

Hic sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters

Chet Van Duzer

*So geographers, in Afric maps,
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.*

Jonathan Swift, *On Poetry*

In this chapter I will address Western ideas about the geographical distribution of monsters, and also the reflection of these ideas on maps,¹ from ancient Greece to the end of the sixteenth century. As almost no maps survive from classical antiquity, the emphasis in references to cartography will naturally fall on the medieval and Renaissance periods. Following a brief discussion of the belief that monsters were generated by extremes of climate, which tended to occur in regions distant from Europe, I will examine the pronounced tendency to locate monsters at the edges of the earth. Yet there are also “monsters among us,” that is, monsters said to be located near where the writer or cartographer lived. I will discuss some examples of monsters of this type, and the characteristics that distinguish them from distant monsters. Finally I will give some examples of the transport of monsters from the edges of the earth to the center, which confirm the prevalence of monstrous habitations in distant regions.

The word “monster” is notoriously difficult to define, and indeed some of the definitions that have been offered over the centuries are contradictory. While many authors, both classical and medieval, including Marcus Cornelius Fronto, Pierre Bersuire, and Sir John Mandeville, define a monster as being in some way

1 On monstrous geography and cartography in other regions, see, for example, Anna Caiozzo, “L’image de l’Europe et des Européens dans les représentations de l’Orient médiéval,” *Caietele Echinox* 10 (2006), pp. 84–120, especially 107–8; and Masayuki Sato, “Imagined Peripheries: The World and its Peoples in Japanese Cartographic Imagination,” *Diogenes* 44/173 (1996), pp. 119–45, reprinted in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *Facing Each Other: The World’s Perception of Europe and Europe’s Perception of the World* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 367–94.

contra naturam or “against nature,”² for St Augustine and Isidore of Seville, a monster is part of God’s plan, an adornment of the universe that can also teach about the dangers of sin.³ Hybridity is often cited as a defining characteristic of monsters, but while this is perhaps a sufficient characteristic, it is not necessary.⁴ For the purposes of this chapter, a monster will be defined as a creature that was thought astonishing and exotic (regardless of whether in fact it was real or mythical) in classical, medieval, or Renaissance times.⁵ Most often the astonishing and exotic aspects of monsters imply physical deformity (defined in terms of then-current European norms), but I will also include cases of moral deformity (again, defined in terms of then-current European norms), such as cannibals. It is important to keep in mind that in the ancient, medieval, and Renaissance periods, a number of creatures—lions and whales, for example—were considered monstrous which we do not consider so today, and indeed one can tell a great deal about a culture by examining what creatures it defines as monsters.⁶ Cicero and St Augustine defined monsters from the fact that they show (*monstrant* in Latin) signs or warnings from the gods or from God,⁷ but this is one possible function of monsters rather than a defining characteristic.

- 2 See John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1981; reprinted with expanded bibliography Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pp. 111 and 116; and on Mandeville’s definition, Lisa Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 5–7.
- 3 See St Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 16.8 and 21.8; and Isidore *Etymologiae* 11.3.1. For discussion, see Verner, *Epistemology of the Monstrous*, pp. 2–7. The passage from Isidore is quoted at the beginning of medieval bestiaries of the so-called Third Family. Also see the passage similar to Augustine’s in Helen Rodnite Lemay, *Women’s Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus’s “De secretis mulierum” with Commentaries* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 113.
- 4 For discussion of different categories of monsters, see Peter Mason, “Half a Cow,” *Semiotica* 85/1–2 (1991), pp. 1–39. Michel Foucault, in *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1974–75*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2003), especially pp. 63 and 76, suggests that from the Middle Ages until the eighteenth century, monsters were essentially mixtures; for discussion of this idea, see Tom Tyler, “Deviants, Donestre, and Debauchees: Here be Monsters,” *Culture, Theory and Critique* 49/2 (2008), pp. 113–31.
- 5 Paul Murgatroyd, *Mythical Monsters in Classical Literature* (London: Duckworth Publishing, 2007), p. 1, says that he will use the word “monster” to “cover mythical, fabulous and imaginary creatures which are extraordinary, alien and abnormal,” but I do not agree that a monster must be mythical.
- 6 See Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Monster Culture (Seven Theses),” in Cohen (ed.), *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 3–25.
- 7 On monsters as warnings, see Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.42; St Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 21.8; Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 108–30; Robert Garland, “The Deformed and the Divine,” in *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 59–72; and A.W. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005), as well as other works cited below.

For many of us, when we think of the geography of the monstrous and monsters on maps, a medieval map with a legend reading *Hic sunt dracones*, "Here there are dragons," comes to mind. Somehow this mental image is much more common than it has any right to be, for in fact there is just one map⁸ and one globe⁹ on which this legend appears.¹⁰ But while this specific legend is infrequent, monsters are common in geographical texts of all periods, and legends about and images of monsters appear on many of the more elaborate medieval and Renaissance maps.

The description and representation of distant monsters involves an intriguing tension between helplessness and control, between surrender and power. On the one hand, the far reaches of the earth are shown to be places of great danger, where human survival, except for a hero of the magnitude of Hercules or Alexander the Great, would be difficult or impossible: while confidence persisted in the eventual evangelization of the ends of the earth,¹¹ in many ways the edges of the world continued to be perceived as an unconquerable wilderness. On the

- 8 The map in question is a world map in a manuscript of Jean Mansel's *La Fleur des Histoires* that was created circa 1460–70, and is Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 9260, f. 11r; the map is illustrated in Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 203, figure 8.2, who discusses it briefly on pp. 202–3; and the texts are transcribed by Margriet Hoogvliet, *Pictura et scriptura: textes, images et herméneutique des Mappae Mundi (XIII–XVI siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), Appendix 1, p. 289: the legend reads *Hic sunt dragones*.
- 9 The globe is the Lenox globe of circa 1510 which is in the New York Public Library, where on the south-eastern coast of Asia there is the legend HC SVNT DRACONES. The globe is illustrated in A.E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1889; New York: Dover Publications, 1973), p. 5; and see B.F. de Costa, "The Lenox Globe," *Magazine of American History* 3/9 (1879), pp. 529–40, reprinted in *Acta Cartographica* 4 (1969), pp. 120–34, who on p. 536/129 misinterprets this legend as referring to the Dragonians mentioned by Marco Polo.
- 10 On the rarity of this legend, see Erin C. Blake, "Where Be Dragons?" *Mercator's World* 4/4 (July 1999), p. 80, who, however, did not know that the legend occurs on the *mappamundi* in Brussels. Of course other similar phrases appear on many other medieval maps: for example, *hic abundant leones*, "here lions abound," on the tenth-century Cotton or Anglo-Saxon Map (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.V, fol. 58v; and *hic grifes*, "here are griffons," *hic pannothi*, "here are panotii" (men with huge ears), and *Hic Pigmei et Fauni et reges gentium*, "here are pygmies and fauns and the kings of the nations," on Lambert of St-Omer's *mappamundi* in his *Liber Floridus*: see Daniëlle Lecoq, "La Mappemonde du *Liber Floridus* ou La Vision du Monde de Lambert de Saint-Omer," *Imago Mundi* 39 (1987), pp. 2 and 9–49, especially 17.
- 11 On evangelization to the ends of the earth, see Acts 13:47; Rainer Riesner, "Geographic Framework of the Mission," in *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*, trans. Doug Stott (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 241–56; and Ian Wood, "Missionaries and the Christian Frontier," in W. Pohl, I. Wood, and H. Reimitz (eds), *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 209–18.

other hand, as Edward Said has written: "To have ... knowledge of a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it, to deny autonomy to it."¹² The description and depiction of faraway monsters removed the edges of the earth from the realm of the entirely unknown, and the fact that knowledge of those regions and their monsters had been obtained entailed the unspoken implication that the regions could be visited again, this time with knowledge of their dangers.

The two most important geographical principles which have traditionally determined the regions inhabited by monsters are the idea that monsters are the product of climate, and the idea that they are located at the ends of the earth. The different expressions and consequences of these principles, the exceptions to them, and their reflection on maps will be explored in what follows.

Climate

In antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early Renaissance, the world was thought to be divided into climatic zones:¹³ in the simplest form of this theory, there was an uninhabitably hot Torrid Zone near the equator, habitable temperate zones to the north and south of the Torrid Zone, and uninhabitable frigid zones near the North and South Poles. These zones were often depicted on medieval maps, particularly on zonal maps,¹⁴ the most common of which illustrate manuscripts of Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*.¹⁵ And extremes of climate, particularly heat, were thought to produce monsters. Pliny (6.35.187) says that

12 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York and London: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 32.

13 See D.R. Dicks, "The Klimata in Greek Geography," *Classical Quarterly* 49 (1955), pp. 248–55; Karlhans Abel, "Zone," in A. Pauly and G. Wissowa (eds), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband 14 (1974), cols 989–1188; Marian J. Tooley, "Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate," *Speculum* 28/1 (1953), pp. 64–83; Stefan Schröder, "Die Klimazonenkarte des Petrus Alfonsi. Rezeption und Transformation islamisch-arabischen Wissens im mittelalterlichen Europa," in Ingrid Baumgärtner, Paul-Gerhard Klumbies, and Franziska Sick (eds), *Raumkonzepte: Disziplinäre Zugänge* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009), pp. 257–77; Angelo Cattaneo, "Réflexion sur les climats et les zones face à l'expansion des XVe et XVIe siècles," *Bulletin du Comité Français de Cartographie* 199 (2009), pp. 7–21; and Craig Martin, "Experience of the New World and Aristotelian Revisions of the Earth's Climates during the Renaissance," *History of Meteorology* 3 (2006), pp. 1–15.

14 David Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," in J.B. Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987–), vol. 1, pp. 286–370, especially 353–5.

15 On Macrobian maps, see Marcel Destombes, *Mappemondes, A.D. 1200–1500* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964), pp. 43–5 and 85–95; Leonid S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 95–120; and Alfred Hiatt, "The Map of Macrobius before 1100," *Imago Mundi* 59/2 (2007), pp. 149–76.

it is not surprising that there are monstrous animals and men in the extreme reaches of Africa, because of the great heat there, and Diodorus Siculus (2.51.2–4) says that “hybrid creatures, in which parts of animals which differ widely by nature are combined,” are particularly common in hot areas, particularly near the equator. Climate was also held to have created different races of men, particularly dark-skinned races and monstrous races;¹⁶ this idea was first developed in detail by Hippocrates in his treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, especially chapters 12 and 24, and continued during the Middle Ages, particularly in Albertus Magnus’s *Liber de natura locorum*, part 2, chapter 3, and into the Renaissance.¹⁷ However, as Europe was held to be in the temperate zone, the geographical implication of the zonal theory of monster creation was that monsters were in distant regions. Thus the two main principles which were held to govern monster location, namely their generation by climatic extremes and their tendency to be located in distant parts of the earth, both placed monsters in distant regions, and I will focus here on the tendency to locate monsters at the edges of the earth.

The Edges of the Earth

Since the ancient Greek period, what were perceived by Europeans to be the distant edges of the earth have been thought to be the realm of exotica—of treasures, strange animals, and monstrous beings. The Greek historian Herodotus (3.116) wrote that “the extreme regions of the earth, which surround and shut up within themselves all other countries, produce the things which are rarest,” and he gives concrete expression to this idea in many stories he tells about wonders at the

16 For more on the monstrous races, see the articles in this collection by Debra Strickland, Karl Steel, and Debbie Felton.

17 For citations of classical authors on the effect of climate on human races, see Lloyd A. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks* (London and New York: Routledge; Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1989), pp. 100–4 and 208, n. 59; Clarence J. Glacken, “Airs, Waters, and Places,” “Environmental Influences Within a Divinely Created World,” and “Environmental Theories of Early Modern Times,” in *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 80–115, 254–87, and 429–60; Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 51–8; R.I. Meserve, “The Inhospitable Land of the Barbarians,” *Journal of Asian History* 16 (1982), pp. 51–89; Jean Bergevin, *Déterminisme et géographie: Hérodote, Strabon, Albert le Grand et Sebastian Münster* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 1992); Claude Lecouteux, *Les monstres dans la pensée médiévale européenne: essai de présentation* (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1993), pp. 75–85; and Irina Metzler, “Perceptions of Hot Climate in Medieval Cosmography and Travel Literature,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 23 (1997), pp. 69–106, reprinted in Joan-Pau Rubiés (ed.), *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2009).

edges of the earth.¹⁸ This idea was repeated by medieval authors. Gerald of Wales (circa 1146–circa 1223), for example, in his *Topography of Ireland*, emphasizes the presence of wonders in the far West:

*For as the countries of the East are remarkable and preeminent for some prodigies peculiar to themselves and originating there, so also the Western parts are dignified by the miracles of nature performed within their limits. For sometimes, like one wearied with serious affairs and realities, she withdraws and retires for a little space, and, as it were, sportively employs herself with extraordinary freaks in secret parts reverently and mysteriously veiled.*¹⁹

Ranulf Higden (circa 1280–circa 1363), in his *Polychronicon* 2.1, also says that the furthest reaches of the earth, such as India, Ethiopia, and Africa, abound in wonders.²⁰ The tendency to locate marvels, including monsters, in the furthest reaches of the earth was so common that it attracted satire even in antiquity. The explorer Pytheas of Thule had reported various wonders in the northern Atlantic, and Antonius Diogenes (second century CE), in his *Wonders Beyond Thule*, reported having seen men and various wonders in the far north “which no-one ... could have seen nor heard tell of nor imagined.”²¹ Lucian of Samosata (second century), in his

18 For discussion, see James Romm, “Dragons and Gold at the Ends of the Earth: A Folktale Motif Developed by Herodotus,” *Marvels & Tales* 1/1 (1987), pp. 45–54; Klaus Karttunen, “Expedition to the End of the World: An Ethnographic Topos in Herodotus,” *Studia Orientalia* 64 (1988), pp. 177–81; Karttunen, “Distant Lands in Classical Ethnography,” *Grazer Beiträge* 18 (1992), pp. 195–204; and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, “Herodot und die Grenzen der Erde,” *Museum Helveticum* 52 (1995), pp. 20–44.

19 Gerald of Wales, *The Topography of Ireland*, trans. Thomas Forester (Cambridge, Ontario: In parenthesis Publications, 2000), 2nd preface, p. 6. For more on monsters in Gerald, see Asa Simon Mittman, “The Other Close at Hand: Gerald of Wales and the *Marvels of the West*,” in Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (eds), *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 97–112. For discussions of distant marvels in other medieval authors, see, for example, Christiane Deluz, “Des lointains merveilleux (d’après quelques textes géographiques et récits de voyage du Moyen Âge),” in *De l’étranger à l’étrange ou la conjointure de la merveille (en hommage à Marguerite Rossi et Paul Bancourt)* (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, Université de Provence, 1988), pp. 157–69; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, “The Topography of Wonder,” in Daston and Park (eds), *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), pp. 21–66; and Juan Casas Rigall, “Razas humanas portentosas en las partidas remotas del mundo (de Benjamín de Tudela a Cristóbal Colón),” in Rafael Beltrán Llavador (ed.), *Maravillas, peregrinaciones y utopías: literatura de viajes en el mundo románico* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2002), pp. 253–90.

20 Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis; Together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (London: Longman & Co., 1865–86), vol. 2, p. 186.

21 Antonius Diogenes’s work survives only in a summary written by Photius, which summary is translated by Gerald N. Sandy in B.P. Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek*

facetiously titled *True Histories*, tells of being blown out into the Atlantic by a storm to an island with a river of wine, and then carried by a waterspout to the Moon, where he and his companions become involved in a war between the King of the Moon and the King of the Sun, in whose armies were exotic monstrous races such as the Cyanobalani or dog-faced men fighting on winged acorns, Psyllotoxotae or flea-archers, and Nephelocentauri or cloud-centaurs; unfortunately the Hippogerani or horse-cranes did not join the battle.²²

Lands distant from the teller are natural settings for stories of exotic and mythical wonders, not only because distance makes the stories difficult to refute, but also because distance creates possibilities: who knows what might be possible at the ends of the world, what unheard of things the earth might produce, or what bizarre customs might prevail? As Tacitus (*Agricola* 30) wrote, *omne ignotum pro magnifico* [Everything unknown is thought to be magnificent]. Another way to look at the issue of monsters at the edge of the world is through the prism of Richard Buxton's statement that "myths often fulfil the role of pathfinders, testing out boundaries, imagining the consequences of interfaces between categories."²³ Myths set at the edges of the world allow the teller to explore the consequences of interfaces between the known and the unknown, between things of this world and things beyond human ken.²⁴ On maps there is an additional factor favoring the placement of something at the edges of the world,²⁵ which is a *horror vacui* or discomfort at leaving empty spaces, and the resultant desire to place text or images in all parts of the world which are shown on a map.²⁶ The location of monsters at

Novels (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 775–82; for discussion, see James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 205–11.

- 22 Lucian of Samosata, *True History and Lucius or the Ass*, trans. Paul Turner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974); for discussion of the relationship between Antonius Diogenes and Lucian, see J.R. Morgan, "Lucian's *True Histories* and the *Wonders Beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes," *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985), pp. 475–90.
- 23 Richard Buxton, *Imaginary Greece: The Contexts of Mythology* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 204.
- 24 For discussion of the significance of monstrous races at the edge of the earth, with particular reference to maps, see Marina Münkler, "Experiencing Strangeness: Monstrous Peoples on the Edge of the Earth as Depicted on Medieval *Mappae Mundi*," *Medieval History Journal* 5 (2002), pp. 195–222; and Münkler, "Monstra und mappae mundi: die monströsen Völker des Erdrands auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten," in Jürg Glauser and Christian Kiening (eds), *Text—Bild—Karte: Kartographien der Vormoderne* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2007), pp. 149–73.
- 25 For discussion of the monstrous races on maps, see Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 37–58; for mythical animals and the monstrous races on maps, see Hoogvliet, *Pictura et scriptura*, pp. 181–202 and 202–19, respectively.
- 26 On *horror vacui* as a motivation for adding illustrations to medieval maps, see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Weltbild der lateinischen Universalhistoriker und -kartographen," in *Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale: 23–29 aprile 1981* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1983), pp. 377–408, especially 403; and also von den Brincken, *Kartographische Quellen, Welt-, See-, und Regionalkarten* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), pp. 50

the ends of the earth might also be interpreted in psychological terms, as an attempt to keep monsters at a safe distance, or ban them to the realm of the subconscious. Certainly the tendency to locate monsters at the edges of the world, and the great interest in describing and illustrating them, reveal a deep ambivalence in our relationship with monsters: while repulsive and distant, they are also (as long as they are distant) attractive and fascinating. Distance enables a fascination which, if the monsters were close, would be replaced by terror.

There are a number of texts which refer not just to marvels at the ends of the earth, but specifically to monsters there. Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE), in his *Bibliotheca historica* 4.18.4, says that when Heracles set up his famous pillars at the western edge of the known world, he narrowed the Strait of Gibraltar to keep the sea monsters in the Atlantic from entering the Mediterranean:

When Heracles arrived at the farthest points of the continents of Libya and Europe which lie upon the ocean, he decided to set up these pillars to commemorate his campaign. And since he wished to leave upon the ocean a monument which would be had in everlasting remembrance, he built out both the promontories, they say, to a great distance; consequently, whereas before that time a great space had stood between them, he now narrowed the passage, in order that by making it shallow and narrow he might prevent the great sea-monsters from passing out of the ocean into the inner sea, and that at the same time the fame of their builder might be held in everlasting remembrance by reason of the magnitude of the structures.

The anonymous author of the *Liber monstrorum*, a late seventh-or early eighth-century collection of monsters which was perhaps written in Britain, is very clear that monsters are found “in the hidden parts of the world, raised throughout the deserts and the islands of the Ocean and in the recesses of the farthest mountains.”²⁷ Indeed, he goes on to suggest that the growth of the human population has pushed monsters to the edge of the lands and even into the seas, even though in the body of his book he mentions many monsters on land:

... because now, when humankind has multiplied and the lands of the earth have been filled, fewer monsters are produced under the stars, and we read that in most of the corners of the world they have been utterly eradicated and overthrown by them, and now, cast out from the shores, they are thrown

and 96–7; and von den Brincken, ‘*Fines Terrae*’: *Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992), p. 93.

- 27 This passage is from the Prologue to the *Liber monstrorum*; for the Latin text and an English translation, see Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 254–316, especially 254–5. For discussion of the *Liber monstrorum*, see Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 86–115; and Brian McFadden, “Authority and Discourse in the *Liber monstrorum*,” *Neophilologus* 89/3 (2005), pp. 473–93.

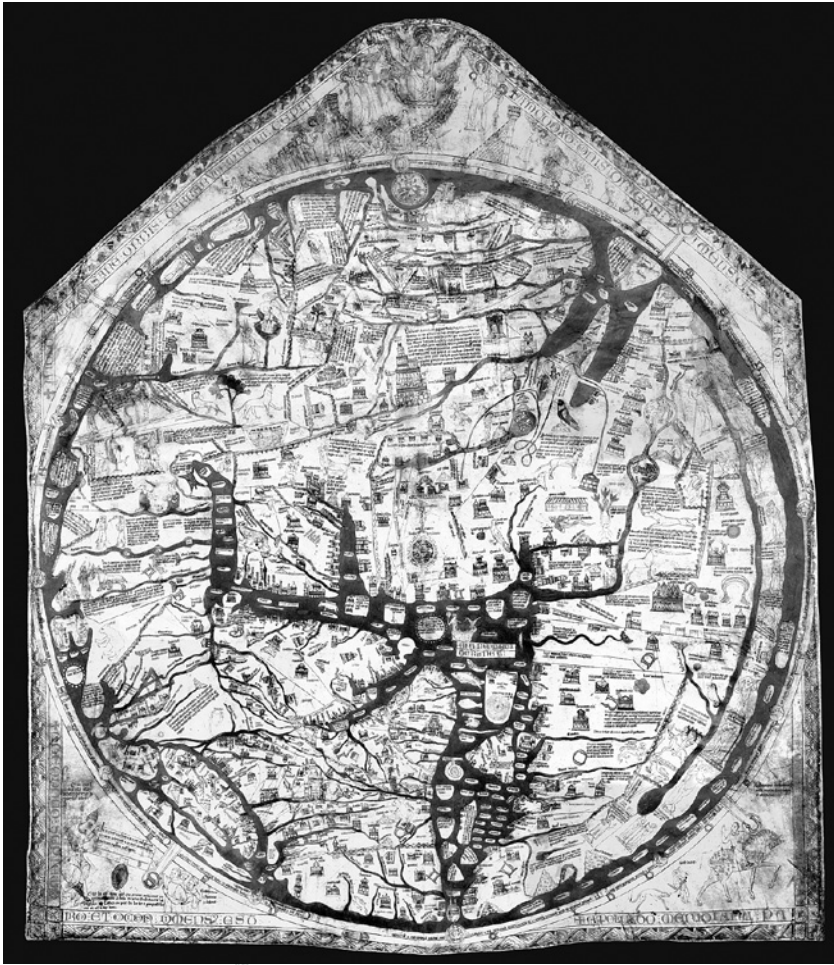


Figure 18.1 Hereford *Mappamundi*, circa 1300 (reproduced by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford and the Hereford Mappa Mundi Trust).

*down to the waves, and that by the churning from the steep summit of the pole they turn from the edge of the entire circle and from every place on earth towards this vast abyss of the flood.*²⁸

In the realm of medieval cartography,²⁹ one of the maps on which monsters and monstrous races are most clearly located at the edges of the world is the Hereford

28 Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 256–7.

29 For a general discussion of marvels and monsters at the edges of the earth on medieval *mappaemundi*, see Danielle Lecoq, “Les marges de la terre habitée. Géographie et

mappamundi of circa 1300 (Figure 18.1).³⁰ When the monsters and monstrous races on the map are highlighted, they almost form a ring around the map, albeit with some irregularities: there is a particularly large number of monsters along the southern edge of Africa, but very few in Western Europe.³¹

In what follows, I discuss the history and sources of the monsters in some of the regions distant from Western Europe: Africa, Asia,³² the Antipodes, the Ocean, and the New World.

Africa

Herodotus 4.191 places a range of animal and human monsters in the distant western edge of Africa:

*It is here that huge snakes are found—and lions, elephants, bears, asps, and horned asses, not to mention dog-headed men, headless men with eyes in their breasts (I don't vouch for this, but merely repeat what the Libyans say), wild men and wild women, and a great many other creatures of by no means a fabulous kind.*³³

histoire naturelle des confins sur les mappemondes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in *L'Iconographie: Études sur les rapports entre textes et images dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2001), pp. 99–186.

30 There is a good brief discussion of the Hereford *mappamundi* in Peter Barber, "Medieval Maps of the World," in P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: The British Library, 2006), pp. 1–44, especially 27–30; and a full treatment in Scott D. Westrem, *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001). The map has now been published in a digitally restored color facsimile as *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map* (London: The Folio Society, 2010).

31 On the location of the monsters and monstrous races on the Hereford *mappamundi*, see Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 142–4, and also Kline, "The World of the Strange Races," in Leif Søndergaard and Rasmus Thorning Hansen (eds), *Monsters, Marvels and Miracles: Imaginary Journeys and Landscapes in the Middle Ages* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2005), pp. 27–40, especially 30–3; and Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), p. 40.

32 In the fifth century BCE, Herodotus (4.42) mentions the division of the world into the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, though he himself is not certain of the divisions. For discussion of the history of the idea of the continents, see Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), especially pp. 21–6. Medieval "T-O" maps illustrate the division of the known world among Europe, Africa, and Asia.

33 Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 306.

Africa, whose interior was poorly known, continued to attract this type of myth for centuries.³⁴ Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals* 746b7–13, mentions the proverb that “Libya always nurtures some new thing,” which alludes to the tendency of new heterogeneous creatures to appear there. Aristotle ascribes this tendency to the lack of water, which causes different species to encounter one another at water holes and there interbreed. Pomponius Mela, in his *De situ orbis*, locates some monsters in Africa which other authors place in Asia.³⁵ The Roman historian Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historia* 7.2.21) remarks that India and Ethiopia were particularly abundant in marvels, and (8.17.42) that Africa was always producing something new;³⁶ and he describes a number of monstrous human hybrids resident in both of these regions, such as men with dogs’ heads,³⁷ men whose faces are in their chests, men with giant ears, and so on. The number of monstrous races that Pliny places in Africa is not large: just the blemmyae, or headless men whose faces are in their chests;³⁸ satyrs (5.8.46); the himantopodes, who have long feet like leather thongs (5.8.46); the hermaphrodites (7.3.34); and the pygmies (6.35.188). Isidore, in his enumeration of the monstrous races in his *Etymologies* 11.3.12–39, locates several in Africa, and Solinus, in his *De mirabilibus mundi* 30, also places several monstrous races in the far reaches of Africa, beyond Ethiopia. These passages inspired a striking iconographic tradition in some *mappaemundi* of illustrating the monstrous races in a strip of land in southern Africa at the very edge of the earth. These maps include the Psalter Map of circa

34 The nickname “the Dark Continent,” which refers to the lack of knowledge of the continent rather than to the skin color of many of its inhabitants, was perhaps first used in print by the explorer Henry M. Stanley in the title of his book *Through the Dark Continent*, first published in 1878.

35 See Rhiannon Evans, “Ethnography’s Freak Show: The Grotesques at the Edges of the Roman Earth,” *Ramus* 28/1 (1999), pp. 54–73.

36 Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.2.21 runs *Praecipue India Aethiopumque tractus miraculis scatent*. Pliny 8.17.42 contains the famous line *vulgare Graeciae dictum semper aliquid novi Africam adferre*. For discussion of the history of this proverb from the fourth century BC to the eighteenth century AD, see A.V. Van Stekelenburg, “Ex Africa semper aliquid novi—A Proverb’s Pedigree,” *Akroterion* 33/4 (1988), pp. 114–20. Also see Italo Ronca, “Semper aliquid novi Africam adferre: Philological Afterthoughts on the Plinian Reception of a Pre-Aristotelian Saying,” *Akroterion* 37/3–4 (1992), pp. 146–58; and Harvey M. Feinberg and Joseph B. Solodow, “Out of Africa,” *The Journal of African History* 43/2 (2002), pp. 255–61.

37 For discussion of cynocephali, see Karl Steel’s chapter in this collection.

38 On the blemmyae, see Ivar Hallberg, *L’Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l’Occident des XIIIe, XIVe, et XVe siècles; étude sur l’histoire de la géographie* (Göteborg: W. Zachrissons boktryckeri a.-b., 1907), pp. 78–9; Hans Barnard, “Sire, il n’y a pas de Blemmyes: A Re-Evaluation of Historical and Archaeological Data,” in *People of the Red Sea: Proceedings of the Red Sea Project II, Held in the British Museum, October 2004* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), pp. 23–40; and Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, pp. 85–106 and passim. On these and other classical peoples of Inner Africa, see E. Schweder, “Die Angaben über die Völker von Innerafrika bei Plinius und Mela,” *Philologus* 47 (1889), pp. 636–43, who discusses Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.43–46 and Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis* 1.22–23, 1.43–48, and 3.103.

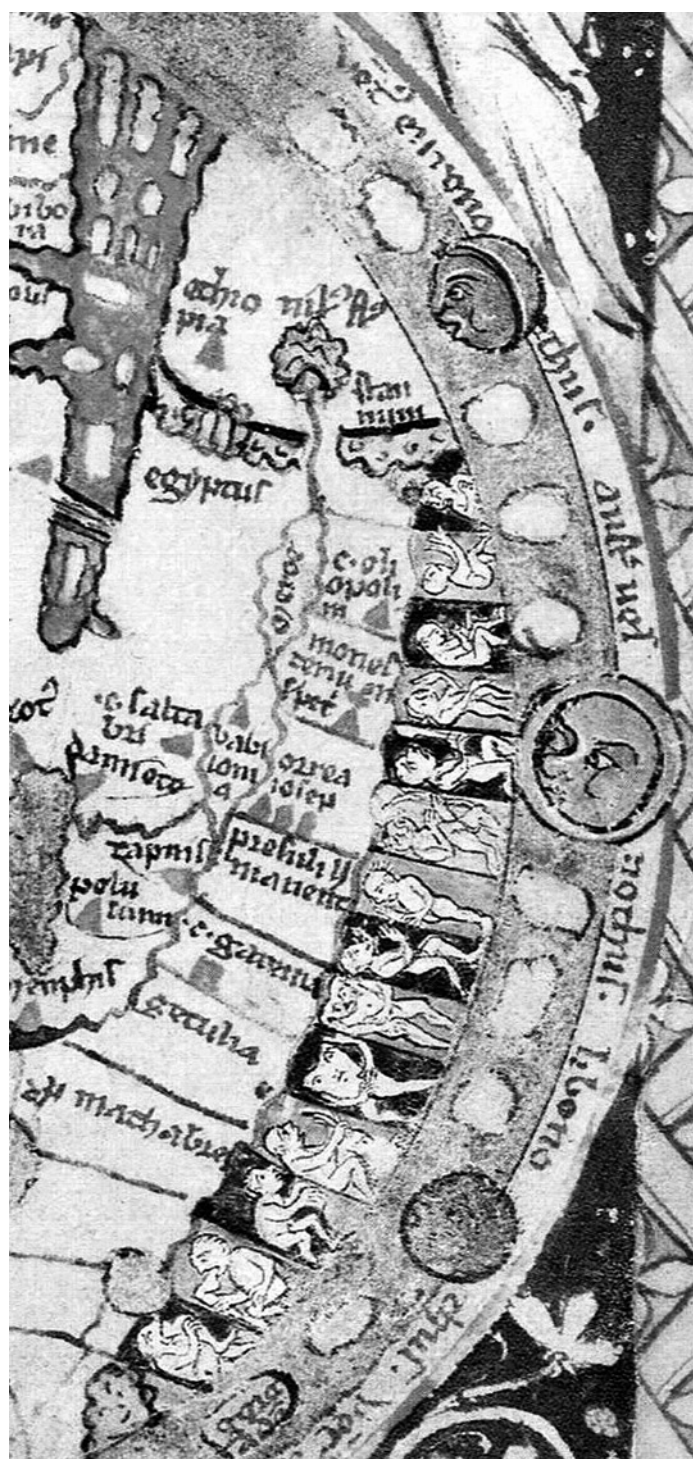


Figure 18.2 BL MS Add. 28681, f. 9r, Psalter map, Africa (© British Library Board).

1265, which illustrates 14 of the monstrous races in southern Africa (Figure 18.2; see also Figure 17.1),³⁹ the Duchy of Cornwall *mappamundi* fragment of circa 1290, which illustrates eight of the races,⁴⁰ the Ebstorf *mappamundi* of circa 1300, which illustrates 24 of the races,⁴¹ the Hereford *mappamundi* of circa 1300, which illustrates 20,⁴² and the Ramsey Abbey Ranulf Higden world map of circa 1350.⁴³ These striking images may have contributed to a tendency for modern scholars to think of Africa as the primary location of the monstrous races, even though the traditions locating them in Asia are just as strong.

The cartographic history of the blemmyae in Africa is complex and provides an interesting example of how the image of monsters in the same general area can develop over time. Martin Waldseemüller placed the blemmyae in eastern Africa on his world map of 1507, in accordance with Ptolemy's *Geography* 4.7; Johann Schöner, on his globe of 1515, places an illustration of a blemmya in the same spot. On his 1516 *Carta marina*, Waldseemüller has a legend about *cicloped[es] siue monoculi* [Cyclopes or monoculi] in western Africa, and somehow Lorenz Fries conflated the idea of the Cyclops and the blemmya in the illustration in the *Tab[ula] Mo[derna] Primae Partis Africae* in the 1522 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy, so that Africa now has a one-eyed blemmya. This same illustration appears in the 1525 (Strasbourg), 1535 (Lyon), and 1541 (Vienna) editions of Ptolemy, and was copied from one of these editions by Pierre Desceliers on his world map of 1550,⁴⁴ who adds a six-armed man nearby from an unknown source.

39 The Psalter Map is London, British Library, MS Add. 28681, fol. 9r. The map is discussed, and the monstrous races identified, by Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten* (Stuttgart: J. Roth, 1895–98), vol. 3, pp. 37–43; for a good recent discussion of the map, see Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World”, pp. 15–19.

40 The Duchy of Cornwall *mappamundi* fragment is London, Duchy of Cornwall Office, Maps and Plans 1; for discussion, see Graham Haslam, “The Duchy of Cornwall Map Fragment,” in Monique Pelletier (ed.), *Géographie du monde au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1989), pp. 33–44; and Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World”, pp. 19–23.

41 The Ebstorf *mappamundi* was destroyed during the Second World War, but survives in facsimile; there is a good brief discussion in Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World”, pp. 23–7, and a full reproduction and analysis in Hartmut Kugler, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007).

42 For references on the Hereford *mappamundi*, see note 30 above.

43 The Ranulf Higden map in question is London, British Library, Royal MS 14.C.ix, fols 1v–2r; for a brief discussion, see Barber, “Medieval Maps of the World”, pp. 32–5; for a transcription of all of the toponyms and legends, see Manuel Francisco de Barros y Sousa Santarem, *Essai sur l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie pendant le Moyen-Age* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1849–52), vol. 3, pp. 1–94. For discussion of the monstrous races indicated by legends but not depicted in southern Africa on Andreas Walsperger's world map of 1448 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1362 B), see Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 56–8.

44 Pierre Desceliers's 1550 map is London, British Library, MS Add. 24065, and is conveniently reproduced in Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1990), pp. 114–15; and in twelve sheets in black-

The large medieval *mappaemundi* also have many non-human monsters in Africa. The Hereford *mappamundi*, for example, illustrates a phoenix, a crocodile, a poisonous salamander, and a monocerus which is probably intended for a rhinoceros.⁴⁵ The Ebstorf *mappamundi* has a leopard, a hyena, a mirmicaleon, monkeys, a camelopardalis, many types of snake, crocodiles, a flying lizard, and an elephant.⁴⁶

When we think of monsters and maps of Africa, the famous lines of Jonathan Swift quoted at the beginning of this chapter come to mind, which mention the filling of blank spaces in Africa with “savage pictures” and elephants. And the African elephant, following its appearance on the Hereford *mappamundi*, had a long and distinguished career on maps. They are illustrated on nautical charts, for example, in Egypt on Angelino Dalorto’s chart of 1330, together with a legend about the elephant and other monstrous animals of the Egyptian desert:

*The desert of Egypt. Upper Egypt has many deserts in which there are many monstrous animals. There are leopards, tigers, basilisks, asps, horrible serpents, elephants, and many others which have not yet been described.*⁴⁷

Illustrations of elephants with similar legends also appear on Angelino Dulcert’s chart of 1339, and the Pizzigani chart of 1367; elephants without this legend appear on many later maps, for example, the Cantino chart of circa 1502, Martin

and-white as Map 3 in James Ludovic Lindsay Crawford and Charles Henry Coote, *Autotype Facsimiles of Three Mappemondes* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1898).

- 45 For discussion of the animals on the Hereford *mappamundi*, see R.K. French, “Putting Animals on the Map: The Natural History of the Hereford Mappa Mundi,” *Archives of Natural History* 21 (1994), pp. 289–308; and Margriet Hoogvliet, “Animals in Context: Beasts on the Hereford Map and Medieval Natural History,” in P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 153–65.
- 46 For discussion of the animals on the Ebstorf *mappamundi*, see Uwe Ruberg, “Die Tierwelt auf der Ebstorfer Weltkarte im Kontext mittelalterlicher Enzyklopädik,” in Hartmut Kugler and Eckhard Michael (eds), *Ein Weltbild vor Columbus. Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte. Interdisziplinäres Colloquium 1988* (Weinheim: VCH, 1991), pp. 319–46.
- 47 Angelino Dalorto’s chart is in Florence, in the Archivio Corsini, and is reproduced in Arthur R. Hinks, *The Portolan Chart of Angellino de Dalorto, MCCCXXV, in the Collection of Prince Corsini at Florence* (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1929); and in Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes: la representació medieval d’una mar solcada* (Barcelona: Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 2007), pp. 114–15 and on the accompanying DVD, number C7. For discussion of the elephants on this map and the Dulcert and Pizzigani maps which will be mentioned shortly, see Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, “Imagen y conocimiento del mundo en la Edad Media a través de la cartografía hispana,” PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2007, vol. 1, pp. 688–92.

Waldseemüller's map of 1507,⁴⁸ and so on—the animal is essentially an emblem of the continent.⁴⁹

The Nile itself was held to be a source of monsters. The anonymous ninth-century *Liber monstrorum* 2.21 says that “Nilus ... omnia monstra ferarum similia gignit” [the Nile ... begets all monsters similar to wild beasts].⁵⁰ The *Descriptio mappe mundi*, which has been attributed to Hugh of Saint-Victor (1096–1141), says of the Nile: “Hic igitur fluius magna et mira monstra in Ethiopia gignit” [This river begets many large and astonishing monsters in Ethiopia], and proceeds to list several monstrous humanoid races and monstrous creatures which are found between the Nile, which runs west and east in southern Africa, and the southern Ocean. These monsters include men with two heads, men with four eyes (on one head), blemmyae, and the *prester*, a winged serpent with horns, a beard, and a long, knotted tail.⁵¹ The *mappamundi* in an eleventh-century manuscript of Isidore (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 10058, fol. 154v) shows a close relationship with the *Descriptio mappe mundi*, placing two of these winged serpents, one of them labeled *prester*, along the southern edge of Africa.⁵² Indeed, a

48 Angelino Dulcert's chart is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ge B 696 Rés., and is reproduced in Guglielmo Cavallo (ed.), *Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi: mostra storico-cartografica* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 164–5, with descriptive text on pp. 162–3; it is reproduced at a larger scale in Gabriel Marcel, *Choix de cartes et de mappemondes des XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1896); and in Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes*, pp. 120–1 and on the accompanying DVD, number C8. The 1367 Pizzigani chart is Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Carta nautica no. 1612, and is reproduced in Cavallo, *Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi*, vol. 1, pp. 432–3. There is a good digital reproduction of the chart in Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes*, on the accompanying DVD, number C13. The Cantino chart is Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, C.G.A.2, and is well reproduced in Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus*, pp. 35–7. Martin Waldseemüller's world map of 1507 is in the Library of Congress, and excellent images of the map are available on the Library of Congress website.

49 For a discussion of elephants in other medieval artistic media, see G.C. Druce, “The Elephant in Medieval Legend and Art,” *Archaeological Journal* 76 (1919), pp. 1–73.

50 See Franco Porsia (ed.), *Liber monstrorum* (Bari: Dedalo libri, 1976), pp. 244–5; and also the edition with English translation in Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 298–9. The idea that the Nile produces wild beasts probably comes from Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* 1.2.31.

51 The text is edited in Patrick Gautier Dalché, *La “Descriptio mappe mundi” de Hugues de Saint-Victor: texte inédit avec introduction et commentaire* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1988), with this passage on p. 147; the description of the *prester* is as follows: “Est ibi serpens quidam, prester appellatus, alas habens et caput cornutum et barbatum quasi capra, habens caudam multis notis et flexuris tortuosam.” The *prester* is mentioned by Lucan, *Pharsalia* 9.722, Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.4.16, and Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum* 8.27, but none of these authors specifies that it is winged or gives the other details in the *Descriptio mappe mundi*.

52 The Munich CLM 10058 map is reproduced in the frontispiece of Gautier Dalché's *La “Descriptio mappe mundi”*, and in P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (London: British Library, 1991), p. 22.

number of maps emphasize the serpents in Africa. On the *mappamundi* in a twelfth-century manuscript of Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Gud. lat. 1.2, fols 69v–70r), a legend in south-eastern Africa reads "Locus draconum et serpentium et bestiarum crudelium" [Place of dragons and serpents and cruel beasts].⁵³

In the late fifteenth century, the Portuguese explored to the south along the western coast of Africa, and in 1488 Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Explorations of the coasts of Africa continued well into the sixteenth century, and the coasts of contemporary maps were updated in accordance with the new discoveries, but the interior of the continent remained largely unexplored,⁵⁴ and so cartographers still used Ptolemy and other ancient authors as sources for those regions. Thus, for example, Martin Waldseemüller, on his *Carta marina* of 1516, includes some basilisks in south-western Africa. Yet Waldseemüller includes a new Renaissance image of one of the traditional African monsters: in west Africa he has an image of a rhinoceros, which recalls the monocerus on the Hereford *mappamundi*, but Waldseemüller's image is much more lifelike, and is based on Albrecht Dürer's famous image of a rhinoceros made in 1515, just one year before the creation of Waldseemüller's map.⁵⁵ Waldseemüller's rhinoceros is an apt symbol of how, although the details were updated, Africa continued in its ancient role as a source of monsters into the sixteenth century and beyond.

Asia

The region most consistently associated with the monstrous races, monstrous animals, and other wonders over the centuries is India.⁵⁶ In classical antiquity, India was the edge of the known world: the only indications of anything beyond India were vague reports relating to the Seres, a race in the Far East associated with silk production and sometimes identified with the Chinese.⁵⁷ The stories of monstrous races and other wonders in India had their origin, at least in the West, in

53 See Lecoq, "La Mappemonde du *Liber Floridus*", especially pp. 17 and 38.

54 For discussion of unexplored areas on maps, see Alfred Hiatt, "Blank Spaces on the Earth," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 15/2 (2002), pp. 223–50.

55 See Wilma George, *Animals and Maps* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1969), pp. 147–8; and on Dürer's image, T.H. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs, 1515–1799* (London: Philip Wilson for Sotheby's Publications; New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

56 There is an excellent account of the monsters of the east in Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), pp. 159–97, reprinted in his *Allegory and Migration of Symbols* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977), pp. 45–74.

57 See S. Lieberman, "Who Were Pliny's Blue-Eyed Chinese?" *Classical Philology* 52 (1957), pp. 174–7; J.M. Poinssotte, "Les Romains et la Chine. Réalités et mythes," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 91 (1979), pp. 431–79; and Yves Janvier, "Rome et l'Orient lointain: le problème des Sères. Réexamen d'une question de géographie antique," *Ktèma* 9 (1984), pp. 261–303.

three works: the *Periplus* (that is, sailing directions) of Scylax,⁵⁸ the *Indica* of Ctesias of Cnidus, a Greek physician who stayed at the court of the Persian king Artaxerxes II Mnemon from 404 to 398/397 BCE, and the *Indica* of Megasthenes, who lived circa 350 to 290 BCE and was an ambassador of Seleucus I of Syria to the court of Sandrocottus in Pataliputra, India. Ctesias's work now survives only in quotations by classical authors and a summary made by the Byzantine scholar Photius (circa 815–897),⁵⁹ and Megasthenes also survives just in fragments cited by later authors,⁶⁰ particularly by Arrian in his description of India. Ctesias certainly did not travel to India, and his accounts of the monsters and monstrous races in that region derive either from myths and folktales he heard from Indian visitors to the Persian court, or from his own imagination.⁶¹ Megasthenes's accounts of monsters in India derive with more probability from local sources, and in some cases his accounts are more accurate than those of Ctesias, though he also includes fantastic elements such as winged dragons.⁶²

Ctesias's book was more influential than Megasthenes's, and its influence across the centuries and in various media clearly demonstrates that he was one of the most important mythographers in the Western tradition.⁶³ The most significant

58 On monstrous races in Scylax, see James Romm, "Belief and Other Worlds: Ktesias and the Founding of the 'Indian Wonders,'" in George E. Slusser and Eric S. Rabkin (eds), *Mindscape: The Geography of Imagined Worlds* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989), pp. 121–35, especially 121–2; Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, pp. 84–5; Dmitri V. Panchenko, "Scylax' Circumnavigation of India and its Interpretation in Early Greek Geography, Ethnography and Cosmography," *Hyperboreus* 4/2 (1998), pp. 211–42, and 9/2 (2003), pp. 274–94; and Andrea Rossi-Reder, "Wonders of the Beast: India in Classical and Medieval Literature," in Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (eds), *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), pp. 53–66.

59 See J.M. Bigwood, "Ctesias' *Indica* and Photius," *Phoenix* 43/4 (1989), pp. 302–16.

60 The fragments are collected in Megasthenes, *Indica: Fragmenta*, ed. E.A. Schwanbeck (Bonn, 1846; Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966); translated in *Ancient India, as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, trans. J.W. McCrindle (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1877; New Delhi: Today & Tomorrow's Printers & Publishers, 1972).

61 Earlier studies of Ctesias, such as F. Jacoby's article "Ktesias" in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1894–1980), vol. 11, cols 2032–73, emphasized the idea that Ctesias was inventing what he recounted, while Andrew Nichols, "The Complete Fragments of Ctesias of Cnidus: Translation and Commentary with an Introduction," PhD dissertation, University of Florida, 2008, emphasizes Ctesias's reliance on oral sources to which he had access while he was in Persia.

62 See Truesdell S. Brown, "The Reliability of Megasthenes," *American Journal of Philology* 76/1 (1955), pp. 18–33.

63 See Wittkower, "Marvels of the East"; Albrecht Dihle, "The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 10 (1964), pp. 15–23, reprinted in Dihle, *Antike und Orient: gesammelte Aufsätze* (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1984), pp. 83–93; Klaus Karttunen, "The Country of Fabulous Beasts and Naked Philosophers: India in Classical and Medieval Literature," *Arctos* 21 (1987), pp. 43–52; and Romm, "Belief and Other Worlds".

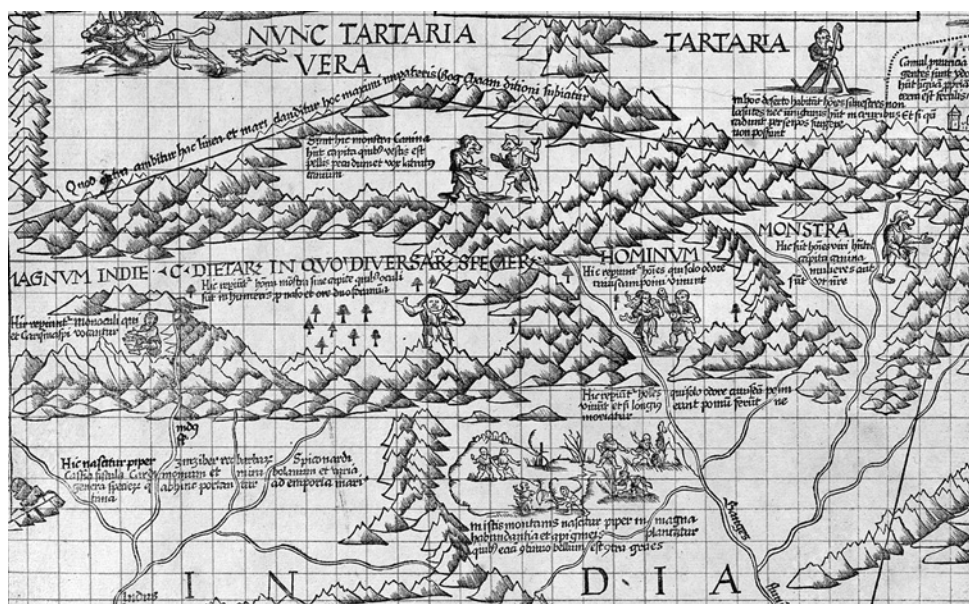


Figure 18.3 Martin Waldseemüller, *Carta marina* (1516), India monstrous races (courtesy of the Library of Congress).

avenues of transmission of his reports of monstrous races were by way of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* 7.2.9–32, and Isidore's *Etymologiae* 11.3; indeed these races are now often referred to as the “Plinian races.”⁶⁴ Lists of the monstrous races of India appeared in Solinus's fourth-century *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 53, and in chapter 16 of Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago mundi*, which was written in 1410, to mention just two examples; curiously, though many of these monstrous races appeared on medieval maps—for example, on the Hereford map there are pygmies, the monocoli or sciapods,⁶⁵ and Arimaspi or Cyclopes—there was no attempt at a systematic cartographic representation of the monstrous races of India until Martin Waldseemüller's *Carta marina* of 1516, where the monstrous races of Pierre d'Ailly's list are neatly represented in northern India (Figure 18.3).⁶⁶ These same

64 John Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 5–25. On these races, see also Claude-Clair Kappler, *Monstres, démons et merveilles à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Payot, 1980), pp. 120–72; and the commentary on Pliny 7.2.9–32 in Mary Beagon (trans. and comm.), *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal: Natural History: Book 7* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. 120–62.

65 There is a good discussion of the history of the sciapods in Claude Lecouteux, “Herzog Ernst, les monstres dits ‘sciapodes’ et le problème des sources,” *Etudes Germaniques* 34/1 (1979), pp. 1–21; and now see also Teresa Pàroli, “How Many are the Unipeds’ Feet? Their Tracks in Texts and Sources,” in Wilhelm Heizmann, Klaus Bödl, and Heinrich Beck (eds), *Analecta Septentrionalia: Beiträge zur nordgermanischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 281–327.

66 See Chet Van Duzer, “A Northern Refuge of the Monstrous Races: Asia on

monstrous races are depicted in Lorenz Fries's *Carta marina*, published in 1525, 1530, and 1531 (no copies of the 1525 edition survive), which is a close copy of Waldseemüller's work.⁶⁷

Ctesias also included animal monsters in his account of India, among which are the mantichora (section 15), which has a face like a man, is the size of a lion, has three rows of teeth, and a tail like that of a scorpion with a large stinger at the end;⁶⁸ a purple serpent (section 33) with a white head which, if hung up by its tail, discharges two kinds of poison, one yellow while it is alive, the other black when it is dead, and the first, if ingested, causes one's brain to flow out through one's nose, while the second causes death by consumption after a year; large thick worms (section 46) that live in the river Indus, which have two teeth, one in the upper jaw and the other in the lower, and emerge from the river mud at night to attack and eat camels or oxen. The mantichora is represented on the Hereford *mappamundi*,⁶⁹ and is indicated by name, but without an image, on the fourteenth-century Aslake map.⁷⁰

The Indian wonders gained a new life through accounts of the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great in 329–326 BCE. The *Alexander Romance*, a collection of Alexander's mythical exploits in India which was sometimes incorrectly attributed to Callisthenes, was probably compiled in the third century BCE, and includes descriptions of many monsters in India.⁷¹ The *Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem de miraculis Indiae* (or *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle about the Wonders of India*) is an expanded version of a letter included in the *Alexander Romance*, and it describes many monstrous beasts and races of men: Amazons,⁷² blemmyae,

Waldseemüller's 1516 *Carta Marina*," *Imago Mundi* 62/2 (2010), pp. 221–31. There are also several monstrous races in northern Asia—at the northern edge of the map, in fact—on Sancho Gutierrez's map of 1551; for details on this map see note 170 below.

67 On Fries's *Carta marina*, see Hildegard Binder Johnson, *Carta marina: World Geography in Strassburg, 1525* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963). Two copies of Fries's *Carta marina* survive, one of the 1530 edition in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and one of the 1531 edition in the Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen, on which, see Henry J. Bruman, "The Schaffhausen Carta Marina of 1531," *Imago Mundi* 41 (1989), pp. 124–32. A facsimile of the 1530 copy was published in Munich by the bookseller Ludwig Rosenthal in about 1926.

68 See Pierre Louis, "Les animaux fabuleux chez Aristote," *Revue des études grecques* 80 (1967), pp. 242–6, especially 244–5; and G.J.M. Bartelink, "Het fabeldier mantichora," *Hermeneus* 43 (1972), pp. 169–74 and 225.

69 See Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, pp. 76–7, no. 157.

70 See Peter Barber and Michelle P. Brown, "The Aslake World Map," *Imago Mundi* 44/1 (1992), pp. 24–44, especially 28.

71 Richard Stoneman (trans.), *The Greek Alexander Romance* (New York: Penguin, 1991); for discussion of the monsters, see Stoneman, "Romantic Ethnography: Central Asia and India in the Alexander Romance," *Ancient World* 25 (1994), pp. 93–107.

72 For discussion, see Tobias Brandenberger, "El episodio amazónico del Libro de Alexandre. Fondo, fuentes, figuración," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 110/3–4 (1994), pp. 432–66; and Elizabeth Baynham, "Alexander and the Amazons," *Classical Quarterly* 51/1 (2001), pp. 115–26.

giants, strap-legged men,⁷³ cynocephali or dog-headed men, giant crabs, three-eyed lions, and the odontotyrannus, which had three horns and could devour an elephant.⁷⁴ The medieval literature about Alexander, based on this tradition of the wonders of India, is too large to survey here,⁷⁵ but some elements deriving from this literature, including the Amazons and giants, appear on medieval *mappaemundi*.⁷⁶

But certainly the element derived from Alexander's story that is most frequently represented on medieval and Renaissance maps is his enclosure of the monstrous races of Gog and Magog in northern Asia. According to the *Alexander Romance*, Alexander reached a northern land devastated by barbarians, including the cannibalistic Gog and Magog, and he protected the land by building a huge wall between two mountains to contain the invaders until the end of history. According to Revelation 20:7–9, these peoples would come forth in the time of the Antichrist and devastate the earth; during the Middle Ages, Gog and Magog

73 For an interesting discussion of strap-legged men, see Natalia L. Tornesello, "From Reality to Legend: Historical Sources of Hellenistic and Islamic Teratology," *Studia Iranica* 31/2 (2002), pp. 163–92.

74 See Lloyd L. Gunderson, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1980), with an English translation of the *Letter* on pp. 140–56. For discussion of the monsters in the *Letter*, see Alexander Cizek, "Ungeheuer und magische Lebewesen in der *Epistola Alexandri ad magistratum suum Aristotelem de situ Indiae*," in Jan Goossens and Timothy Sodmann (eds), *Third International Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Colloquium, Münster 1979: Proceedings* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1981), pp. 78–94; and James Romm, "Alexander, Biologist: Oriental Monstrosities and the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*," in Scott Westrem (ed.), *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 16–30, reprinted in Bill Readings and Bennet Schaber (eds), *Postmodernism Across the Ages: Essays for a Postmodernity that Wasn't Born Yesterday* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), pp. 31–46. For illustrations of Alexander's Indian wonders, see D.J.A. Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands: A Study in Comparative Iconography* (Cambridge, UK: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1971); Krystyna Secomska, "The Miniature Cycle in the Sandomierz *Pantheon* and the Medieval Iconography of Alexander's Indian Campaign," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975), pp. 53–71; and Laurence Harf-Lancner, "From Alexander to Marco Polo, from Text to Image: The Marvels of India," in Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds), *The Medieval French Alexander* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 235–57.

75 See George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. D.J.A. Ross (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1956); and Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 199–216.

76 See Danielle Lecoq, "L'image d'Alexandre à travers les mappemondes médiévales (XIIe–XIIIe)," *Geographia Antiqua* 2 (1993), pp. 63–103; Hoogvliet, *Pictura et scriptura*, pp. 220–8; and Naomi Reed Kline, "Alexander Interpreted on the Hereford Mappamundi," in P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 167–83.

were quite anti-Semiticly identified with the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel,⁷⁷ and the site of their enclosure was thought to be in north-eastern Asia.⁷⁸ On the Ebstorf *mappamundi* they are enclosed behind a wall at the north-eastern edge of the world, eating other people.⁷⁹ In the Catalan Atlas of 1375, Gog and Magog, and also the Antichrist and his followers, are enclosed behind mountains in north-eastern Asia.⁸⁰ The location of the enclosing mountains is similar, but somewhat easier to appreciate on the Catalan Estense *mappamundi* of circa 1460.⁸¹ Fra Mauro, on his *mappamundi* of c. 1455, expressed doubt about the truth of the legend about Alexander's wall,⁸² but later cartographers continued to indicate the enclosed nations in north-eastern Asia, for example, Martin Waldseemüller on his world map of 1507.⁸³

77 On Gog and Magog as Jews, see Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 349; and Scott D. Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog," in Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (eds), *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 54–75.

78 On Gog and Magog generally, see Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1932); and Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 228–39; on their representation on maps, see Lecoq, "L'image d'Alexandre", pp. 92–103; Andrew Gow, "Gog and Magog on *Mappaemundi* and Early Printed World Maps: Orientalizing Ethnography in the Apocalyptic Tradition," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2/1 (1998), pp. 61–88; and Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog."

79 For a transcription of the legend and an illustration, see Kugler, *Die Ebstorfere Weltkarte*, vol. 1, pp. 58–9.

80 On the identification of the latter figure as the Antichrist, see Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "La representación de Gog y Magog y la imagen del Anticristo en las cartas náuticas bajomedievales," *Archivo Español de Arte* 78 (2005), pp. 263–76.

81 The Catalan Estense map is Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, C.G.A.1, and has been reproduced in facsimile, with transcription and commentary, in Ernesto Milano and Annalisa Batini, *Mapamundi Catalán Estense, escuela cartográfica mallorquina* (Barcelona: M. Moleiro, 1996), and the legend relating to Gog and Magog is transcribed on p. 157 of the commentary volume. There is also a high-resolution digital image of the map on the CD-ROM titled *Antichi planisferi e portolani: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Univesitaria* (Modena: Il Bulino; and Milan: Y. Press, 2004).

82 See Piero Falchetta, *Fra Mauro's World Map* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 617 and 619, no. *2403, and p. 685, no. *2752. Also see Andrew Gow, "Fra Mauro's World View: Authority and Empirical Evidence on a Venetian *Mappamundi*," in P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: The British Library, 2006), pp. 405–14.

83 Waldseemüller's 1507 map has been published in facsimile in Joseph Fischer and Franz Ritter von Wieser (eds), *Die älteste Karte mit dem Namen Amerika aus dem Jahre 1507 und die Carta marina aus dem Jahre 1516 des M. Waldseemüller (Ilacomilus)* (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1903; Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis terrarum, 1968); there are two excellent high-resolution scans of the map available on the internet site of the Library of Congress.

Many works later than the *Alexander Romance* continued the tradition of monsters in the East: the late seventh- or early eighth-century Anglo-Latin *Liber monstrorum*,⁸⁴ and the *Wonders of the East*, probably composed around the year 1000, a catalog of monstrous animals and men in various parts of the East, from Persia to India.⁸⁵

Marvels and monsters in the East are very prominent in the *Letter of Prester John*, a forged letter purporting to be from a Christian monarch in the East which arrived in Europe about 1165. The letter proposed an alliance with the Christian West to fight the Saracens, and described Prester John's realm as being fabulously wealthy and full of wonders, including monstrous animals, pygmies, cynocephali, Cyclopes, and so on.⁸⁶ The legend of Prester John migrated from Asia to Africa,⁸⁷ and on medieval maps he is most often mentioned or represented on that continent: he is first mentioned in Africa on the map of Angelino Dulcert of 1339, and first represented there on the map of Mecia de Viladestes of 1413. The wonders of his kingdom are generally neither mentioned nor represented on maps, perhaps for lack of space.

84 On the *Liber monstrorum*, see the references cited above in note 27; on the monsters derived from the *Epistola Alexandri*, see Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 125–30.

85 On the *Wonders of the East*, see Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*; Rossi-Reder, "Wonders of the Beast"; Mark Bradshaw Busbee, "A Paradise Full of Monsters: India in the Old English Imagination," *LATCH: A Journal for the Study of the Literary Artifact in Theory, Culture, or History* 1 (2008), pp. 49–70; and Alun James Ford, "The 'Wonders of the East' in its Contexts: A Critical Examination of London, British Library, Cotton MSS Vitellius A.xv and Tiberius B.v, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 614," PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2009.

86 The text of Prester John's letter is edited by F. Zarncke, "Der Brief des Presters Johannes an den byzantinischen Kaiser Emanuel," *Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 7 (1879), pp. 873–934, reprinted in Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (eds), *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot, Hampshire; and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996), pp. 40–102; it is translated into English in Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation: On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 155–60. For discussion of Prester John's letter from a geographical point of view, see Rudolf Simek, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages: The Physical World Before Columbus*, trans. Angela Hall (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 69–72.

87 On the transfer of Prester John from Asia to Africa, see J. Richard, "L'Extrême-Orient Légendaire au Moyen Âge: Roi David et Prêtre Jean," *Annales d'Ethiopie* 12 (1957), pp. 225–44; Bernard Hamilton, "Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress through the Indies," in Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (eds), *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot, Hampshire; and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996), pp. 237–69; Francesc Relaño, *The Shaping of Africa: Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT, and Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 51–72; and Manuel João Ramos, *Essays in Christian Mythology: The Metamorphosis of Prester John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006), pp. 106–16.

Jacques de Vitry (circa 1160/70–1240), in his *Historia orientalis*, has a section on the monstrous races in India,⁸⁸ including giants, Amazons, cynocephali, men who live from the odor of apples, and women with long beards. He says that he took his information about these races from various written sources, including Augustine, Isidore, Pliny, and Solinus—and also from a *mappamundi*.⁸⁹ This passage provides interesting evidence for the existence of a twelfth- or early thirteenth-century map which contained information about the monstrous races in India.

Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, or John of Plano Carpini (circa 1180–1252), was one of the first Europeans to enter the court of the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, and his *Ystoria Mongolorum* is the earliest important European account of northern and central Asia. Plano Carpini mentions some of the Plinian monstrous races of men in northern Asia; these are included in excerpts of his work in Book 32 of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*; and Martin Waldseemüller included representations of these races on his *Carta marina* of 1516 (one of these races is depicted in the upper right corner of Figure 18.3).⁹⁰

Marco Polo (circa 1254–1324), in his enormously influential *Le devisement du monde*,⁹¹ describes many marvels of the East, but contrary to popular opinion, describes very few indeed of the Plinian monstrous races of men.⁹² Yet the tradition of monstrous races in the East was so strong that some illustrated manuscripts of his work include images of monstrous races.⁹³ For example, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 2810, fol. 29v is an illustration of Siberia, and shows blemmyae, sciapods, and Cyclopes;⁹⁴ Polo says that the people in this region are wild, but does

88 For basic discussion of Jacques de Vitry's work, see Jessalynn Bird, "The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception, and Utilization," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20/1 (2004), pp. 56–74, with some mention of his treatment of alien peoples on page 59.

89 See Jacques de Vitry, *Iacobi de Vitriaco, primum Acconensis, deinde Tuscolani Episcopi ... libri duo, quorum prior Orientalis, siue Hierosolymitanae, alter, Occidentalis historiae nomine inscribitur* (Douai: Ex officina typographica Balthazaris Belleri, 1597), p. 215.

90 See Van Duzer, "A Northern Refuge of the Monstrous Races".

91 The most copiously annotated English translation is *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, trans. and ed. Henry Yule, 3rd edn (London: J. Murray, 1903).

92 Some discussion of Marco Polo's treatment of barbarous peoples is supplied by Marianne O'Doherty, "'They are like beasts, for they have no law': Ethnography and Constructions of Human Difference in Late-Medieval Translations of Marco Polo's Book," in Jean-François Kosta-Théfaine (ed.), *Travels and Travelogues in the Middle Ages* (New York: AMS Press, 2009), pp. 59–92.

93 See Rudolf Wittkower, "Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East," in E. Balazs (ed.), *Oriente Poliano* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio e Estremo Oriente, 1957), pp. 155–72; reprinted in Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977), pp. 76–92; and Debra Higgs Strickland, "Artists, Audience, and Ambivalence in Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde*," *Viator* 36 (2005), pp. 493–529.

94 Paris, BnF, MS français 2810 is a famous, richly illustrated manuscript of Marco Polo's *Livre des merveilles*, John Mandeville's *Travels*, and other works; the manuscript was

not specify any of these monstrous races: these are the additions of the illuminator.⁹⁵ There is one case, however, in which Polo describes a monstrous race, which is in his account of the Andaman Islands: Polo says that the inhabitants are cannibals and have heads, eyes, and teeth very similar to those of dogs,⁹⁶ and the artist of BnF MS fr. 2810, fol. 76v quite justifiably represents a dog-faced race, relying on traditional images of cynocephali (see Figure 17.3).⁹⁷ This image was adopted by a number of later writers, including Friar Odoric of Pordenone and John Mandeville, and is illustrated on Pierre Desceliers's manuscript world map of 1550,⁹⁸ who has an image of a cynocephalus chopping up the body of another cynocephalus in preparation to eat it. Other maps depict the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands as cannibals, for example, the *Tabula Moder[na] Indiae Orientalis* in the 1522 (Strasbourg), 1525 (Strasbourg), 1535 (Lyon), and 1541 (Vienna) editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*.⁹⁹ As Laurence Goldman has remarked, cannibalism is the "quintessential symbol of alterity, an entrenched metaphor of cultural xenophobia."¹⁰⁰

produced in the early fifteenth century for John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy. The illustrations in this manuscript are reproduced in black-and-white in Henri Omont (ed.), *Livre des merveilles, Marco Polo, Odoric Pordenone, Mandeville, Hayton, etc.* (Paris: Berthaud, 1907); all of the illustrations of Polo (fols 1–96) have been reproduced in a more recent color facsimile, Marco Polo, *Das Buch der Wunder [Le livre des merveilles]* (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1995), which is accompanied by a volume of commentary; all of the illustrations of Polo are more accessibly reproduced in Marie-Thérèse Gousset, *Le Livre des merveilles du monde* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'image, 2002); and all of the images in the manuscript are available at <<http://mandragore.bnf.fr>>.

- 95 See Wittkower, "Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition," pp. 161–2; and Strickland, "Artists, Audience, and Ambivalence," p. 503. For discussion of a fifteenth-century Russian text titled *O chelovetsikh neznaemykh v vostochnoi strane* (On Unknown Men in the Eastern Land), which coincidentally also locates some of the Plinian monstrous races in Siberia, see Janet Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 80–1; the Russian text is supplied in D.N. Anuchin, "K istorii oznakomleniia s Sibiriu do Ermaka," *Drevnosti: Trudy Moskovskogo arkhelogicheskogo obshchestva* 14 (1890), pp. 227–313.
- 96 Polo's description is cited by Martin Behaim on his globe of 1492: see E.G. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim: His Life and his Globe* (London: G. Philip & Son, Ltd., 1908), p. 88.
- 97 Wittkower, "Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition," p. 160; and Strickland, "Artists, Audience, and Ambivalence," p. 505, suggest that the artist's interpretation is an exaggeration like his image of Siberia just mentioned, but Polo's text is quite clear: he says that the Andaman Islanders are "tuit senblable a chief de grant chienz mastin," that is, "entirely similar to the heads of large mastiffs." See Marco Polo, *Milione: il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana [Le divisament dou monde]*, ed. Gabriella Ronchi (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1982), p. 549.
- 98 On Pierre Desceliers's 1550 world map, see note 44 above.
- 99 For descriptions of these editions of Ptolemy, see Wilberforce Eames, *A List of Editions of Ptolemy's Geography 1475–1730* (New York: s.n., 1886), pp. 15–17, 17–18, 18–19, and 20–1.
- 100 Laurence R. Goldman, "From Pot to Polemic: Uses and Abuses of Cannibalism," in Goldman (ed.), *The Anthropology of Cannibalism* (Westport: Bergin and Garvey, 1999), pp. 1–26, at 1.

But if Polo does not speak of many of the Plinian races, he does describe some monsters, and he seems to locate more of them at the edge of the earth, on islands in the Indian Ocean, than elsewhere. He says that the men in the kingdom of Lambri on Java Minor (modern Sumatra) have tails,¹⁰¹ speaks of cannibals in the kingdom of Dragoian on Java Minor,¹⁰² and tells of a monstrous bird in Madagascar with a wingspan of 30 paces which is capable of carrying an elephant—this bird is usually known as the rukh or roc.¹⁰³ Marco Polo's account of the rukh had many literary descendants, and the monstrous bird also appears on several maps: it is mentioned in a legend on Fra Mauro's *mappamundi* of c. 1455,¹⁰⁴ is represented on the map of the Indian Ocean by Nuño Garcia de Torenó made in 1522,¹⁰⁵ is mentioned in a legend on the world map of Sebastian Cabot of 1544,¹⁰⁶ and Gerard Mercator's world map of 1569,¹⁰⁷ and is illustrated on three manuscript maps by Urbano Monte (1587 and 1590).¹⁰⁸

101 See *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Book 3, chapter 11, vol. 2, p. 299, with Yule's commentary on pp. 301–2.

102 See *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Book 3, chapter 10, vol. 2, pp. 293–4, with Yule's commentary on p. 298.

103 See *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Book 3, chapter 33, vol. 2, p. 412, with Yule's commentary on p. 415–20. For discussion of the complicated history of this mythical bird, see Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "El vuelo de oriente a occidente del mítico pájaro Rujj y las transformaciones de su leyenda," in María Victoria Chico and Laura Fernández (eds), *La creación de la imagen en la Edad Media: de la herencia a la renovación*, *Anales de Historia del Arte* (2010), volumen extraordinario, pp. 325–41.

104 See Falchetta, *Fra Mauro's World Map*, pp. 179–82, no. *19.

105 The map by Nuño Garcia de Torenó is Turin, Biblioteca Reale, C. XVI. 2, and is reproduced in Cavallo, *Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi*, vol. 2, figure IV.38, p. 715.

106 Cabot's map is well reproduced in Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus*, pp. 106–7; for the legend, see Charles Deane, "[Inscriptions on Cabot's Mapped-monde]," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 6 (1890–91), pp. 305–39, especially 327 and 338; Deane's work is reprinted in H.R. Holmden, *Catalogue of Maps, Plans and Charts in the Map Room of the Dominion Archives* (Ottawa: Govt. Print. Bureau, 1912), pp. 568–88.

107 Three copies of Mercator's 1569 map survive: one in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, Rés Ge. A 1064; another in Basel at the Universitätsbibliothek, Kartenslg AA 3–5; and a third in Rotterdam at the Maritiem Museum "Prins Hendrik," Atlas51. The third of these is hand colored and has been reproduced in facsimile as *Gerard Mercator's Map of the World (1569) in the Form of an Atlas in the Maritiem Museum "Prins Hendrik" at Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, 1961). There is a good reproduction of the whole map in Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus*, pp. 128–9.

108 The 1587 copy of Urbano Monte's map was sold at Sotheby's on May 12, 1981, lot 53, and offered for sale at Christie's on May 20, 1998; it is described in *Cartography: Auction, Wednesday 20 May 1998 at approximately 11.30 a.m.* (London: Christie's, 1998), pp. 22–9. One of the 1590 manuscripts of Urbano Monte's maps is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A. 260 Inf., and the other is Venegono, Biblioteca de Seminario Arcivescovile, FV.B-VII-56. The maps of the latter copy have been reproduced in Urbano Monte, *Descrizione del mondo sin qui conosciuto*, ed. Maurizio Ampollini (Lecco: Periplo, 1994), which also includes biographical details about Monte. Some other maps that have illustrations of the rukh are mentioned by Hoogvliet, *Scriptura et pictura*, pp. 200–1.

To write a complete history of monsters in the East would far exceed the bounds of this chapter, and would to some extent be superfluous as Wittkower has discussed this subject so ably, but I will mention one other author who discusses monsters in the East but who curiously was not used as a source by cartographers. The *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, which is based largely on the works of other travelers such as Odoric of Pordenone, is an extravagant tale of travels in the East that enjoyed great popularity. The book mentions many monsters in both Africa and India,¹⁰⁹ and illustrated manuscripts of his work have abundant images of monsters and monstrous races.¹¹⁰ Mandeville was viewed as an authority on geography by later writers,¹¹¹ and was used as a source by Martin Behaim in his terrestrial globe of 1492,¹¹² but not for material about monsters, and curiously Mandeville's descriptions of monsters do not seem to have attracted the attention of cartographers.

The Antipodes

The idea that there was a continent in the southern hemisphere corresponding to the *oikumene* or *ecumene* (the inhabited region) in the northern hemisphere goes back to Aristotle, and was elaborated by Crates of Mallos (fl. 180 BCE), Cicero (first century BCE), Geminus (first century CE), and Macrobius (early fifth century CE).¹¹³ It was Geminus who first called the hypothetical inhabitants of this southern

109 For some discussion, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Diversity of Mankind in The Book of John Mandeville," in Rosamund Allen (ed.), *Eastward Bound: Travels and Travellers, 1050–1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 156–76. Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 153, notes that in Mandeville's narrative, "the farther we penetrate into the East, the weirder it gets."

110 For discussion of some of the illustrated manuscripts of Mandeville, see Andrea Kann, "Picturing the World: The Illustrated Manuscripts of *The Book of John Mandeville*," PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa, 2002; and on illustrations of the monstrous races, see Sarah Catherine Andyshak, "Figural and Discursive Depictions of the Other in the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*," MA thesis, Florida State University, 2009.

111 See Christiane Deluz, "Le Livre Jehan de Mandeville, autorité géographique à la Renaissance," in Jean Céard and J.-Cl. Margolin (eds), *Voyager à la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de Tours 1983* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), pp. 205–20.

112 See C.W.R.D. Moseley, "Behaim's Globe and 'Mandeville's Travels,'" *Imago Mundi* 33 (1981), pp. 89–91. For a full analysis of Behaim's globe, and transcription and translation of the legends, see Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim: His Life and his Globe*. Gerard Mercator also cites Mandeville as a source about Java and the southern hemisphere on his world map of 1569, but Mercator ends by saying that Mandeville is "an author unbelievable in other respects" — see Nicolas Crane, *Mercator: The Man Who Mapped the Planet* (New York: Henry Holt, 2002), p. 226.

113 For discussion of the history of the idea of the antipodal continent, see Armand Rainaud, *Le continent Austral; hypothèses et découvertes* (Paris: A. Colin, 1893; Amsterdam: Meridian, 1965); G. Boffito, "La leggenda degli Antipodi," in *Miscellanea di studi critici*

continent “antipodes,” meaning those who had their feet opposed to the inhabitants of the known world.¹¹⁴ Isidore of Seville (560–636), in his influential *Etymologiae*, summarized thinking about this southern continent, asserting the existence of a fourth continent in addition to Europe, Africa, and Asia, a continent beyond the ocean to the south, unknown to us because of the heat of the equatorial regions, in which continent the fabulous race called the antipodes was said to dwell (14.5.17). In another passage (*Etymologiae*, 11.3.24) Isidore says that the antipodes are a race in Africa with their feet pointing backwards, each with eight toes—curiously converting the antipodes into a monstrous race.¹¹⁵ This idea is repeated and illustrated in one manuscript of the *Wonders of the East*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 614, fol. 50r.¹¹⁶

The antipodal continent was usually held to be inaccessible, was generally thought to be beyond the limits of the inhabited world, and thus would seem to be an excellent location for monsters. Yet most of the medieval discussion of the antipodes addressed the question of whether the continent was inhabited, and if so, whether the people there were descendants of Adam, and whether they could be evangelized.¹¹⁷ However, there are some maps which locate monsters in the antipodes.

edita in onore di Arturo Graf (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1903), pp. 583–601; and Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, pp. 128–40. For discussion of medieval ideas and cartography of the antipodes, see John K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1925), pp. 156–65; Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, “*Fines Terrae*”: *Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992); and Benjamin Olshin, “The Antipodes, the Antarctic Continent, and the Spherical Earth,” in Olshin, “A Sea Discovered: Pre-Columbian Conceptions and Depictions of the Atlantic Ocean,” PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1994, pp. 264–318.

- 114 Geminus, *Introduction aux phénomènes*, ed. Germaine Aujac (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1975), section 16.1.
- 115 On Isidore's confusion here, see Valerie I.J. Flint, “Monsters and the Antipodes in the Early Middle Ages and Enlightenment,” *Viator* 15 (1984), pp. 65–80; reprinted in Flint, *Ideas in the Medieval West: Texts and their Contexts* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), pp. 65–80, especially 70–1; and Gabriella Moretti, “The Other World and the ‘Antipodes’: The Myth of the Unknown Countries between Antiquity and the Renaissance,” in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1, part I, *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1994), pp. 241–84, especially 266–7. On the different senses of the word “antipodes” during the Middle Ages, see Alexander H. Krappe, “Antipodes,” *Modern Language Notes* 59/7 (1944), pp. 441–7.
- 116 See Montague Rhodes James, *Marvels of the East: A Full Reproduction of the Three Known Copies* (Oxford: Printed for the Roxburghe Club by J. Johnson, at the University Press, 1929), who discusses the additions to Bodley 614 from Isidore on pp. 22–4 and 30–2, and illustrates fol. 50r in the facsimile section of the book.
- 117 In addition to the references cited in note 113, see Simek, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages*, pp. 48–55; and John Carey, “Ireland and the Antipodes: The Heterodoxy of Virgil of Salzburg,” *Speculum* 64 (1989), pp. 1–10. The antipodal continent is represented on the *mappaemundi* which illustrate manuscripts of Macrobius, but never with monsters.

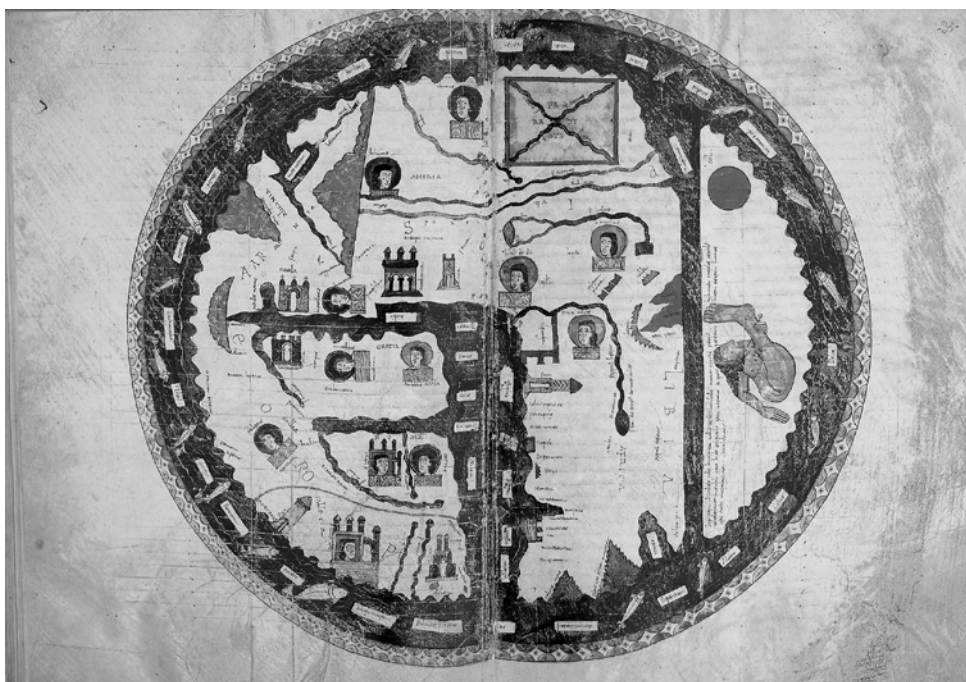


Figure 18.4 Burgo de Osma Beatus map, Cod. 1, ff. 34v-35r (Cabildo de la Catedral).

Some of the *mappaemundi* which illustrate the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana (circa 730–circa 800),¹¹⁸ which date from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, through a curious confusion indicate not antipodes but rather sciapods in the antipodal continent. Sciapods are also mentioned by Isidore (*Etymologiae* 11.3.23) and are said to live in Ethiopia, have one leg, be of great speed, and to shade themselves from the great heat with their large single foot. On the Burgo de Osma Beatus map (Figure 18.4), which dates from 1086, the legend in the antipodal continent says:

*This region is unknown and uninhabitable to us because of the heat of the sun. The [race] of sciapods is said to live [here], with single legs and amazing speed, whom the Greeks call sciapods because in the summer they lie on their backs on the ground and are shaded by their wide feet.*¹¹⁹

118 On Beatus *mappaemundi* generally, see Destombes, *Mappemondes*, pp. 40–2; Gonzalo Menéndez-Pidal, “Mozárabes y asturianos en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media en relación especial con la historia de los conocimientos geográficos,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 134 (1954), pp. 137–292; and Sáenz-López Pérez, “Imagen y conocimiento del mundo.” My discussion of the sciapods on the Beatus maps is based on the analysis in Sáenz-López Pérez, vol. 1, pp. 215–24.

119 The Burgo de Osma map is Burgo de Osma (Spain), Cabildo de la Catedral de Burgo

The legend on the Lorvão Beatus of 1189 (Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, MS CXIII/247, fol. 34bis v) is very similar.¹²⁰ The eccentric *mappamundi* in the so-called Navarra Beatus from the end of the twelfth century (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1366, fols 24v–25r)¹²¹ does not show the antipodal continent and does not have a legend about sciapods there, but does illustrate a sciapod outside the ecumene, at the south-western edge of the world, near Ethiopia, and it seems likely that this sciapod alludes to the presence of sciapods in Ethiopia.

A much later map which shows some monsters in the southern continent is the 1513 map by the Ottoman admiral Piri Reis, which the cartographer claims is based on maps by Christopher Columbus.¹²² This map seems to show the southern continent extending eastward from the southern tip of South America, and in that land there is an illustration of a large serpent, and a legend which runs: “This country is barren. Everything is desolate and in ruins and it is said that large serpents are found here. For this reason the Portuguese infidels did not land on these shores and these shores are said to be very hot.”¹²³ Here the ends of the earth are a wasteland, which seems to have been inspired by ideas of the Torrid Zone.

Maps of the “Dieppe School” of cartography, which flourished from about 1540 to 1570,¹²⁴ typically have a large antipodal continent which extends north into Asia

de Osmá, Cod. 1, fols 34v–35r. The best reproduction of the map is in the facsimile: Beatus of Liébana, *Expositio in Apocalisim* (Valencia: Vicent García, 1992). The Latin text of the legend runs: “Hec regio ab ardore solis incognita nobis et inhabitabilis manet. Sciopodum [gens] fertur habitare singulis cruribus et celeritate mirabili quos inde sciopodas greci vocant eo quod per estum in terra resupini iacentes pedum suorum magnitudine adumbrentur.”

- 120 The legend is transcribed by Sáenz-López Pérez, “Imagen y conocimiento del mundo,” vol. 1, p. 216; the manuscript has been reproduced in facsimile as *Beato de Liébana: Códice de San Mamede de Lorvao* (Valencia: Patrimonio, 2003).
- 121 The Navarra manuscript is reproduced in facsimile as Elisa Ruiz García and Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, *Beato de Navarra (ms. nouv. acq. Lat. 1366 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France)* (Madrid: Millennium Liber, 2007).
- 122 The Piri Reis map is conveniently reproduced in Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus*, p. 63; for discussion and translations of the legends, see Paul Kahle, “A Lost Map of Columbus,” *Geographical Review* 23/4 (1933), pp. 621–38; and with greater precision by Gregory C. McIntosh, “Columbus and the Piri Reis Map of 1513,” *The American Neptune* 53/4 (1993), pp. 280–94.
- 123 McIntosh, “Columbus and the Piri Reis Map of 1513,” p. 292. There is good discussion of the southern continent on Piri Reis’s map in Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008), pp. 201–3.
- 124 On the “Dieppe School,” see Henry Harrisse, “La cartographie Américano-Dieppoise,” in Harrisse, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve et des pays circonvoisins, 1497–1501–1769* (London and Paris, 1900; Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968), Part II, chapters 2–11; and Gayle K. Brunelle, “Dieppe School,” in David Buisseret (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 237–8. There is a good brief list of all of the maps produced by the Dieppe School in William A.R. Richardson, *Was Australia Charted before 1606? The Java la Grande Inscriptions*

to include the island of Java, and which is usually called "Jave la Grande."¹²⁵ In two of the maps of this school, monstrous races are depicted in this southern continent. In Pierre Desceliers's world map of 1550,¹²⁶ the southern continent has images of idolaters worshipping an image of the sun and/or a statue of a bull-headed creature standing on its hind legs; and further to the south there is the image mentioned above of the cynocephalus chopping up the body of another cynocephalus in preparation to eat it (the corresponding legend applies to the Andaman Islands, but Desceliers represents the cynocephali in the southern continent). And Guillaume Le Testu's *Cosmographie universelle* of 1556 shows two panotii or men with enormous ears in fol. 36r of the atlas—one lying down to sleep in his ear as panotii are supposed to do—and on fol. 49r what seems to be a very long-necked cynocephalus.¹²⁷ These monstrous races in the southern continent in Le Testu's atlas offer a particularly clear case of monsters located in far-flung regions through the cartographer's *horror vacui*, and also a desire to delight the map's viewers with exotica, for Le Testu clearly states more than once that he does not believe that the southern continent he depicts in his atlas exists.¹²⁸

Some later sixteenth-century maps also show monstrous creatures in the southern continent, apparently out of a hesitancy to leave blank spaces on the map and a taste for marvels. The nine-sheet printed world map by Giacomo Gastaldi, titled *Cosmographia universalis et exactissima iuxta postremam neotericorum tradition[n]em*, probably published in Venice by Matteo Pagano in about 1561,¹²⁹ has various

(Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2006), p. 96; there is a more detailed list in the Appendix to Sarah Toulouse, "Marine Cartography and Navigation in Renaissance France," in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1550–68.

125 For discussion of the southern continent on the Dieppe maps, see Helen Wallis, "Java la Grande: The Enigma of the Dieppe Maps," in Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost (eds), *Terra Australis to Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 39–81.

126 For details on Pierre Desceliers's map of 1550, see note 44.

127 Le Testu's *Cosmographie universelle* is Paris, Bibliothèque du Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre (Château de Vincennes), MS D.L.Z.14. On the panotii, see Claude Lecouteux, "Les Panotéens: sources, diffusion, emploi," *Etudes germaniques* 35 (1980), pp. 253–66. The long-necked cynocephalus was perhaps inspired by the crane-headed men in Herzog Ernst, a German epic written in about 1180; for discussion, see Claude Lecouteux: "A propos d'un episode de Herzog Ernst: La recontre des hommes-grues," *Etudes germaniques* 33 (1977), pp. 1–15; and Debra Higgs Strickland, "The Sartorial Monsters of Herzog Ernst," *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 2 (2010), pp. 1–35, <<http://differentvisions.org/two.html>>.

128 For Le Testu's assertion that the southern continent he depicts in his atlas is imaginary, see his *Cosmographie universelle* fols 34r, 35r, 37r, 39r, 40r, and 41r. The relevant texts on fols 35r and 39r are translated into English by Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 133–4.

129 The only surviving copy of the map is in the British Library, with signature Maps C.18.n.1; there is also a photocopy of the map in the Newberry Library in Chicago. The map is well illustrated in Günter Schilder, *Monumenta cartographica Neerlandica* (Alphen

monsters in its southern continent, including two Cyclopes, dragons, a centaur, an elephant, a lion, and a mantichore. Giovanni Francesco Camocio's world map of 1567 and 1569, titled *Cosmographia universalis et exactissima iuxta postremam neotericorum traditionem*, which is derived from Gastaldi's, has a basilisk, elephant, unicorn, centaur, griffin, and other animals and monsters in its southern continent.¹³⁰ In addition, the Milanese cartographer Urbano Monte (1544–1613) created three surviving multisheet manuscript world maps on a north polar projection, one dated 1587,¹³¹ and two dated 1590.¹³² These maps, which were also influenced by Gastaldi, have a great variety of animal and humanoid monsters on their southern continent. These creatures, which seem not to derive from any specific text, illustrate with particular clarity our tendency to fill distant regions with monsters.

The Ocean—Sea Monsters

The sea was a dangerous and mysterious place in the classical and medieval periods: Pliny calls the sea “the most savage part of nature” (36.1.2), and both Pliny (19.1.6) and Propertius (1.17.13–14) curse the inventor of the ship, who brought such great danger to men.¹³³ How much more dangerous, then, was the distant ocean generally held to encircle the earth?¹³⁴ Pliny 9.1.2 has an interesting passage on the tendency of the open sea to produce sea monsters. In the quotation from Diodorus Siculus cited above, Heracles is said to narrow the Strait of Gibraltar in order to keep sea monsters from entering the Mediterranean, and a very evocative quotation from the Roman poet Albinovanus Pedo, which is preserved in Seneca's *Suasoriae* (1.15), conveys the terrors, including sea monsters, associated with sailing out into the Atlantic:

aan den Rijn, Holland: Uitgevermaatschappij Canaletto, 1986–), vol. 2, pp. 36–7; and is discussed in Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (Riverside, CT: Early World Press, 2001), pp. 122–5.

130 A zoomable image of the copy of Camocio's map at the John Carter Brown Library is available through the Library's internet site; there is also a facsimile of this same copy of the map: Giovanni Francesco Camocio, *A Large World Map Dated 1569 Sold at the Sign of the Pyramid in Venice by Joan Franciscus Camotius, Now in the George H. Beans Library* (Philadelphia: George H. Beans Library, 1933).

131 On Urbano Monte's 1587 map, see note 108 above.

132 On Urbano Monte's 1590 world maps, see note 108 above. For discussion of Monte's maps see Roberto Almagià, “Un prezioso cimelio della cartografia italiana. Il Planisfero di Urbano Monte,” *La Bibliofilia* 43 (1941), pp. 156–93.

133 For discussion, see Eugène de Saint-Denis, *Le rôle de la mer dans la poésie latine* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1935); Mary Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), especially pp. 177–80; and Rhiannon Evans, “The Cruel Sea?: Ocean as Boundary Marker and Transgressor in Pliny's Roman Geography,” *Antichthon* 39 (2005), pp. 105–18.

134 On the circumfluent ocean, see, for example, Pliny 2.167 and Isidore 14.2.1, with discussion in Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, pp. 124–71.

*And now they see day and sun long left behind; banished from the familiar limits of the world they dare to pass through forbidden shades to the bounds of things, the remotest shores of the world. Now they think Ocean, that breeds beneath its sluggish waves terrible monsters, savage sea-beasts everywhere, and dogs of the sea, is rising, taking the ships with it (the very noise increases their fears): now they think the vessels are sinking in the mud, the fleet deserted by the swift wind, themselves left by indolent fate to the sea-beasts, to be torn apart unhappily.*¹³⁵

In a forthcoming book I will provide a full discussion of sea monsters on medieval and Renaissance maps,¹³⁶ and will confine myself here to some essential examples. The earliest surviving medieval maps which have substantial sea life in their circumfluent oceans are the world maps produced from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries which illustrate the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana.¹³⁷ One of the *mappaemundi* of this group displays several exotic sea creatures. On the Beatus map in Gerona, Spain, which is dated 975,¹³⁸ there are a number of sea creatures which seem to be more sea monsters than fish, including a hybrid creature which is perhaps a *canis marinus* or sea-dog, a curious marine chicken, a *serra* or “saw-fish” in the south-east with a serrated back,¹³⁹ and a man inside a huge sea creature, probably representing Jonah in the monster, in the west.

135 See Michael von Albrecht, *Roman Epic: An Interpretative Introduction* (Boston: Brill, 1998), Latin text and English translation on pp. 209–10, with discussion on pp. 210–15.

136 Chet Van Duzer, *Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps*, forthcoming from the British Library.

137 For references on Beatus *mappaemundi*, see note 118 above. My discussion of the sea creatures on these maps is based on the analysis in Sáenz-López Pérez, “Imagen y conocimiento del mundo,” vol. 1, pp. 78–87.

138 The signature of the Gerona Beatus map is Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Num. Inv. 7 (11), fols 54v–55r. This manuscript has been reproduced in facsimile twice: *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin Codex Gerundensis* (Olten: Urs Graf, 1962); and *Commentarium in Apocalypsim. Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim: Codex Gerundensis A.D. 975* (Madrid: Edilán, 1975). There is also a smaller reproduction of the map in John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse* (London: Harvey Miller, 1994–2003), vol. 1, figure 22, and vol. 2, figure 302. Sáenz-López Pérez, “Imagen y conocimiento del mundo,” vol. 2, figures 9 and 11, reproduces details of the *canis marinus* and the sea creature with a man inside.

139 On creatures like the sea-dog and sea-chicken, see Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx, “L’idée d’un monde marin parallèle du monde terrestre: émergence et développements,” in Chantal Connochie-Bourgne (ed.), *Mondes marins du Moyen Âge: Actes du 30e colloque du CUER MA, 3, 4 et 5 mars 2005* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 2006), pp. 259–71. On the *serra*, see G.C. Druce, “On the Legend of the Serra or Saw-Fish,” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 31 (1919), pp. 20–35; and Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx, “Drôles d’oiseaux. Le caladre, le phénix, la sirène, le griffon et la serre dans le Physiologus, les Bestiaires et les encyclopédies du XIIIe siècle. Mise en perspective,” *Sénéfiance* 54 (2008), pp. 163–78, especially 172–3.

The Church of St Martin in Zillis, Switzerland, has a rectangular ceiling dating from the mid-twelfth century, consisting of 153 painted panels depicting scenes from the Bible and from the life of St Martin.¹⁴⁰ In each of the four corners there is an angel holding two trumpets, clearly inspired by St John's vision of "four angels standing on the four corners of the earth" (Revelation 7:1). Further, the water depicted along the four edges of the composition is certainly intended to represent the circumfluent ocean, so that the ceiling, though not a map in the modern sense of the word, is an image of the world as a stage for the playing out of Christian history.¹⁴¹ The ocean surrounding the earth abounds with sea monsters, including sirens and many hybrid creatures such as a wolf-fish, horse-fish, elephant-fish, and so on. This is a gallery of monsters at the edge of the world quite as impressive, if not more so, than the row of monstrous races at the southern edge of Africa on the Ebstorf, Hereford, and other *mappaemundi* discussed above.

A *mappamundi* in a manuscript of circa 1180 in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 7785, fol. 2v) presents a striking vision of the inhabited part of the earth surrounded by an enormous serpentine monster which is devouring its own tail (known as a *uroborus*, from the Greek for "tail-eater"), and beyond the uroborus in the ocean there are four hybrid sea monsters with human heads and piscine bodies and tails.¹⁴² The monster encircling the earth is no doubt intended to represent the Biblical Leviathan.¹⁴³ In this case the edge of the earth is a sea monster: the monstrous holds the whole earth in its serpentine grasp (see Figure 18.5).

The so-called "Genoese" world map of 1457 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Portolano 1)¹⁴⁴ portrays four particularly impressive sea monsters in

140 There are several books about the ceiling of the Church of St Martin at Zillis; the best illustrated is Diether Rudloff, *Zillis: die romanische Bilderdecke der Kirche St. Martin* (Basel: P. Heman, 1989), also published under the title *Kosmische Bildwelt der Romanik: die Kirchendecke von Zillis* (Stuttgart: Urachhaus Johannes M. Mayer, 1989).

141 On the similarities between the Zillis ceiling and medieval *mappaemundi*, see Wolfgang Kemp, "Medieval Pictorial Systems," in Brendan Cassidy (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23–24 March 1990* (Princeton, NJ: Index of Christian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1993), pp. 121–37, especially 129–33; the essay is reprinted with some changes in Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa (ed.), *A travers l'image: Lecture iconographique et sens de l'oeuvre. Actes du Séminaire CNRS (G.D.R. 712) (Paris, 1991)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1994), pp. 283–307, especially 292–6.

142 The *mappamundi* in Munich is discussed in detail by Barbara Obrist, "Cosmological Iconography in Twelfth-Century Bavaria: The Earthly Zones and their Circling Serpent in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 7785," *Studi medievali* 48/2 (2007), pp. 543–74, but she devotes almost no attention to the four hybrid sea monsters in the outer ocean.

143 See Obrist, "Cosmological Iconography," pp. 556–8.

144 The Genoese world map is reproduced in Cavallo, *Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi*, vol. 1, pp. 492–3. The legends are transcribed and translated by Edward L. Stevenson, *Genoese World Map, 1457* (New York: American Geographical Society and Hispanic Society of America, 1912), but with many errors; there is now a facsimile edition of the map, with a new transcription and translation of the legends by Angelo Cattaneo, in *Mappa mundi 1457* (Rome: Treccani, 2008).



Figure 18.5 *Mappamundi* (circa 1180), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 7785, f. 2v (by permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

the Indian Ocean. First there is a composite *porcus marinus*, or sea hog (a fish with a pig's head), off the eastern coast of Africa, and then a siren which is unaccompanied by a legend. Near the siren there is a creature which is a fish with a human head, behind which it has a large spiky red crest, and the legend explains that this *serra* attacks ships of the Indians, usually breaking them immediately, but its crest can get stuck in the ship's wood and as a result the fish, unable to escape, kills itself. The fourth monster, an impressive demon-like creature to be discussed below (see p. 432), is in the eastern Indian Ocean, in the region on the map most distant from Europe.

The Ocean—Islands

Islands, like distant parts of the world, are separated from the known and familiar, and for the same reasons as distant parts of the world, they are often settings for marvels and monsters.¹⁴⁵ The marvels and monsters on distant islands on medieval *mappaemundi* have already been studied to some extent,¹⁴⁶ but it is worth emphasizing here some of the monsters on islands in the Indian Ocean,¹⁴⁷ which is a well-known locus of marvels,¹⁴⁸ and in fact we have seen above how Marco Polo locates monsters on the Andaman Islands, Java Minor, and Madagascar, and also how Pierre Desceliers locates idolaters and cannibal cynocephali on Java and the Andaman Islands. The tradition of locating monsters on islands in the Indian Ocean is ancient, and in fact goes back to Ptolemy (second century CE). Ptolemy's eleventh map of Asia, which he describes in Book 7, chapters 2 and 3, contains a concentration of monstrous islands that has no equal elsewhere in his work.¹⁴⁹ The ten islands called the Maniolae are magnetic, and attract any boat with nails—and are inhabited by cannibals called Manioli.

145 See, for example, Francis Dubost, "Insularités imaginaires et récit médiéval: 'l'insularisation,'" in Jean-Claude Marimoutou and Jean-Michel Racault (eds), *L'insularité thématique et représentations: actes du colloque international de Saint-Denis de La Réunion, avril 1992* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), pp. 47–57.

146 See Danielle Lecoq, "Les îles aux confins du monde," in Daniel Reig (ed.), *Ile des merveilles: mirage, miroir, mythe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), pp. 13–32.

147 On Islamic traditions of marvellous islands in the Indian Ocean, see A. Arioli, *Le isole mirabili. Periplo arabo medievale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989), translated into Spanish as *Islario maravilloso: periplo arabe medieval*, trans. M. Rodriguez (Madrid: Ollero, 1992); María Mercedes Delgado Pérez, *Lo real y lo maravilloso en la ecúmene del siglo XIII. Las islas en el Ātār al-bilād de al-Qazwīnī* (Seville: El Alfar, 2003); and, for example, Shawkat M. Toorawa, "Wāq al-wāq: Fabulous, Fabular, Indian Ocean (?) Island(s)," *Emergences* 10/2 (2000), pp. 387–402.

148 Jacques Le Goff, "L'Occident médiéval et l'Océan indien: un horizon onirique," in *Mediterraneo e Oceano Indiano (Atti del VI Colloquio Internazionale di Storia Marittima)* (Florence: Olschki, 1970), pp. 243–63; translated into English by Arthur Goldhammer as "The Medieval West and the Indian Ocean: An Oneiric Horizon," in Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 189–200; reprinted in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *Facing Each Other: The World's Perception of Europe and Europe's Perception of the World* (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 1–19.

149 Although Ptolemy's *Geography* survives in many manuscripts, the maps in the medieval manuscripts of the work are probably not the result of a direct transmission from antiquity, but derive rather from reconstructions of the maps made by the Byzantine scholar Maximus Planudes around 1300. Planudes based his reconstructions on the co-ordinates in Ptolemy's text, but nonetheless we cannot be certain that his maps are precisely like Ptolemy's. For discussion, see J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 47–51. For our purposes here, however, it is enough that in his text Ptolemy places monstrous races on the islands of the Indian Ocean.

The Barussae, Sindae, and Sabadicae Islands are all inhabited by anthropophagi or cannibals, and further east are the Satyrorum Insulae, whose inhabitants have tails.¹⁵⁰ The rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* in Europe in the early fifteenth century, and the acceptance of his work as an authority, entailed that these same islands appeared not only in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts and editions of his *Geography*, but also in works dependent thereon, such as Martin Waldseemüller's world map of 1507.

An interesting episode in the Indian Ocean which combines the categories of island and monster is recounted in the *Alexander Romance*: Alexander sees an island in the ocean which he wishes to explore. His men suggest that they go first to see whether there is any danger:

*I was persuaded and allowed them to cross over. They disembarked, but after an hour the island dived into the depths, for it was a creature and not an island. We shouted out when the beast vanished and all the men perished, along with my best friend ... We remained eight days on the promontory, and on the seventh we saw the beast. It had tusks.*¹⁵¹

The myth of the monster-island or whale-island neatly encapsulates the otherness of islands, and also appears in the *Physiologus*, an anonymous book of animals (but which also describes some stones and trees) written in Greek, probably in Alexandria in the third century CE, and later appears in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, which describes the Atlantic wanderings of St Brendan of Ardfert and Clonfert (484–577).¹⁵² Two maps show the Brendan version of the whale-island: Piri Reis's map of the Atlantic of 1513, and the map in Honorius Philoponus, *Nova typis transacta navigatio* (Linz: n.p., 1621), p. 12.

150 Alfred Stükelberger and Gerd Grasshoff's edition of Ptolemy's Greek text, *Klaudios Ptolemaios: Handbuch der Geographie* (Basel: Schwabe Basel, 2006) is the first in more than 150 years, and also includes a German translation; the English translation by Edward L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1932); republished as *The Geography/Claudius Ptolemy* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1991), is to be used with caution. For discussion of these islands with modern identification, see G.E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia (Further India and Indo-Malay Archipelago)* (London: Royal Asiatic Society and Royal Geographical Society, 1909): on the Maniolae, pp. 420–4; on the Barussae, pp. 427–46; on the Sindae, pp. 449–58; on the Sabadicae, pp. 446–9; and on the islands of the satyrs, pp. 707–24.

151 See Richard Stoneman (trans.), *The Greek Alexander Romance* (New York: Penguin, 1991), p. 182.

152 See Cornelia C. Coulter, "The 'Great Fish' in Ancient and Medieval Story," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 57 (1926), pp. 32–50; Dora Faraci, "Navigatio Sancti Brendani and its Relationship with *Physiologus*," *Romanobarbarica* 11 (1991), pp. 149–73; and Chet Van Duzer, "Floating Islands Seen at Sea: Myth and Reality," *Anuario do Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico* 1 (2009), pp. 110–20.

The New World

The first-century Roman poet Seneca, in his *Medea* 375–379, predicted that one day new worlds would appear on the other side of the ocean: “There will come an age in the far-off years when Ocean shall unloose the bonds of things, when the whole broad earth shall be revealed, when Tethys shall disclose new worlds and Thule not be the limit of the lands.”¹⁵³ The prophecy was often thought to have been fulfilled by the discovery of the New World.¹⁵⁴ The Americas, aside from being a distant new land across the ocean and beyond the edge of the previously known world, with its new landscapes, different vegetation, animals, peoples, and customs, naturally attracted many myths.¹⁵⁵ One issue raised by the New World had been discussed theoretically with regard to the antipodal southern continent, namely, whether the inhabitants of the New World were descended from Adam, and thus a true part of the human race.¹⁵⁶ Thus many thinkers considered all of the

153 Seneca, *Seneca's Tragedies*, with an English translation by Frank Justus Miller (London: William Heinemann, and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 260–1.

154 See Diskin Clay, “Columbus’ Senecan Prophecy,” *American Journal of Philology* 113/4 (1992), pp. 617–20; James Romm, “New World and *novos orbes*: Seneca in the Renaissance Debate over Ancient Knowledge of the Americas,” in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1, part I, *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1994), pp. 78–116; and Giuseppe Cardinali, “*Nec sit terris ultima Thule*: Echi della scoperta del Nuovo Mondo nei *Commentarii alla Medea* di Seneca,” *Geographia Antiqua* 10–11 (2001–2002), pp. 155–62.

155 See, for example, Gordon Speck, *Myths and New World Explorations* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1979); Jean-Pierre Sánchez, “Myths and Legends in the Old World and European Expansionism on the American Continent,” in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1, part I, *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 189–240; Jean-Pierre Sánchez, *Mythes et légendes de la conquête de l’Amérique* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1996); and Neil L. Whitehead, “South America/Amazonia: The Forest of Marvels,” in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 122–38.

156 On this question see Lewis Hanke, “Pope Paul III and the American Indians,” *Harvard Theological Review* 30 (1937), pp. 65–102; Saul Jarcho, “Origin of the American Indian as Suggested by Fray Joseph de Acosta (1589),” *Isis* 50/4 (1959), pp. 430–8; Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts, 1492–1729* (Austin: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 1967); Giuliano Gliozzi, *Adamo e il nuovo mondo: la nascita dell’antropologia come ideologia coloniale: dalle genealogie bibliche alle teorie razziali (1500–1700)* (Florence: La nuova Italia, 1977); Joan-Pau Rubiés, “Hugo Grotius’s Dissertation on the Origin of the American Peoples and the Use of Comparative Methods,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 52/2 (1991), pp. 221–44; and Joachim Küpper, “The Traditional Cosmos and the New World,” *MLN* 118/2 (2003), pp. 363–92.

inhabitants of the New World to be to some extent monstrous; the idea that they were something less than human was often used as a justification for enslaving or conquering them.¹⁵⁷

Some creatures in the New World were so strange to European eyes that they were interpreted as monsters. For example, the opossum of South America was the first marsupial that Europeans had ever seen, and when Vicente Yáñez Pinzón described his discovery of the animal in 1499, he explicitly called it a monster, and described it as a composite, somewhat as one might describe a classical chimaera:

*Between these Trees he saw a strange Monster, the foremost part resembling a Fox, the hinder a Monkey, the feet were like a Mans, with Ears like an Owl; under whose Belly hung a great Bag, in which it carry'd the Young, which they drop not, nor forsake till they can feed themselves.*¹⁵⁸

The opossum was depicted as one of the marvels of the New World on Martin Waldseemüller's *Carta marina* of 1516 (Figure 18.6),¹⁵⁹ and on many maps influenced by his, such as the 1522 (Strasbourg), 1525 (Strasbourg), 1535 (Lyon), and 1541 (Vienna) editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*.¹⁶⁰

But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the monstrous in the New World is the transfer thither of the Plinian monstrous races. One possible cause of this transfer was Christopher Columbus's belief that he was exploring Asia rather than a new territory, and in fact some maps showed the new lands joined to Asia well into the sixteenth century.¹⁶¹ But there was certainly a more general force at work, namely

157 See particularly Patricia Seed, "'Are These Not Also Men?': The Indians' Humanity and Capacity for Spanish Civilisation," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25/3 (1993), pp. 629–52.

158 See Charles R. Eastman, "Early Portrayals of the Opossum," *The American Naturalist* 49/586 (1915), pp. 585–94; and Susan Scott Parrish, "The Female Opossum and the Nature of the New World," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54/3 (1997), pp. 475–514, especially 485.

159 Waldseemüller's legend about and image of the opossum are discussed in Gaetano Ferro, Luisa Faldini, Marica Milanese, and Gianni Eugenio Viola, *Columbian Iconography* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1996), pp. 546–7.

160 For more on strange animals in the New World, see, for example, Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn From Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998); and Miguel de Asúa and Roger French, *A New World of Animals: Early Modern Europeans on the Creatures of Iberian America* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005).

161 See George E. Nunn, "Did Columbus Believe that He Reached Asia on his Fourth Voyage?" in *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus; A Critical Consideration of Four Problems* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1924), pp. 54–90; E.G.R. Taylor, "Idée fixe: The Mind of Christopher Columbus," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 11 (1931), pp. 289–301; John H. Parry, "Asia-in-the-West," *Terrae Incognitae* 8 (1976), pp. 59–72; and Folker Reichert, "Columbus und Marco Polo—Asien in Amerika. Zur Literaturgeschichte der Entdeckungen," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 15 (1988), pp. 1–63.



Figure 18.6 Martin Waldseemüller, *Carta marina* (1516), South America detail, cannibals, opossum (courtesy of the Library of Congress).

that European explorers and cartographers tended to interpret things they heard or saw in terms of familiar categories. On Pierre Desceliers's world map of 1550 there is an image of the pygmies fighting the cranes located in North America.¹⁶² Their presence in North America is due to Jacques Cartier's report, in his account of his second voyage made in 1535–36, that Donnacona, "King of Canada," told him that there were "Picquemyans" or pygmies in Canada.¹⁶³ It is quite possible that Cartier himself interpreted something Donnacona said in familiar terms, as having to do with the pygmies, but Desceliers certainly did. To Cartier's hint about pygmies which supposedly came from a Native American king, Desceliers added a legend which derives from Albertus Magnus's discussion of the humanity of pygmies in *De animalibus* 7.1.6.62,¹⁶⁴ by way of the section titled "De Africa" in Sebastian Münster's *Typi cosmographici et declaratio et usus*, in the *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum ueteribus incognitarum*, edited by Simon Grynaeus and Johann Huttich

162 On the pygmies generally, see Pietro Janni, "I Pigmei dall'Antichità al Medioevo: le fortune di una favola," in Francesco Prontera (ed.), *Geografia e geografi nel mondo antico: guida storica e critica* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1983), pp. 135–71—this is a reprint of Chapter 1 of Janni, *Etnografia e mito: la storia dei pigmei* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1978); and Bernd Roling, *Drachen und Sirenen: die Rationalisierung und Abwicklung der Mythologie an den europäischen Universitäten* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 481–549.

163 See Jacques Cartier, *Brief recit, & succincte narration, de la nauigation faite es yslles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres, avec particulieres meurs, langage, & cerimonies des habitans d'icelles: fort delectable à veoir* (Paris: Roffet dict Faucheur & Anthoine le Clerc frères, 1545), fol. 40v; Henry P. Biggar, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1924), pp. 121 and 221–2; and Jacques Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, intro. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 82.

164 For discussion of the passage in Albertus Magnus, see Joseph Koch, "Sind die Pygmäen Menschen? Ein Kapitel aus der philosophischen Anthropologie der mittelalterlichen Scholastik," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 40 (1931), pp. 195–213, and Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, pp. 190–6, especially 191.

(Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1532). Further, he illustrated this text with an image of the pygmies fighting the cranes, an image inspired by classical literature (the opening of Book 3 of the *Iliad*), though Cartier says not a word about cranes.

There are many other examples of the transfer of the Plinian races to the New World;¹⁶⁵ perhaps the most famous of these are the Amazons,¹⁶⁶ for whom the Amazon River was named. There were indigenous American legends about groups of aggressive women who lived apart from men, and these legends certainly contributed to the appearance, wide incidence, and persistence of the idea that there were Amazons in the New World.¹⁶⁷ Columbus, on his second voyage, in his diary entries for January 6 and 16, 1493, mentions an island called Matinino which was inhabited, according to the Native Americans with whom he spoke, only by women, and this was interpreted by Peter Martyr d'Anghiera as being an island of Amazons.¹⁶⁸ Later explorers sought Amazons in both Central and South America,

165 On the migration of the monstrous races to the New World, see Luis Weckmann, "The Middle Ages in the Conquest of America," *Speculum* 26/1 (1951), pp. 130–41, especially 132–3; Luigi de Anna, "Columbus and the *Mirabilia*," *Faravid* 16 (1992), pp. 133–40; Peter Mason, "Classical Ethnography and its Influence on the European Perception of the Peoples of the New World," in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1, part I, *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 135–72; and Marion Steinicke, "Apokalyptische Heerscharen und Gottesknechte: Wundervölker des Ostens in abendländischer Tradition vom Untergang der Antike bis zur Entdeckung Amerikas," PhD dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, 2002.

166 Georg Friederici, *Die Amazonen Amerikas* (Leipzig: Simmel & Co, 1910); Irving A. Leonard, "Conquerors and Amazons in Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 24/4 (1944), pp. 561–79; Frank Lestringant, "De l'ubiquité des Amazones au siècle des grandes découvertes," in P.M. Martin and Ch.M. Ternes (eds), *La Mythologie, clef de lecture du monde classique: Hommage à R. Chevallier* (Tours: Centre de recherches A. Piganiol, 1986), pp. 297–319; Jean-Pierre Sánchez, *Le mythe des Amazones du Nouveau Monde* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1991); the excellent article by Kathleen M. March and Kristina M. Passman, "The Amazon Myth and Latin America," in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1, part I, *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1994), pp. 285–338; and Alexandra M. Habershon, "Post-partum Nation: The Amazon Myth and Ideologies of Reproduction in the Conquest of the New World," PhD dissertation, Georgetown University, 2006. See also Persephone Braham's essay in this collection.

167 On indigenous legends of groups of women who live without men, see Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Recent Literature on the South American 'Amazons,'" *Journal of American Folklore* 24/91 (1911), pp. 16–20; and March and Passman, "The Amazon Myth and Latin America," pp. 325–32.

168 See Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire d'Anghiera), *De orbe novo, the Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt (New York: B. Franklin, 1970), 1.2.3, 7.8.1, and 7.10.3. For discussion, see Weckmann, "The Middle Ages in the Conquest of America," p. 132; A. Bognolo, "Geografia mitica e geografia moderna: le Amazoni nella scoperta dell'America," *Columbeis* 4 (1990), pp. 7–22; March and Passman, "The

particularly in Guyana, and Amazons are represented in South America on maps, beginning with Sebastian Cabot's world map of 1544¹⁶⁹ and on Sancho Gutierrez's map of 1551.¹⁷⁰

Columbus also recorded native testimony of the existence of Cyclopes and cynocephali,¹⁷¹ and Lorenz Fries's *Uslegung der Mercarthen oder Carta Marina* (Strasbourg: Johannes Grieninger, 1525), chapter 43, both recounts Columbus's tales of cynocephali and illustrates cannibalistic cynocephali. Cynocephali appear on the northern coast of South America on Piri Reis's map of 1513, which the cartographer claims is based on maps by Columbus, and also in Guillaume Le Testu's *Cosmographie universelle* of 1556, fol. 57r.

There are New World giants, particularly in Patagonia, which are those described by Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of Magellan's expedition (1519–22), and they had a long history of representation on maps, beginning with Sebastian Cabot's world map of 1544, and also appear on Pierre Desceliers's world map of 1550, for example.¹⁷² Even the blemmyae, the "men whose heads / Do grow beneath their shoulders" (Shakespeare, *Othello* I, iii), managed to cross the Atlantic, and are located in Guyana by Sir Walter Raleigh in *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bevvotiful Empire of Guiana* (London: Robert Robinson, 1596), and subsequently appear on maps beginning with Jodocus Hondius's *Nieuwe caerte van het wonderbaer ende goudrijcke landt Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1598).¹⁷³

The other and much more prominent human monster in the New World is the cannibal. Columbus spoke of cannibals during his first voyage to the New

Amazon Myth and Latin America," pp. 298–301. This island, with the legend *Matuina hanc solae mulieres inhabitant*, appears on Caspar Vopel's world map of 1558, the only surviving copy of which is in the Houghton Library at Harvard.

169 There are two surviving copies of Cabot's map, one in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Rés. Ge AA 582), and the other at the Klassik Stiftung Weimar (Kt 020 - 31 S). The copy of Cabot's map in Paris is well reproduced in Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus*, pp. 106–7. For further discussion of South American Amazons on maps, see Surekha Davies, "Representations of Amerindians on European Maps and the Construction of Ethnographic Knowledge, 1506–1624," PhD dissertation, Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 242–65.

170 Sancho Gutierrez's map is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Map Department, K I 99.416; the best reproduction of the map is in Luisa Martín-Merás, *Cartografía marítima hispana: La imagen de América* (Barcelona and Madrid: Lunwerg, 1993), pp. 113–17; there is also an excellent reproduction in Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, *La cartografía náutica Española en los siglos XIV, XV y XVI* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1994), between pages 211 and 212.

171 Christopher Columbus, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, ed. Francesca Lardicci (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p. 48.

172 See, for example, Jean-Paul Duviols, "The Patagonian 'Giants,'" in Colin McEwan, Luis A. Borrero, and Alfredo Prieto (eds), *Patagonia: Natural History, Prehistory and Ethnography at the Uttermost End of the Earth* (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pp. 127–39. For an account of representations of Patagonian giants on maps, see Davies, "Representations of Amerindians on European Maps," vol. 1, pp. 229–36.

173 See Davies, "Representations of Amerindians on European Maps," vol. 1, pp. 244–58.

World,¹⁷⁴ and cannibalism was a constant theme of explorers' reports from the Caribbean and South America.¹⁷⁵ The first cartographic image of a cannibal on a map is on the anonymous "Kunstmann II" map of circa 1506, where a man roasts another on a spit in the western part of South America.¹⁷⁶ The bibliography on cannibalism in the Caribbean, Central America, and South America is vast, and the representations of these cannibals on maps (see, for example, Figure 18.6) have been studied in detail.¹⁷⁷ The truthfulness of European accounts of Caribbean and South American cannibalism has been disputed, particularly by William Arens and scholars inspired by his work.¹⁷⁸ Certainly, in addition to the reasons discussed

174 See Peter Hulme, "Columbus and the Cannibals: A Study of the Reports of Anthropophagy in the Journal of Christopher Columbus," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 4 (1978), pp. 115–39; reprinted in Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), pp. 1–43; partial reprint in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (eds), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 365–9; Yobenj Aucardo Chicangana-Bayona, "El nacimiento del Canibal: un debate conceptual," *Historia Crítica* 36 (Bogotá, 2008), pp. 150–73; and Davies, "Representations of Amerindians on European Maps," vol. 1, pp. 122–8; also see Nicolás Wey-Gómez, "Cannibalism as Defacement: Columbus's Account of the Fourth Voyage," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 16/2 (1992), pp. 195–208.

175 See, for example, Samuel Roy Dunlap, "Among the Cannibals and Amazons: Early German Travel Literature on the New World," PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1992; Philip P. Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492–1763* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Yobenj Aucardo Chicangana-Bayona, "El festín antropofágico de los indios Tupinambá en los grabados de Theodoro de Bry, 1592," *Fronteras de la historia* 10 (2005), pp. 19–82.

176 The "Kunstmann II" map is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 133; there is a tracing of the map in Konrad Kretschmer, *Die historischen Karten zur Entdeckung Amerikas: Atlas nach Konrad Kretschmer* (Frankfurt: Umschau, 1991), plate 8; it is reproduced at a large scale in black-and-white in Edward L. Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating Early Discovery and Exploration in America 1502–1530* (New Brunswick, NJ: n.p., 1903); and it is illustrated and discussed in Hans Wolff (ed.), *America: Early Maps of the New World* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1992), pp. 134–6; and Ivan Kupčik, *Münchener Portolankarten: Kunstmann I–XIII und zehn weitere Portolankarten* [Munich Portolan Charts: Kunstmann I–XIII and Ten Other Portolan Charts] (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000), pp. 28–34.

177 See Cynthia A. Chambers, "Cannibalism in a Cultural Context: Cartographic Imagery and Iconography of the New World Indigenous Peoples During the Age of Discovery," PhD dissertation, The University of Texas at Arlington, 2006; and Davies, "Representations of Amerindians on European Maps," vol. 1, pp. 122–82.

178 See William Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Erwin Frank, "'Sie fressen Menschen, wie ihr scheußliches Aussehen beweist ...': Kritische Überlegungen zu Zeugen und Quellen der Menschenfresserei," in Hans-Peter Duerr (ed.), *Authentizität und Betrug in der Ethnologie* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987), pp. 199–224; Arens, "Rethinking Anthropophagy," in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen (eds), *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 39–62; and Peter Hulme, "Introduction: The Cannibal Scene," in Barker, Hulme, and Iversen, *Cannibalism and the*

above for which monstrous races tend to be located in distant regions, the Europeans had a motive to invent or embellish stories of New World cannibalism, as such stories would help justify the conquest, enslavement, or conversion of the peoples of the New World.¹⁷⁹ Yet even Arens and, for example, his follower Gananath Obeyesekere concede that ritual cannibalism did occur in the New World,¹⁸⁰ and cogent arguments have been made supporting the existence of more extensive cannibalism.¹⁸¹ Thus the real question, which still remains to be answered definitively, is not whether cannibalism existed in the New World, but whether or not it was always of a purely ritual nature.

Monsters Among Us

We have seen abundant evidence of the prevalence of monsters at the edges of the world, but although there is a tendency for monsters to be located in distant reaches of the earth, it is certainly also true that monsters are also found close to home—close to the teller of the story, the mythmaker, or the cartographer, or close to the perceived center of his or her world.¹⁸² To mention two particularly striking

Colonial World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1–38.

179 Peter Hulme, “Caribs and Arawaks,” in Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), pp. 44–87; and Mercedes López-Baralt, “La iconografía política de América: el mito fundacional en las imágenes católica, protestante y nativa,” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 32/2 (1983), pp. 448–61, especially 452.

180 Gananath Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 1–23.

181 See, for example, Donald W. Forsyth, “Three Cheers for Hans Staden: The Case for Brazilian Cannibalism,” *Ethnohistory* 32/1 (1985), pp. 17–36; and Ercilio Vento Canosa, “Antropofagia en aborígenes de Cuba,” *Revista médica electrón* 27/3 (2005), pp. 36–45. This article, though it addresses a different part of the New World, is also worth considering: Jennifer E. Marlar, “Biochemical Evidence of Cannibalism at a Prehistoric Puebloan Site in Southwestern Colorado,” *Nature* 407/6800 (2000), pp. 74–8.

182 On the tendency to locate the center of the world near oneself, see the discussion of the “omphalos syndrome” in J.B. Harley, “Maps, Knowledge, and Power,” in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 277–312. In the Christian West, Jerusalem was generally held to be the center of the world: see Philip S. Alexander, “Jerusalem as the Omphalos of the World: On the History of a Geographical Concept,” *Judaism* 46/182 (1997), pp. 147–59, reprinted in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Continuum, 1999), pp. 104–19; also see Rudolf Simek, “The Journey to the Centre of the Earth: Jerusalem as the Hub of the World,” in Simek, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages: The Physical World Before Columbus*, trans. Angela Hall (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 73–81; Kerstin Hengevoss-Dürkop, “Jerusalem—Das Zentrum der Ebstorf-Karte,” in Hartmut

examples, according to Genesis 3.1–6, Eden, the only land available to Adam and Eve, and therefore the center of their world, contained the serpent which tempted Eve to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, resulting in God's cursing of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from Eden. Indeed, in medieval art the serpent is often depicted as twined around the Tree, which was in the center of Eden (Genesis 2.9).¹⁸³ In ancient Greece, the omphalos at Delphi was held to be the center of the world, and was originally guarded by the serpent Python; Apollo killed Python and remade the oracle as his own.¹⁸⁴ And more generally, there are many Greek myths which involve monsters located in Greece: the Minotaur was believed to be in a labyrinth on Crete;¹⁸⁵ centaurs, composite men-horses, were said to inhabit Thessaly, Elis, and southern Laconia;¹⁸⁶ the Sphinx, though later accounts said it had come from Ethiopia, guarded the entrance to Thebes in Greece;¹⁸⁷ and satyrs were often depicted interacting with Greek women.

Further, although the geography of Odysseus's wanderings in Homer's *Odyssey* Books 9–12 is notoriously vague, and this vagueness has resulted in some modern interpretations which have Odysseus visiting locations as far away as the coast of South America, in antiquity the monstrous races of his wanderings—the cannibal Laestrygonians, Scylla and Charybdis, the Sirens, and the Cyclopes, among

Kugler and Eckhard Michael (eds), *Ein Weltbild vor Columbus: die Ebstorfer Weltkarte: Interdisziplinäres Colloquium 1988* (Weinheim: VCH, 1991), pp. 205–22; and Iain Macleod Higgins, "Defining the Earth's Center in a Medieval 'Multi-Text': Jerusalem in *The Book of John Mandeville*," in Sealy Gilles and Sylvia Tomasch (eds), *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 29–53.

- 183 For discussion of the iconography of the serpent, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, "The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent During the Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Viator* 2 (1971), pp. 301–28.
- 184 See Hyginus, *Fabulae* 140; and Joseph Eddy Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959). On Delphi as the center of the world in Greek thought, see Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher, "Omphalos, eine philologisch-archäologisch-volks-kundliche Abhandlung über die Vorstellungen der Griechen und anderer Völker vom 'Nabel der Erde,'" in *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 29/9 (1913), chapter 4.
- 185 See Ellen Young, "The Slaying of the Minotaur: Evidence in Art and Literature for the Development of the Myth, 700–400 B.C.," PhD dissertation, Bryn Mawr University, 1972; and Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, "El minotauro, o la creación del híbrido," in Sappho Athanassopoulou (ed.), *Toros: imatge i culte a la Mediterrània antiga [Toros: imatge i culte en el Mediterráneo antiguo] [Bulls: Image and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean]* (Barcelona: Museu d'Història de la Ciutat, 2002) pp. 222–35. Also see Euterpe Bazopoulou-Kyrkanidou, "Chimeric Creatures in Greek Mythology and Reflections in Science," *American Journal of Medical Genetics Part A* 100/1 (2001), pp. 66–80.
- 186 Alex Scobie, "The Origins of 'Centaurs,'" *Folklore* 89/2 (1978), pp. 142–7; and Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence, "The Centaur: Its History and Meaning in Human Culture," *Journal of Popular Culture* 27/4 (1994), pp. 57–68.
- 187 Lowell Edmunds, *The Sphinx in the Oedipus Legend* (Königstein im Taunus: Hain, 1981).

others—were usually located in the Mediterranean.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Pliny 7.2.9 cites the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians as evidence that monsters occur even in the middle of the world. Odysseus's wanderings have been mapped many times, and the earliest of those maps, that by Abraham Ortelius in the *Parergon* in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* beginning with editions of 1597, shows the places that Odysseus visited in the Mediterranean.¹⁸⁹

In fact in almost every society there are monsters, especially folkloric monsters, but also moral monsters, which are close to home—goblins, beasts of the forest, lake monsters, schismatics, and so on,¹⁹⁰ and these examples raise the question of what it means to talk about a prevalence of monsters at the edges of the world. First I would suggest that implicit in most accounts of local monsters is the idea that the region near the teller is normal, and the knowledge from the experience of everyday life that monsters are not commonly encountered there. That is, in familiar areas, monsters are known to be a small percentage of the overall population, whereas at the edges of the world, we hear of little except monsters. In addition, many local monsters are ascribed to the distant past, when they were killed by “civilizing heroes,”¹⁹¹ or are in one way or another elusive (they only appear under very restricted circumstances). Also, Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx has shown that monsters of the illiterate people of the Middle Ages (that is, folkloric monsters), tend to be close at hand, while the monsters of the educated tend to be located far away.¹⁹²

188 On the Laestrygonians, see Thucydides 6.2 and Strabo 1.2.9; on Scylla and Charybdis, see Strabo 1.2.9 and 1.2.16; on the Sirens, see Strabo 1.2.12–13; and on the Cyclopes, see Thucydides 6.2 and Strabo 1.2.9. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult Alessandra Emilia Luisa Bonajuto, “Le antiche localizzazioni delle avventure di Odisseo narrate ai feaci,” PhD dissertation, Università degli studi di Perugia, 1998.

189 Armin Wolf, “Mapping Homer’s Odyssey,” in George Tolias and Dimitris Loupis (eds), *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies* (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2004), pp. 309–34.

190 For discussion of other medieval examples of monsters in Europe, see Margriet Hoogvliet, “The Wonders of Europe: From the Middle Ages to the Sixteenth Century,” in Ingrid Baumgärtner and Hartmut Kugler (eds), *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters, Kartographische Konzepte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), pp. 239–58. For discussion of alleged moral monsters within medieval Western human society, see Leon Neal McCrillis, “The Demonization of Minority Groups in Christian Society During the Central Middle Ages,” PhD dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1974; and Norman Cohn, *Europe’s Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

191 Hercules is the prototypical civilizing hero; for discussion of this aspect of him, see Diodorus Siculus 4.17.4–5; Léon Lacroix, “Heracles, heros voyageur et civilisateur,” *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l’Académie Royale de Belgique* 60 (1974), pp. 34–59; and Colette Jourdain-Annequin, *Héraclès aux portes du soir: mythe et histoire* (Besançon: Université de Besançon; Paris: Diffusion Les Belles Lettres, 1989), pp. 301–56.

192 Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx, “La localisation des peuples monstrueux dans la tradition savante et chez les illitterati (VIIe – XIIIe siècles). Une approche spatiale de l’Autre,” *Studium Medievale: Revista de Cultura visual – Cultura escrita* 3 (2010), pp. 43–61.

Thus the density of monsters is indeed higher at the edges of the world, and it might also be argued that the monsters at the edges of the world are stranger, and more, well, monstrous than local monsters. But it is worth examining a few cases that run counter to this general tendency, cases where we find a greater density of monsters near the center of the world than at the edges, or where monsters which we would expect to see near the edges appear near the center.

One such example involves the sea monsters on the Hereford *mappamundi* of circa 1300. While the maker of the *mappamundi* placed many terrestrial monsters at the edges of the world, he locates almost no sea monsters in the circumfluent ocean, which he depicts as a narrow, de-emphasized band, but in the Mediterranean there is a prominent representation of a siren, as well as a swordfish (whose “sword” is curiously represented on its flank rather than projecting forward from its mouth), a sea serpent,¹⁹³ and also the monsters *Suilla* (Scylla) and *Caribdis* (Charybdis), which derive from Homer’s *Odyssey*. Scylla is depicted as a head, and Charybdis as a coiled figure (intended to represent a whirlpool).¹⁹⁴ In fact, the only two sea monsters represented in the circumfluent ocean are two more or less canine heads spewing water, each labeled *Svilla*, that is, Scylla, which are evidently whirlpools, one to the north and one to the south of the British Isles—that is, near where the Hereford map was made.¹⁹⁵

Another example is supplied by the *Carta marina* of the Swedish churchman and writer Olaus Magnus, which is a map of Northern Europe, Scandinavia, and Iceland published in 1539.¹⁹⁶ The map contains a remarkable number and variety of sea monsters in the north-eastern Atlantic, many of which are helpfully labeled. The map represents just the sort of density of exotic and dangerous monsters that we would expect to see at the ends of the earth in an area which, though not close

193 On the siren in the Mediterranean in the Hereford *mappamundi*, see Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, p. 404, no. 1028; on the fish and sea serpent, see *ibid.*, p. 394, no. 999, p. 408, no. 1041, and p. 410, no. 1046.

194 On Scylla and Charybdis on the Hereford map, see Miller, *Mappaemundi*, vol. 4, p. 20; and Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, pp. 408–9, no. 1042, and pp. 416–17, no. 1063.

195 On the two heads labeled *Svilla* near the British Isles, see Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, pp. 220–1, no. 537, and pp. 324–5, no. 837; and also Mittman, *Maps and Monsters*, p. 23. The Hereford map does not include representations of other sea creatures in the circumfluent ocean, but does have an island in the south with the legend *Hic Sirenae abundant*. See Miller, *Mappaemundi*, vol. 4, p. 46; and Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, pp. 382–3, no. 972.

196 There are two surviving copies of Olaus Magnus’s map, which are Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 12 Mapp VII, and Uppsala University Library (no shelfmark). The map has been reproduced in facsimile, as Olaus Magnus, *Olai Magni Gothi Carta marina et descriptio septemtrionalium terrarum ac mirabilium rerum in eis contentarum* (Malmö: In officina J. Kroon, 1949), and as Olaus Magnus, *Die Wunder des Nordens*, ed. Elena Balzamo and Reinhard Kaiser (Frankfurt: Eichborn, 2006). For discussion of the map, see J. Granlund, “The *Carta Marina* of Olaus Magnus,” *Imago Mundi* 8 (1951), pp. 35–43; and William B. Ginsberg, *Printed Maps of Scandinavia and the Arctic 1482–1601* (New York: Septentrionalium Press, 2006), pp. 39–44.

to the center of Europe, was for Olaus Magnus very close to his homeland—near the center of his world.

Finally, according to Christian eschatology, the end of time will change the geography of the monstrous: the end of Christian chronology will bring to the known and inhabited regions of the world monstrous peoples and creatures usually associated with the distant ends of the earth. With the advent of the Apocalypse, the monstrous peoples Gog and Magog, discussed above, will burst from the enclosure where Alexander the Great had confined them and overrun the earth. Locusts with human faces and teeth like those of lions (Revelation 9:7–10), the horsemen with heads of lions who breathe fire and have the tails of serpents (Revelation 9:15–19), the seven-headed beast from the sea (Revelation 13:1–4), the beast from the earth (Revelation 13:11–18), and, in medieval traditions, Behemoth and Leviathan, will plague mankind. Thus the end of time brings an end to standard monstrous geography.

The Transport of Monsters

There are monsters close to home, then, as well as at the distant edges of the world, but the higher frequency of monsters at the edges of the world can be confirmed by the tendency, which is traceable throughout history, to bring monsters from distant regions to more central areas as marvels and curiosities. The transport of elephants, tigers, lions, and so on to Rome for gladiatorial shows is well known,¹⁹⁷ but Romans were interested in more exotic creatures as well, and Roman emperors were said to have been presented with a phoenix, giants, hippocentaurs, satyrs, dwarves, and so on.¹⁹⁸ In 58 BCE, the curule aedile Scaurus put on extravagant public games which included hippopotami and crocodiles

197 On the variety of exotic animals put on show in Rome, see Pliny 8.64–71; also see J. Donald Hughes, “Europe as Consumer of Exotic Biodiversity: Greek and Roman Times,” *Landscape Research* 28/1 (2003), pp. 21–31; George Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); and Marina Belozerskaya, *The Medici Giraffe: And Other Tales of Exotic Animals and Power* (Boston and London: Little, Brown, 2006). There is a fourth-century mosaic representation of hunting for exotic beasts in the distant reaches of the Roman Empire in the Corridor of the Great Hunt in the Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina, Sicily. For full illustration, see Andrea Carandini, Andreina Ricci, Mariette de Vos, and Maura Medri, *Filosofiana: The Villa of Piazza Armerina: The Image of a Roman Aristocrat at the Time of Constantine* (Palermo: S.F. Flaccovio, 1982).

198 See Mary Beagon, “Situating Nature’s Wonders in Pliny’s *Natural History*,” in Ed Bispham and Greg Rowe (eds), *Vita vigilia est: Essays in Honour of Barbara Levick* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2007), pp. 19–40, especially 30–4 and 37–8; and Robert Garland, “The Roman Emperor in his Monstrous World,” in Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 45–58.

brought from Egypt, the first ever seen in Italy, and allegedly the bones of the sea monster which Perseus had slain in order to save Andromeda, which he had brought from Joppa (now part of Tel Aviv); the bones were “forty feet long, with ribs taller than an Indian elephant, and spines eighteen inches thick.”¹⁹⁹ The ability to display the exotic wonders from distant realms symbolized the emperor’s power over most of the known world.

Interest in exotic animals and monsters from faraway realms as symbols of power continued through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.²⁰⁰ A sea monster which was evidently transported from the Indian Ocean to Europe appears on a map: on the so-called Genoese world map of 1457, the imposing creature represented in the Indian Ocean with a humanoid head and upper body, large horns and ears, and wing-like red membranes joining its outstretched arms to its torso, was said to have been captured and mounted, and exhibited in Venice and elsewhere.²⁰¹ In addition, on Jodocus Hondius’s wall map of Europe of 1595, there is an image of a walrus in the far north with a legend that explicitly calls the animal a monster (*monstrum*), and says that William Barentz caught one on his voyage of 1594 and brought it to Amsterdam.²⁰² Sadly, slaves from Africa and natives from the New World were counted among the exotica that were transported from distant regions to Europe,²⁰³ and this particular taste for the exotic tore untold thousands of people from their homelands.

199 On this sea monster, see Pliny 9.5.11, Solinus 34.2.3, and Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.24; Paul B. Harvey Jr, “The Death of Mythology: The Case of Joppa,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2/1 (1994), pp. 1–14, especially 11; and Adrienne Mayor, *The First Fossil Hunters: Paleontology in Greek and Roman Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 138–9.

200 In addition to Belozerskaya, *The Medici Giraffe*, see Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 212–16 (on the gift of an elephant from Louis IX to Henry III in 1264); Aleksander Pluskowski, “Narwhals or Unicorns? Exotic Animals as Material Culture in Medieval Europe,” *European Journal of Archaeology* 7/3 (2004), pp. 291–313; Erik Ringmar, “Audience for a Giraffe: European Expansionism and the Quest for the Exotic,” *Journal of World History* 17/4 (2006), pp. 353–97; and Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, “Lorenzo the Magnificent and the Giraffe as a Symbol of Power,” *Artibus et Historiae* 8/16 (1987), pp. 91–9.

201 For transcription and translation of the legend, see Stevenson, *Genoese World Map*, p. 25; for a more accurate version, see Cattaneo, *Mappa mundi 1457*, p. 180.

202 There are copies of Hondius’s 1595 wall map of Europe in the Houghton Library at Harvard, *51-2509 PF, and in the Nürnberg Staatsarchiv, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Karten und Pläne Nr. 1150; images of the former are available on the internet site of the Houghton Library.

203 See Núria Silleras-Fernández, “*Nigra sum sed formosa*: Black Slaves and Exotica in the Court of a Fourteenth-Century Aragonese Queen,” *Medieval Encounters* 13/3 (2007), pp. 546–65; and Steven Mullaney, “Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of Cultures in the Late Renaissance,” *Representations* 3 (1983), pp. 40–67. Also see Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *The Marvelous Hairy Girls: The Gonzales Sisters and Their Worlds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

Conclusion

During the Age of Exploration, even while the newly discovered lands attracted myths of monsters, more thorough investigation eventually conquered the purported strongholds of monsters and the monstrous races in distant realms. This transition is reflected in interesting ways. For example, in Jan van der Straet's *Venationes ferarum, auium, piscium*, first published in about 1566, and reprinted around 1630, plate 13 is an illustration of Ethiopia, a region in which sciapods were often represented using their outsized foot to shade themselves from the tropical sun—as they do on Martin Behaim's globe of 1492. And van der Straet's plate does include sciapods, but very small and in the distance, as if the artist was unsure of their existence.²⁰⁴ The situation is similar on Caspar Vopel's world map of 1558 (*Nova et integra universalisque orbis totius ... descriptio*). The seas are full of exotic monsters, and on the land there are pygmies in North America and the opossum and a scene of cannibalism in South America, but off the eastern coast of South America there is a long legend about the anthropophagi or cannibals which had been reported to exist in South America. Vopel says that in fact the Spanish have searched the continent from the west, and the Portuguese from the east, and that no cannibals have been found—so that the words are contradicted by the images. Transitions are difficult and take time, but this legend was not a good sign for the survival of monsters on maps.

204 Also see, for example, Martín Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de geographia* (1519), who declares false the classical accounts of the Amazons, cynocephali, and blemmyae (fols 114, 151, and 156), while giving a detailed account of Alexander the Great's wonderstone. See Andrés Prieto, "Alexander and the Geographer's Eye: Allegories of Knowledge in Martín Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de Geographia* (1519)," *Hispanic Review* 78/2 (2010), pp. 169–88, especially 178. For citations of some earlier skeptics about the monstrous races, see Jana Valtrová, "Beyond the Horizons of Legends: Traditional Imagery and Direct Experience in Medieval Accounts of Asia," *Numen* 57/2 (2010), pp. 154–85.

