194.

<sup>256</sup> Wolf in Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis*, 6-8; Johnson, ‘Normandy’, 95.

Scandinavian language is used (*Danica/norreis*).<sup>257</sup> But they are both plausibly specifying their evident source, Robert of Torigni's redaction of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (hereafter *GND*), which simply refers to 'their [i.e. the Normans'] language' in its etymology.<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless, Johnson's broader point seems reasonable, although as much as a result of the fact that northern geography was only just beginning to develop from the late-eleventh century.<sup>259</sup> Indeed, Dudo, though ambiguous about the location of *Scanza*, departs from the late-antique geographical tradition and situates Dacia in Germania, like the Scandinavian regions were in the twelfth century.<sup>260</sup> So while the picture of the north is ambiguous, and perhaps shaped in accordance with local perceptions, this does not necessarily make it discordant with the traditional Norman origin myth.

### *Emergence in Normandy*

Even though there is an important sense in which the use of this etymology in southern Italian fits nicely into a regional narrative of the development, or indeed deterioration, of Norman identity, it does not seem to adequately account for a broader trend, which has been little discussed in the literature. Though the southern Italians are the first Normans to adopt this etymology for themselves, they are not the only ones to do so. It emerges subsequently within the Duchy of Normandy itself, creating a pattern with some unusual contours. Although at the end of the eleventh century an anonymous chronicle from Fecamp explains that Normandy (*Normannia*) was named after 'their [i.e. the Normans'] wind', "North", it is not until the 1130s that this the etymology for

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<sup>257</sup> Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus* 1.21.1052 (ed. Richard Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, vol. 2 (London, 1885), 631); Wace, *Roman de Rou* 3.59 (trans. Glyn S. Burgess, with the text of Anthony J. Holden (St. Helier: Société Jersiaise, 2002), 108-9).

<sup>258</sup> *GND* 1.3(4) (van Houts, 1:16-17). 'lingua eorum'.

<sup>259</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 45-53, 82-101; Gautier Dalché, 'Représentations géographiques de l'Europe', 68-71.

<sup>260</sup> Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus* 1.1 (ed. J. Lair (Caen: Le Blanc-Hardel, 1865), 129; trans. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 15); cf. *GND* 1.3(4) (van Houts, 1:14-5); Hon. Aug., *Im. mun.* 1.24 (Flint, 60); Isi., *Etym.* 14.4.3 (Barney et al., 289); Orosius, 1.2.53 (Fear, 42); Jordanes, *Getica* 5.33-4 (MGH AA 5.1, 62; Mierow, 59).

*Normannus* really takes off.<sup>261</sup> This trend is inaugurated by two significant uses in relatively close succession. The first is found in book nine of Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* from 1135 and, more significantly for the subsequent decades, Robert of Torigni adds it to his redaction of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* in around 1138.<sup>262</sup> From this point, it is incorporated into every major history produced in Normandy until the end of the century: Robert's *Chronicle*, the *Warene Chronicle*, Stephen of Rouen, Wace and Benoît of Sainte-Maure. But, just as importantly, this etymology is nowhere to be found in any of the histories produced in England during the same period, nor does it continue in Italy. Its use therefore speaks to the particular interests of a Northern French, Norman audience in a way that finds no analogue in England during the same period. Thus we are left with the question of what caused the Norman elite of the second quarter of the twelfth century to adopt the north as a locus of self-identification?

This ought to be situated in the first place within two closely related regional narratives of Anglo-Norman identity. The first is the revival of English identity between the 1120s and 1140s. In particular, Gillingham has argued that the change from William of Malmesbury to Henry of Huntingdon represents a crucial moment in English self-conception. Where for William the history of the English and Normans is one of imperial oppression, for Henry there is no longer so clear a division and the discussion of Norman and English becomes a matter of court politics. This coincides with not only the adoption of Norman history into England but also of English history into French by Gaimar, although we should not oversimplify the implications of multi-lingualism and the identities it may imply.<sup>263</sup> This picture fits nicely into the first two periods of Thomas's

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<sup>261</sup> *Libellus de reuelatione* 10 (PL 151, 713B-C); cf. Mathieu Arnoux, 'La fortune du *Libellus de reuelatione, edificatione et auctoritate Fiscannensis monasterii*. Note sur la production historiographique d'une abbaye bénédictine normande', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 21 (1991): 135-58. 'Denique Northmanni spiritualium gratia sacramentorum innovati, suas acceptas provincias, North, venti sui vocabulo, Northmanniam appellaverunt'.

<sup>262</sup> Chibnall in OV, 5:xi-xii; van Houts in *GND* 1:lxix-lxxx.

<sup>263</sup> John Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Twelfth-century Revival of the English Nation', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995), 75-101; cf. Henry Bainton, 'Translating the 'English' Past: Cultural Identity in Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), 179-187 and Elizabeth Tyler, 'From Old English to Old French', in Wogan-Browne, *Language and Culture*, 177-8.

taxonomy of English identity in the twelfth century, according to which it developed through three rough and overlapping periods across twelfth century. First, the period from the Conquest to late in the reign of Henry I (1100-35) is characterised by a strong distinction between Normans and English. The second, from Stephen to Henry II (1135-89), sees an increasing turn towards English identity among the second and third generation immigrants, but it is also marked by the flexible coexistence of Norman and English identities in England.<sup>264</sup> There is also a coordinate set of trends in the perception of Normandy as an imperial power in the same period. Bates has made some indicative suggestions about the development of the idea of Normandy as an imperial centre in this same period. He notes particularly William of Malmesbury's metaphor about conjoined twins from the 1120s, but can add to this William's descriptions of Normandy as Babylon and Orderic's description of Rouen as a new Rome in the 1140s.<sup>265</sup> Thus this period witnesses the ongoing renegotiation of English and Norman identity in both regions.

There is a second significant development in Norman historiography within which this trend ought to be situated. A significant divergence emerges between Dudo of St Quentin's and William of Jumièges's presentation of the pagan past. Dudo's long and elaborate prosimetric history of the Norman gens revolves around the idea of Rollo as God's elect and the Normans as the chosen people, destined to conquer Normandy. So for Dudo, Rollo's conversion represents not only the establishment of the Norman gens, but a fulfilment of God's providential plan.<sup>266</sup> For William, on the other hand, explicitly simplifying and extending Dudo's account into plain prose, history sees no such dynamic development. Rollo is no longer divinely elected, but selected by drawing lots and his role in the story is diminished correspondingly. Furthermore, instead of developing from paganism to Christianity, for William the history of the Normans is simply a static continuation of

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<sup>264</sup> Thomas, *English*, ch. 6, esp. 77-9.

<sup>265</sup> Bates, *Empire*, 128-9; Elisabeth van Houts, 'Rouen as Another Rome in the Twelfth Century' in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911-1300*, ed. Leonie V. Hicks and Elma Brenner (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2013), 101-24; Michael Winterbottom, 'William of Malmesbury and the Normans', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 20 (2010): 70-7.

<sup>266</sup> Plassmann, *Origo gentis*, 251-5; Shopkow, *History*, 68-79; Pohl, *Dudo*, 227-8.

virtuous Christian dukes.<sup>267</sup> Subsequent generations of historians faced the problem of how to address the disparity between these two foundational texts and their divergent historical visions of the Norman past. Already in some late-eleventh century redactions of the *GND* the early books were simply replaced with Dudo's history, but by the twelfth century, this reintegration becomes more active. It began with Orderic's redaction (c. 1109-13), in which he returned some twenty lines of material from Dudo to the early books of the *GND*. But it was with Robert of Torigni in the late 1130s that the text saw a wholesale return to Dudo's story. Robert more than doubled the length of material on Rollo with inclusions drawn directly from Dudo.<sup>268</sup> Thus already around the turn of the twelfth century there was a renewal of interest in the pagan, northern past of the Normans, a renewal which again built towards the late 1130s. This development is different in Normandy and England. England also saw an increasing production of Dudo manuscripts from the twelfth century. But as Pohl has shown, they are different from those copied in Normandy, preserving much more faithfully the manuscript context of their eleventh century exemplars, although evincing at the same time an increasing lack of scribal ability.<sup>269</sup>

### *Science in the Anglo-Norman World*

While this all provides some context for why authors would be looking to redevelop accounts of Norman identity in this period, it does not adequately explain the emergence of the etymological form in Normandy in the 1130s. A tentative answer to this question may be found in the intellectual context of Northern France and the Anglo-Norman world in this same period, particularly with the influx of 'scientific' writings and discourse. We know that particularly under Geoffrey of Anjou and Empress Matilda (c. 1144-54) both scientific and historical texts were richly patronised by the Norman dukes. This is evident in the famous letter of Robert of Torigni to Gervase of Saint-Céneri

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<sup>267</sup> Shopkow, *History*, 81, 87-9; Pohl, *Dudo*, 228-9.

<sup>268</sup> Pohl, *Dudo*, 229-31.

<sup>269</sup> Pohl, *Dudo*, 240-51; cf. Gillingham, 'Henry', 79.

inquiring as to whether he would extend the *GND* to include Geoffrey as a Norman Duke. In this letter he argues for the advantages of such an undertaking, highlighting particularly the favour that he would win with the young Henry II. Van Houts has convincingly suggested that this letter reflects Robert's own experience in redacting the *GND* himself in support of Matilda during the anarchy. Likewise, by the 1140s-50s, the Norman dukes were equally invested in patronising more academic subjects, with Geoffrey patronising William of Conches' *Dragmaticon philosophiae* and Adelard of Bath's dedication of his *Astrolabe* to Henry II.<sup>270</sup> Similarly, the image of Normandy as empire, through the presentation of Rouen as a new Rome, has also been shown to be specifically promoted by Geoffrey and Matilda.<sup>271</sup>

The panegyric poem, *Rothoma nobilis* (1148), is a useful lens through which to initially approach this nexus of ideas as they crystallised in the late 1140s. Though the poem is itself quite obscure, surviving in one fifteenth-century manuscript, it seems to have been produced as an attempt for rapprochement with Roger of Sicily, van Houts suggests in the context of an attempt to garner support for Matilda's cause in England.<sup>272</sup> But it contains three particularly interesting elements. First of all, it uses the etymology as an analytical tool to imbue Rouen with imperial honour. Second, the text is very casual not only in the use of 'racial' stereotypes, referring to the arrogant English, cold Scots and savage French, but equally it may hint at a more clearly scientific discourse in its opposition of 'black Ethiopia and white Germany' to extoll the extent of Roger's power.<sup>273</sup> Although the language of skin colour is marginal to the description of 'race' in the Middle Ages, the opposition of Ethiopians and Germans is strikingly similar to, for example, Johannicius's opposition of Ethiopians and Scots as representing the influence of external heat and cold on skin

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<sup>270</sup> Elisabeth van Houts, 'Latin and French as Languages of the Past in Normandy During the Reign of Henry II: Robert of Torigni, Stephen of Rouen, and Wace' in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2006), 54-7.

<sup>271</sup> van Houts, 'Rouen'.

<sup>272</sup> van Houts, 'Rouen', 111.

<sup>273</sup> *Rothoma nobilis* 17 (ed. and trans. Elisabeth van Houts, 'Rouen as Another Rome in the Twelfth Century', in Hicks and Brenner, *Society and Culture*, 119); cf. Isi., *Etym.* 14.5.10 (Barney et al., 293). This is a particularly obscure line and it is not obvious that van Houts translated it correctly. 'Ethiopes, albi, Germania, Nigra'.

colour.<sup>274</sup> Finally, this is all linked to a ‘racial’ characterisation of the Normans as conquerors: ‘Sprung from you of famous Norman blood, / Rules Roger...’<sup>275</sup> These three elements, and what they say about the intellectual environment of Normandy in the mid-twelfth century, are essential to understanding the etymology of *Normannus*.

But first, lingering questions about intellectual environment and patronage remain. While van Houts has repeatedly emphasised the efflorescence of literary and scientific patronage under Geoffrey and Matilda, as well as Henry II, this environment from the late 1140s does not emerge out of a vacuum. Rather, there is an important prehistory in Northern France and the Anglo-Norman world. Burnett has identified two streams of scientific material into England by the turn of the twelfth century. First, there are texts on astrolabes and astrological tables that emanated from Fleury and Micy, which not only circulated around northern France (eg. Chartres, Bec, and Mont St-Michel) but also found their way to England both before and after the conquest. In the same period astronomical texts from Lotharingia, as well as material on the abacus, have English connections. Secondly, there is the southern Italian connection.<sup>276</sup> The actual interrelation of these regions, and the dissemination of medical texts between them is still very unclear.<sup>277</sup> It may be exemplified in the life of Adelard of Bath who, after studying in Laon and Tours, toured both southern Italy and Antioch. But whatever their basis, these connections between southern Italy and the Anglo-Norman world resulted in the importation of medical and scientific texts from Greek and Arabic sources in

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<sup>274</sup> Johannicius, *Isagoge* 20 (ed. Gregor Maurach, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62, no. 2 (1978): 156); cf. *Liber Pantegni, theorica* 1.20 (ed. Andreas Turinus, *Omnia opera ysaac* (Lyon, 1515), 3vb-4ra) which explicitly contrasts the ‘in ethiopia colores sunt nigri’ and ‘in frigida regione septentrionali ... color albus’; on medieval physiognomical language see Joseph Ziegler, ‘Physiognomy, Science, and Proto-Racism 1200-1500’, in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 185-98; cf. Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), ch. 4.

<sup>275</sup> *Rothoma nobilis* 12-13 (van Houts, ‘Rouen’, 119). ‘Ex te progenitus, Normanno sanguine clarus, / Regnat Rogerus...’.

<sup>276</sup> Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England* (London: British Library, 1997), 3-16.

<sup>277</sup> See generally, Luis García-Ballester, ‘Introduction: Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death’, in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. Luis García-Ballester et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 13-29.

the early decades of the twelfth century.<sup>278</sup> Indeed, Burnett highlights the fact that English manuscripts of supposedly Salernitan material are often contemporaneous or even earlier than equivalent Italian manuscripts and that these works of Salernitan masters sometimes contain English words and names, suggesting a closer connection than mere importation.<sup>279</sup>

New medical texts were already circulating in the intellectual circles of northern France generally and Normandy specifically from the late-eleventh century, with major reference works like the *Pantegni* and *Articella* in relatively wide circulation by the second quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>280</sup> Their broader importation coincides with the emergence of an interest in the sort of ethnography and climatic determinism that these texts imply. They present not only a technical medical vocabulary for addressing human difference, but also a set of ideas about how different regions of the world impact upon these differences.<sup>281</sup> We can take as a representative example the *Aphorismi Iohannis Mansoris*, a translation of Yuhanna ibn Masawayn's *Medical Axioms* preserved in a twelfth-century copy from Mont-Saint-Michel, alongside *inter alia* early copies of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Metaphysics*, and Galen's *De elementis secundum Hippocratim*.<sup>282</sup> It explains not only that complexions vary according to region and the heritability of mental and physical characteristics, but it provides examples of how to apply this.<sup>283</sup> We learn, for example, that those living in the fifth and sixth *clime* require more blood to be drawn than those in the first to fourth and that the inhabitants of India have a more subtle intellect due to the fertile climate.<sup>284</sup> Although many of the ideas of

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<sup>278</sup> Burnett, *Introduction*, 16-29; Charles Burnett, *Adelard of Bath: Conversations with His Nephew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xiv-xvi.

<sup>279</sup> Burnett, *Introduction*, 28.

<sup>280</sup> García-Ballester, 'Introduction', 27. On the early role of Bec and Canterbury see Giles E. M. Gasper and Faith Wallis, 'Anselm and the *Articella*', *Traditio* 59 (2004): 129-74.

<sup>281</sup> Peter Biller, 'Proto-racial thought in medieval science', in Eliav-Feldon, Isaac and Ziegler, *Origins of Racism*, 162-3, esp. n18.

<sup>282</sup> Avranches, BM 232, 138v-140v; Danielle Jacquart and Gérard Troupeau, ed., *Yuhanna ibn Masawayh (Jean Mesue): Le Livre des Axiomes Médicaux (Aphorismi)* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1980), 15, 48-52

<sup>283</sup> Yuhanna ibn Masawayn, *Aphorismi* 11, 12, 105, 128 (ed. Danielle Jacquart and Gérard Troupeau (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1980), 119, 201, 217).

<sup>284</sup> Yuhanna ibn Masawayn, *Aphorismi* 34, 129 (Jacquart and Troupeau, 141, 219).

ethnography and climatic determinism were already accessible in Isidore and available classical texts, the dissemination of these works reinforced the interest in these ideas.<sup>285</sup> We already find Guibert of Nogent using medicalised language to explain the decrepit state of Eastern Christianity in the first decade of the twelfth century, likewise in William of Malmesbury a little under two decades later.<sup>286</sup> Otto of Freising, who not only studied in Paris in the 1120s but spent most of the 1130s as a monk and abbot at Morimond, equally evinces an interest in ethnography and some awareness of climatic theory.<sup>287</sup> Weeda has also plausibly suggested that this can be tied into a broader, pre-existing culture of ethnic stereotypes, promoted particularly in lists of ethnic groups and their features that circulated in the Latin world from the tenth century.<sup>288</sup>

The point about patronage must also be highlighted in this early period. There was already a close interconnection between the prominent cathedral schools of northern France and Paris, and the development of the Norman ecclesiastical aristocracy in the first half of the twelfth century. We can extrapolate outwards from the figure of Philip, bishop of Bayeux (1142-63). Having left no writings, his primary contribution to the history of thought is the donation of his personal library to Bec in the mid-twelfth century, and the chance survival of the booklist.<sup>289</sup> Beyond the texts that an educated figure of the early-twelfth century would have known as a matter of course, like the works of the Latin Fathers, the list contains both a broad selection of ancient and modern authors with a notable collection of scientific works. In particular, it contains an unusually complete collection of uncommon classical texts such as Seneca's *Natural History*, Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia*,

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<sup>285</sup> Cf. Bartlett, *Gerald*, ch. 6.

<sup>286</sup> Claire Weeda, 'The Fixed and The Fluent: Geographical Determinism, Ethnicity and Religion c. 1100-1300 CE', in *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Rebecca Futo Kennedy and Molly Jones-Lewis (London: Routledge, 2016), 95-6.

<sup>287</sup> Weeda, 'Fixed', 99; Bartlett, *Gerald*, ch. 6; Ehlers, *Otto*, 57-88; Mierow in *Otto, Chron.*, 10-14.

<sup>288</sup> Claire Weeda, 'Ethnic Identification and Stereotypes in Western Europe, circa 1100-1300', *History Compass* 12, no. 7 (2014): 586-606; Claire Weeda, 'Characteristics of Bodies and Ethnicity c. 900-1200', *Medieval Worlds* 5 (2017): 95-112; Claire Weeda, 'Images of ethnicity in later medieval Europe' (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), ch. 4.

<sup>289</sup> Avranches BM, 159, 1v; Omont, *Catologue*, vol. 2, *Rouen*, 394-8; recently edited by Laura Cleaver, 'The Monastic Library at Le Bec' in *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, ed. Benjamin Pohl and Laura L. Gathagan (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 190-205.

Seneca's *Natural questions*, Macrobius, and Plato's *Timaeus* (in Cicero's translation). It likewise contains a good collection of contemporary works, including both Petrus Alfonsi and Adelard of Bath.<sup>290</sup> This should not be taken as some silver bullet. Philip was evidently a bibliophile but his possession of these books is not proof positive that he deeply ingested their contents. Nevertheless, his ownership implies not only their availability in Normandy in the mid-century, but the currency that they held with members of the ecclesiastical elite. What is more, as Rouse and Rouse emphasise, Philip is not an isolated figure, but one of a large group of Norman ecclesiastics – such as also Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen (1130-64) and Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux (1142-84) – who will not only have known one another, but will have moved through the schools of northern France in precisely the period in question, between the 1110s and 1130s.<sup>291</sup> Finally we can draw this picture into closer focus by noting that Adelard's *Natural Questions* (1111-16) was itself dedicated to Richard, Bishop of Bayeux (1107-33).<sup>292</sup> So, even if patronage was not yet flowing from the Duke, Normandy was already a fertile intellectual environment for medical and scientific writings.

This brings us back to etymology and the 1130s. Given this context, it seems plausible that the use of etymology served as a way of pointing towards an ethnic characterisation of the Normans. As we saw with *Rothoma nobilis*, etymology is an important intellectual tool for the early twelfth century academic. They evidently took to heart Isidore's view that etymologies, properly deployed, served to identify not only the origin (*ortum*) and force (*vim*) of a word but also to

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<sup>290</sup> Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 48.

<sup>291</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Witnesses*, 34, 42; cf. Patricia Stirnemann, 'Two Twelfth-Century Bibliophiles and Henry of Huntindon's *Historia Anglorum*', *Viator* 24 (1993): 121-42.

<sup>292</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Witnesses*, 53-4; Charles Burnett, 'The Introduction of Arabic Science into Northern France and Norman Britain: A Catalogue of the Writings of Adelard of Bath and Petrus Alfonsi and Closely Associated Works, Together with the Manuscripts in which They Occur,' in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 1987), 176.

express its ‘innate qualities’ (*qualitatem, qua genita sunt*).<sup>293</sup> So, for example, when Peter Abelard explains the Bretons’ brutishness, he does so through an appeal to etymology:

Such reasons are often given in etymology, where for example *brito* is said to be ‘like a brute.’ For granted that they are not all or the only ones to be stupid, the person who composed the name *brito* according to its affinity with the name ‘brute’ had in mind that the greatest number of Bretons were unintelligent.<sup>294</sup>

So also, in its early use by Orderic Vitalis, this same ethnographic context is very evident. His etymology is presented right after a genealogy of the Norman *gens*, back to the Scythians and Trojans.<sup>295</sup> It is likewise paired with the ‘racial’ characteristics of ‘natural ferocity and innate love of fighting’.<sup>296</sup> In each case the fact of providing this etymology is seen as identifying an innate characteristic of the *gens*. This grammatical-metaphysical interrelationship is itself *au courant* in the use of Aristotle’s *Categories*.<sup>297</sup> As Abelard describes very clearly in his commentary on Porphyry: where Porphyry and Aristotle’s *On Interpretation* describe universals as pertaining to things (*rebus*), in Aristotle’s *Categories* they are names (*nominibus*), and it is this contradiction that Abelard seeks to resolve.<sup>298</sup> We can see this particularly in the principled interrelationship of form and name in the thought of Gilbert de la Porrée, summarised nicely by Otto: ‘since every being

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<sup>293</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 1.29.2-3 (Barney et al., 55); Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (London: Routledge, 1953), 495-500; Mark Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1989), 165-72.

<sup>294</sup> Peter Abelard, *Dialectica* 1.3.3.3 (ed. L. M. de Rijk (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), 128), translation by Constant J. Mews, ‘In Search of a Name and Its Significance: A Twelfth-Century Anecdote about Thierry and Peter Abaelard’, *Traditio* 44 (1988), 195; see generally Mews, ‘In Search of a Name’. ‘quales quidem cause sepe in ethimologiis redduntur, ut “*Brito*” dictus est “*quasi-brutus*.” Licet enim non omnes vel soli sint stolidi, hic tamen qui nomen “*Britonis*” composuit secundum affinitatem nominis “*bruti*,” in intentione habuit quod maxima pars Britonum fatua esset, atque hinc hoc nomen illi affine in sono protulit.’

<sup>295</sup> See Hingst, *Written World*, 26-7, 161n42.

<sup>296</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-7). I have modified the translation of *genuinus*. ‘Nam in eadem adhuc gente naturalis feritas coalescit, et genuinus ardor preliandi seuit’.

<sup>297</sup> de Rijk in Abelard, *Dialectica*, xxvi-vii, xcvi-viii; Gyula Klima, ‘The Medieval Problem of Universals’, in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford University, 1997-), updated October 31, 2017, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/universals-medieval/>, 3.

<sup>298</sup> Peter Abelard, *Glossae super Porphyrium* (ed. Bernard Geyer, *Peter Abaelards Philosophische Schriften* vol. 1, pt. 1 (Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919), 9-10; trans. Paul Vincent Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994), 28-9).

results from its form, every subsistent thing owes both its reality *and its name* to its form.’<sup>299</sup> So even while other authors may not be so explicit about the etymological force involved in this statement, this understanding of etymology must lie at the background of any learned reader’s engagement with an etymology of whatever sort.

Interest in etymology is itself a more general feature of twelfth-century historiography.<sup>300</sup> This is best exemplified in Normandy by Wace’s continual use of them throughout his *Roman de Rou*, including multiple etymologies of *Normannus*. But the trend to etymologise *Normannus* extends beyond Normandy. The etymology not only predates its Norman use, but it also exceeds it geographically in the same period. In roughly 1130, Hugh of Saint Victor includes a version in his highly influential chronicle.<sup>301</sup> Given the lack of a critical edition it is difficult to pin down possible sources for Hugh’s use, as it is unclear whether he was aware of either Glaber or Hugh of Flavigny (the two closest sources geographically). Nevertheless, in his account of Norman dukes, Hugh includes a description of the term *Normannus* much along the lines that we have already seen: “Normans” are called in [their] barbarous language as it were northern men, because they originally came from that region of the world’.<sup>302</sup> This is actually the first instance of *septentrio* in this etymology, a term which has quite specifically value neutral and scientific connotations, unlike either *aquilo* or *boreas*.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Otto, *Gesta* 1.55 (Waitz, 78; Mierow, 92); Gilbert de la Porrée, *Expositio in Boecii librum, De Trinitate* 1.1.12, *Contra Euticen* 4.48 (ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1966), 55, 297); Lauge Nielsen, ‘On the Doctrine of Logic and Language of Gilbert Porreta and his Followers’, *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 17 (1976): 43-9. ‘Cum enim omne esse ex forma sit, quilibet subsistens rem *et nomen* a sua capit forma.’ (Italics mine.)

<sup>300</sup> Guenée, *Histoire*, 184-91.

<sup>301</sup> Green, ‘De Tribus’ and Mortensen, ‘Hugh of St. Victor’.

<sup>302</sup> BnF Lat. 15009, 27r. ‘Normanni in lingua barbara quasi homines septemtrionales dicti sunt, eo quod primum ab illa mundi parte uenerint’.

<sup>303</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 147-50; cf. the mnemonic ‘Oriens, meridies, occidens, septentrio sunt ista clima mundi / Ignis, aqua, aer, terra, mundi sunt hec elementa’ in Burnett, *Introduction*, 10.

*From the 1130s Onwards*

The foregoing does not explain the mainstream adoption of this etymology in Normandy, nor its non-usage in England. Given the well known negative connotations of the north, it is somewhat confusing that, with the possible exception of Ælnoth of Canterbury, who is writing from Denmark, no English historian picked up this etymology as a criticism.<sup>304</sup> It is true that English authors did not tend to differentiate between Normans and other Scandinavians in their use of *Normannus*, as with Ælnoth's use of 'southern Norman' to distinguish Normans from other Scandinavians.<sup>305</sup> However, insofar as we can read into this absence, it would suggest that there was a positive aspect of this etymology that appealed to a specifically Norman audience. It is here that the relationship to empire may be significant. Though Orderic is not the progenitor of Norman identity that Davis made him out to be, there is a sense in which his program has developed from those that came before. It is the connection to empire that seems particularly relevant in this context, since Orderic's presentation of the Normans as northern serves as a sort of conceptual glue, connecting the Normans across the 'empire' by a link of blood and genealogy. This point picks up nicely on the reference to Roger as 'famous by Norman blood'.<sup>306</sup> And indeed, if this is right, we should reconsider Orderic's own presentation of Rouen as Roman, dismissed by van Houts as a 'descriptive vignette' and 'sober portrayal' rather than a 'civic eulogy' or 'campaign of imperial grandeur'.<sup>307</sup> Though Orderic is certainly not writing a eulogy to the greatness of Rouen, this portrayal fits nicely into Bates's rough taxonomy of pro- and anti-imperial Norman historiography in the twelfth century.<sup>308</sup> As such, the imperial connection remains an important backdrop to the 1140s.

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<sup>304</sup> Ælnoth, 1 (Gertz, 83-4).

<sup>305</sup> Ælnoth, 11 (Gertz, 96); Thomas, *English*, 34. 'Willelmus australium Normannorum dux'.

<sup>306</sup> *Rothoma nobilis* 12 (van Houts, 190; trans. mine). 'Normanno sanguine clarus'.

<sup>307</sup> van Houts, 'Rouen', 108.

<sup>308</sup> Bates, *Empire*, 61-2, 97-8.

However, it is Robert of Torigni, not Orderic, who must surely be seen as key to the success of this etymology. Unlike Orderic, who for all his modern acclaim was a monk of little significance in his own day, Robert was one of the foremost figures of mid twelfth century Normandy. Not only was he respectively Prior, then Abbot of two of the premier abbeys in Normandy (Bec and Mont-Saint-Michel), but he had close ties to the ducal family through Matilda and was one of the great bibliophiles of mid-century Normandy.<sup>309</sup> He was also situated at an early twelfth century epicentre for the dissemination of medical and Aristotelean texts, Mont-Saint-Michel.<sup>310</sup> Crucially, for this etymology, it is Robert who introduces it to the *GND*. Robert adds two sentences to William of Jumièges's section on the history of the Danes. First he reintroduces a paraphrase of Dudo's explanation of the terms *Daci*, *Danai* and *Dani*. Secondly, he introduces the etymology of *Normannus*. The latter is, in this case, almost certainly drawn from William of Apulia, given the agreement in the use of *Boreas* and *lingua eorum/soli genialis*, a theory that is corroborated by the presence of an early copy at Mont Saint-Michel.<sup>311</sup> Likewise in his redaction of Sigebert of Gembloux, which he started between 1147-50, in the entry on the year 876 he adds a paragraph to introduce Norman *gens*, drawn nearly verbatim from Hugh of Saint Victor's *Chronicle*.<sup>312</sup>

There are two significant features of Robert's use of this etymology. First, it shows an interest in the meaning of words and etymology almost for its own sake, as is evident in the reintroduction of Dudo's discussion of the terms *Daci*, *Danai*, and *Dani*. It does not add any new information to William's text, which already explained in the previous paragraph that the Goths

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<sup>309</sup> Van Houts, 'Latin and French', 54-7; Benjamin Pohl, 'Abbas qui et scriptor?: The Handwriting of Robert of Torigni and His Scribal Activity as Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1154-86)', *Traditio* 69 (2014): 45-8; Stirnemann, 'Two Twelfth-Century Bibliophiles', 121-42.

<sup>310</sup> See Pierre Bouet, 'Inventaire des manuscrits d'Avranches: Les sources antiques', in *L'Historiographie médiévale normande et ses sources antiques (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*, ed. Pierre Bauduin and Marie-Agnès Lucas-Avenel (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2014), 90; cf. Bernard G. Dod, 'Aristoteles Latinus', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 54-5.

<sup>311</sup> *GND* 1.3(4) (van Houts, 1:16-17); William of Apulia, *Gesta* 1 (MGH SS 9, 241); Avranches, BM 162, 48r-63v; Chibnall in *OV*, 2:xxii.

<sup>312</sup> Avranches, BM 159, 128v-129r; cf. BnF, Lat. 15009, 27r.

settled in ‘Dacia, also called Denmark’, named for a King Danaus.<sup>313</sup> But he includes it at a very specific point such that it not only explains the term, but actually recontextualises the subsequent statement. Now the etymology introduces and reinforces the subsequent ethnographic commentary on the mores and perhaps physiology of the Goths and Danes as well as their propensity for conquest. It is likewise linked with a broader genealogical interconnection of the Normans as descendent from the Goths and Danes. This enriches its intertextual connection to Isidore’s description of the Goths and Dacians (*Daci*), who he describes as not only genealogically related but characteristically warlike and northern, a point that is quickly followed by Isidore’s ethnographical characterisation of the Germans as strong and warlike due to the cold and severe climate.<sup>314</sup> In a similar sense, by attending to the meaning of the word *Normannus* Robert is not only keeping up with contemporary intellectual currents, but is also pointing to the genealogical and ‘racial’ interconnection of the Norman as descendent from the Danes. On this point it is especially notable that in his *Chronicle* he draws from Hugh of Saint Victor as, beyond the importance of the use of *septentrio*, Hugh’s chronicle represents a widely disseminated and externally authoritative account. In drawing from Hugh, Robert is not only using an account that is eminently suitable for a world chronicle, but he imbues the formation and status of the Norman people with the authority of a widely used French source.

This use takes on a closer importance, however, with the aforementioned return of the Normans’ Scandinavian past to their history writing, particularly from the time of Robert himself. In both his presentations of this etymology, it is set alongside a particular evocation of the Danish past of the Norman people, as previously observed in Orderic.<sup>315</sup> In the *GND*, this connection is seen not only in the explanation of the terms *Dani* and *Daci* but also due to the etymology’s location within

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<sup>313</sup> *GND* 1.3(4) (van Houts, 1:14-17). ‘Dacia, que et Danamarcha’.

<sup>314</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 9.2.89-90, 97 (Barney et al., 197).

<sup>315</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-7).

the first book, itself about the departure of the Normans from Denmark.<sup>316</sup> Likewise, in the *Chronicle*, Rollo's conversion story is added alongside the etymology.<sup>317</sup> This same context is evident in the subsequent appropriations of this etymology. Thus in Benoît de Saint Maure, it is placed in the context of a discussion of the Danes and Trojans.<sup>318</sup> In Wace, the etymology is introduced for the first time in the context of Rou's election as leader of the Normans upon his invasion of Normandy. Wace also explicitly notes the genealogical aspect of this etymology: 'the ancients' name for it persists amongst their heirs; they are Normans, they were Normans and have been Normans.'<sup>319</sup> But the ambiguity of the north here allows Wace to partially elide the Normans and the English by adding an English proverb about northern origins alongside the second reference to the *Normannus* etymology.<sup>320</sup> Wace thereby sets these groups in opposition to the French through the coincidence of the Neustria's name change with the French losing it to the Normans, as well as a scornful French suggestion that the Normans are beggars from the north.<sup>321</sup>

This development is clearly expressed in Stephen of Rouen's *Draco Normannicus*. As in Robert's chronicle, Stephen situates the etymology in the context of Rollo's baptism story and land grant, explaining that:

In the Danish language, *Boreas* has the sense 'north' and *homo* 'man'. Hence illustrious Normandy expresses its name with triumphs, and refuses to hold the mark of its ancient name: Neustria is taken away and this new mark is born for the Danes, since it is to the south; the north (*boreas*) poured them out, the land of *Austria* holds them. The Dane occupies six French cities by arms, and sits in the famous city of Caesar.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> *GND* 1.1, 3(4) (van Houts, 1:10-11, 14-17).

<sup>317</sup> Avranches, BM 159, 129r.

<sup>318</sup> Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* 1.645-676 (ed. Francisque Michel, *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1840), 25-6); cf. Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Les Danois dans l'*Histoire des ducs de Normandie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure', *Le Moyen Age* 108 (2002/3): 481-95.

<sup>319</sup> Wace, *Roman de Rou* 2.441-2, cf. 3.45-80 (Burgess, 20-1, 108-11).

<sup>320</sup> Wace, *Roman de Rou* 3.53-6 (Burgess, 108-9); Françoise H. M. Le Saux, 'The Languages of England: Multilingualism in the Work of Wace', in Wogan-Browne, *Language and Culture*, 191-2.

<sup>321</sup> Wace, *Roman de Rou* 3.69-80 (Burgess, 108-11); Le Saux, 'Multilingualism', 191-2.

<sup>322</sup> Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus* 1.21.1052-58 (Howlett, 631). "'North" Boreas, "man" homo Danica lingua sapit. / Exprimat hinc nomen Northmannia clara triumphis, / Nominis antiqui tempnit habere notam: / Neustria fertur et haec nova Danis quod sit ad Austrum; / Hos fudit Boreas, Austria terra tenet. / Urbes Francigenum ter binas detinet armis / Danus, et in clara Caesaris urbe sedet.'

Stephen nicely encapsulates how this etymology has become a triumphal shorthand for the northern origin of the Normans and their conquests, in this case of France. This use of the Danish origins as a means to distinguish the Normans from the French is further developed in the subsequent dialogue between a Frenchman and a Norman in book two, where, when the Frenchman attempts to scorn the strength and nobility of the Norman, the Norman retort depends on great success of Rollo and the Danes.<sup>323</sup> Thus the Danes have become chivalric heroes, vying with the French for preeminent status.<sup>324</sup> As we can see, by the 1160s and 70s, the specifically Danish nature of the Norman's northern past has come to the fore. But from the reign of Henry II, particularly within the broader trajectory of Robert's reintroduction of Dudo's material into the *GND* tradition, there is a specific turn towards contrasting the positively conceived strength of the Danish past with the French as a means of situating the Normans as a pre-eminent *gens* within Europe.

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Where the original adoption of the *Normannus* etymology in Italy may have been evidence for the decline of *Normanitas* in this region, from the 1130s in Normandy it can no longer be understood in this context. Rather, I have suggested a collection of broad trajectories within which this adoption can be considered. First, from the turn of the twelfth century, though particularly from the 1130s, the Norman historiography increasingly reintegrated their pagan history and conversion narrative that had been stripped out in the mid-eleventh century. This seems to broadly coincide with an increasing recognition of Normandy as a quasi-imperial power, and an increasing interest in promoting the position of Normandy in these sorts of terms within the European community. Indeed, both these trends nicely dovetail with an explosion of historical literary output in the 1130s, itself, probably not coincidentally, a notably tumultuous period for the duchy politically, with one of its key players, Empress Matilda, closely patronising one of the key historians in this narrative,

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<sup>323</sup> Stephen of Rouen, *Draco Normannicus* 2.16 (Howlett, 690-5).

<sup>324</sup> van Houts, 'Rouen,' 114-8.

Robert of Torigni. On the other hand, there is also an increasing interest among the intellectual circles of northern France with a varied collection of scientific and medical writings, a set of interests that certainly made significant inroads into the Norman clerical elite between the 1110s and 1130s. Finally, we know that certainly by the 1140s, again closely associated with Matilda, this sort of learning was being patronised at the highest levels of the Norman lay elite, both by Geoffrey and Matilda as well as with the education of Henry II.

Although etymological identification with north serves different purposes for different authors, they all seem to orbit around a similar set of ideas. It served Orderic as a means of unifying and ‘racially’ characterising the Norman *gens* in line with his broader view towards promoting their success in conquest and castigating their moral failure. For Robert it allowed him to add authoritative pedigree to the Norman people, as well as to keep up with the modern intellectual trends. Finally, for Wace and Stephen it provided a useful frame for Norman origins, so that the former could elide English and Norman and for the latter to identify the Normans with the newly heroic Danes, and for both to set this in opposition to the French.

### *Conclusion*

Although this use of the etymology for *Normannus* is an evidently multifaceted phenomenon, at this point we can draw some of the underlying threads of all three case studies together into a picture of their use within as an interconnected network of identity. We will do so through the lens of the rather idiosyncratic *Warrenne* (previously *Hyde*) *Chronicle*. Most famous for its unique use of the adjective ‘Normanglus’, this brief chronicle survives in a single manuscript, which was likely written in the late 1150s for William IV of Blois/Warrenne in the context of his land dispute with

Henry II.<sup>325</sup> In particular, the opening paragraph of the chronicle serves as something of a bridge between the differing identities discussed in this chapter.

In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1035, Count Robert of Normandy went to Jerusalem for the sake of devotion, and he left the dominion of his paternal inheritance to his son William, who had been born of a concubine, and was still quite young. This William was the seventh ruler since that first one, Rollo, who, utterly foreign to the blood of the French, having assembled a fleet, according to some, from the Norwegian island formerly called Scanzia, but according to others, from Denmark, came to Gaul and by force of arms occupied the region, which was formerly called Neustria, and gave a new name to the people and the place, derived from his own race. For 'Normans' means 'northmen' or 'northern men', and 'Normandy' means 'the region of the northmen'.<sup>326</sup>

This is a rich and enigmatic introduction to a chronicle. The etymology is certainly drawn from Robert of Torigni through the *GND* and either his *Chronicle* or Hugh of Saint Victor's. However, the more interesting aspect here is the overall framing around Duke Robert I's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The inclusion at this point is puzzling as the very next paragraph deals with the Norman dukes from Rollo to William, covering the same pilgrimage again in much greater detail. The opening sentence is therefore a specific decision on the part of the author to frame both the chronicle and the Norman identity expressed in that paragraph around this pilgrimage. The choice of words is especially notable, since Robert is described as going on pilgrimage *deuocionis gracia*. This is the same language that is used in relationship to the First Crusade, to which 'distinguished magnates of the West also were moved with laudable devotion (*laudabili deuocione*) to the praise of Christ...'<sup>327</sup> Likewise, a critical eye is cast towards Robert Curthose's involvement, who goes 'as

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<sup>325</sup> Elisabeth M. C. van Houts and Rosalind C. Love in *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle* (ed. and trans. Elisabeth M. C. van Houts and Rosalind C. Love (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013)), xviii-xliii.

<sup>326</sup> *Warenne* 1 (van Houts and Love, 2-3). 'Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.º .xxx.º .v.º Robertus comes Normannie Ierosolimam deuocionis gracia petens, Willelmo filio suo ex concubina progenito admodumque paruulo, paterne hereditatis principatum reliquit. Fuit autem hic Willelmus septimus a primo illo Rollione qui prorsus a sanguine Francorum alienus, classe conducta, secundum quosdam ex insula Norweia quondam Scanzia dicta, secundum quosdam autem ex Dacia, Gallias aduenit eiusque partem, que Neustria quondam dicebatur, armis optinuit gentique et loco sua ex natione nouum nomen indidit. Normanni enim boreales siue septentrionales homines interpretantur, Normannia uero borealium hominum regio.'

<sup>327</sup> *Warenne* 20 (van Houts and Love, 36-7). 'Prelcari quoque principes occidentis laudabili deuocione ad laudem Chrissti commoti sunt...'

much from necessity as by devotion (*deuocione*)'.<sup>328</sup> Though the chronicle as it comes down to us is incomplete, we might also speculate that this theme of devotion and pilgrimage would extend to William III of Warrene as well, the ostensible patron's father, who died on the Second Crusade.<sup>329</sup>

Setting Robert I's pilgrimage alongside this discussion of Norman identity, however, provides an interesting, albeit implicit, opposition of the northern and western identification for the Normans. Its function here may be something like the function of Rollo's conversion narrative set alongside the etymology in Robert of Torigni and Stephen of Rouen, a nod to the piety and Christianity of this northern and previously pagan people. But by using this pilgrimage instead, it serves to establish the potential for an underlying narrative looking towards Norman and perhaps Warrene involvement in the Crusades, themselves taking place within the conceptual political sphere of the west. Indeed, this sphere of politics emerges at least one other time, when Normandy, under Henry I, is attacked by Baldwin VII of Flanders, Louis VI of France, and Fulk V of Anjou, because of which, 'not only England and France were shaken, but the entire western region.'<sup>330</sup> Thus by framing it with the pilgrimage, the chronicle may be looking towards the position of the Normans within their present moral and political environment, while using William the Conqueror as a pivot for discussing the characteristic martial qualities of the *gens*. Likewise Rollo is specifically characterised as 'utterly foreign to the blood of the French', once again picking up on the distinction between Normans and French.<sup>331</sup> This also shows how the underlying 'scientific' context of this etymology could make inroads into the lay elite of Normandy in the mid-century, although for others, like the Beaumonts, the pattern extends back to the 1110s.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> *Warrene* 20 (van Houts and Love, 36-7). 'tam necessitate quam deuocione'.

<sup>329</sup> Van Houts and Love in *Warrene*, xxviii.

<sup>330</sup> *Warrene* 32 (van Houts and Love, 68-71). 'concussa est non solum Anglia aut Normannia, uerum etiam uniuersa occidentis plaga.'

<sup>331</sup> *Warrene* 1 (van Houts and Love, 2-3).

<sup>332</sup> Van Houts and Love in *Warrene*, xli.

But the *Warene Chronicle* also highlights very nicely how ideas of north and west were filtering into the background of identity construction in the twelfth century. Certainly these ideas are not, for the author of the chronicle or for the majority of authors in the period, an overarching theoretical backdrop to their work, in the way we find with someone like Otto of Freising. Nevertheless, they are increasingly conceptualising their place in the world, at least in part, in terms of these spatial dynamics. Against the opposition of Islam, along with an increasing consciousness of eastern Christianity, the Latin-European centres are beginning to conceptualise themselves as a western unity. And while this unity is quite different from our modern conception of the West – it lacks the same triumphalism and fervency, linked with the West’s modern heritage in white supremacy, and it does not have the same notion of individual membership – it nevertheless provided a useful sense of collective Christian activity for Latin authors of this period.<sup>333</sup> Likewise, as the Normans, and other northern peoples, increasingly integrated into the Latin world, especially through involvement in the Crusades, the north was beginning to acquire positive connotations in its confluence with the west. This by no means undermined the broader Carolingian spatial construction of Europe as centred on the *Francia* in the first half of the twelfth century, but this rich tapestry of spatial notions was beginning to provide a new, or at least updated, framework by which authors could situate themselves and their writings within a politico-religious context.

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<sup>333</sup> Alastair Bonnett, *The Idea of the West: Culture, Politics and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), ch. 1.

## Excursus 2 - North and No South

Much of the last two chapters has focused on the implications of the north as a pagan and barbarian region, and the emergence of the western identification within the historical consciousness of European authors in the early-twelfth century. However, there has been no discussion of the south. This is largely because there is in fact little to no discussion of the south in the works of these historians. While it is possible that some degree of selection bias may be at work, it is nevertheless striking that the south is largely absent in the works of these authors. This is especially notable since the conception of the north as barbarous and pagan, which is so present for our authors, is understood exegetically in opposition to the church in the south. This very north-south dualism, along with a supposedly parallel dualism in classical climatic theory, has been interpreted by previously scholarship as an implicit basis for understanding the Latin perception of the north in early and High Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> While there certainly are examples of authors using this sort of dualism, or at least language reminiscent of it, the comparative lack of attention that the south receives from medieval historians has not been addressed.<sup>2</sup> As such, this section will highlight the manner in which medieval historians relativised the south within Europe rather than addressing it on a global scale and suggest that this dualism has been overly emphasised as a result. Then it will propose that the south is not tied into a broader historical narrative, on both a local and global scale, and therefore lacks relevance for the spatial narratives in which early-twelfth century authors are interested. It will end with a discussion of the major exception in the eleventh and early-twelfth century, among authors associated with Cluny.

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<sup>1</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 126-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skånland, '*Calor fidei*'; Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 205.

### *Scandinavia and a Spiritual South*

As we have argued above, there is immense historical interest in the north among early-twelfth century historians, an interest that is focused not only on a general region of the world, but one that is underpinned by biblical exegesis. Likewise, it is well known that exegetical interpretations of these same passages frequently rely on an oppositional logic of east against west and north against south. Indeed, Song of Songs 4:16, one of the *loci classici* for an exegetical opposition between the devil and the Church as represented by north and south respectively, is alluded to by Orderic Vitalis in his castigation of Norman vices.<sup>3</sup> As a result, it is not unreasonable to suppose that an implicit north-south dichotomy underlies this discussion of the north. Although some medieval authors do appeal to this kind of opposition, we should not interpret this as a general, spatial opposition between the north and a south that contains all those European regions that are not north.<sup>4</sup> Rather, this possible spatial context should be grounded within the broader corpus of available contexts and should not govern our interpretation of the north in medieval history writing.

The most evident cases of a direct and explicit opposition of north and south are found in texts emanating from, or written about, Scandinavia. But even in the more explicit cases, there is still a notable difference between the portrayal of north and south. The opposition is characteristically established on the basis of a reference to Song of Songs 4:16, but the exegetical logic used in reference to north is not mirrored in the south. A particularly rich example of this sort of spatial interpretation is found in the life of Cnut by Ælnoth of Canterbury.<sup>5</sup> He begins the life

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<sup>3</sup> See *supra* ch. 3; Maurmann, *Himmelsrichtungen*, 117-28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 129; Skånland, 'Calor fidei', 98-9; Michael H. Gelting, 'Two Early Twelfth-Century Views of Denmark's Christian Past: Ailnoth and the Anonymous of Roskilde', in *Historical Narrative and Christian Identity on the European Periphery: Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070-1200)*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 44-5.

<sup>5</sup> See generally, Gelting, 'Two Early', esp. 38-43 and Aidan Conti, 'Ælnoth of Canterbury and Early Mythopoesis in Denmark', in *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavian and Eastern Europe (c. 1000-1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 189-206; on the literary context and the problematic relationship of historiography and hagiography for it, see Mortensen, 'Mythopoesis', esp. 247-52.

with a brief history of the northern kingdoms, which combines an ethnographic account of the impact of the northern climate on its inhabitants with a story of the conversion of the region. The nature of the region, barren both of life and amenities, explains not only the inhabitants' tenuous grasp of true religion, since they sully it by eating illicit foods during fast days (even Lent!), but also the belatedness of their conversion, for the doctors of the faith were reticent to travel to a land so scarce and so innately barbaric.<sup>6</sup> But this ethnography blends seamlessly into a biblical exposition of the spiritual condition of the region. Ælnoth continues:

For as the Lord recorded through the prophet, *from the north evil spreads out over the face of the whole earth*. For this reason these nations bound by the chill of ancient faithlessness, which we have recorded, are scarcely ever so inflamed with fervour as to be solidified by the stability of faith, that they may be freed inwardly from the bonds of faithlessness.<sup>7</sup>

The language is filled with exegetical tropes regarding the north and this serves to blend the physical and spiritual characteristics of the region.<sup>8</sup> The violent winters (*hiemis ... uehementiam*) and ancient ice fields (*longeuioris glaciei seriem*) are mirrored in the chill of faithlessness (*infidelitatis ... frigoribus*) among the inhabitants.<sup>9</sup> Not only is one cast as a climatic cause of the other, but it is imbued with a specific allegorical and tropological significance on top of the 'literal' facts about the region through the citation of scripture and the use of this common exegetical language.

The south receives no analogous treatment. Ælnoth uses this negative portrayal as the backdrop for an exhortation to the religious life, here drawing upon Song of Songs. Although people of this region are rarely touched by the warmth of faith:

Whatever is lacking whether for these or for all the faithful in accomplishing God's commands, with the north arising (that is, with the cold of torpor and iniquity driven

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<sup>6</sup> Ælnoth, 1 (Gertz, 82-5); cf. Gelting, 'Two Early', 43-9.

<sup>7</sup> Ælnoth, 1 (Gertz, 84). 'Ab aquilone enim, ut per prophetam dominus commemorat, pandetur malum super faciem uniuerse terre. Iccirco nationes iste, quas commemorauimus, antique infidelitatis obstricte frigoribus uix umquam ita feruore succense fidei stabilitate solidantur, ut infidelitatis nexibus penitus absoluantur'.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Skånland, 'Calor fidei', 87.

<sup>9</sup> Ælnoth, 1 (Gertz, 84); eg. Bede, *De tab.* 2 (CCSL 119A, 64; Holder, 71) and HoSV, *De arch.* 3.10 (CCCM 176, 70).

out) let the south come and blow through the garden of Church's faithful, that their spice may flow: that is, let the warmth of spiritual grace come and flow into the hearths of the faithful...<sup>10</sup>

Unlike the north, the south is not discussed as a region but purely as the north's contrary. The interpretation is not interwoven with an analysis of the 'literal' characteristics of a geographical south. Instead this interpretation hinges on the 'literal' characteristics of the north, and the south represents the spiritual condition that the people of the north supposedly rarely exhibit. Although certainly the literal conversion of Scandinavia is alluded to in the 'north' being driven out, the interpretation of the south remains tropological and looks towards an expression of *contemptus mundi*.

This asymmetry of north and south is no mere quirk of Ælnoth's history. We find the same sort of asymmetry in other authors as well. Peter the Venerable, for example, appeals to this negative stereotype of the north in his letter to Sigurd I of Norway so that he can undermine it in praise of Sigurd's support for crusading. Peter follows precisely the same formula as Ælnoth, beginning with an description of the remote and inhospitable north, 'on the outermost edges of the globe and under the frozen axis of the world'.<sup>11</sup> He then notes the analogous spiritual distance from the south, although in this case it is subverted, since God has 'nevertheless tempered the northern cold, with the southern warmth of his spirit, so much in you' that again the refrain of Song of Songs 4:16 can be said of Sigurd.<sup>12</sup> Once again the north is understood in reference to the literal condition of the northern part of the world where, even lacking a climatic theory, the frigid nature of the landscape imputes an equivalent frigidity to the spirits of its inhabitants. The south, on the other hand, is spoken of in reference only to the spiritual condition of the self-same inhabitants. It once

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<sup>10</sup> Ælnoth, 1 (Gertz, 84). 'quicquid seu illis siue cunctis in diuinis perficiendis deest mandatis fidelibus, exurgente aquilone (id est: frigore torporis et iniquitatis effuato) ueniat auster et perflēt hortum ecclesie fidelium, ut fluant aromata illius: ueniat scilicet calor gratie spiritualis et influat in corda credentium...'

<sup>11</sup> Petr. Ven., *Ep.* 44 (Constable, 141). 'in extremis finibus orbis atque sub gelido axe saeculorum'.

<sup>12</sup> Petr. Ven., *Ep.* 44 (Constable, 141). 'meridiano tamen sui spiritus calore, in tantum uestrum aquilonale frigus temperauit'.

again inheres to the north as its contrary, and represents the allegorical and tropological reading of the gentiles joining the church and of sinners turning their lives to good works. Indeed, the letter goes on to praise Sigurd's services to the Church, establishing its protection and supporting its expansionist efforts.

What is more, any notion of a proper spatial distinction between a pagan north and a Christian south is undermined through the spatial context of the crusade in the second half of the letter. Peter praises Sigurd 'for driving back the enemies of the cross of Christ from land and sea, not only in your parts, but also *at the remotest ends of the south and east*'.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, in *Ælnoth* the south lacks literal substance in part because of a previously established spatial logic, in this case European geography. *Ælnoth*'s ethnography begins with Caesar's conquest of Gaul, after which the Franks, Gauls and Saxons submit to the Roman empire and the Christian religion. Naturally, the relevant spatial dichotomy here is not between north and south but between north and west. Hence, he contrasts 'almost all the kingdoms of the west' who submitted to Christian laws through the Roman empire and 'those nations which stand on the other side of the Franks or Gauls and Saxons in the northern regions' who received signs of the faith later.<sup>14</sup> This initial framing belies a simple narrative of north against south. Rather, the narrative is framed around an actual European geography, rather than a spiritual geography, just as Peter's letter is ultimately framed around a global geography. As such, it is not clear that we should read the subsequent north-south opposition back into this north-west opposition. Instead, it seems perfectly acceptable to interpret both *Ælnoth* and Peter as using multiple spatial contexts to different ends. Indeed, this makes more sense within the exegetical logic of letter and spirit. Since higher interpretations necessarily rest upon the literal level, interpretations of the south require a foundation in facts about the world.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Petr. Ven., *Ep.* 44 (Constable, 141). 'inimicos crucis Christi, ... non tantum in uestris, sed etiam *in remotissimis meridiei et orientis finibus*, ... terra marique ... reppuleritis'. (Emphasis mine.)

<sup>14</sup> *Ælnoth*, 1 (Gertz, 82). 'fere omnia occidentis regna'; 'nationes ille, que ex aduerso latere Francorum seu Gallorum Saxonumque aquilonalibus consistunt partibus'.

<sup>15</sup> HoSV, *De scrip.* 5 (PL 175, 13A-B); de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 2:41-50.

### *Western Europe and a Relative South*

The absence of the south in twelfth-century historical discourse runs deeper than its use relative to the Scandinavian north. While in that case the logic of oppositional pairs underlies its inclusion as a spiritual reading of the north, its absence is more clearly felt among western European authors. As with Scandinavia, Latin authors of the twelfth century seem to have difficulty in general establishing a position for the south in their writings. In particular, the south's inherence within the north among Scandinavian authors goes some distance toward explaining the lack of references to the south. For western European authors like Sigebert of Gembloux and Orderic Vitalis, the north is an external region that stands in conceptual opposition to their own.<sup>16</sup> Since these authors identify themselves as inhabiting the western region of the world, which is not a conceptual opposite of the north, the north is presented autonomous of any spatial anti-type.<sup>17</sup> As such, there is no ready basis for this sort of oppositional south within their histories.

When these authors do make allusions to the south, it is most often only a south relative to European geography and as such this region is not usually directly identified as such or developed into a broader analysis of space. Both authors make allusions to Italy as a different region from the Carolingian heartlands in the north, but their framing of this distinction is not very explicit. In Orderic the evidence is particularly ambiguous. In his account of Odo of Bayeux's abortive attempt to win the papacy, he clearly describes how he joined with Hugh of Chester and together they abandoned their possessions in the west (*in occiduis climatibus*) to go to the lands beyond the Po.<sup>18</sup> However, Orderic never describes this region as southern. Rather, as in the case of his frequent references to the Italian Normans, he normally refers to Italy according to the name of the relevant

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<sup>16</sup> Sig., *Chron.* prol. (MGH SS 6, 302); OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-5).

<sup>17</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 1096 (MGH SS 6, 367); OV, 9.1 (Chibnall, 5:4-5).

<sup>18</sup> OV, 7.8 (Chibnall, 4:40-1).

region or regions.<sup>19</sup> While it is not unreasonable to suppose, on this basis, that there is some notion of a ‘southern Europe’ behind Orderic’s presentation of Italy, he does not frame it explicitly in these terms. This is strikingly similar to Robert the Monk’s presentation of European geography. He describes the French crusading contingents as coming from the north and south of the extreme west. But these ‘western European’ crusaders are then described as leaving their homes (*suis sedibus*) and crossing the Alps, to be directed through Italy to Rome.<sup>20</sup> In both cases, Italy is portrayed as in some sense not ‘western’, but the authors do not therefore leap to identify it explicitly with the south. Rather than leaving the west to reach the south, they describe people leaving the west to reach Italy.

The case of Sigebert is likewise ambiguous but for a different reason. As with Orderic, Sigebert normally refers simply to Italy according to the relevant toponyms.<sup>21</sup> However, he also has one or two indications of the broader spatial organisation of Europe. The one explicit presentation of north-south relations within Europe is found right near the end of the *Chronicle* when, in 1110, he records a comet with its tail pointing to the south (*ad austrum*). Unlike the majority of the signs scattered throughout the work, Sigebert offers an interpretation of this event, explaining that ‘by this sign the future campaign of King Henry V against Italy was foretold’.<sup>22</sup> As with Orderic, the relative geography here makes sense only because the author is writing from north-western Europe. The relative nature of this interpretation is underscored when compared with Romuald of Salerno’s account of the very same comet in his *Chronicle*. Although Romuald does not gloss the sign like Sigebert, the subsequent year poignantly begins with the same invasion of Italy by Henry V. But, unlike Sigebert, Romuald gives a different spatial interpretation of the comet. Instead of describing its tail pointing to the south, he describes its position around the northern axis of the sky (*a parte*

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<sup>19</sup> Eg. OV, 3.-, 7.7 (Chibnall, 2:126-7, 4:36-7).

<sup>20</sup> Robert, *Hist.* 2.1-2 (Kempf and Bull, 13; Sweetenham, 89-90). ‘de remotis occidentalium partibus a parte aquilonis ... A parte australi’.

<sup>21</sup> Eg. Sig., *Chron.* 910, 1013 (MGH SS 6, 345, 355).

<sup>22</sup> Sig., *Chron.* 1110 (MGH SS 6, 372). ‘[cometes apparuit] hoc signo portendi futuram regis Heinrici quinti expeditionem Italiam versus.’

*septemtrionali circa polum*).<sup>23</sup> But even for Romuald the south is still somewhat relative as, although he has no signs that are only associated with the south, the two signs that involve the south are both related to events in the south of Italy specifically.<sup>24</sup> As with Ælnoth, there appears to be a general problem for these authors that the south about which they are speaking does not embody an absolute geographical south: it is instead understood relatively to their local or regional geography. As such, even with our Italian author, there is little basis on which to provide the south with a solid foundation for historical analysis.

### *A Cluniac Conception of the World*

The discussion so far has skirted around the central issue of the south *per se* for twelfth-century authors and the major exception to the general trend in the monastery of Cluny. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were, as many have emphasised, a turning point in western perception of Islam which saw the emergence of new and more frequent reflections on Islam and its significance.<sup>25</sup> The abbey of Cluny, especially under Peter the Venerable (1122-56), was a key site for the interest in Islam through the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>26</sup> Although Cluny is far from the only site of interest in Islam, it is unusual not only for its early interest in Islam, but also for the particular geographical image of Islam that Cluniac authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries present. Though the rise of Islam within the western consciousness had an impact generally upon western conceptions of space, particularly in conjunction with the Crusade, it seems to have influenced Cluniac authors differently. Unlike the image of Islam as a movement of easterners, or Asia, as we find in authors like Guibert of Nogent, Cluniac authors from the time of Ralph Glaber present a far

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<sup>23</sup> Romuald, 204-5.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Romuald, 170, 186.

<sup>25</sup> John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 104, 167; Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 114-7; Nicolas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 40-1.

<sup>26</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Order*, 336-7

more ‘global’ perspective on Islam, emphasising both the south and Spain as areas of Islamic activity and stressing their spatial opposition to a Christian Europe.

This perception of the world seems to originate particularly in early ties between the Cluny and a Spanish royal family. Although there is some dispute over the exact nature of the relationship, with recent scholarship drawing into question the idea that during the abbacy of Hugh of Semur (1049-1109), Alfonso VI of Castile-Léon (1072-1109) paid a considerable yearly tribute to Cluny, no one doubts the links between Cluny and northwestern Iberia.<sup>27</sup> But this link extends back to at least the abbacy of Odilo (994-1049). Crucially for Cluniac awareness of Spain, between 1022 and 1025 Sancho III of Navarra, Alfonso’s grandfather, sent a group of Spanish monks to Cluny with the aim of instituting Cluniac reforms at San Juan de la Peña, creating a direct institutional relationship.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, Ralph Glaber records the presence of, likely these very same, Spanish monks at Cluny around 1130, and as France notes, his interactions with these Spanish monks certainly helps to explain Glaber’s unusual interest in and knowledge of Islam throughout his history.<sup>29</sup> What is more, Glaber pays particular attention to Islam in Africa and Spain, which are often closely interlinked.<sup>30</sup> Cluny’s ties with Spain only increased through the second half of the eleventh century.

Even before this, Islam had already worked its way into the institutional consciousness of Cluny through the abduction of Abbot Maiolus (954-94) by Muslims in 972, a story that would be retold repeatedly through his hagiographies and holds a prominent place in Glaber’s history.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, when Odilo commissioned a Cluniac rewriting of the earliest Pavian hagiography around 1010, one of the new inclusions was a religious discussion between Maiolus and his captors.

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<sup>27</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Order*, 28, 336; Lucy K. Pick, ‘Rethinking Cluny in Spain’, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5.1 (2013): 1-17; Patrick Henriot, ‘Cluny and Spain before Alfonso VI: remarks and propositions’, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 9.2 (2017): 206-19.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien: Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenserklöster in Kastilien-León vom Beginn des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1974), 32-6; Iogna-Prat, *Order*, 336.

<sup>29</sup> Glaber, *Hist.* 3.3.12, cf. 4.7.22 (France, 114-5, cf. 206-7); France in Glaber, *Hist.*, liii-iv; Segl, *Königtum*, 39n195.

<sup>30</sup> Glaber, *Hist.* 1.5.17, 2.8.18, 4.7.22, cf. 2.7.13 (France, 32-3, 82-3, 206-7, cf. 74-5 esp. n2).

<sup>31</sup> Scott G. Bruce, *Cluny and the Muslims of La Garde-Freinet: Hagiography and the Problem of Islam in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), esp. ch. 2; Iogna-Prat, *Order*, 324-6; Glaber, *Hist.* 1.4.9 (France, 18-23).

Odilo would have a hand in at least one other version of this story in 1033 and we must suppose that he was indirectly involved in Glaber's as well.<sup>32</sup> We can see how during the middle of Odilo's abbacy, both Islam and Spain were present issues for the monks of Cluny.

This nexus of ideas around Spain, Africa and Islam seem to have had a broader impact on the perception of the world among Cluniac authors for at least the next century. We can already see the crystallisation of such a spatial dynamic at work in Glaber's famous description of the world as represented by Christ on the cross. Glaber inverts the standard allegorical tropes by describing how, since Christ faced the west on the cross, the north and west were favoured by his face and right hand, where the east and south, facing his back and left hand, remained immature and barbaric. This prophesied the state of the world in Glaber's day, for indeed 'the Gospel of the Lord Christ, in coming to ... the north and the west, has laid the best foundation for the holy faith ... while on the other hand it has penetrated less in ... the east and south, and has left the peoples there trapped for longer in the wildness of their own errors'.<sup>33</sup> But the implications of this spatial nexus over the next century are broader and more varied than Glaber's response. For example, in the first half of the twelfth century, Bernard of Cluny links the east with Spain as sites for the Antichrist's activity.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, Bernard claims the goings on in Spain are known to him 'from actual witnesses'.<sup>35</sup> Likewise in 1172, another Cluniac monk, Richard of Poitiers, emphasises the African connection. He laments the lack of information he has about the kings of Morocco, Numidia, Libya, Cyrene and Ethiopia, explaining that Christianity has been driven from these regions by the 'false teachings of *Mahumet*' and that they have as a result been cut off from Christianity and the Roman Empire.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Bruce, *Cluny*, 53-7.

<sup>33</sup> Glaber, *Hist.* 1.5.24 (France, 40-3). 'usque in fines ... septemtrionalis et occidentalis, Christi Domini deueniens euangelium optimum ... locauit sacre fidei fundamentum, cum uidelicet e diuerso minus ... orientalem atque meridianam, penetrauerit ac illarum populos diutius in proprii erroris feritate irretitos siuerit.'

<sup>34</sup> Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi* 1, ll.1059-68 (ed. and trans. Ronald E. Pepin, *Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny's De Contemptu Mundi* (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1991), 74-5).

<sup>35</sup> Bernard of Cluny, *De contemptu mundi* 1, l. 1069 (Pepin, 74-5). 'testibus ... veris'.

<sup>36</sup> Richard of Poitiers, *Chronica* (MGH SS 26, 84); Hamilton, 'Continental Drift', 4. 'errorem Mahumet'.

This Cluniac development saw its twelfth-century apotheosis in the work of Abbot Peter the Venerable (1122-56). Conceptualising his role like that of the Church Fathers, as in his exhortation to Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter not only wrote tracts against the ‘Petrobrusians’, Judaism and Islam, but was also instrumental in commissioning the first Latin translation of the Qur’an in 1142.<sup>37</sup> Throughout these writings, Peter develops a geography of Christianity and its antagonists, chief among which is Islam. This is quite evident in his major work *Contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, produced near the end of his life in the late-1140s and 1150s. In the prologue he describes the Islamic conquests:

But the Mohammedan fury, taking its beginning from the Arab Ishmaelites, ravished the Persians, the Medes, the Syrians, the Armenians, the Ethiopians, the Indians, and the rest of the kingdoms of the East, and [did] the same in the three parts of the world: it corrupted the greatest part (almost all) of Asia, and either turning [its inhabitants] away from Christianity or converting them to the sectarian doctrine of that lost man by means of certain errors, it took away Christ and substituted the devil; from here, not by gentle reason but by violent invasion, it subjected to the profane religion (since almost all the armies of the East were subjected, as was said) Egypt, Libya, and all of Africa; and having thus occupied two parts of the world, it did not leave the third (which is called Europe) whole to Christ or his Christians, but broke through into Spain.<sup>38</sup>

The geography alone here is quite interesting. In the first place, Ethiopia is listed as a region of Asia beside India, perhaps following the confusing description of Indians (*Indi*) as the eastern of three Ethiopian peoples by Isidore.<sup>39</sup> But, at the same time, he lists Egypt as part of Africa, in opposition to its standard location as the western edge of Asia in the south.<sup>40</sup> He also constructs a geography of Islam which subsumes the south, here Africa, within the narrative of Islam. This point is reemphasised in the beginning of the first book when he addresses his fictive reader. He not only

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<sup>37</sup> Pet. Ven., *Ep.* 111 (Constable, 298). See generally Iogna-Prat, *Order*.

<sup>38</sup> Pet. Ven., *Cont. sect.* prol. D 179vs-d (Kritzeck, 226; trans. as in Krtzeck, 142). ‘At Mahumeticus furor ab Hysmaelitis Arabibus sumens exordium, Persas, Medos, Syros, Armenios, Ethiopes, Indos, ac reliqua orientis regna ipsamque in tribus orbis partibus maximam Asiam pene totam corrumpit, et uel a Christianismo auertans, uel a quibuslibet antiquis erroribus ad perditum hominis sectam conuertens, subtrahit Christo, subtrauit diabolo. Hinc non miti ratione, sed uiolenta incursione, toto fere ut dictum est armis oriente subacto, Egyptum, Lybiam, Affricamque uniuersam prophanæ religioni subiecit, et sic duabus mundi partibus occupatis, nec tertiam quæ Europa uocatur, Hyspania peruasa Christo uel Christianis suis integram dereliquit.’

<sup>39</sup> Isi., *Etym.* 9.2.128 (Barney et al., 199); cf. Rouxpetel, *L’Occident*, 115-37, esp. 117.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Isi., *Etym.* 14.3.27, 5.3 (Barney et al., 287, 292); Orosius, 1.2.3, 8, 27-35, 87 (Fear, 36-7, 39-40, 46).

explains how strange it is to write to those so distant in space, language and custom, whom he has not and may never see, but specifies that he is writing from the farthest west (*ultimis occidentis*) to those men in the east and south (*orientis vel meridei partibus*).<sup>41</sup>

The introduction to *Contra sectam* was, for Peter, merely a re-articulation of one part of his broader conception of world religion and geo-politics. He had already developed a clear taxonomy and geography of world religions as early as the 1130s in his *Contra Petrobrusianos*.<sup>42</sup> To show how Christians alone still offer ‘sacrifices’ to God, he describes how there are in his day four main sects in the world: Christians, Jews, ‘Saracens’, and pagans.<sup>43</sup> The Jews only inhabited Jerusalem, although not for the last 1100 years. Islam has a far greater reach: ‘almost the entire east and the African region, deceived by that vile *Mahumeth* for nearly 550 years, is subservient to these and innumerable superstitions’.<sup>44</sup> Finally, Peter does not forget the geography of the Carolingian north, explaining that pagans are ‘few in number and unknown to the world, since they are hidden away in the extreme ends of the north and under the frozen pole, and, as it is said, inhabit places near the Meotide swamps’.<sup>45</sup> Thus Peter develops a complete world geography, with the ‘Saracens’ in the south and east, the ‘pagans’ within a markedly diminished north and Christianity implicitly remaining in the west. Though, as he makes clear in *Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem*, there are really only two here that are geopolitically significant, the Christians and ‘Saracens’, ‘who rule almost the whole world’.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Pet. Ven., *Cont. sect.* 1, D 181rs (Kritzeck, 231).

<sup>42</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Order*, 116-17.

<sup>43</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos* 161 (CCCM 10, 94-5).

<sup>44</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos* 161 (CCCM 10, 94). ‘Cumque hiis et innumeris superstitionibus tota pene orientalis et Affricana regio ab illo nequam Mahumeth decepta per quingentos et fere quinquaginta annos inseruiat.’

<sup>45</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos* 161 (CCCM 10, 94-5). ‘[Pagani] pauci et orbi terrarum incogniti, cum in aquilonis extremis finibus atque sub gelido axe lateant, et loca, ut fertur, Meotidis paludibus uicina inhabitent’

<sup>46</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Aduersus Iudeorum* 5 (CCCM 58, 147). ‘qui uel Christiani uel Sarraceni toti pene mundo imperant’

But there is more to this picture than a mere taxonomy of religion and geo-politics, Peter is also attentive to its historical development. In his letter to John Komnenos, Peter extols the significance of John's kingdom, exalted over all Christian princes and established in the middle of east, west and north (*aquilo*). 'Whence in times past (*olim*) with the northern barbarians, but also with the last (*ultimis*) and worst enemies of the Christian name, the Arabs, encroaching on the south and west, as if to assault parts of your kingdom, [God] has never yet permitted them to be overthrown'.<sup>47</sup> There is a strange mismatch in the use of directions here. John's kingdom is described as sitting between east, west, and north, while the enemies of Christianity are described as attacking from the north and against the south and west. The omission of the east in his description of the Arabs is particularly telling. The absent east is really a substantive absence as it is the implicit location from where the Arabs erupt. This is highlighted also by the use of east, west, and north in the description of the kingdom, for John faces both the northern and eastern enemies, standing between them and the west. Likewise, the opposition of *olim* and *ultimus* not only represents a changing geo-political situation, but it also reemphasises the same disparity between Peter's lack of concern for the few pagans still living on the edge of Scythia and what he perceives as essentially the rival of Christian 'civilisation'.

Although the view represented in the writing of Peter the Venerable and Ralph Glaber does not seem to have had widespread influence beyond Cluny, some of the notions are nevertheless reflected in other authors. William of Malmesbury, for example, describes the conquest much in line with Peter's in *Contra sectam*, although in his case drawn from Alcuin. After noting that Charlemagne's generals freed much of Spain from the 'Saracens', he explains that it is those same 'Saracens' who 'still rule the whole of Africa and a great part of Asia Major'.<sup>48</sup> William is more

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<sup>47</sup> Pet. Ven., *Ep.* 75 (Constable, 208). 'Vnde olim aquilonalibus barbaris, sed et ultimis ac pessimis Christiani nominis inimicis Arabibus, in occiduas et meridianas plagas irruentibus, regni uestri partes etsi oppugnari, nunquam tamen expugnari permisit'.

<sup>48</sup> WM, *GR* 1.91.2 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 134-5); Alcuin, *Epistulae* 7 (MGH Epp. 4, 32); cf. Tolen, *Saracens*, 72-8. 'tota dominantur Affrica et Asia Maiori maxima ex parte.'

optimistic about the situation, however, describing the various recent conquests of ‘Saracen’ lands by Christians, including ‘the great part of Asia’ by the Crusade.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, Orderic Vitalis describes the Islamic conquests as an aside to his story of the translation of the body of St Mark. He explains that, although the evangelist was interred in the east, his body was translated to Aquileia ‘on account of the incursions of pagans, who covered the entire east like locusts, and conquered the greatest part of the world to the south and north’.<sup>50</sup> It is for this reason that, although he was commissioned as the ‘leader of the southern climate’, now ‘the natives of Venice and the western people rejoice that they held the body of the blessed evangelist’.<sup>51</sup> Although the phrasing is somewhat ambiguous, Orderic seems to describe the Islamic conquests as fundamentally covering the east, which is then glossed as the greatest part of the world (that is, Asia) to the north and south. This would likewise cover the south that Mark inhabited, as Alexandria is within Asia. But neither William nor Orderic show the same consistently global vision that we find among Cluniac authors, nor the same focus on the Spain and the south or Africa as centres of Islamic activity.

It should be evident by now that the position of the south is both varied and tenuous in the minds of early twelfth century authors. Even in cases of its evident use in relationship to the north, it lacks a literal substance of its own, inhering instead in the north as its conceptual opposite. But this is not the usual experience. Most western European authors seem to have substantially ignored the south. They implicitly divide Italy from western Europe, but few describe Italy as ‘southern’. With the rise of Islam, the position of Africa and the south within western consciousness becomes increasingly linked to the spread of Islam. Yet, even here there are important asymmetries. In the elaborate treatment of the subject by Peter the Venerable, where both east and south are discussed, the east maintains primacy in the relationship. It is the place from which Islam emerged and the

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<sup>49</sup> WM, *GR* 1.92 (Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, 134-5). ‘magnam partem Asiae’.

<sup>50</sup> OV, 2.15 (Chibnall, 1:188-9; trans mine). ‘propter incursiones paganorum qui totum orientem ut locustae operuerunt, sibi que maximam partem mundi ad austrum et ad aquilonem subegerunt’.

<sup>51</sup> OV, 2.15 (Chibnall, 1:189; trans mine). ‘meridiani climatis principatum’; ‘Venetiarum indigenae et occidentales populi habito corpore beati euangelistae gratulantur’.

focal point of attention after the First Crusade. Even on a very basic level, it is more likely to be described as the east, unlike Africa. Although this situation would change in the coming centuries, with Nubia and Ethiopia becoming increasingly present to western consciousness from the late-twelfth and especially in the fourteenth centuries, we do not seem to be able to read this backwards into the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>52</sup> Rather, like the kingdom of John Komnenos, Latin historians of the first half of the twelfth century seem to be facing only north, east and west.

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<sup>52</sup> Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge', in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 23-4; Hamilton, 'Continental Drift'; Rouxpetel, *L'Occident*, 107-15.

## Conclusion

When Peter the Venerable, in the second quarter of the twelfth century, contrasted the northern barbarians of old with the latest and greatest threat to the Christian Church, the Arabs, he may not have recognised the prescience of his own words.<sup>1</sup> The world of the early-twelfth century was in the midst of seismic changes both materially and intellectually, and in no place was this more evident than in the map of Latin Christendom. The north, east and even the far west had opened up to the Latin world, not only through the sort of colonial expansion described by Bartlett but also through a radical restructuring of world geography.<sup>2</sup> And although the expansion of the Latin world was a process already well under way by the turn of the twelfth century, it is from the last quarter of the eleventh century that Latin authors begin to respond to these developments. From at least the 1070s with Adam of Bremen's *Descriptio insularum aquilonis*, authors of the Latin world were moved to describe these regions beyond the boundaries of the Carolingian empire.<sup>3</sup> Likewise for the east, from the 1102-3 pilgrimage of Saewulf, authors began writing lists of the great variety of Christians who lived there.<sup>4</sup> From the early-twelfth century these developments found their way into European geography and historiography: Honorius Augustodunensis included Norway in *Germania inferior*; and both he and Hugh of Saint Victor carved out a new area in Europe north of the Danube.<sup>5</sup> Hugh also added the Normans, both to his geography and to his list of rulers of the sixth age.<sup>6</sup> This moment also witnessed the growth of 'peripheral' historiography, in Scandinavia and in eastern

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<sup>1</sup> Pet. Ven., *Ep.* 75 (Constable, 208).

<sup>2</sup> Bartlett, *Europe*, passim.; Phillips, *Expansion*, ch. 2, 3, 10; Gautier Dalché, 'Représentations géographiques de l'Europe'.

<sup>3</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 82-101; Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Constructing the Past: Religious Dimensions and Historical Consciousness in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*', in Mortensen, *The Making of Christian Myths*, 36-46.

<sup>4</sup> Rouxpetel, *L'Occident*, 99-101.

<sup>5</sup> Gautier Dalché, 'Représentations géographiques de l'Europe', 70-1.

<sup>6</sup> Paris, BnF, Lat. 15009, 27r; HoSV, *Desc.* 22 (Gautier Dalché, 154).

Europe.<sup>7</sup> But these changes were not merely geographical quirks. They cut to the heart of a Carolingian legacy that was still alive and well in the spatial consciousness of Latin authors in the twelfth century.

In the last decade scholarship has increasingly questioned the idea that medieval ideas of space can be dismissed as ‘merely geographical’, a point that we have emphasised through a close analysis of the ongoing arguments within the twelfth-century geographical tradition itself.<sup>8</sup> Even in areas where the geography was based almost entirely on classical precedents, medieval authors were engaged not only in addressing the complications of this tradition but also in actively restructuring it. But the work of recapturing the dynamic and ideologically charged aspects of medieval geography is very much incomplete, particularly in medieval history writing. Scholarship has tended to address the use of space in medieval history writing narrowly, in terms of the inclusion of geographical material within a historical text, be it through an excursus, table, map or other description of space.<sup>9</sup> And indeed, with this focus, the prevailing view remains that ‘overall, the relationship of medieval historians with (historical) space was ambivalent.’<sup>10</sup> But, far from being constrained by the ‘tyranny of chronology’, authors of the early-twelfth century were deeply conscious of the importance of space in their perception of history and of the world.<sup>11</sup> Stepping beyond the narrow focus on the use of specific geographical inclusions in medieval histories, we can identify a broader discourse on space among authors of the twelfth century.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Mortensen, ‘Mythopoiesis’, although the scale of this change is rather larger and more region specific, stretching from the early-eleventh century to the early-thirteenth.

<sup>8</sup> Gautier Dalché, ‘Représentations géographiques de l’Europe’; Oschema, *Bilder*; passim.; Klaus Oschema, ‘Medieval Europe - Object and Ideology’, *Ideas of, for Europe: An interdisciplinary approach to European identity*, ed. Teresa Pinheiro, José Eduardo Franco and Beata Cieszynska (Frankfurt aM: Peter Lang, 2012), 59-74.

<sup>9</sup> Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, 305-7; Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 154-5, 174-7; Guenée, *Histoire*, 20-2, 166-78; Gautier Dalché, ‘L’espace de l’histoire’, 287-300.

<sup>10</sup> Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 176; cf. the more positive analysis in Gautier Dalché, ‘L’espace de l’histoire’, 299. ‘Insgesamt gesehen war das Verhältnis des mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibers zum (historischen) Raum ambivalent.’

<sup>11</sup> Guenée, *Histoire*, 22. ‘L’historiographie médiévale se situa mal dans l’espace mais vit dans le temps son essence même. Sur elle pesa la tyrannie de la chronologie.’

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Fraesdorff, *Norden*.

Throughout this dissertation we have attempted to show how the cardinal points served to form just such a spatialising discourse among authors in the ‘central’ regions of the Latin world in the first half of the twelfth century. Authors of this period were broadly engaged in a discourse on the spatial construction of their world. That construction contained, and mutually entangled, a broader conception of the world, or *Weltbild*, with a set of value judgements about its regions and a series of deeply ingrained literary tropes. Indeed, we can find significant spatial inflections even in the history of an author so paradigmatically bound to chronology as Sigebert of Gembloux.<sup>13</sup> This was very often carried out at a pre-theoretical level, using this vocabulary as a medium through which to discuss broader historical concerns. Even something as basic as identifying heavenly signs, found among even the most annalistic chronicles, allowed historians to insert their histories into this broader spatial discourse. It could be used for polemical castigation of individual figures, as we find in the investiture polemics, or it could involve a broader argument around the spatialisation of the forces of good and evil in the world, as we find in both Sigebert and Romuald.

This discourse similarly involved explicit theorisation about the role of spatiality in the world and in history. Scholarship here has likewise remained focused on a very narrow aspect of this spatiality, namely: theoretical engagement with the *translatio*, through the models of Otto of Freising and Hugh of Saint Victor. While this is definitely a major theoretical development, we have shown how it ought to be relativised within a broader collection of spatial notions that were under discussion in this period. The scholarly predisposition towards the Hugonian model not only sidelines the importance of Orosius, it also picks up on a broader issue of interdisciplinarity in medieval thought. It is widely noted that medieval authors operated under a unity of the sciences.<sup>14</sup> In the discipline of history, this framework has often given primacy to theology as its the unifying feature.<sup>15</sup> But while theology is unquestionably central to medieval intellectual life – and the

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gautier Dalché, ‘Perception et représentation de l’espace’, 295.

<sup>14</sup> Eg. Gautier Dalché, ‘Perception et représentation de l’espace’, 343; Sønnesyn, *William*, 8-12.

<sup>15</sup> Eg. Fischer, *Oriens*, 74-5; Sønnesyn, *William*, ch. 1.

theology of history certainly plays a central role in many histories – we have sought to problematise this relationship. In particular, as we have shown through the intersection of exegetical and geographical learning with history, exegesis does not hold a unifying theoretical role in the way that authors of the early-twelfth century conceived of the cardinal directions in history. On the contrary, a strong driving influence is the ethnographical tradition of antiquity and the shifting geographical foundations of the Latin world. Even if these are sometimes understood through the medium of exegesis, this is one element of a heterogeneous foundation.

In the writings of authors like Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, and Guibert of Nogent, we find another possible medium for the assessment of the cardinal regions of the world. The early-twelfth century saw the first re-emergence of a classical medical and ethnographical tradition. Latent in the writings of classical and late-antique authorities like Lucan or Isidore and explicit in the translation of ancient Greek and more contemporary Arabic texts, from the early-twelfth century we see an increasing interest in characterising the nature of peoples and, among certain authors, the development of a specialised medical vocabulary for doing so. While the history of climatic determinism in this early period remains largely unclear, the interaction of these medical ideas with the cardinal points in historical texts suggests that this development was entangled within a broader set of interconnected interests.<sup>16</sup> The etymology of *Normannus*, for example, shows how ideas of climatic determinism could be caught up in a broader set of concerns around the nature and position of individual *gentes* within the context of western Christendom. It was likewise connected to a broader, informal culture of ethnic characterisation and stereotyping.<sup>17</sup> It also shows how these ideas about the nature of a given *gens* could be diffused more widely within a literary environment. These ideas could equally serve rhetorical purposes as in the case of William and Guibert, who use classical, medicalised vocabulary to elevate the language of their Crusade accounts. From the

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<sup>16</sup> For the later medieval diffusion see Biller, 'Proto-racial'.

<sup>17</sup> Weeda, 'Characteristics of Bodies'; Weeda, 'Fixed and Fluent', 95-6.

twelfth century this discourse increasingly became a part of their broader vocabulary of space. It thus allowed Norman authors to qualify and contest their barbaric nature, even turning the climatic categories to their advantage through the promotion of the Danes as chivalric heroes and it allowed Guibert to promote the superiority of the Western Church over the Eastern.

This brings us back to the spatial construction of the world by Latin authors of the early-twelfth century. The expansion of the Christendom was, by the turn of the twelfth century, no longer compatible with the image of the world that had prevailed since the ninth century. This increasingly prompted, or forced, our authors to renegotiate the categories into which the world was supposed to fit. According to the traditional Carolingian conception of the world, the north is the great Other, it is the last pagan holdout and the region out of which evils are poured upon the world, a view which prevailed until at least the eleventh century.<sup>18</sup> But for authors of the twelfth century this had changed. Through the conversion of northern peoples, and the newly found position of the Normans, the north could be recaptured as a positive region conducive to desirable, or at least reformable, martial characteristics. Indeed, the Normans could actually promote their northerness as a feature that distinguished them as a pre-eminent European *gens*. More radically still, with the Crusade, the traditional axis of apostolic development, from the divine east to the gentile west, was overturned.<sup>19</sup> The east became the region mired in heresy, while the west stood as a bastion of orthodoxy. Through the memory of the First Crusade, the west became a specific locus of Christianity and Christian activity, an idea that began to disseminate through histories of the early-twelfth century and formed the basis for a notion of a community of western nations.

Modern scholars often read these developments as the beginning of a narrative of later medieval development. The early interest in the east in Guibert or Anselm of Havelberg is seen to precede the concerted interest of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century figures like Jacques de Vitry or

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<sup>18</sup> Fraesdorff, *Norden*, 129-43; Gabriele, 'Frankish Kingship', 29-30; cf. *supra* excursus 2.

<sup>19</sup> Lapina, *Warfare*, 131-2.

Riccoldo de Monte Croce.<sup>20</sup> However, this material can also be read through another, backward looking narrative. It is important to remember that as much as authors of the first half of the twelfth century broke away from the Carolingian *Weltbild*, this must be qualified in two major ways. First, the use of the east and west still bears more in common with the context of the Great Schism than it does the evangelistic or settler context of the later-twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The case of Anselm is self-evident, since his *Anticimennon* is a dialogue between Anselm and a Greek theologian about the two churches. But Guibert is likewise writing specifically in the context of a Latin west and Greek east. As such, his assessment of the eastern world is as much about the Eastern Church itself as it is about Islam and their mutual Asiatic instability makes the Greeks as culpable for the present state of affairs, in Guibert's view.

Secondly, and more importantly, they did not really break away from the Carolingian *Weltbild*. In its major strokes, the broader outlines of the Carolingian view remain dominant until at least the middle of the twelfth century. As we have seen, historians were still overwhelmingly interested in the north, to the exclusion of other regions. For Sigebert, even in spite of the awkward position of Islam, the north remains the subject of his concern. It is the one region as yet untouched by the light of Christ, and the one area still threatening the order of the Christian world with chaotic violence. Likewise, for Romuald, the northern station of the Germans is highlighted through the Henrys' attempts to intercede in Italian affairs. Similarly for Orderic, it is the Normans' northern propensity for violence and conquest that drives the central problem of his history. It is not until the 1160s that Norman historians begin to change; as with Stephen of Rouen, the north is no longer something that needs to be addressed but is instead the basis of Norman dominance over the French. Obviously, this does not imply a complete change in the conception, but where Orderic feels bound to address the sinister north, Stephen does not. The north is therefore the region that continues to receive the most clear and evident value judgements during this period.

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<sup>20</sup> Rouxpetel, *L'Occident*, ch. 2.

These ideas of the north and the west are not, of course, our modern conceptions. They do stand in a genealogical and analogical relationship to our own in the twenty-first century. Akbari has suggested a later medieval conflation of west and north, eliding the previously opposed east-west, Sallustian partition of the world with the north-south climatic division, to establish a thoroughgoing ‘Orientalist’ opposition between east and west.<sup>21</sup> However, more significantly for us, our own notions of the north and west were developed in self-conscious recollection of the central Middle Ages and with them a mutual grounding in the Classical tradition. Like the Normans of the twelfth century, scientific racists of the modern era equally adapted classical tropes about the north to show the (supposed) racial superiority of the white Protestants of northern Europe. Although one is positive and the other negative, we can find a striking similarity between the description of the ‘Nordic race’ by Madison Grant (1865-1937), the leading theorist of racism in his day (as Gould describes him) and Orderic Vitalis.<sup>22</sup> Grant explains that the northern race is domineering, individualistic, self-reliant, and characterised by chivalry and knighthood, all traits that are, among Europeans, ‘traceable for the most part to the north.’<sup>23</sup> For Orderic the Normans are untamed (*indomita*), need a strong ruler (*rigido rectore*), they seek to rule everywhere (*ubicumque ... dominari appetunt*), they have a bold austerity (*audax austeritas*) and a natural ferocity and love of fighting (*naturalis feritas ... genuinus ardor preliandi*).<sup>24</sup>

It should come as no surprise to us that Grant thought the Normans of the conquest ‘among the finest and noblest examples of the Nordic race.’<sup>25</sup> And indeed, these views were, in Grant’s time, fairly widespread, as another American of the same era, the noted palaeontologist E.D. Cope (1840-97), explains that the cold increases the maturation rate of northern Europeans in contrast to

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<sup>21</sup> Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 40-50.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (London: Penguin, 1997), 257.

<sup>23</sup> Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race: Or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1936), 228; cf. George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin, 1989), 103-4.

<sup>24</sup> OV, 9.3 (Chibnall, 5:24-7).

<sup>25</sup> Grant, *The Passing*, 206.

the southern Europeans and women.<sup>26</sup> Along with this modern use of the north, our present conception of western identity rose in precisely the same window between the 1890s and 1930s, and was in part born out of the contradictions of the same white supremacy.<sup>27</sup> It is equally unsurprising, then, that this nascent moment for our own, modern spatial master narrative was a high point of fond reminiscence about the Crusades, especially exemplified in Allenby's entrance into Jerusalem in 1917, a point that Mierow does not forget to note in his translation of Otto of Freising.<sup>28</sup> So if these ideas seem familiar to us, this is as much a result of our appropriation of the Middle Ages in the construction of our modern identities.

As they do for us today, the cardinal points formed a central vocabulary in a system of spatial conception through which authors of the first half of the twelfth century conceived of and engaged with the world around them and their place in it. Since late antiquity, this vocabulary had asserted its position as central to the construction of space in geographical, exegetical, and historical literature. This served them not only in the description of the world geographically, but as a way to interweave these different fields of knowledge into a synthetic understanding of history as *mundus et saeculum*. It thus stood at the intersection of different genres, and of classical and Christian conceptions of the earth. This not only grounded authors' broader *Weltbild*, but it allowed them to positively engage with and challenge its parameters. Analysis of such systems, something often sidelined by mainstream scholarship, is therefore crucial. It provides insight into the conceptual changes that were occurring at this axis point of European history, and how individual historical actors navigated this rapidly changing world into which they found themselves cast.

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<sup>26</sup> Gould, *Mismeasure of Man*, 144.

<sup>27</sup> Bonnett, *Idea of the West*, 14-37.

<sup>28</sup> Eitan Bar-Yosef, 'The Last Crusade? British Propaganda and the Palestine Campaign, 1917-18', *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 87-109; Mierow in Otto, *Chron.*, 409n29.

## Appendix – Plates

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Plate 1. Albi World Map (Albi, BM, ms 29, 57v) Image from <http://mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/1035-manuscrits-medievau.htm>. (accessed September 25, 2018)

[Redacted]

Plate 2. Escalada Beatus (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.644, 33r-34v) Image from <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/110807>. (accessed September 25, 2018)

[Redacted]

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Plate 4. Vatican World Map (Vatican, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 6018, 63v-64r). Image from [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.Lat.6018](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.Lat.6018). (accessed September 25, 2018)

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Plate 5. Cotton World Map (London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B.v, 56v). Image from [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cotton\\_world\\_map.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cotton_world_map.jpg). (accessed September 25, 2018)

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Plate 6. Munich 'Isidore' Map (Munich, BSB, Clm 10058, 154v) Image from Gautier Dalché, *Descriptio*, frontispiece.

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Plate 7. Tournai Map of Palestine (London, BL, Add. MS 10049, 64v). Image from <https://recogito.pelagios.org/document/dowk2epajbqmgj/part/2/edit>. (accessed September 25, 2018)

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Plate 8. Sawley World Map (Cambridge, Corpus Christi, MS 66, 2). Image from commons.wikimedia.org. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Imago\\_Mundi\\_de\\_Honorius\\_of\\_Autum\\_\(editado\\_por\\_Henry\\_of\\_Mainz\)\\_1190.PNG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Imago_Mundi_de_Honorius_of_Autum_(editado_por_Henry_of_Mainz)_1190.PNG) (accessed September 25, 2018)

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Plate 9. Ebstorf World Map. Image from <https://blog.visualmotive.com/2009/ebstorf-mappamundi/>.  
(accessed September 25, 2018)

## Abbreviations

- Ælnoth *Ælnoth of Canterbury. Gesta Swenomagni Regis et filiorum eius et passio gloriosissimi Canuti Regis et martyris.* Edited by M. CL. Gertz. *Vitae sanctorum Danorum*, 76-147. Copenhagen, 1908-12.
- Adam, *Hist.* Adam of Bremen. *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum.* Edited by Bernhard Schmeidler. MGH SS rer. Germ. 2. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1917.
- Aug., *ciu.* Augustine. *De civitate Dei.* Edited by B. Dombart and A. Kalb. CCSL 47-8. Turnhout: Brepols, 1960. Translated by R. W. Dyson. *The City of God against the Pagans.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Baudri, *Hist.* Baudri of Bourgueil. *Historia Ierosolimitana.* Edited by Steven Biddlecombe. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014.
- Bede, *De tab.* Bede. *De tabernaculo.* Edited by D. Hurst. CCSL 119A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969. Translated by Arthur G. Holder. *On the Tabernacle.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994.
- CCCM *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971-).
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954-).
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866-)
- DMLBS Ashdowne, R. K., D. R. Howlett and R. E. Latham, eds. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources.* Oxford: British Academy, 2018.
- Frutolf, *Chron.* Frutolf of Michelsberg. *Chronica.* Edited by D. G. Waitz and P. Kilon. MGH SS 6, 1-267. Hannover, 1844. Translated (partially) by T. J. H. McCarthey. *Chronicles of the Investiture Contest: Frutolf of Michelsberg and his Continuators.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.
- Fulcher, *Hist.* Fulcher of Chartres. *Historia Hierosolymitana.* Edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913. Translated by Frances Rita Ryan. *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127.* With introduction by Harold S. Fink. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969.
- GF *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum.* Edited and translated by Rosalind Hill. *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem.* Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962.

- Glaber, *Hist.* Glaber, Ralph. *Historiarum libri quinque*. Edited and translated by John France. *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Glossa *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*. Edited by Adolf Rusch. 4 vols. Strasbourg, 1480/81.
- GND *Gesta Normannorum ducum*. Edited and translated by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts. *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992-5.
- Greg., *Hom. in Ez.* Gregory the Great. *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam*. Edited by M. Adriaen. CCSL 142. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971. Translated by Theodosia Thomkinson. *Homilies on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*. Etna: Centre for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 2008.
- Guibert, *Dei gesta* Guibert of Nogent. *Dei gesta per Francos*. Edited by R. B. C. Huygens. CCCM 127A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996. Translated by Robert Levine. *The Deeds of God through the Franks*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997.
- Guido, *Geo.* Guido of Pisa. *Geographica*. Edited by Joseph Schnetz. *Itineraria Romana*, vol. 2, *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia et Guidonis geographica*, 113-42. Leipzig: Teubner, 1990.
- HH Henry of Huntingdon. *Historia Anglorum*. Edited and translated by Diana Greenway. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Hon., *Im. mun.* Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago mundi*. Edited by Valerie V. I. Flint. *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 57 (1982): 1-153.
- Hon., *In Cant.* Honorius Augustodunensis. *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*. Edited by Migne. PL 172, 347-542.
- HoSV, *De arch.* Hugh of Saint Victor. *De archa Noe*. Edited by Patrice Sicard. CCCM 176. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- HoSV, *Desc.* Hugh of Saint Victor. *Descriptio mappe mundi*. Edited by Patrick Gautier Dalché. *La 'Descriptio mappe mundi' de Hugues de Saint-Victor*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988.
- HoSV, *De scrip.* Hugh of Saint Victor. *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris*. Edited by Migne. PL 175, 9-28.
- HoSV, *Didas.* Hugh of Saint Victor. *Didascalicon*. Edited by Ch.-H. Buttmer. *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de studio legendi*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1939. Translated by Jerome Taylor. *The*

- Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Isi., *Etym.* Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae*. Edited by W. M. Lindsay. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911. Translated by Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Jul. Hon., *Cosm.* Julius Honorius. *Cosmographia*. Edited by Alexander Riese. *Geographi latini minores*, 21-55. Helbronn, 1878.
- Lamb., *Lib. Flor.* Lambert of Saint-Omer. *Liber Floridus*. Facsimile edited by Albert Derolez. *Lamberti Audomarensis Canonici Liber Floridus: Codex authographus 92 bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis. Auspiciis eiusdem universitatis in commemorationem diei natalis*. Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1968.
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 AA *Auctores antiquissimi*  
 Epp. sel. *Epistolae Selectae*  
 Ldl *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*  
 QQ *Quellen zur Gesitesgeschichte des Mittelalters*  
 SS *Scriptores (in Folio)*  
 SS rer. Germ. *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*  
 SS rer. Lang. *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*  
 SS rer. Merov. *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
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