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# THE STRANGE RACES ON THE HEREFORD MAPPA MUNDI: AN INVESTIGATION OF SOURCES 

by<br>John H. Chandler

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# THE STRANGE RACES ON THE HEREFORD MAPPA MUNDI: AN INVESTIGATION OF SOURCES 

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The Hereford Mappa Mundi, a thirteenth-century world map, includes mention of fifty-four strange races. Many of the races can be found in three earlier sources: Pliny's Naturalis historia, Solinus's Collectanea rerum memorabilium, and Isidore's Etymologiae. By comparison to these three sources, the works used by the author of the map will be made clear.

This study provides an edition of all the inscriptions relating to these races, and compares them to excerpts relating to the races from the three above sources, as well as St. Augustine's De civitate Dei and Pomponius Mela's De chorographia. Translations of all excerpts are included in each entry. A brief commentary follows each entry, pointing out similarities, important omissions, and other significant facts, as well as indicating the context of the race on the map.

Finally, the study proves that, while Solinus's Collectanea was the author's most important source for information on the strange races, both Isidore's Etymologiae and contemporary literature influenced the variety and depiction of the strange races on the Hereford Mappa Mundi.

## CHAPTER I

## ORIGINS OF THE HEREFORD MAPPA MUNDI

The Hereford Mappa Mundi is currently preserved in Hereford Cathedral, where it has been recently installed in a state of the art facility. The largest surviving medieval map in the world, it is painted on one piece of vellum stretching five feet, two inches at its highest point, and is four feet four inches at its widest point. Over eleven hundred texts and images fill this large space, ranging over a number of topics, prompting some to call it a visual encyclopedia. ${ }^{1}$ Among the texts and images are cities, animals, strange races, and stories from myth and legend.

The map is comprised of three parts: the world itself, a ring of winds, and the pictorial frame. The inscriptions inside the world are written in Latin, and those outside the ring of the winds are written in both Latin and French. The inclusion of French on the map suggests the author envisioned readership beyond the clergy, for whom Latin alone would suffice, as French was the language spoken by the upper classes in post-Conquest England. ${ }^{2}$

The author of this work has been the subject of a great deal of attention. The map itself seems to be signed, as it asks all that see it to pray for Richard of

[^0]Holdingham or Sleaford. ${ }^{3}$ Holdingham and Sleaford are both in Lincolnshire, and, given the prominence and design of the city of Lincoln on the map, it is likely that the map was created there and later brought to Hereford. ${ }^{4}$ Richard of Holdingham was identified with a "Richard de Bello" during the nineteenth century. ${ }^{5}$ Because of the variance in naming practices of the time, it is likely that de Bello was a family name, and that Richard was simply from the town of Holdingham, thus explaining his identification on the map. Sources independent of the map identify a "Richard de Bello" as a rector in Kent in 1260, then as a canon in Lincoln from 1265 to 1283, and the name reappears as canon of Hereford from 1305 to 1326 . The author of the map must have been an educated person, as the encyclopedic nature of the entries shows; this would be in keeping with his having been a canon. It was believed that the canon of Lincoln and the canon of Hereford were the same individual, and that when this individual moved from Lincoln to Hereford, he took the map with him. In 1957, however, two scholars independently questioned whether the canons of Lincoln and Hereford were one and the same person, as they doubted whether a single person could have had such a long career. ${ }^{6}$ W. N. Yates eliminated some of the questions raised in the previous articles in 1974, arguing that living eighty-six years is a long,

[^1]but not impossible, lifespan for the fourteenth century. ${ }^{7}$ However, some questions remained, and Yates suggested another candidate, further confusing the situation. P. D. A. Harvey, in summarizing the question of authorship, suggests that the two canons (of Lincoln and of Hereford) should be seen as two separate, but related, people, that the younger Richard, canon of Hereford, came from Lincoln, and that the elder, canon of Lincoln, had nothing to do with the map whatsoever. ${ }^{8}$

Whatever the identity of Richard of Holdingham may have been, it is clear that the map was created in Lincoln, and later moved to Hereford. The image of Lincoln is the largest, most elaborate city in Britain, whereas Hereford seems to have been a later addition. Paleographically speaking, the map is of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. ${ }^{9}$ This range has been narrowed considerably by the presence on the map of two Welsh cities, Conway and Carnarvon. Harvey notes that neither would have appeared on a map before Edward I (1272-1307) began work on castles there, and both seem to have been on the map as originally drawn. Bevan and Phillott suggest a date around 1275, M. D'Avezac suggests 1314 , and G. R. Crone proposes c. $1290 .{ }^{10}$ Due to the variance in opinion, the map is generally dated to c. 1300.

[^2]As mentioned earlier, the Hereford map includes many different categories of information. Geographical entries (i.e., cities, rivers, and mountains) abound, and account for the majority of the images and texts on the map. There are also images and texts depicting or describing biblical stories, such as Noah's Ark, the Exodus, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the Crucifixion. Along with the mundane and the sacred, the profane can be found. Images and texts from bestiaries and the strange races are scattered throughout the map, both animals and races appearing on all three continents. This thesis will look closely at the texts for the strange races, and by comparing the texts on the Hereford map to various writers, the sources used by Richard of Holdingham will be made apparent.

The Hereford Mappa Mundi describes approximately fifty-five strange races. Some differ from the medieval European "standard" humans in their habits and rituals; others deviate greatly in their physical form, such as the sciopods, who have one enormous foot, and the cynocephali, who have the heads of dogs. This thesis will investigate the sources of the Hereford map by comparing the inscriptions of the strange races to the corresponding passages in Pliny, Solinus, Isidore and others. Before considering the texts of the strange races on the Hereford map more closely, it will be valuable to consider its cartographic ancestors and contemporaries, as well as some of the named sources on the Hereford map.

## CHAPTER II

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO MEDIEVAL MAPPAE MUNDI

Maps tell more of the society that creates them than of the world they depict. Today, people are interested in having scientific, geographically accurate maps that reflect the physical form of the earth. During the Middle Ages, there was a pervasive emphasis on spiritual reality, rather than physical reality. Medieval world maps demonstrate this spiritual orientation, subordinating physical reality to the purpose of the map. Medieval world maps were not designed for travel, as were their Roman predecessors and modern followers, but they intended to show the world in a Christian setting and emphasize the views of orthodox Christianity. As such, they were repositories of information more akin to encyclopedias, presenting history, religion, anthropology and legend as well as geography. Certainly, medieval world maps had some geographical information based on travelers' reports; through pilgrimage, crusade, and commerce, Europeans were traveling more frequently and seeing distant parts of the world. Smaller maps, such as regional or area maps, portolan charts for navigation, and itinerary maps were created using more scientific methods, and were based on experience. World maps, however, were considered repositories of information rather than geographical aids. Most of the information on these maps was based on written authority, especially information about the more distant areas in Africa and Asia. Popular sources for information about these distant
lands were encyclopedic works such as Pliny the Elder's Naturalis historia, Solinus's
Collectanea rerum memorabilium, and Isidore of Seville's Etymologiarum sive originum libri $X X$. These three authors, along with a host of others, discussed many aspects of the world, both factual and fictional, that were later included on world maps.

Before further discussing the sources of medieval maps, it is important to understand the medieval theory of the shape of the world and the consequent designs of the maps of that world. The Greeks and Romans had established the shape of the earth to be a sphere, as Pliny eloquently states at the beginning of his Naturalis historia: "Formam eius in speciem orbis absoluti globatam esse nomen in primis et consensus in eo mortalium orbem appellantium." ${ }^{1}$ This Classical view of the world was transmitted to Medieval thought through many sources, which can be divided into two streams of thought: Greek and Roman philosophers and the Church fathers. Classical authors such as Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Martianus Capella, and Solinus wrote works that included descriptions of the world. However, the Church fathers were generally mixed in their reactions to the accounts passed down to them; therefore they established no Christian description of the world. It was not until later that world maps started to undergo changes from the Classical models. In the Commentarii in somnium Scipionis (fifth century), Macrobius included a zonal map

[^3]to illustrate some of his statements. Ultimately derived from Greek theory, ${ }^{2}$ the zonal map was brought into the consciousness of Western Europe through the popular work In somnium Scipionis. Two other authors are prominent in the dissemination of maps in this period: Orosius and Isidore of Seville. Orosius never specifically mentions a map meant to accompany his work, but later copyists felt it would be improved if a map were included. Isidore, however, mentions maps in two of his major works, De natura rerum and Etymologiae. In both works, he included a tripartite map. These two major methods ${ }^{3}$ of depicting the world, the zonal map, which depicted the whole world, and the tripartite map, which depicted the inhabited quarter alone, were brought forth and Christianized through the writings of Jerome, Augustine, Orosius and Isidore. These four authors, using the Classical traditions preceding them, reshaped the knowledge of their times, as Ernest Brehaut states, "so that it should fill a subordinate place in the religious scheme and so support that scheme, or at least not be in opposition to it." ${ }^{94}$ This subordination brought some difficulty with respect to the world and its reported inhabitants. Indeed, it was not until the Carolingian Renaissance that world maps were fully Christianized. While scribes in this period

[^4]were busily preserving the legacy of antiquity, it was within their power to choose what was copied, and in what manner. ${ }^{5}$

The zonal map proved to be a source of great difficulty for Christian cartographers. Greek theory had divided the world into five temperature zones. In the far north and south, the temperature was too cold for humans to live, and at the equator was a band of intense heat, which also prohibited inhabitation. Indeed, the influence of extreme climates on the people who live in them is a theme throughout Pliny and Solinus, and is also present in Isidore. This left a central area between the frigid and torrid zones, known as the oikoumene, in which humans could live, and it was commonly thought that there were humans living in the southern oikoumene, called the Antipodes. St. Augustine dismissed this theory in his De civitate Dei. ${ }^{6}$ Although there was an oikoumene in both the northern and southern hemispheres, Christians could not accept the existence of another race of humans beyond the torrid zone, as neither Adam and Eve nor Noah could pass through the area and populate the southern temperate zone. Therefore, as it was entirely unknown to Christians (and, presumably, all humans), it was considered uninhabited.

A second type of map avoided raising the questions of this southern oikoumene and its possible inhabitants by simply showing the northern lands. The

[^5]origin of this design is lost in antiquity, and the maps are most closely associated during the Middle Ages with manuscripts of Isidore's Eytmologiae, where it was often reproduced. ${ }^{7}$ These maps depicted the known quadrant of the world, the three continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Known as "T-O" or "tripartite" maps, they are based on a very simple diagram.


Fig. 1: Archetypal T-O Map
The theory behind this design is that the world is surrounded by a great ocean, forming an " O " around the land, which is divided into three areas by the Nile and Don Rivers and the Mediterranean Sea, forming a " T " within the "O." This design was very popular during the Middle Ages, as it could express a vast number of .different ideas. Perhaps most significantly to Christians, it easily symbolized the Cross, as well as supporting various passages from the Bible. ${ }^{8}$ As an example of the

[^6]popularity of the tripartite map, and its spread throughout Europe, one need only consider a passage from Snorri Sturluson (1179-1241), an Icelandic poet. He wrote a book on mythology, The Deluding of Gylfi (Gylfaginning). At the beginning, he wrote a preface to Christianize the Norse myths he relates. He recounts a brief history of creation, and describes the world:

The world was divided into three parts. From south to west up to the Mediterranean was the part known as Africa, and the southern portion of this is so hot that the sun burns everything there. The second part, running from west to north up to the ocean, is called Europe or Énéa, and the northern half of this is so cold that no grass grows there and it is uninhabited. From north to east and down to the south is Asia, and these regions of the world have great beauty and magnificence; the earth yields special products like gold and precious stones. ${ }^{9}$

This brief statement demonstrates how common the tripartite map had become; Snorri, in Iceland, had reason to expect others to be familiar with the tripartite view of the world. It also shows the conflation of zonal and tripartite maps, as well as the pervasiveness of the theory of zones, as the Scandinavian peoples were inhabiting the northern regions, despite Snorri's assertion that these areas were barren.

The centrality of Jerusalem in the tripartite maps gave further importance to this design. Jerusalem was not consistently placed in the center of tripartite maps until the time of the Crusades, which focused on capturing the city. As the spiritual center of Christianity, it was placed in the center of the world, as it was central in Christ's life. Jerusalem had additional importance in that it was considered to be the "navel" of the world, where the faithful were reborn in Christianity through Christ. The Bible also places Jerusalem in the center of the lands, in both the Old and the

[^7]New Testaments. ${ }^{10}$ Although the two cities were not the same, the earthly Jerusalem of Ezekiel gained a higher status due to the connection with the heavenly Jerusalem of John's vision. A picture of God or Christ as the creator of the world, further emphasizing Christian beliefs, often framed the tripartite map. One of most famous tripartite maps, and the largest extant example, is the Hereford Mappa Mundi, which follows this ideal, presenting an image of Christ as judge in the top of the frame.

Harley and Woodward divide the history of medieval cartography into four distinct periods of development: Greco-Roman and Patristic period (ca. 400-ca. 700), Bede to Lambert of Saint-Omer (ca. 700-ca. 1100), Henry of Mainz to Richard of Haldingham (ca. 1100-1300), and the Transitional Period (1300-1460). ${ }^{11}$ The first period, discussed above, saw the mutation of Greek and Roman theories into Christian worldviews, most importantly through Macrobius, Orosius and Isidore. The second period largely consists of secondary versions of Greco-Roman originals. This is the first period to have a "reasonable sample of artifacts." ${ }^{12}$ The most important innovation in this period is a conflation of the zonal and tripartite maps in Beatus of Liébana's Commentary on the Apocalypse of Saint John. Beatus included a fourth continent to the south of Africa, a continent which some held to be populated (despite Augustine's argument to the contrary). The third period includes some of the bestknown medieval maps, generally considered to be the "English Family," culminating in the Hereford Mappa Mundi. These maps were created during the twelfth-century

[^8]renaissance, but seem to be largely untouched by the new attempt at understanding the natural world more exactly. Perhaps the biggest change is the emphasis on the centrality of Jerusalem, as mentioned above. The final period, the Transitional period, saw the convergence of three conceptual frameworks: the traditional mappae mundi, the Ptolemaic coordinate system which had been recently received from Arabic sources, and the portolan charts which were being created on a more scientific basis to aid navigation.

The world maps from the third period are certainly the best known of all medieval maps. There was a great deal of interest in world maps in England during this period. Five English maps remain from the period, and there is mention of others in contemporary sources. Henry III (1216-1272) is reported to have had maps painted on the walls of two of his castles, and Matthew Paris discusses another map seen at Waltham Abbey. The still-extant maps from this period are of varying sizes, from a small map, the Henry of Mainz map (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 66), to the very large, the Ebstorf map (destroyed in 1944), which was approximately ten feet square. The Hereford Mappa Mundi, at approximately four by five feet, is now the largest surviving map. During the Middle Ages, the spatial element of cartography became of less importance, until the third period of map development, when the map barely resembled the physical area being depicted. Accurate physical representation, however, was not the intent of these maps. As P. D. A. Harvey notes, these maps, particularly the larger maps such as that found at Hereford, were used "as a vehicle for every kind of information, learned and moral, and the spatial element [became] little more than the framework of presentation. ${ }^{n / 3}$

[^9]A facsimile of the Hereford world map was created in 1873, prompting the publication of a book to accompany the facsimile. W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott wrote an essay ${ }^{14}$ on the Hereford map, cataloguing the items found therein. They also explored the sources for the map, although they list all possible sources for each inscription, without consideration of the author's direct source. The sources that are specified on the map itself are listed as follows:

1. Orosius, mentioned in the title of the map, "Descriptio Orosii de Ormesta Mundi sicut interius ostenditur."
2. Solinus, cited in the inscriptions referring to the Ganges, the psittacus, and other objects.
3. Isidore, cited in the description of the monoceros.
4. Marcian Capella [i.e. Martianus Capellus], cited in the inscription relating to the hot region beyond the snowy belt in Eastern Asia.
5. Æthicus, or Ethnicus, cited in reference to the isle Sirtinice, in the Indian Ocean. ${ }^{15}$

They further indicate that Solinus is the principle source for the "mirabilia - the marvels and monstrosities of the remoter parts of the world." ${ }^{16}$ This list of sources is very short, and only includes the authorities directly cited on the map. Bevan and Phillott, throughout their book, draw on many other authors that were known during the Middle Ages, and their final list of sources, actual or possible, is quite lengthy. It is the intent of this thesis to further explore the sources of part of their "mirabilia," the strange races.

[^10]
## CHAPTER III

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STRANGE RACES

The strange races were a very popular topic throughout the Middle Ages, and came from a variety of sources. The origin of most races lies in the misunderstanding or misinterpretation of tribal customs. John Block Friedman notes the identifying differences between the European standard and the strange races as diet, language, and life without or outside cities. ${ }^{1}$ The races also differed in physical shape, having oversized features (for example, the Panotii, who can wrap their ears around themselves), undersized features (for example, the Pygmies), or missing features (for example, the Blemmies, who have no heads). The strange races on the Hereford map consist largely of these physically different peoples. Indeed, the further from Jerusalem and Europe one goes, the more divergent the races seem in comparison to Europeans.

The earliest descriptions of the strange races come from two Greek authors, Ktesias and Megasthenes. Ktesias was a Greek physician in the Persian court writing at the beginning of the fourth century BC. Upon his return to Greece in $398 / 7 \mathrm{BC}$, Ktesias wrote a treatise on India, the Assyriaka, based on reports he heard while in Persia. ${ }^{2}$ According to Rudolf Wittkower, it was due to the popularity of Ktesias's

[^11]book that India became "stamped as the land of marvels." ${ }^{3}$ Although Ktesias's work is lost, fragments of the work have been preserved in many later authors, most importantly an abridged version by Photios, the patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century AD. Ktesias collected tales of strange races such as Homer's pygmies, the sciapodes, and the cynocephali, and placed them all in India. ${ }^{4} \mathrm{He}$ also included many races that had no precedent, such as the blemmies, another people whose hair is white at birth and turns black with age, and many strange animals that would later be found in bestiaries (and on the Hereford map), such as the manticore and unicorn.

The second author, Megasthenes, wrote approximately a century after Ktesias. He was a Greek emissary to India. Prior to Megasthenes' work, Alexander the Great had invaded part of India. Alexander had taken with him many scientists to describe his expedition, but the resultant works have been lost. Megasthenes was sent to India about 303 BC by Seleukos, the heir to Alexander's Asiatic empire, as ambassador to the most powerful of the Indian kings. His work was the first to give comprehensive statements about Indian geography, inhabitants, social and political institutions, natural products, history and mythology. In addition to the material Megasthenes directly observed, he includes reports of many strange creatures and races, such as winged serpents and scorpions, people whose feet are turned backwards, ${ }^{5}$ and a people without nostrils. The reliability and abundance of Megasthenes' material

[^12]remained unchallenged for almost 1500 years, due to the political confusions in India and difficulty of maintaining direct contact by land. ${ }^{6}$

The general acceptance of these fabulous stories by such scientific peoples as the Greeks and Romans may seem counterintuitive. Wittkower briefly describes how these peoples could easily accept the existence of such strange creatures and races in India. ${ }^{7}$ In some cases, the Greeks brought their own ideas, such as the Cyclopes and pygmies, and merely placed them in the distant region of India. Direct observation has been shown to be the source of some animals and races, such as the Astomi, a people that live on the scent of food rather than eating it, and the unicorn. ${ }^{8}$ Wittkower notes, however, that most of the fantastic elements of Ktesias's and Megasthenes' works are of literary origin, borrowed from Indian epics and related by Brahmans. ${ }^{9}$ Wittkower is quick to mention that the strange races and animals reported by Megasthenes "played only a negligible part in his work." ${ }^{10}$ The strange races and animals were a strong part of both Indian and Greek literary heritage, and could not be discounted by Ktesias, or even Megasthenes. However, classical authors were not entirely indiscriminate about such stories, and one of the most critical authors is

[^13]Strabo, whose Geography was written in the first years of the Common Era. ${ }^{11} \mathrm{He}$ begins his description of India with a request for indulgence, as his sources are often in conflict, and he often points out instances where his sources are clearly telling tales. ${ }^{12}$

Although neither Ktesias's nor Megasthenes' work has been transmitted in a complete form, they were both copied and cited by many classical authors. J. W. McCrindle, in a translation of a collection of excerpts of various classical writers on India, relates a list of authors who include excerpts of Megasthenes; the list includes ten Greek and six Roman authors. ${ }^{13}$ Of most importance to the readers of the Middle Ages were Pomponius Mela, Pliny and Solinus, whose encyclopedic works included descriptions of India and its inhabitants. Pliny's Naturalis historia brought Ktesias and Megasthenes to the awareness of many, as it relies on these two authors for much of its information about the strange races of India and Ethiopia. Later authors, such as Solinus and Isidore, simply referred to Pliny and other authorities and accepted the authenticity of the races.

Pliny's Naturalis historia was one of the main sources for monsters and strange races throughout the Middle Ages. His uncritical acceptance of strange races, especially in India and Ethiopia, led to their acceptance by later authors. His direct

[^14]influence on medieval thought, however, was second to that of another author.
Solinus, whose Collectanea rerum memorabilium was based in large part on Pliny, emphasized the strange and marvelous found in the world. ${ }^{14}$ Another work of great popularity during the Middle Ages, Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, also includes a great number of strange races, many of which were drawn from Pliny and Solinus. ${ }^{15}$

Two letters further fueled the development of the literary tradition of the strange races in the Middle Ages. The Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle was a popular text, and was translated into Old and Middle English, as well as other vernacular languages. ${ }^{16}$ Supposedly written by Alexander while traveling through India, it owes its origin to a genre of fiction writing that was used for rhetorical training. ${ }^{17}$ An extensive body of literature purporting to be Alexander's letters grew, not only discussing the strange races, but also other marvels of the East, just as the legends of Alexander started to gain popularity. A later letter, the Letter of

[^15]Pharasmanes to Emperor Hadrian, further expanded the variety of strange races available in literary sources. The contents of this letter varied from manuscript to manuscript, as well as the author's and recipient's names. ${ }^{18}$ A composite text, later known as The Wonders of the East, drew on the letters and other works, such as the Liber monstrorum, to describe the fantastic sights of India. ${ }^{19}$ The Wonders of the East is a specifically Anglo-Saxon contribution to the development of the strange races. ${ }^{20}$ The Wonders of the East only survives in three early English manuscripts. The Liber monstrorum is a compilation of over 100 wonders, and was likely composed between 650 and 750 in England, and then brought to the Continent as early as the ninth century. ${ }^{21}$

The existence of these strange races, however, was a point of some difficulty for early Christians. How should a Christian reconcile the existence of these strange races of men with the Bible, which claims that God created all living things, and fashioned Adam, the first human, in His likeness? St. Augustine attempted to reconcile the strange races with Christian doctrine in De civitate Dei. He initially describes the strange races as prodigies, signs of God's ability to create whatever He desires. Later, in Chapter XVI Section 8, he directly considers the existence of the

[^16]strange races and the Biblical implications. St. Augustine asks the question "Whether certain monstrous races of men sprang from the seed of Adam or the sons of Noah.,22 For examples of these races, Augustine is indebted to Pliny, whose list of strange races is quite similar. Augustine's argument essentially focuses on the definition of a human. According to Augustine, anything rational and mortal, "however strange he may appear to our senses,, ${ }^{23}$ is a human, and is, by default, descended from Adam. He continues on, mentioning specific birth defects, and extrapolates the existence of full races from these individual examples. He constantly refers to God as the creator of everything, and relies on the infallibility of God, who must have a reason for creating these individuals. He does, however, end with a tentative and guarded answer: "either the written accounts of certain races are completely unfounded or, if such races do exist, they are not human; or, if they are human, they are descended from Adam., ${ }^{24}$

Later authors followed Augustine's example. Isidore, in compiling his Etymologiae, discusses the strange races in Book 11, Chapter 3, De portentis. Isidore starts by defending the strange races as occurring naturally. According to Isidore, following Augustine, these strange races are not against nature (contra naturam), but

[^17]must be part of God's plan. ${ }^{25}$ He begins, like Augustine, by supplying some individual mutations, then discussing individual strange races, and finally considering individual monsters, such as the hydra and chimera. Isidore's discussion of the strange races is purely descriptive. Although he indicates the portentous meanings of the individual mutations mentioned, the strange races live separately from Europeans, and Isidore discusses no ulterior meaning, nor even suggests the presence of such a meaning. Later encyclopedias, natural histories, and cosmographies followed Isidore, simply describing the strange races. Hrabanus Maurus, in De universo, also omits any mystical commentary on this section of the Etymologiae. ${ }^{26}$

England seems to have had an especial interest in the strange races. The creation of a Latin text of the Wonders of the East, accompanied by an Old English translation, as well as an Old English text of the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle (a text later translated into Middle English from another source), suggests a continued interest in the British Isles in the strange races. They are also mentioned in Bartholomew of England's encyclopedia, De proprietatibus rerum, written c. 1245, showing continued interest through the period. ${ }^{27}$ Belief in the strange races was strongly accepted through later centuries. Wittkower notes that the "Mirabilia Indiae" formed a chapter of Pierre D'Ailly's Ymago Mundi of 1410, and in a world chronicle

[^18]by Hartman Schedel in the fifteenth century, and even Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon included some of the strange races in their works. ${ }^{28}$ Despite Strabo's skepticism and Augustine's reluctance, the strange races were popular and likely familiar to the artist of the Hereford map, as the edition of texts from the map shall show.
the work, see M. C. Seymour, Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his Encyclopaedia (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), pp. 29-35.
${ }^{28}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," pp. 170-1.

## CHAPTER IV

# THE STRANGE RACES ON THE HEREFORD MAPPA MUNDI: 

## EDITION AND COMPARISON

## Introduction

As mentioned at the end of chapter II, Isidore and Solinus are both cited on the map as sources. Solinus drew heavily upon two earlier sources, Pliny's Naturalis historia, and Pomponius Mela's De chorographia. All four works include some strange races and foreign peoples, and may have been used when the author of the Hereford map compiled the strange races. Other possible sources for the author, as mentioned in chapter III, include the Alexander romances, the Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian, and The Wonders of the East, as well as contemporary encyclopedias and art.

For this thesis, the term "strange race" has been interpreted very liberally. In some cases, the race in question resembles Europeans, but is culturally very different (for example, the Essedones); in others, the basic humanity of the race is questionable (for example, the minotaurs), but in every case, there has been an underlying assumption that each race portrayed is in some way comparable to Europeans. This edition and comparison will only consider Pliny, Solinus and Isidore. Isidore and Solinus are mentioned on the map, and Pliny supplied many of Solinus's facts. When
one of these three authors does not mention the race in question, this has been noted in the particular entry. Excerpts from other sources that would have been available to anyone in the clergy, such as the Bible and St. Augustine's De civitate Dei, as well as Mela, have been included for some races, but these works do not have as great a number of the races. Each entry begins with the Modern English name of the race (when applicable), ${ }^{1}$ the Hereford text and translation, and then the appropriate selections from Pliny, Solinus and Isidore. The races have been grouped by their placement on the map, using the medieval divisions of Africa, Asia and Europe. Asia has been subdivided into India and Scythia by using the Caucasus Mountains as the boundary between the two. Common terms and phrases have been indicated by bold typeface.

The following edition includes translations of all the Latin passages following each excerpt. I have translated all the Hereford passages, as well as the Pliny, Solinus and Isidore. The Mela translations are from F. E. Romer's translation of $D e$ chorographia, and Augustine's Latin and translations are from the Loeb edition, by Sanford and Green. ${ }^{2}$ The Hereford excerpts were copied from Bevan and Phillott, and checked against Kline's $A$ Wheel of Memory, as well as a photograph of the map. ${ }^{3}$ The texts for Pliny's Naturalis historia, and Mela's De chorographia are taken from

[^19]the Teubner editions, Solinus's Collectanea rerum memorabilium from Mommsen's edition, and Isidore from the Oxford edition. ${ }^{4}$

The Latin on the Hereford map has three changes from standard Latin that should be noted. In some places, "c" has been substituted for "t," such as "pocius" for "potius." Likewise, the initial " $h$ " has been dropped in some cases ("ippopodes" for "hippopodes"), and an "s" has been added before a "c" ("sceleres" for "celeres").

## I. Europe

## (1) Cynocephali

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 159].

In hoc tractu sunt Cinocephales.
(In this region are the Cynocephali.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 23 (vol. II, pp. 8-9).
in multis autem montibus genus hominum capitibus caninis ferarum pellibus velari, pro voce latratum edere, unguibus armatum venatu et aucupio vesci; horum supra centum viginti milia fuisse prodente se Ctesias scribit, et in quadam gente Indiae feminas semel in vita parere genitosque confestim canescere.
(Moreover, in many mountains a race of men with the heads of dogs, clothed in the skins of wild animals, for a voice producing barking, armed with claws to eat game

[^20]and birds; Ktesias writes by his own report that there were over one hundred and twenty thousand of them, and in a certain race of India, women give birth once in their life, and the children immediately become white-haired.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 30.8 (p.131); 52.27 (p. 187).
30.8 : Cynomolgos aiunt habere caninos rictus et prominula ora.
(They say that the Cynomolgi have canine jaws and prominent mouths.)
52. 27: Megasthenes per diversos Indiae montes esse scribit nationes capitibus caninis, armatas unguibus, amictas vestitu tergorum, ad sermonem humanum nulla voce, sed latratibus tantum sonantes rictibusque.
(Megasthenes writes that on many Indian mountains there are tribes with dogs' heads, armed with claws, wearing hide clothes, with no voice for human language, but communicating only with barks and growls.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.15; XII.ii. 32.
XI.iii.15: Cynocephali appellantur eo quod canina capita habeant, quosque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur. Hi in India nascuntur.
(The Cynocephali are so called because they have the heads of dogs, and the barking itself identifies them to be more animals than human. They are born in India.) XII.ii.32: Cynocephali et ipsi similes simiis, sed facie ad modum canis; unde et nuncupati.
(The Cynocephali also resemble apes, but with a face in the shape of a dog; whence they get their name. ${ }^{5}$ )

[^21]
## E. Other:

Augustine, De civitate Dei, XXVI. 8 (p. 42).
Quid dicam de Cynocephalis, quorum canina capita atque ipse latratus magis bestias quam homines confitetur?
(What am I to say of the Cynocephali, whose dogs' heads and actual barking are evidence that they are rather beasts than men? p. 43.)

## F. Commentary:

The Cynocephali are a popular race, appearing in Pliny, Solinus, Isidore and Augustine. They are strongly connected with India, originally appearing in Ktesias's description, but are here placed in Europe, on a peninsula east of Norway. The author's placement of the Cynocephali can only be a matter of conjecture, as he is breaking with earlier authors, who place the Cynocephali in India, either explicitly (as Isidore), or implicitly (Pliny and Solinus discuss them with other Indian races). The answer to this question may lie in the lives of St. Christopher. Christopher was one of the Cynocephali, who was converted to Christianity by St. Bartholomew. The Irish Libar Breac includes a life of Christopher, who is described as a dog-head. ${ }^{6}$ In a letter, Ratramnus of Corbie, a ninth-century Benedictine monk, wonders about the humanity of the Cynocephali, presumably because he fears he may encounter them on his missionary trip to Scandinavia. It is not clear where Christopher was originally from in this Life, and later revisions play down the monstrous nature of the saint, who eventually was changed into a giant, rather than one of the cynocephali. The version

[^22]with Christopher as a cynocephalus was very popular in Russia, and had continued popularity in the East. The author of the map may have been aware of this legend, Christopher's popularity in the east, especially Russia, or simply wanted to place the Cynocephali in northern Europe as a reflection of the apostle Bartholomew's travels. He may also have simply desired to fill in a space on the map, and chosen the Cynocephali rather than another item altogether due to their double mention in Isidore.

## (2) Griste

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 161].

Hic habitant Griste, homines nequissimi. Nam inter cetera facinora, etiam de cutibus hostium suorum tegumenta sibi et equis suis faciunt.
(Here live the Griste, most wicked men, for among their other crimes, they even make coverings for themselves and their horses from the skins of their enemies.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]

## F. Commentary:

The author of the Hereford map likely discovered the Griste in another author's writing (or perhaps in oral tradition), and included them here. Since he mentions only one of the many crimes of the Griste, it is unlikely that they are his own invention. As with many of the Scythian races, their monstrosity is not in their physical shape as much as in their cultural habits.

## II. Asia: Scythia

## (3) Terraconta Island

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 58-9].

Terraconta insula quam inhabitant Turchi de stirpe Gog et Magog, gens barbara et inmunda iuuenum carnes et abortiua manducantes.
(Terraconta Island, which the Turks from the stock of Gog and Magog inhabit. They are a barbaric and foul people, eating the flesh of children and miscarried births.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, IX.ii.27.

Magog, a quo arbitrantur Scythas et Gothos traxisse originem.
(Magog, from whom they believe the Scythians and Goths to have drawn their origin.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

Here we have another example of the barbarism of the Scythian tribes. Their otherness is not physical, but social. The Turchi probably derive from the Mongols or Tartars, who burst into Europe with alarming speed. The city of Tarraconta is connected with Alexander through Æthicus, and Bevan and Phillott note that connecting the Turks with Gog and Magog, the future persecutors of the church, was "the popular belief of the middle ages." The Hereford map's inscription of Magog is much more formidable than Isidore's mention, and likely reflects the author's reliance on sources other than Isidore for the strange races.

## (4) Scythians

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 60].

Scitharum gens interius habitancium, asperior ritus, specus incolunt, pocula non ut Essedones de amicis sed de inimicorum capitibus sumentes; amant prelia, occisorum cruorem ex uulneribus ipsis bibunt, numero cedium honor crescit, quarum expertum esse apud eos prophanum est.
(A race of Scythians inhabiting the interior: they are rather harsh in their rituals; they dwell in caves, taking goblets not as the Essedones from the heads of their friends, but from their enemies; they love battles; they drink the blood of the slain form the

[^23]very wounds themselves; their honor grows with the number of those they kill; among them, to be inexperienced in this is a disgrace.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.15-16 (p. 85).

Scytharum interius habitantium asperior ritus est: specus incolunt: pocula non ut Essedones, sed de inimicorum capitibus moliuntur: amant proelia:
interemptorum cruorem e vulneribus ipsis bibunt: numero caedium honor crescit, quarum expertem esse apud eos probrum est: haustu mutui sanguinis foedus sanciunt. Non suo tantum more, sed Medorum quoque usurpata disciplina. (The Scythians living in the interior have a harsher custom: they inhabit caves; they create goblets not as the Essedones, but from the skulls of their enemies; they love battles; they drink the blood of the slain from the wounds themselves; honor grows with the number of kills, of which to be untried is a disgrace among them; they confirm a treaty by drinking one another's blood. This is not by their custom alone, but usurping the practice of the Medes.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, II.12-13 (pp. 30-31).
interius habitantium ritus asperior, et incultior regio est. bella caedesque amant, mosque est bellantibus, cruorem eius quem primum interemerunt ipsis ex
vulneribus ebibere. ut quisque plures interemerit ita aput eos habetur eximius; ceterum expertem esse caedis inter opprobria vel maximum. ne foedera quidem incruenta sunt; sauciant se qui paciscuntur, exemptumque sanguinem ubi permiscuere degustant. id putant mansurae fidei pignus certissimum. inter epulas quot interfecerit laetissima et frequentissima mentio, binisque poculis qui plurimos rettulere perpotant. is inter iocantis honos praecipuus est. pocula ut Essedones parentium, ita inimicissimorum capitibus expoliunt.
(To the interior the ritualistic behavior of the inhabitants is cruder and the territory less tilled. They love the bloodshed of war, and it is customary for warriors to drink blood from the very wounds of the first man they ever killed. The more a man kills, the more valued he is among them. Among the marks of shame, by contrast, surely the worst is to have no experience of shedding blood. Not even their peace treaties are without blood. The negotiators all cut themselves and sip the drawn blood after they have mixed everybody's together. At their banquets, the happiest and most frequent topic of conversation is to tell how many men each one has killed. Those who have reported the most chug from double cups. Among the carousers, that is a special honor. These people smooth out their drinking cups from the skulls of their greatest personal enemies, the same way the Essedones do from their parents' skulls. p. 72.)
F. Commentary:

The text of the Scythians closely resembles Solinus's description of the race.
Of particular interest is the clarification of the Essedones' habit of using the skulls of
friends, rather than enemies, as the Scythians do. As the Essedones and Scythians are placed near each other, it is less important to remind the reader of the Essedones' custom than it is for a reader of Solinus's text, where the Essedones appear in 5.13, and the Scythians in 15.15 .

## (5) Scitotauri

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 60].

Scitotauri Sithe, pro hostiis cedunt advenas.
(The Scitotauri Scythians kill foreigners for sacrifice.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.14 (p. 85).

Scythotauri pro hostiis caedunt advenas.
(The Scythotauri kill foreigners for sacrifices.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F: Commentary:
This inscription is taken almost directly from Solinus. The Hereford author's only substantial change is in the spelling of the name of the race itself.
(6) Cathari
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 60].

Catharum ${ }^{8}$ Sithe, usu auri argentique dampnato, in eternum a puplica ${ }^{9}$ se avaricia dampnaverunt. ${ }^{10}$
(Having condemned the use of gold and silver, the Catharum Scythians have saved themselves forever from public avarice.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.14 (p. 85).

Satarchae usu auri argentique damnato in aeternum se a publica avaritia vindicarunt.
(The Satarchae, having eternally condemned the use of gold and silver, have freed themselves from public avarice.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The Cathari are one of the few races with positive characteristics found on the map. They should properly be considered a rribe of humans, living just outside of the boundaries of Europe. This race has forbidden the use of money, and thereby saved

[^24]themselves from greed, a common charge levied against the Church and state. The Hereford author diverges slightly from Solinus's text, and emendations can be suggested from a comparison of the two texts.

## (7) Essedones

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 61].

Essedones Sithe hic habitant, quorum mos est parentum funera cantibus prosequi, et congregatis amicorum retibus corpora ipsa dentibus laniare ac pecudum mixtis carnibus dapes facere, pulcrius a se quam a tineis hec absumi credentes.
(The Scythian Essedones live here, whose custom is to see off their parents at their funeral by songs, and a group of friends tear apart the body itself with their teeth and mixed with cattle, believing it more honorable to make a banquet of the flesh than for it to be eaten by worms.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 5.13 (p. 84).

Inter Anthropophagos in Asiatica parte numerantur Essedones qui et ipsi nefandis funestantur inter se cibis. Essedonum mos est parentum funera prosequi cantibus et proximorum corrogatis coetibus corpora ipsa dentibus lancinare ac pecudum mixta carnibus dapes facere: capitum etiam ossa auro incincta in poculorum tradere ministerium.

[^25](Among the Anthropophagi in Asian areas are counted the Essedones who also are defiled among themselves by their heinous meats. The Essedones' custom is to follow their parents' funerals with chants and with gatherings of relatives, having come together for meeting to tear the bodies themselves to pieces with their teeth and, mixing the bodies with the flesh of cattle, to make a feast: also they use the skulls, surrounded in gold, to serve as goblets.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae .
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, II. 9 (p. 30).
Essedones funera parentium laeti et victimis ac festo coitu familiarium celebrant. corpora ipsa laniata et caesis pecorum visceribus immixta epulando consumunt. capita ubi fabre expolivere, auro vincta pro poculis gerunt. haec sunt apud eos ipsos pietatis ultima oficia.
(The Essedones celebrate their parents' funerals joyfully and with a festive gathering of family members. In the feast, they devour the actual corpses, once they have been ripped apart and stirred in with the innards of cattle. After they have smoothed and polished them skillfully, the skulls are bound with gold, and they use them for drinking cups. These are, among them, the last rites of their religion. p. 71.) F. Commentary:

The Hereford author has taken the most gruesome aspects of the Essedones' funeral customs straight from Solinus's text. He also refers to their custom of
creating goblets from skulls in the inscription for the Scythians (4), and has omitted it here.

## (8) Hyperboreans

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 86].

Yperborei, ut dicit Solinus, gens est beatissima, nam sine discordia et egritudine uiuunt quam diu uolunt. Quos tedunt ${ }^{11}$ uiuere de rupe nota se in mare precipitant, illud optimum genus sepulture arbitrantes.
(The Hyperborei, as Solinus says, are a most blessed people; for they live without discord and sickness for as long as they desire; when they have tired of living, they throw themselves into the sea from a familiar cliff, judging that to be the best kind of burial.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, IV.89-90 (vol. I, pp. 341-2).

Pone eos montes ultraque Aquilonem gens felix, si credimus, quos Hyperboreos appellavere, annoso degit aevo, fabulosis celebrata miraculis. Ibi creduntur esse cardines mundi extremique siderum ambitus semenstri luce [et una die] solis adversi, non, ut imperiti dixere, ab aequinoctio verno in autumnum: semel in anno solstitio oriuntur iis soles brumaque semel occidunt. Regio aprica, felici temperie, omni adflatu noxio carens. Domus iis nemora lucique, et deorum cultus viritim gregatimque, discordia ignota et aegritudo omnis. Mors non nisi satietate vitae

[^26]epulatis delibutoque senio luxu e quadam rupe in mare salientibus; hoc genus sepulturae beatissimum.
(Behind these mountains and beyond the North Wind, a happy people, if we can believe it, called the Hyperboreans, live a long life, famous for fabled wonders. Here are believed to be the world's axis and the furthest boundary of the stars, with the light of day for six months [and one day] of the sun tuming away, not, as the ignorant have said, from the spring equinox to autumn: for these people the sun rises once in the year, at the summer solstice, and sets once, at the winter solstice. It is a sunny region, with a favorable climate, without any harmful wind. Their houses are groves and woods, and they worship the gods individually and in groups, and discord and all sickness are unknown. There is no death for them unless, having been filled with enough life and with old age anointed with luxury, they jump into the sea from a certain cliff; this is the best kind of burial.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 16.1-6 (pp. 88-89).

Fabulae erant Hyperborei et rumor irritus, si quae illinc ad nos usque fluxerunt, temere forent credita: sed cum probissimi auctores et satis vero idonei sententias pares faciant, nullus falsum reformidet. De Hyperboreis rem loquemur. Incolunt pone Pteroporon, quem ultra aquilonem accipimus iacere. Gens beatissima. Eam Asiae quidam magis quam Europae dederunt. Alii statuunt mediam inter utrumque solem, antipodum occidentem et nostrum renascentem: quod aspernatur ratio tam vasto mari duos orbes interfluente. Sunt igitur in Europa. Apud quos mundi cardines esse credunt et extimos siderum ambitus, semenstrem lucem, aversum una tantum die
solem: quamquam existant qui putent non cotidie ibi solem, ut nobis, sed vernali aequinoctio exoriri, autumnali occidere: ita sex mensibus infinitum diem, sex aliis continuam esse noctem. De caelo magna clementia: aurae spirant salubriter: nihil noxium flatus habent. Domus sunt nemora vel luci: in diem victum arbores sumministrant. Discordiam nesciunt: aegritudine non inquietantur: ad innocentiam omnibus aequale votum. Mortem accersunt et voluntario interitu castigant obeundi tarditatem: quos satias vitae tenet, epulati delibutique de rupe nota praecipitem casum in maria destinant: hoc sepulturae genus optimum arbitrantur. Aiunt etiam solitos per virgines probatissimas primitiva frugum Apollini Delio missitare: verum hae quoniam perfidia hospitum non inlibatae revenissent, devotionis quam peregre prosequebantur pontificium mox intra fines suos receperunt.
(The Hyperboreans would be fictitious and an idle rumor, if those things which flowed from there to us were trusted rashly: but since most excellent and indeed capable enough authors hold similar opinions, let no one fear falsehood. We will discuss the Hyperboreans. They inhabit beyond Pteroporos, which we learn lies beyond the north wind. They are a most happy people. Some have placed them in Asia rather than in Europe. Others reckon that they are midway between each sun, the setting sun of the antipodes and our sunrise; which reason rejects, with so vast a sea flowing between the two hemispheres. Thus they are in Europe. They believe the world's axis and the furthest edge of the stars to be among them, with light for six months, and the sun turned away only for one day, although there are those who believe that the sun does not rise and fall daily, as for us, but rises at the vernal
equinox, and sets at the autumnal; thus there is an endless day for six months, and night for six other months. There is great mildness of the climate: breezes blow healthfully, and the winds have no harshness. Their homes are groves or woods; the trees supply their food from day to day. They don't know discord; they are not disturbed by sickness; there is equal desire for innocence in all of them. They summon death and they correct the slowness of perishing by passing away voluntarily: those whom sufficiency of life holds, having feasted and having been anointed, choose a headlong fall into the sea from a noted cliff. They believe this to be the best kind of burial. Moreover they say that they were accustomed to send the first fruits to Delian Apollo by most excellent maidens, but because these ones returned not unharmed by the treachery of their hosts, they received soon within their own borders the right of devotion that they were pursuing abroad.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XIV.viii.7.

Hyperborei montes Scythiae, dicti quod supra, id est ultra, eos flat Boreas.
(The Hyperborean Mountains of Scythia, so called because Boreas blows above, that is beyond, them.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, III. 36 (p. 63).
in Asiatico litore primi Hyperborei super aquilonem Riphaeosque montes sub ipso siderum cardine iacent; ubi sol non cotidie ut nobis sed primum verno aequinoctio exortus autumnali demum occidit; ideo sex mensibus dies et totidem aliis nox usque continua est.
(On the Asiatic littoral, first of all, the Hyperboreans are located beyond the north wind, above the Riphean Mountains, and under the very pole of the stars, where the sun rises, not every day as it does for us, but for the first time at the vernal equinox, and where it eventually sets at the autumnal equinox. Therefore, for six months daylight is completely uninterrupted, and for the next six months night is completely uninterrupted. p. 110.)
F. Commentary:

Again, we have an example of the Hereford author referring to Solinus. Here, the author has edited Solinus's text down from a much longer tract. The map's inscription omits the discussion of the location of the Hyperborei; the design of the map makes it impossible for any race to be beyond the ring of the winds, as is requested in the very name of the race. They are also noted for their happiness. The race is beyond the rest of the world, separated on the map by a river. They know no social distress; discord and sickness are unknown to this race. The Hereford author also omits mention of the trek to Delian Apollo; such a custom would have been left behind with the Greco-Roman gods, and reflects pagan antiquity, rather than the "modern reality" of such a race living in the northern extreme of Scythia.

## (9) Sauromate

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 62].

## Sauromate Sithe.

(Saromatian Scythians.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 38 (vol. I, p. 444-5).
primus sinus appellatur Scythicus, utrimque enim accolunt Scythae angustias et inter se commeant, hinc Nomades et Sauromate multis nominibus, illinc Absoae non paucioribus.
(The first is called the Scythian Gulf, because Scythians inhabit both sides and have commerce between themselves across the straits, on this side the Nomads and Sauromatae, with many names, on that side the Abzoae, with no fewer.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.18 (pp. 85-86).

Ultra Sauromatas in Asia sitos, qui Mithridati latebram et quibus originem Medi dederunt, confines sunt Thali his nationibus quas ab oriente contingunt Caspii maris fauces: quae fauces mirum in modum maciantur imbribus, crescunt aestibus. (Beyond the Sauromatae, situated in Asia, who gave a hiding place to Mithridates and to whom the Medes gave an origin, the Thali are neighbors to the nations which the straits of the Caspian Sea touch on the east side: which straits are narrowed in astonishing measure with rainfall, and grow with dry weather.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The presence of this race on the map is likely a nod to Solinus's inclusion in his Collectanea, although no further identification can be certain.
(10) Robasci
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 62].

Robasci Sithe.
(Rhobasci Scythians.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The Rhobosci have a connection to two sources not discussed in this thesis.
Bevan and Phillott identify the tribe as one mentioned by Ptolemy and Orosius.
Orosius, in turn, mentions that they have the altars of Alexander within their
boundaries. ${ }^{12}$ Near the Rhobosci, but not within their boundaries, are some altars of Alexander. Therefore, it is likely that the race is either taken directly from Orosius, or possibly from an Alexandrian romance.

[^27]
## (11) Arimaspi

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 61-2].

Carimaspi cum gryphis pro smaragdis dimicant.
(The Carimaspi fight with griffins for emeralds.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 10 (vol. II, p. 4).
sed iuxta eos, qui sunt ad septentrionem versi, haut procul ab ipso aquilonis exortu specuque eius dicto, quem locum Ges clithron appellant, produntur Arimaspi, quos diximus, uno oculo in fronte media insignes. quibus adsidue bellum esse circa metalla cum grypis, ferarum volucri genere, quale vulgo traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris custodientibus et Arimaspis rapientibus, multi, sed maxime inlustres Herodotus et Aristeas Proconnesius scribunt.
(Moreover, close to these ones, who are turned to the north, not at all far from the place of origin itself of the north wind and its said cave, which place they call "Ges clitheron", the Arimaspi are brought forth, which we have said are distinguished by one eye in the middle of the forehead. Many, but especially the celebrated Herodotus and Aristeas Proconnesius, write that for them war around mines is continuous with griffins, a kind of flying animal, as is commonly reported, digging gold from mines, with astonishing avarice both in the wild animals who guard and in the Arimaspi who steal.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.22-23 (p. 86).

In Asiatica Scythia terrae sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tamen: nam cum auro et gemmis affluant, grypes tenent universa, alites ferocissimi et ultra omnem rabiem
saevientes. quorum inmanitate obsistente advenis accessus rarus est: quippe visus discerpunt, velut geniti ad plectendam avaritiae temeritatem. Arimaspi cum his dimicant, ut intercipiant lapides, quorum non aspernabimur persequi qualitatem. (In Asian Scythia, the lands are rich, yet uninhabitable: for while they flow with gold and gems, griffins hold everything, most ferocious birds, and savage beyond all fury. With their savageness standing in the way, access for outsiders is rare: indeed, they tear to pieces those they see, as if begotten for punishing the rashness of avarice. The Arimaspi fight with them so they may take the gems, whose nature we will not disdain to pursue.) D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XIV.iii. 32.

Ex quibus quaedam agros incolunt, quaedam portentuosae ac truces carnibus humanis et eorum sanguine vivunt. Scythiae plures terrae sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tamen plures; nam dum in plerisque locis auro et gemmis affluant, gryphorum inmanitate accessus hominum rarus est.
(Among whom ${ }^{13}$ certain ones inhabit the fields, certain monstrous and savage ones live on human flesh and blood. Many lands of Scythia are rich, yet many are uninhabitable; for while they abound with gold and gems in many places, because of the savageness of the griffins, access is rare for men.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

[^28]Solinus again supplies the text for this inscription. The Hereford author has refined the inscription on two points: the name of the race has gained an initial "C," and the gem for which the Arimaspi fight with the griffins is identified as an emerald. On the map, the Arimaspi are shown to be quite normal people, armed and facing a griffin, who has extended a talon.
(12) Sogdiani, Dache
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 52].

Sogdiani et Dache gentes.
(The Sogdiani and Dache peoples.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of these races.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of these races.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of these races.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

These races have literary connections. Bevan and Phillott identify the Dache as the Dahae of the Aeneid (viii.728), and the legendary Alexander subdued both races. They are also mentioned in Orosius, and are likely from that source. ${ }^{14}$
(13) Triphicia Island
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 55-56].

Qui in Triphicia insula habitant nauticam industriam exercent.
(Those who live on the Isle of Triphicia practice a nautical lifestyle.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

Bevan and Phillott suggest that Æthicus is the source for this inscription. He mentions an island where Alexander obtained materials for enclosing the nations of Gog, named Taphrus or Taphrae. Although the two names are similar, based on this

[^29]information alone, there is no reason to believe the derivation of the map's Triphicia Island is ultimately from Æthicus.
(14) Capharica Island
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 55-6].

Capharica insula siluarum habet copiam. Ars habitancium in ea in subuertendis urbibus est; armorum habent copiam.
(Capharica Island has many forests. The skill of its inhabitants is in overthrowing cities: they have many weapons.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

Bevan and Phillott again refer the reader to Æthicus for the source of this inscription. They identify Capharica with Æthicus' Rifarrica, where there is an
abundance of wood and "battering engines used by the inhabitants." ${ }^{15}$ The changed name seems to indicate an intermediary source, or a variant copy of Æthicus's work.

## (15) Albani

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 62].

Albani pupilla ${ }^{16}$ glaucam habent et plus nocte vident.
(The Albani have gleaming eyes and see better at night.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 12 (vol. II, p. 5).
idem in Albania gigni quosdam glauca oculorum acie, a pueritia statim canos, qui noctu plus quam interdiu cernant.
(The same [author ${ }^{17}$ ] writes that in Albania certain ones are born with gleaming pupils of eyes, immediately white-haired from childhood, who see better at night than by day.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.5 (p.83).

At Albani in ora agentes, qui posteros se Iasonis credi volunt, albo crine nascuntur, canitiem habent auspicium capillorum: ergo capitis color genti nomen dedit. Glauca oculis inest pupula: ideo nocte plus quam die cernunt.
(Moreover there are the Albani, existing on the shore, who wish to be believed to be Jason's descendants, who are born with white hair, they have auspicious whiteness of hair: therefore the color of the head gave the race its name. A shining pupil is in their eyes: therefore they see better at night than by day.)

[^30]D. Isidore, Etymologiae, IX.ii. 65.

In partes Asiaticae Scythiae gentes, quae posteros se Iasonis credunt, albo crine nascuntur ab adsiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit. Et inde dicuntur Albani. Horum glauca oculis, id est picta, inest pupilla, adeo ut nocte plus quam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonum fuerunt.
(In parts of Asian Scythia, races, who believe themselves the posterity of Jason, are born with white hair, as from the incessant snows; and the hair color itself gave the people their name. Thereby they are called "Albani." Their eyes have gleaming, that is varicolored, pupils, so that they see better at night than by day. Moreover, the Albani were neighbors of the Amazons.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

Solinus's influence is twofold in this comparison. Isidore likely referred to the Collectanea when he was compiling his Etymologiae; and the Hereford author may have referred to the Solinus as well. The Albani, however, appear in a number of other sources, including the Wonders of the East; furthermore, the words shared by each inscription are relatively common terms to describe the Albani's distinctive traits, and cannot be used to firmly establish the source.
(16) Heniochi

[^31]A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 64].

Eunochi Sithe.
(Heniochi Scythians.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 30 (vol. I, p.441-2).
ab his ad pontum usque Heniochorum plurima genera, mox Achaeorum.
(From here all the way to the Black Sea are the many peoples of the Heniochi, then of the Achaei.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.19 (p. 86).

Heniochorum montes Araxen, Moschorum Phasidem fundunt.
(The Mountains of the Heniochi pour forth the Araxes River; those of the Moschi pour forth the Phasides River.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The identification of the Eunochi with the Heniochi relies solely upon Bevan and Phillott's suggestion. The Heniochi are mentioned in Solinus and Pliny, and there is no indication that there is a race called the "Eunochi."

## (17) Minotaurs

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 64].

Hic inueni bestie minotauri ${ }^{18}$ similes, ad bella utiles. (Here are to be found beasts similar to the Minotaur, useful in war.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.38.

Porro minotaurum nomen sumpsisse ex tauro et homine, qualem bestiam dicunt fabulose in Labyrintho inclusam fuisse. De qua Ovidius (Art. Am. 2, 24):

Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem.
(Further, they say that the Minotaur obtained its name from "bull" and "man;" such a beast they say was enclosed in the labyrinth according to the fable. Of which Ovid writes (The Art of Love 2,24):

A man part bull and a bull part man.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The minotaur is generally connected with the Labyrinth on Crete, which does appear on the map. The author of the map shows familiarity with this myth, as well as others (the Golden Fleece and Scylla and Charybdis also appear on the map). It is unclear whether the author intended to say "minotauro similes" (similar to the

[^32]Minotaur), or "minotauris similes" ("similar to minotaurs"). Curiously, the minotaur is depicted with its tail between its legs. This is a sign of cowardice in heraldry, and if it here indicates a similar cowardice, their usefulness in battle would be undermined.
(18) Anthropophagi
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 50-51].

Omnia horribilia plus quam credi potest: frigus intollerabile, omni tempore uentus acerrimus a montibus quam incole Bizo uocant. Hic sont ${ }^{19}$ homines truculenti nimis, humanis carnibus uescentes, cruorem potantes, fili ${ }^{20}$ Caini maledicti. Hos inclusit Dominus per magnum Alexandrum: nam terre motu facto in conspectu principis, montes super montes in circuitu eorum ceciderunt. Ubi montes deerant, ipse eos muro insolubili cinxit.
[An image of a wall separates this inscription from the next.]
Isti inclusi idem esse creduntur qui a Solino Antropophagi dicuntur, inter quos et Essedones numerantur; nam tempore Antichristi erupturi et omni mundo persecucionem illaturi.
(Everything here is more horrible than is able to be believed; the cold is unbearable; there is a very sharp wind at all times from the mountains, which the natives call Bizo. Here are excessively savage men, feeding on human flesh, drinking blood, the cursed children of Cain. The Lord enclosed them through Alexander the Great; for

[^33]after there had been an earthquake in sight of the prince, mountains fell upon mountains in a circuit around them; where there were no mountains, he surrounded them with an indestructible wall. Those enclosed are believed to be the same who are called the Anthropophagi by Solinus, among whom are also counted the Essedones; for at the time of the Antichrist they will break out and bring persecution to the whole world.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15.13 (p. 84); 30.7 (p. 131).

15, 13: Inter Anthropophagos in Asiatica parte numerantur Essedones qui et ipsi nefandis funestantur inter se cibis. Essedonum mos est parentum funera prosequi cantibus et proximorum corrogatis coetibus corpora ipsa dentibus lancinare ac pecudum mixta carnibus dapes facere: capitum etiam ossa auro incincta in poculorum tradere ministerium.
(Among the Anthropophagi in Asian areas are counted the Essedones who also are defiled among themselves by their heinous meats. The Essedones' custom is to follow their parents' funerals with chants and with gatherings of relatives, having come together for meeting to tear the bodies themselves to pieces with their teeth and, mixing the bodies with the flesh of cattle, to make a feast: also they use the skull, surrounded in gold, to serve as goblets.)

30, 7 : sunt et Anthropophagi, quorum morem vocamen sonat. ${ }^{21}$

[^34](There are also the Anthropophagi, whose name sounds forth their way of life.) D. Isidore, Etymologiae, IX.ii. 132.

Anthropophagi gens asperrima sub regione Siricum sita, qui quia humanis carnibus vescuntur, ideo anthropophagi nominantur.
(The Anthropophagi are a most harsh race, located below the territory of the Serices, who, because they feed on human flesh, are therefore named "anthropophagi.")
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, II.13-14 (p. 31).
apud Anthropophagos ipsae etiam epulae visceribus humanis apparantur.
(Among the Anthropophagi, even ordinary banquets are provided with human entrails. p. 72.)
F. Commentary:

The author of the Hereford map has taken his information about the Anthropophagi from a number of sources. There is reference to the book of the Apocalypse, likely a nod to Solinus in the inclusion of the Essedones among the Anthropophagi, as well as the strong presence of Alexander. As it is such an amalgamation of texts, the map's author should be considered the true source for this inscription.

## (19) Hyrcani

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 52, 53].

Hircani Oxi fluminis habent, gens silvis aspera, feta tigribus, copiosa immanibus feris.
(The Hircani occupy the mouth of the Oxus River, a place bristling with woods, full with tigers and plentiful in savage beasts.)

Hircani hic habitant.
(The Hircani live here.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, III. 41 (p. 65).
Cyrus et Cambyses ex radicibus Coraxici montis vicinis fontibus editi in diversa abeunt, perque Hiberas et Yrcanos diu et multum distantibus alveis defluunt...
(The Cyrus [Kura] and Canbyses [Yori] Rivers, produced from springs near the roots of Mt. Coraxicus, travel in different directions. Both flow down through the territories of the Hiberi and the Hyrcani for a long time with their beds very far apart.
p. 113.)
F. Commentary:

The Hyrcani are not a race unique to the Hereford map, as some others are, but no source readily identifies itself. Bevan and Phillott mention that the Hyrcani were not traditionally identified with the mouth of the Oxus River, but did live on the coast of the Caspian Sea, not far from where the Oxus once entered the sea. ${ }^{22}$
(20) Cicone
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 53].

Cicone gentes.
(Cicone people.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 55 (vol. I, p. 453).
sunt qui ab aquilone contingi ab ipsis Ciconas dixere et Brisaros.
(There are those who reported that the Ciconae and Brisari are bordered on the north by them. ${ }^{23}$ )
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 51.1 (p. 183).

Sequitur Attacenus sinus et gens hominum Attacorum, quibus temperies praerogativa miram aeris clementiam subministrat. Arcent sane adflatum noxium colles, qui salubri apricitate undique secluso obiecti prohibent auras pestilentes: atque ideo, ut Amometus adfirmat, par illis et Hyperboreis genus vitae est. inter hos et Indiam gnarissimi Ciconas locaverunt.
(Next is the bay of Attacenus and the race of Attaci, whose privileged climate offers extraordinary mildness of air. Indeed, hills keep out harmful breezes, and exposed in

[^35]isolation with healthy sunshine on all sides they restrain unhealthy winds; and for that reason, as Amometus claims, their life is the same as the Hyperborei. The most knowledgeable people have located the Ciconae between them and India.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, II. 28 (p. 34).
circa Hebrum Cicones, trans eundem Doriscos, ubi Xerxen copias suas quia numero non poterat spatio mensum ferunt.
(The Cicones are found around the Hebrus River, and on its far side is Doriscos, where they say Xerxes measured his troops by space, because he could not do so by number. p. 77.)
F. Commentary:

Despite Solinus's full account, and mention by both Pliny and Mela, the Cicone receive brief treatment on the map. Despite their relatively normal status in the classical sources, the image on the Hereford map is of a figure with a bird's beak and semi-human limbs. It rather resembles a hybrid of a stork (ciconia) and a human, a linguistic connection that would explain the appearance of the race on the map.

## (21) Chinese

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 48].

Seres primi homines post deserta occurrunt, a quibus serica vestimenta mittuntur.
(The Chinese, the first men met after the desert. Silk garments are exported by them.) B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 54 (vol. I, p. 452-3).
primi sunt hominum qui noscantur Seres, lanicio silvarum nobiles, perfusam aqua depectentes frondium canitiem, unde geminus feminis nostris labos redordiendi fila rursusque texendi: tam multiplici opere, tam longinquo orbe petitur ut in publico matrona traluceat. Seres mites quidem, sed et ipsi feris similes coetum reliquorum mortalium fugiunt, commercia exspectant.
(The first men [in this region] are known as the Seres, celebrated for the wool of the forests: they comb the down off the leaves, having soaked it in water, whence the twofold labor for our women, unraveling the threads and weaving them again; so great is the work, from such a far part of the world is it sought, that in public the noble women may shine. Indeed, the Seres are gentle, yet resembling wild animals, fleeing from meeting other men, and waiting for commerce.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XIV.iii.29.

Seres oppidum orientis, a quo et genus Sericum et regio nuncupata [est]. Haec ab Scythico Oceano et mari Caspio ad Oceanum orientalem inflectitur, nobilibus frondibus fertilis, e quibus vellera decerpuntur, quae ceterarum genitum Seres ad usum vestium vendunt.
(Seres is a city of the orient, from which both the Chinese people and their kingdom were named. This region curves from the Scythian Ocean and Caspian Sea to the

Eastern Ocean, rich in fine foliage, from which the wool is gathered, which the Chinese sell to other races for clothes.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, I. 11 (p. 3).
in ea primos hominum ab oriente accipimus Indos et Seras et Scythas. Seres media ferme Eoae partis incolunt, Indi et Scythae ultima; ambo late patentes neque in hoc tantum pelagus effusi.
(We are told that the first humans in Asia, starting from the east, are the Indians, the Seres, and the Scyths. The Seres inhabit more or less the middle of the eastern part. The Indians and the Scyths inhabit the extremities, both peoples covering a broad expanse and spreading to the ocean not at this point only. pp. 36-37.)
F. Commentary:

The Seres, or Chinese, are a real people, who were known to Europeans. Although Solinus does not mention them, they are found in a number of other ancient and medieval sources, including Virgil's Georgics (ii. 121), Pliny, Mela, and Isidore. The Hereford author likely is referring to a number of sources, rather than relying on a single author for the brief inscription given on the map.
(22) Phanesii
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 48].

Phanesii membranis aurium suarum teguntur.
(The Phanesii are covered by the membranes of their ears.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, IV. 95 (vol. I, pp. 344-345).
feruntur et Oenoae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae, in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascantur, Hippopodes appellati, Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant.
(Also the Oeonae Islands are reported in which the inhabitants live on the eggs of birds and wild oats, and others, in which men called Hippopodes are born with horses' feet, and others of the Phanesii, whose very great ears entirely cover their otherwise unclothed bodies.)
VII. 30 (vol. II, p. 11): et alibi cauda villosa homines nasci pernicitatis eximiae, alios auribus totos contegi.
(And elsewhere men are born with a hairy tail and exceptional agility, others are covered entirely by their ears.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 19.6 (p. 93).
auctor est Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum in insulam Abalciam triduo navigari: eius magnitudinem inmensam et paene similem continenti: nec longe Oeonas separari, quas qui habitent vivant ovis avium marinarum et avenis vulgo nascentibus: perinde alias propter constitutas aeque insulas, quarum Hippopodes indigenae humana usque ad vestigium forma in equinos pedes desinunt: esse et Phanesiorum, quorum aures adeo in effusam magnitudinem dilatentur, ut reliqua viscerum illis contegant nec amiculum aliud sit quam ut membris membra vestiant. (Xenophon Lampsacenus writes that it is a three day's journey by sea from the coast of Scythia to the island of Albacia. Its size is vast and almost like a continent. The

Oeones Islands are not far distant. Those who live there live on the eggs of sea birds and wild oats; likewise, there are other nearby islands, similarly constituted, of which the indigenous Hippopodes, with human shape as far as the foot, end with horses' feet; there are also the islands of the Phanesii, whose ears are extended to such a great size that they cover the rest of their bodies, nor do they have any other garment apart from covering their body parts with their body parts.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.19.

Panotios apud Scythiam esse ferunt, tam diffusa magnitudine aurium ut omne corpus ex eis contegant. I $\Pi \alpha \nu$ enim Graeco sermone omne, $\dot{\tau} \tau \alpha$ aures dicuntur.
(The Panotii are said to be in Scythia, with ears of such extensive size that they may cover all of their body with them. For in the Greek language, "pan" means all, "ota" means ears.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, 3.56 (p. 68).
et Panuatios quibus magnae aures et ambiendum corpus omne patulae nudis alioquin pro veste sint.
(... and the Panotii too, who for clothing have big ears broad enough to go around their whole body (they are otherwise naked). p. 117.)

## F. Commentary:

The Phanesii offer a brief inscription, which is similar to the intent of all our authors. However, only Solinus, following Pliny, names them "Phanesii;" Isidore and Mela refer to them as "Panotii," much more closely related to the Greek (as Isidore
indicates). They are also placed near the Eones islands, as are the Hippopodes, which further indicates the reliance on Solinus's text, which explicitly places the races by the Eones.

## (23) Eones Islands

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 47].

Solinus dicit: Eones insulas qui inhabitant omnis ${ }^{24}$ marinarum avium uiuunt. (Solinus writes: those who inhabit the Eones Islands live on the eggs of sea-birds.) B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, IV. 95 (vol. I, p. 344-345). feruntur et Oeonae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae, in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascantur, Hippopodes appellati, Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant. (Also the Oeones Islands are reported in which the inhabitants live on the eggs of birds and wild oats, and others, in which men called Hippopodes are born with horses' feet, and others of the Phanesii, whose very great ears entirely cover their otherwise unclothed bodies.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 19.6 (p. 93).
auctor est Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum in insulam Abalciam triduo navigari: eius magnitudinem inmensam et paene similem continenti: nec longe Oeonas separari, quas qui habitent vivant ovis avium marinarum et avenis vulgo nascentibus: perinde alias propter constitutas aeque insulas, quarum Hippopodes

[^36]indigenae humana usque ad vestigium forma in equinos pedes desinunt: esse et Phanesiorum, quorum aures adeo in effusam magnitudinem dilatentur, ut reliqua viscerum illis contegant nec amiculum aliud sit quam ut membris membra vestiant. (Xenophon Lampsacenus writes that it is a three day's journey by sea from the coast of Scythia to the island of Albacia. Its size is vast and almost like a continent. The Oeones Islands are not far distant. Those who live there live on the eggs of sea birds and wild oats; likewise, there are other nearby islands, similarly constituted, of which the indigenous Hippopodes, with human shape as far as the foot, end with horses' feet; there are also the islands of the Phanesii, whose ears are extended to such a great size that they cover the rest of their bodies, nor do they have any other garment apart from covering their body parts with their body parts.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The inhabitants of the Eones Islands are described by Solinus just as they are on the Hereford map; indeed, the author has cited Solinus as his source. Few changes have been made in the inscription: omnis is likely a misreading for ovis, the prefix inhas been added to habitant, and the word order has been rearranged.
(24) Huns
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 46].

Huni Sithe.
(The Scythian Huns.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, IX.ii.66.

Hugnos antea Hunnos vocatos, postremo a rege suo Avares appellatos, qui prius in ultima Maeotide inter glacialem Tanaim et Massagetarum inmanes populos habitaverunt.
(The Hugni, formerly called the Huns, latterly named Avars after their king, who formerly lived in the furthest part of the Maeotic region, between the icy Don River and the savage Massagitae people.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F: Commentary:
The Huns were unknown to Pliny; while it is possible that St. Augustine met some Huns, Isidore's Etymologiae is the only source written after the Huns gained their brutal reputation. The Huns were likely still in the consciousness of Europeans at the time of the creation of the map, and are likely included because of this, rather than inclusion in one of the author's sources.
(25) Hippopodes
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 48]. Ipopodes ${ }^{25}$ equinos pedes habent.
(The Hippopodes have horses' feet.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, IV. 95 (vol. I, p. 344-345).
feruntur et Oeonae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae, in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascantur, Hippopodes appellati, Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant.
(Also the Oeones Islands are reported in which the inhabitants live on the eggs of birds and wild oats, and others, in which men called Hippopodes are born with horses' feet, and others of the Phanesii, whose very great ears entirely cover their otherwise unclothed bodies.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 19.6 (p. 93). auctor est Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum in insulam Abalciam triduo navigari: eius magnitudinem inmensam et paene similem continenti: nec longe Oeonas separari, quas qui habitent vivant ovis avium marinarum et avenis vulgo nascentibus: perinde alias propter constitutas aeque insulas, quarum Hippopodes indigenae humana usque ad vestigium forma in equinos pedes desinunt: esse et Phanesiorum, quorum aures adeo in effusam magnitudinem dilatentur, ut reliqua viscerum illis contegant nec amiculum aliud sit quam ut membris membra vestiant.

[^37](Xenophon Lampsacenus writes that it is a three day's journey by sea from the coast of Scythia to the island of Albacia. Its size is vast and almost like a continent. The Oeones Islands are not far distant. Those who live there live on the eggs of sea birds and wild oats; likewise, there are other nearby islands, similarly constituted, of which the indigenous Hippopodes, with human shape as far as the foot, end with horses' feet; there are also the islands of the Phanesii, whose ears are extended to such a great size that they cover the rest of their bodies, nor do they have any other garment apart from covering their body parts with their body parts.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii. 25.

Hippopodes in Scythia sunt, humanam formam et equinos pedes habentes.
(Hippopods are in Scythia, having human shapes and horses' feet.)
E. Other:

Pompnius Mela, De chorographia, 3.56 (p. 68).
...esse equinis pedibus Hippopodas et...
(... and the Hippopodes, with their equine hooves, are also there,... p. 117.)
F. Commentary:

The hippopods are clearly derived from Isidore's Etymologiae. They are depicted exactly as Isidore describes them: off the coast of Scythia, there is a race of humans with horses' feet. The author of the map would not need to include Isidore's geographical statement, nor would he need to stress the human shapes, as they are depicted both off the coast of Scythia, and as having human shapes. Indeed, the
horses' feet are the distinguishing characteristic, and have been drawn and described, further emphasizing this one difference.

## (26) Tigolopes

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 75].

Tigolopes.
(Tiglopes)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

This curious figure is a mystery. This is the only known depiction of such a being, a semi-human figure with a tail and webbed feet. Both Bevan and Phillott and Harvey identify the staff it carries as a thyrsus, but no connection with Bacchus has been established. ${ }^{26}$

[^38]III. Asia: India

(27) Gangines
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 35-36].

Gangines.
(Gangines.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 65 (vol. I, p. 458).
... novissima gente Gangaridum Calingarum.
(... the last people are the Calingae Gangarides.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.8 (pp. 184-5).

Gangarides extimus est Indiae populus: cuius rex equites mille, elephantos septingentos, peditum sexaginta milia in apparatu belli habet.
(The Gangarides are the most distant people of India. Their king has a thousand cavalry, seven hundred elephants, and sixty thousand food soldiers in preparation for war.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae .
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

Bevan and Phillott suggest a rather convoluted etymology for the name of this race, based on misunderstanding. The image on the map shows two clothed people
picking apples from a tree. They live near the head of the Ganges, and most likely represent the Astomi (28), who live on the smell of fruit.

## (28) Astomi

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 36-7].

Solinus: Gangis fontem qui acolunt solo uiuunt odore pomorum siluestrium; qui si fetorem senserint, statim moriuntur.
(Solinus: a people who live near the source of the Ganges live only on the smell of wild fruit; if they smell something offensive, they immediately die.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 25 (vol. II, pp. 9-10).
ad extremos fines Indiae $a b$ oriente circa fontem Gangis Astomorum gentem sine ore, corpore toto hirtam vestiri frondium languine, halitu tantum viventem et odore, quem naribus trahant. Nullum illis cibum nullumque potum, radicum tantum florumque varios odores et silvestrium malorum, quae secum portant longiore itinere, ne desit olfactus; graviore paulo odore haut difficulter exanimari.
(At the extreme eastern boundary of India near the source of the Ganges is the race of the Astomi, lacking a mouth, hairy over all their bodies, clothed in the wooly substance of plants, only living by breath and the scent which they may draw in their nostrils. For them there is nothing of food nor drink, only the manifold smells of roots, flowers and wild fruits, which they carry with themselves on longer trips, lest a scent be lacking; they are killed without difficulty by a stronger smell.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.30 (p. 188).

Gangis fontem qui accolunt, nullius ad escam opis indigi odore vivunt pomorum silvestrium longiusque pergentes eadem illa in praesidio gerunt, ut olfactu alantur. Quod si taetriorem spiritum forte traxerint, exanimari eos certum est. (Those who live near the source of the Ganges, needing no support from food, live on the smell of wild fruits and, when going a long distance, carry those same things as support, so that they may be nourished by the smell. Now, if they should draw a fouler odor, it is definite that they will die.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The author of the map seems to have simply edited Solinus's comments on the Astomi, citing the source. The first section is directly from Solinus: a people who live near the source of the Ganges live only on the smell of wild fruit. The author edits Solinus afterwards, giving a brief synopsis of the Astomi's limitations. The illustration of the Gangines (27) was likely intended to be associated with the inscription for the Astomi, who are not named on the map. The Gangines illustration shows two people picking fruit from a tree, and is not far from the inscription; some space and a river (the Ganges), however, separate the inscription and illustration, and with a name for the race beside the image, a positive connection between the two is questionable.
(29) Monocoli
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 37].

Monoculi sunt in Yndia, singulis cruribus, pernici sceleritate, ${ }^{27}$ qui ubi defendi se uelint a calore solis plantarum suarum magnitudine obumbrantur.
(The Monoculi are in India with single swift and agile legs; when they desire to defend themselves from the heat of the sun, they are shaded by the great size of their foot.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.29 (pp. 187-88).
legimus monocolos quoque ibi nasci singulis cruribus et singulari pernicitate, qui ubi defendi se velint a calore, resupinati plantarum suarum magnitudine inumbrentur.
(We also read that the Monocoli are born there with a single leg and great swiftness, who, when they desire to be protected from the heat, lying on their backs are shaded by the great size of their foot.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.23.

Sciopodum gens fertur in Aethiopia singulis cruribus et celeritate mirabili: quos inde $\sigma \kappa 10 ̇ \pi o \delta \alpha \varsigma$ Graeci vocant, eo quod per aestum in terra resupini iacentes pedum suorum magnitudine adumbrentur.
${ }^{27}$ For "celeritate."
(The race of Sciopods are said to be in Ethiopia, having a single leg each and marvelous speed: whom the Greeks call "skiopodas ," because lying on their backs, on the ground in the heat, they may be shaded by their large feet.)
E. Other:

Augustine, De civitate Dei, XVI. 8 (p. 42).
Item ferunt esse gentem, ubi singula crura in pedibus habent nec poplitem flectunt, et sunt mirabilis celeritatis. Quos Sciopodas vocant, quod per aestum in terra iacentes resupini umbra se pedum protegant.
(Likewise some say that there is a race whose feet grow from a single leg; they cannot bend their one knee, and yet are amazingly swift. They are called "Skiopods" or "Shadow-feet" because in the hot season they lie on their backs on the ground, taking shelter under the shadow cast by their feet. p. 43.)
F. Commentary:

Despite the seeming popularity of the Monocoli (Sciopods), the author of the map has again turned to Solinus for his description of the race. This is clear through the similarities of the descriptions as well as the Hereford author's use of "Monoculi" for the name of the race. The author of the map has taken two liberties with Solinus's description. First, he has written in their placement in India, perhaps as a reaction to Isidore's placement of the race in Ethiopia; second, he has clarified that the Monocoli are shaded from the heat of the sun, rather than the natural heat of the area.
(30) Pygmies
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 28].

Pigmei cubitales homines.
(The Pygmies, cubit-tall men.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII.26-28 (vol. II, p. 10-1).
super hos extrema in parte montium Trispithami Pigmaeique narrantur, ternas spithamas longitudine, hoc est ternos dodrantes, non excedentes, salubri caelo semperque vernante montibus ab aquilone oppositis, quos a gruibus infestari Homerus quoque prodidit. Fama est insidentes arietum caprarumque dorsis armatos sagittis veris tempore universo agmine ad mare descendere et ova pullosque earum alitum consumere; ternis expeditionem eam mensibus confici; aliter futuris gregibus non resisti. Casas eorum luto pinnisque et ovorum putaminibus construi. Aristoteles in cavernis viveri Pygmaeos tradit, cetera de iis ut reliqui.
(It is said that beyond these in the extreme part of the mountains are the Trispithami and the Pygmies, who do not exceed three spans in height, that is twenty-seven inches. ${ }^{28}$ They enjoy a healthy and always spring-like climate with mountains placed to their north. Also, Homer reported that they are attacked by cranes. The tradition is that sitting on the backs of rams and ewes, armed with arrows, they descend to the sea in one large band in the springtime, and they eat the eggs and chicks of those birds; in three months this expedition is accomplished; otherwise, they would not be able to resist future flocks. Their huts are constructed with mud, feathers and egg shells. Aristotle relates that the Pygmies live in caverns, otherwise he relates as the rest.)

[^39]C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.15 (p. 186).
montana Pygmaei tenent.
(The Pygmies inhabit the mountains.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii. 7 .

Portenta igitur vel portentuosa existunt alia magnitudine totius corporis ultra communem hominum modum, quantus fuit Tityon in novem iugeribus iacens, Homero testante: alia parvitate totius corporis, ut nani, vel quos Graeci Pygmaeos vocant, eo quod sint statura cubitales.
(Therefore some portents or mutants exist with a greatness of the entire body beyond the common measure of men, like Tityon, lying in nine jugers, ${ }^{29}$ as Homer says: others with a smallness of the entire body, as dwarves, or those whom the Greeks call Pygmies, because they are a cubit tall.)
XI.iii,26: Est et gens ibi statura cubitalis, quos Graeci a cubito Pygmaeos vocant, de qua supra diximus. Hi montana Indiae tenent, quibus vicinus oceanus.
(Also there is a race there a cubit tall, whom the Greeks call "pygmies" from a cubit, of whom we spoke above. ${ }^{30}$ They hold the mountainous regions of India, to which the ocean is near.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, III. 81 (p. 74).
fuere interius Pygmaei, minutum genus, et quod pro satis frugibus contra grues dimicando deficit.

[^40](There were Pygmies to the interior, a diminutive species that became extinct from fighting the cranes for the crops they had planted.)

Augustine, De civitate Dei, XVI. 8 (p. 42).
alios statura esse cubitales, quos Pygmaeos a cubito Graeci vocant.
(There are men only a cubit high whom the Greeks call pygmies from their word for cubit. p. 43.)
F. Commentary:

The pygmies are another popular race. The author of the map seems to have worked with both Solinus and Isidore for this entry. Isidore's Etymologiae has supplied the basic description of the race, and Solinus's Collectanea places them in the mountains. The map depicts this race between two sets of mountain ranges; however, as most other races are clearly standing upon mountains, especially in Ethiopia, it is possible that the Pygmies' placement between these mountains is purely an artistic convention.
(31) Pandea
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 52].

Pandea gens Yndie a feminis regitur.
(The Pandea people of India are ruled by women.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 49 (vol. I, p.450).
ultra Sogdiani, oppidum Panda et in ultimis eorum finibus Alexandria, ab Alexandro Magno conditum.
(Beyond the Sogdiani, is the town of Pandae, and in their furthest reaches is Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great.)
VII. 28 (vol. II, p. 11): Ctesias gentem ex his, quae appelletur Pandae, in convallibus sitam annos ducentos vivere, in iuventa candido capillo, qui in senectute nigrescat, contra alios quadragenos non excedere annos, iunctos Macrobiis, quorum feminae semel pariant.
(Ctesias writes that among them there is a race, who are named Pandae, placed in enclosed valleys, who live 200 years each; in youth they have white hair, which turns black in old age.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.15 (p. 186); 49.3 (p. 180).

Pandaea gens a feminis regitur, cui reginam primam adsignant Herculis filiam. (The Pandean race is ruled by women, as their first queen they chose Hercules' daughter.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

This race is clearly derived from Solinus. The author of the map has simply included the region of the race, India, and omitted the connection with Hercules.
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 27].

Gigantes.
(Giants.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.26.

In India ferunt esse gentem quae Maкрóßıor nuncupantur, duodecim pedum staturam habentes.
(In India is said to be a race who are called "Macrobii," standing twelve feet tall.)
E. Other:

Genesis VI. 6
gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis postquam enim ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum illaeque genuerunt
(Moreover there were giants on the earth in those days after the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them.)
F. Commentary:

These giants are depicted as cynocephali. They are likely included because of the mention in Genesis. They are depicted near the Garden of Eden, and they are standing beside the figures of Adam and Eve, who are being expelled from Eden.

Their depiction as cynocephali is possibly because of confusion with St.

Christopher's race. St. Christopher was depicted first as a cynocephalus and later as a giant; here, the author of the map may be conflating the two, by showing cynocephali and labelling them giants. See also (1) Cynocephali for further discussion of St. Christopher.
(33) Corcina
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 32].

Gens Corcina circa Malleum montem habitant, cuius umbre $\mathrm{ab}^{31}$ aquilonem cadunt hyeme, ad austrum estate.
(The Corcina race live around Mount Malleus; their shadows fall to the north in winter, to the south in summer.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 69 (vol. I, p. 459).
ab his in interiore situ Monaedes et Suari, quorum mons Maleus, in quo umbrae ad septentrionem cadunt hieme, aestate in austrum, per senos menses.
(From here to the interior is the region of the Monaedes and Suari, among whom is mount Maleus, in which shadows fall to the north in winter, to the south in summer, for six months at a time.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.12-13 (pp. 185-186).

Prasia gens validissima. Palibothram urbem incolunt, unde quidam gentem ipsam Palibothros nominaverunt. Quorum rex sescenta milia peditum, equitum triginta milia, elephantorum octo milia omnibus diebus ad stipendium vocat. Ultra

[^41]Palibothram mons Malleus, in quo umbrae hieme in septemtriones, aestate in austros cadunt, vicissitudine hac durante mensibus senis. Septemtriones in eo tractu in anno semel nec ultra quindecim dies parent, sicut auctor est Baeton, qui perhibet hoc in plurimis Indiae locis evenire.
(The Prasians are a most powerful race. They live in the city of Palibothra, whence some people have named the race itself the Palibothri. Their king calls to service six hundred thousand foot soldiers, thirty thousand cavalry, and eight thousand elephants every day. Beyond Palibothra is Mount Malleus, on which shadows fall to the north in winter, to the south in summer; this change continues for six months. Ursa Major appears once a year for no longer than 15 days in this land, as Baeton writes, who also asserts that this occurs in many places of India.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The source for the Hereford map cannot be easily discerned in this case.
Although there are some common words between the Hereford inscription and the excerpt from Solinus, they are relatively common, and are the best terms for describing Mount Malleus. As the Hereford author had changed the name of the local race to Corcina from Solinus's Prasii (or even Pliny's Suari), it is likely that he used another source.
(34) Persians
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 72].

Lamite, principes Persidis.
(The Lamite, leaders of Persia.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, IX.ii.3.

Filii Sem quinque singulariter gentes singulas procreaverunt. Quorum primus Elam, a quo Elamitae principes Persidis: secundus Assur, a quo Assyriorum pullulavit imperium: tertius Arphaxat, a quo gens Chaldeorum exorta est...
(Shem's five sons each sired a single race. Of whom the first was Elam, from whom came the Elamitae, the princes of Persia: the second was Assur, from whom the Assyrian empire sprouted: the third was Arphaxat, from whom the Chaldees people arose...)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The children of Shem (Sem) were the progenitors of all the Asian races, according to Genesis. ${ }^{32}$ Isidore lists them, and begins with Elam, the first leader of the Persians. The author of the map has simply copied Isidore in this case.

IV. Africa

(35) Nubians
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 82].

Nisei gens Nibie Ethiopes Christianissimi.
(The Nubians, a race of Nubia, are most Christian Ethiopians.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

This inscription refers to the Ethiopians, who had been converted to Christianity in the fourth century by Frumentius. ${ }^{33}$ Tales of Prester John, a Christian

[^42]missionary ruling in India, likely spurred the inclusion of this far-off branch of Christianity, as well.

## (36) Ambari

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 101-2].

Gens sine auribus Ambari dicti, quibus adversis plantis.
(A people without ears, the Ambari are so called because their soles are turned backwards.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 30.5 (pp. 130-1).

Psambaris nulla est aurita quadrupes, nec elephanti quidem.
(For the Psambari, no quadruped has ears, not even elephants.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.24.

Antipodes in Libya plantas versas habent post crura et octonos digitos in plantis.
(The Antipods in Libya have soles turned behind the leg and eight toes on each foot.)
E. Other: Augustine, De civitate Dei, XVI. 8 (p. 42).
...quibusdam plantas versas esse post crura...
(...others with the soles of their feet turned backwards behind their legs... p. 43.)
F. Commentary:

The Ambari are likely a conflation of Solinus's Psambari and Isidore's
Antipods. Their name and distinct lack of ears is likely an improvement on Solinus's
description, as the author now has removed the ears from the race, not simply their quadrupeds. The identification with the Antipods is curious, and remains to be explained. The author of the map may have conflated the two races himself, or they may have been conflated in another source the author was aware of, or to which he referred.

## (37) Sciopodes

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 102].

Scinopodes, qui uni cruri mire sceleres ${ }^{34}$ plantis obumbrantur. Idem sont ${ }^{35}$ monocoli. (The Sciopodes, who are astonishingly rapid on one leg, are shaded by their feet. They are the same as the monocoli.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 23 (vol. II, p. 9).
idem hominum genus, qui Monocoli vocarentur, singulis cruribus, mirae pernicitatis ad saltum; eosdem Sciapodas vocari, quod in maiore aestu humi iacentes resupini umbra se pedum protegant.
(The same man also reports that there is a race, who were called Monocoli, with a single leg, and astonishing agility in leaping; the same are called Sciopods, because in the greater heat of their land they protect themselves with the shade of their feet by lying on the ground. ${ }^{36}$ )
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.29 (pp. 187-88).

[^43]legimus monocolos quoque ibi nasci singulis cruribus et singulari pernicitate, qui ubi defendi se velint a calore, resupinati plantarum suarum magnitudine inumbrentur. (We also read that the monocoli are born there with a single leg and great swiftness, who, when they desire to be protected from the heat, lying on their backs are shaded by the great size of their foot.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.23.

Sciopodum gens fertur in Aethiopia singulis cruribus et celeritate mirabili: quos inde $\sigma \kappa เ o ́ \pi \mathrm{o} \delta \alpha \varsigma$ Graeci vocant, eo quod per aestum in terra resupini iacentes pedum suorum magnitudine adumbrentur.
(The race of Sciopods is said to be in Ethiopia, having a single leg each and marvelous speed: whom the Greeks call "skiopodas," because lying on their backs, on the ground in the heat, they may be shaded by their large feet.)
E. Other:

Augustine, De civitate Dei, XVI. 8 (p. 42).
Item ferunt esse gentem, ubi singula crura in pedibus habent nec poplitem flectunt, et sunt mirabilis celeritatis. Quos Sciopodas vocant, quod per aestum in terra iacentes resupini umbra se pedum protegant.
(Likewise some say that there is a race whose feet grow from a single leg; they cannot bend their one knee, and yet are amazingly swift. They are called "Skiopods" or "Shadow-feet" because in the hot season they lie on their backs on the ground, taking shelter under the shadow cast by their feet. p. 43.)
F. Commentary:

The sciopods are one of two races to be represented twice on the map. The other is the Cynocephali (1), who are identified a second time as Giants (32). The author of the map clearly identifies the sciopods with the monocoli. It is most likely that their inclusion here is a nod to Isidore, who specifically places the Sciopods in Ethiopia. It is unlikely that the author was referring to Pliny in this case, as Pliny's entry in the Naturalis historia is substantially different from the Hereford map, and he names them the "monocoli," who are called "sciopods," which is the direct opposite of this inscription.

## (38) Straw-drinkers

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 102].

Gens ore concreto calamo cibatur.
(A people with a solid mouth are fed by a reed.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 30.13 (p. 132).
aliis concreta ora sunt modicoque tantum foramine calamis avenarum pastus hauriunt.
(For others their mouths are solid, and with an aperture so limited, they draw food through reeds of straw.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, IX.iii. 18 .
aliis concreta ora esse, modico tantum foramine calamis avernarum pastus haurientes.
(In others, the mouth is hardened, with only a small aperture, and they take in their food through reeds.)
E. Other: Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, III. 91 (p. 76).
alii labris etiam cohaerentibus, nisi quod sub naribus etiam fistula est per quam bibere avenis, et cum incessit libido vescendi, grana singula frugum passim nascentium absorbere dicuntur.
(Still others have lips that stick together except for a hollow reed beneath their noses through which to drink by means of a straw, and when the desire for eating comes over them, they reportedly suck in, one by one, kernels of the grain that grows all over. p. 127.)
F. Commentary:

The Straw-drinkers offer a special opportunity to consider sources and authorship. Isidore and Solinus are nearly the same; it is likely that here, Solinus was Isidore's source, and it is not certain whether the author of the map referred to Isidore or Solinus for this inscription.

## (39) Hermaphrodites

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 102].

Gens uterque ${ }^{37}$ sexus innaturales multimodis modis.

[^44](A people with both sexes, unnatural in many ways.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 2 (vol. II, p. 6).

Supra Nassamonas confinesque illis Machlyas androgynos esse utriusque naturae, inter se vicibus coeuntes, Calliphanes tradit. Aristoteles adicit dextram mammam iis virilem, laevam mulibrem esse.
(Calliphanes relates that beyond the Nasamones and the Machlyae, their neighbors, are hermaphrodites, of both genders, by tums uniting among themselves. Aristotle added that their right breasts are masculine, the left are feminine.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii. 11 .

 masculus, A $\mathrm{A} \varphi \rho 0$ oít $\eta$ femina nuncupatur. Hi dexteram mamillam virilem, sinistram muliebrem habentes vicissim coeundo et gignunt et pariunt.
(Others, by mixing genders, as androgynes and hermaphrodites are said to be. Moreover, hermaphrodites are so named because in them both sexes are visible. Indeed among the Greeks, the male is called Hermes, the female Aphrodite. These have a man's breast on the right, a woman's breast on the left. By having coition alternately, they both engender and give birth.)
E. Other:

Augustine, De civitate Dei, XVI. 8 (p. 42).
...quibusdam utriusque sexus esse naturam et dextram mammam virilem, sinistram muliebrem, vicibusque inter se coeundo et gignere et parere.
(...others who are bisexual by nature, with the right breast male and the left female, who in their intercourse with each other alternately beget and conceive. p. 43.) Augustine, De civitate Dei, XVI. 8 (p. 46).

Androgyni, quos etiam Hermaphroditos nuncupant, quamvis admodum rari sint, difficile est tamen ut temporibus desint, in quibus sic uterque sexus apparet, ut ex quo potius debeant accipere nomen incertum sit...
(Although androgyni, whom men also call hermaphrodites, are very rare, yet it is difficult to find periods when they do not occur. In them the marks of both sexes appear together in such a way that it is uncertain from which they should properly receive their name... p. 47.)
F. Commentary:

The hermaphrodites are unnatural in both their physical and social traits. The author was likely recalling Isidore's description of the race, where he describes both the physical characteristic of having both sexes, as well as their reproductive habits.
(40) Himantopodes
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 102].

Himantopodes fluxis nisibus crurium repunt pocius quod incedunt, et pergendi usum lapsu pocius destinant a gresu. ${ }^{38}$

38 "A gressu" for "quam ingressu."
(Himantopodes: with wavering steps of legs, they crawl more than walk; they determine the function of proceeding by slipping rather than by stepping.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, V. 46 (vol. I, p. 379).

Himantopodes loripedes quidam, quibus serpendo ingredi natura sit.
(The Himantopodes are a bandy-legged race, whose nature is to move by crawling.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 31.6 (p. 137).

Himantopodes fluxis nisibus crurum serpunt potius quam incedunt et pergendi usum lapsu magis destinant quam ingressu.
(The Himantopods crawl rather than walk with the unstable efforts of their legs, and they fix upon the habit of proceeding by stumbling rather than by walking.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, III. 103 (p. 78).
Ab eo tractu quem ferae infestant proximi sunt Himantopodes inflexi lentis cruribus, quos serpere potius quam ingredi referunt...
(Next after the stretch that the wild beasts infest are the Himantopodes, hunched and rubber-legged, who reportedly slither rather than walk... p. 130.)
F. Commentary:

The Himantopodes are another race clearly derived from Solinus. Not only are the inscriptions nearly identical, there is no mention of the race in Isidore.
(41) Philli
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, pp. 102-3].

Philli pudicitiam uxorum probant obiectu nouiter natorum serpentibus.
(The Phylli demonstrate the chastity of their wives by exposing newborns to serpents.)
[An inscription beside the Phylli mentions the serpents.] mons ardens, serpentibus plena.
(A burning mountain, with many serpents.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 14 (vol. II, pp. 5-6).
similis et in Africa Psyllorum gens fuit, ut Agatharchides scribit, a Psyllo rege dicta, cuius sepulcrum in parte Syrtium Maiorum est. horum corpori ingenitum fuit virus exitiale serpentibus et cuius odore sopirent eas; mos vero liberos genitos protinus obiciendi saevissimis earum eoque genere pudicitiam coniugum experiendi, non profugientibus adulterino sanguine natos serpentibus. haec gens ipsa quidem prope internicione sublata est a Nasamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent sedes. genus tamen hominum ex iis, qui profugerant aut cum pugnatum est afuerant, hodieque remanet in paucis.
(And in Africa was a similar race, the Psylli, so Agatharchides writes, named after king Psyllus, whose tomb is in the region of Syrtes Maiores. A poison, deadly to snakes, was engendered in their bodies and by its odor they put snakes to sleep; truly they had a custom of immediately exposing newborn children to the fiercest snakes and of testing the virtue of spouses by that species, because the snakes did not flee
from children with adulterous blood. Indeed, this very tribe was nearly eliminated by slaughter by the Nasamones, who now hold their places. However, there still remains a race of men, few in numbers, descended from those, who had escaped were absent from the battle.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 27.41-42 (pp. 124-25).

Supra Garamantas Psylli fuerunt, contra noxium virus muniti incredibili corporis firmitate. soli morsibus anguium non interibant et quamvis dente letali appetiti incorrupta durabant sanitate. recens etiam editos serpentibus offerebant: si essent partus adulteri, matrum crimina plectebantur interitu parvulorum: si pudici, probos ortus a morte paterni sanguinis privilegium tuebatur: sic originis fidem probabant venenis iudicantibus. sed haec gens interivit a Nassamonibus capta nec quicquam aliud praeter opinionem de vestigio nominis sui Psylli reliquerunt.
(Beyond the Garamantes were the Psylli, protected against hurtful venom by the incredible strength of their body. They alone would not die by the bites of snakes and even if attacked by a death-dealing tooth, they would survive with unimpaired health. Moreover, they would offer newborns to serpents: if the offspring were adulterous, the crimes of the mothers would be punished by the death of the little ones; if the offspring were pure, the prerogative of the father's blood would protect the honest births from death: thus they would prove the faithfulness of the child's origin by the judgement of venom. But this people perished, having been captured by the Nassamones, nor did the Psylli leave anything else beside the reputation of the remains of their name.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

Again, the Hereford author relies on Solinus. Although there is very little common vocabulary, the Hereford inscription matches Solinus's description in its content. The Hereford author has taken the liberty of presenting the race as still existing, whereas Solinus clearly indicates the demise of the race at the hands of the Nassamones, who are absent from the map altogether.

## (42) Blemmies

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 103].

Blemee os et oculos habent in pectore.
(Blemmies have eyes and a mouth in their chests.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, V. 45 (vol. I, p. 379).

Blemmy is traduntur capita abesse, ore et oculis pectori adfixis.
(The Blemmies are believed to lack heads, with mouth and eyes affixed in their chests.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 31.5 (p.137).

Blemyas credunt truncos nasci parte qua caput est, os tamen et oculos habere in pectore.
(Some people believe that the Blemmies are born cut short in the part in which the head is, instead having their mouth and eyes in their chests.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.17.

Blemmyas in Libya credunt truncos sine capite nasci, et os et oculos habere in pectore.
(It is believed that the Blemmies in Libya are born without a head, having eyes in their chest.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, I. 48 (p. 11-12).
Blemyis capita absunt, vultus in pectore est.
(The Blemyes lack heads; their face is on their chest. p. 48.)
Augustine, De civitate Dei, XVI. 8 (p. 42).
quosdam sine cervice oculos habentes in umeris, et cetera hominum vel quasi hominum genera.
(There are certain men with no necks, who have their eyes in their shoulders... p. 43.) F. Commentary:

The Blemmies are a very popular race, and have been included in most discussions of strange races. The Hereford author has copied Solinus nearly verbatim, as has Isidore. The attestation of this race in such a large number of sources, and by such important authorities as Augustine and Isidore attests to the belief in the existence of the race.
(43) Sirens
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 108].

Hic sirene habundant.
(Here sirens abound.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii. 30 .

Sirenas tres fingunt fuisse ex parte virgines, ex parte volucres, habentes alas et ungulas: quarum una voce, altera tibiis, tertia lyra canebant. Quae inlectos navigantes sub cantu in naufragium trahebant. Secundum veritatem autem meretrices fuerunt, quae transeuntes quoniam deducebant ad egestatem, his fictae sunt inferre naufragia. Alas autem habuisse et unculas, quia amor et volat et vulnerat. Quae inde in fluctibus conmorasse dicuntur, quia fluctus Venerem creaverunt.
(They pretend that there were three sirens, formed from one part virgins, one part birds, having wings and talons: who made music, one with a voice, the second with a flute and the third with a lyre. They drew enticed sailors to shipwreck through the power of their song. However, according to the truth, they were harlots who, since they led passers by to poverty, they are feigned to have brought shipwrecks to them.

But they are feigned to have had wings and talons, because love both flies and
wounds. They are said to have lingered in the waves for this reason: because the waves created Venus.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, II. 69 (p. 44).
Petrae quas Sirenes habitarunt,...
(Petrae (which the Sirens once inhabited)... p. 88.)
F. Commentary:

This inscription is quite brief, but its source can be cited. Bevan and Phillott identify Æthicus as the source for the inclusion of this island, based on the nearby island of Sirticine. Isidore's skepticism at the existence of the sirens has been ignored, and the sirens are given a home on the map.
(44) Epiphagi
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 103].

Isti os et oculos habent in humeris.
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 23 (vol. II, p. 9).
non longe eos a Trogodytis abesse, rursusque ab his occidentem versus quosdam sine cervice oculos in umeris habentes.
(He writes that they are not far from the Troglodytes, and again from there to the west there are certain ones without necks, having eyes in their shoulders. ${ }^{39}$ )
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 52.32 (p. 188).

[^45]sunt qui cervicibus carent et in umeris habent oculos.
(There are those who lack necks and have their eyes in their shoulders.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.17.

Alios sine cervicibus gigni, oculos habentes in humeris.
(Others are born without necks, having eyes in their shoulders.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela beyond the Blemmies mentioned above (42).]
F. Commentary:

A variant on the Blemmies (42), Isidore and the Hereford author again follow Solinus's lead. On the map itself, the Blemmies and the Epiphagi are represented one atop the other, as though the author wishes to represent a similar origin, or some relationship between the races, rather than separating them as the Sciopods (37) and Monocoli (29), or the Giants (32) and Cynocephali (1).
(45) Maritime Ethiopians
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 103].

Marmini ${ }^{40}$ Ethiopes quaternos oculos habent.
(The Marmini Ethiopians have four eyes each.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VI. 194 (vol. I, p. 511 ).

[^46]regio supra Sirbitum, ubi desinunt montes, traditur a quibusdam habere maritimos Aethiopas, Nisicathas, Nisitas, quod significat ternum et quaternum oculorum viros, non quia sic sint, sed quia sagittis praecipua contemplatione utantur.
(Beyond this, the region of Sirbitum, where the mountains end, is reported by certain authors to have the maritime Ethiopians, Nisicathae and Nisitae, which signify men with three and four eyes, not because they are so, but because they use arrows with extraordinary keenness of sight.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 30.6 (p. 131).
maritimos Aethiopas quaternos oculos dicunt habere: sed fides alia est, illa denique quod et vident plurimum et manifestissime destinant iactus sagittarum. (They say that the Maritime Ethiopians have four eyes: but the truth is otherwise, namely that they both see very much and they aim the shooting of arrows very clearly.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

Were the Hereford map the elder work, Solinus could easily be correcting the author's description of the Marmini. Although Solinus is careful to distance himself from other authors, and is trying to set the record straight on the four-eyed Ethiopians, the author of the Hereford map omits the "dicunt" and depicts a four-eyed man on the
map, emphasizing the difference in a very physical, obvious way. This also allows for wider understanding of the race's difference, instead of relying on an image of an archer and demanding independent knowledge. It also further distances the peoples of Africa from the English, in that they have been made physically different, rather than simply better archers, as described by Pliny and Solinus.
(46) Ethiopians
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 103].

Gangines Ethiopes. Amicitia cum eis non est.
(The Ethiopian Gangines. There is no friendship with them.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 31.5 (p. 137).

Gamphasantes abstinent proeliis, fugiunt commercia, nulli se extero misceri sinunt.
(The Gamphasantes abstain from combat, they flee commerce, they permit themselves to mingle with no outsider.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, III. 67 (p. 71).
oras tenent ab Indo ad Gangen Palibotri, a Gange ad Colida, nisi ubi magis quam ut habitetur exaestuat, atrae gentes et quodammodo Aethiopes.
(The Palibrothi hold the coastline from Point Tamus to the Ganges. From the Ganges to Point Colis, except where it is too hot to be inhabited, are found black peoples, Aethiopians so to speak. p. 120.)
F. Commentary:

This inscription offers an interesting departure for the Hereford author. Although the text resembles Solinus's intention, in that the races do not interact with others, the texts are quite different. The identification of the Gangines with the Gamphasantes is a conjecture of Bevan and Phillott, who suggest the direct source is likely Martianus Capella, whose description the Hereford inscription most resembles.
(47) Agriophagi
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 106].

Agriophagi Ethiopes solas panterarum et leonum carnes edunt habentes regem cuius in fronte [oculus] ${ }^{41}$ unus est.
(The Ethiopian Agriophagi only eat the flesh of panthers and lions, and they have a king in whose forehead is one eye.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 30.6 (p. 131).
occidentem versus Agriophagi tenent, qui solas pantherarum et leonum carnes edunt, rege praediti, cuius in fronte oculus unus est.

[^47](The Agriophagi, who eat only the flesh of panthers and lions, hold the region to the west, and are ruled by a king, in whose head is one eye.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii. 16.

Hi et $\alpha ́ \gamma \rho \iota o \varphi \alpha \gamma \iota \tau \downarrow$ dicuntur, propter quod solas ferarum carnes edunt.
(They are also called Agriophagitai, because they only eat the flesh of wild animals.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

This inscription is clearly derived from Solinus, rather than Isidore. Although they both share comments about the diet of the Agriophagi, the Hereford author follows the specificity of the Collectanea, as well as describing the king as a cyclops. It is also unlikely that the race was named after Isidore, as there is a slight difference in spelling; this shift is entirely absent in comparison with Solinus.

## $(48,49)$ Troglodytes

A. Texts of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 104].

Trocodite mire sceleres, ${ }^{42}$ specu accolunt, serpentes edunt, feras saltibus apprehendunt.
(The troglodytes are exceedingly swift, they dwell in a cave, they eat snakes, they seize wild animals by jumping.)

Trocoditee.

[^48]
## (Troglodytes.)

Hic fons apud trocoditas fures cecitate arguens.
(This fountain near the Troglodites exposes thieves by blindness.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, VII. 31 (vol. II, p. 12).

Trogodytas super Aethiopiam velociores equis esse Pergamenus Crates, item Aethiopas octona cubita longitudine excedere; Syrbotas vocari gentem eam. (Pergamenus Crates writes that the Troglodytes beyond Ethiopia are faster than horses, moreover there are Ethiopians who each exceed twelve feet in height ${ }^{43}$; that race is called Syrbotae.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 31.3 (p. 137); 56,9.

Trogodytae specus excavant, illis teguntur. Nullus ibi habendi amor: a divitiis paupertate se abdicaverunt voluntaria. Tantum lapide uno gloriantur, quem hexecontalithon nominamus, tam diversis notis sparsum, ut sexaginta gemmarum colores in parvo orbiculo eius deprehendantur. Homines isti camibus vivunt serpentium ignarique sermonis stridunt potius quam loquuntur. (The Troglodytes dig caves and they are concealed in them. There is no love of possessions there: they have renounced wealth through voluntary poverty. They glory in one stone alone, that which we call hexecontalithon, ${ }^{44}$ spotted with such different marks that the colors of sixty gems may be discerned in its small circumference. These men live on serpents' flesh and, ignorant of language, they hiss rather than speak.)

[^49]D. Isidore, Etymologiae, IX.ii.129; XIII.xiii.9.
IX.ii.129: Trochoditae gens Aethiopum, ideo nuncupati, quod tanta celeritate pollent ut feras cursu pedum adsequantur.
(The Troglodytes are an Ethiopian race, named for this reason: they possess such great swiftness that they capture wild animals by running on foot.)
XIII.xiii.9: In Trogodytis lacus est; ter [in] die fit amarus et deinde totiens dulcis. (In the land of the Troglodytes is a lake; three times a day it is made bitter and afterwards as many times sweet.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, I. 44 (p. 11).
trogodytae nullarum opum domini strident magis quam locuntur, specus subeunt alunturque serpentibus.
(The Trogodytae own no resources, and rather than speak, they make a high-pitched sound. They creep around deep in caves and are nurtured by serpents. pp. 47-8.) F. Commentary:

The Hereford author seems to owe a debt to both Solinus and Isidore for describing the Troglodytes. The first inscription, describing the Troglodytes themselves, is largely based on Solinus's description, which places them in caves, and describes their diet of snakes. Isidore adds their great swiftness, and the presence of miraculous water. The author of the map, however, has changed the properties of the water, and describes the water and the race differently from either source.

## (50) Getuli, Natabres, Garamantes

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 93].

Hic barbari Getuli, Natabres et Garamantes habitant.
(Here live the barbarian Getuli, Natabres and Garamantes.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of these races.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 30.2-3 (p. 130).

Garamantici Aethiopes matrimonia privatim nesciunt, sed omnibus in venerem vulgo licet. inde est quod filios matres tantum recognoscunt: nam paterni nominis nulla reverentia est. quis enim verum patrem noverit in hac luxuria incesti lascivientis? eapropter Garamantici Aethiopes inter omnes populos degeneres habentur: nec inmerito, quia adflicta disciplina castitatis successionis notitiam ritu improbo perdiderunt.
(The Ethiopian Garamantes know nothing of private marriage, but everyone is allowed sexual love in public. Hence it is that the children only know their mothers: there is no respect for the father's name. Who indeed knows their true father in this impure wanton excess? Therefore the Garamantici Ethiopians are thought degenerate among all peoples; nor undeservedly, because having attacked the teachings of chastity, they lost the knowledge of their descent as a result of their shameful custom.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]

## E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, I. 23 (p. 6).
at super ea quae Libyco mari adluuntur Libyes Aegyptii sunt et Leucoaethiopes et natio frequens multiplexque Gaetuli. Deinde late vacat regio perpetuo tractu inhabilis. Tum primos ab oriente Garamantas, post Augilas et Trogodytas, et ultimos ad occasum Atlantas audimus.
(On those shores washed by the Libyan Sea, however, are found the Libyan Aegyptians, the White Aethiopians, and, a populous and numerous nation, the Gaetuli. Then a region, uninhabitable in its entire length, covers a broad and vacant expanse. At that point we hear of the Garamantes as the first people to the east; after them, the Augilae and Trogodytae; and farthest to the west, the Atlantes. p. 40.) Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, 1.45 (p. 11). apud Garamantas etiam armenta sunt eaque obliqua cervice pascuntur, nam pronis directa in humum cornua officiunt.
(There are also herd animals among the Garamantes, and those animals feed with their necks at an odd angle since their horns, when directed at the ground, get in their way as they bend down. p. 48.)

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, III. 104 (p. 78).
Nigritarum Gaetulorumque passim vagantium ne litora quidem infecunda sunt. (Not even the coasts of the Nigritae and the Gaetuli, who are quite nomadic, are infertile. p. 130.)
F. Commentary:

Bevan and Phillott note that the Hereford author follows Orosius in this inscription. Orosius has placed the Garamantes, Gaetuli and Nothabres together in part of Africa, and refers to all of them as "barbari., ${ }^{45}$
(51) Sienee
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 84].

Turris vel civitas Siene.
(Tower and city of the Sienese.)
Sienee gentes.
(Sienese people.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia, II. 183 (vol. I, p. 197).

Simili modo tradunt in Syene oppido, quod est supra Alexandriam quinque milibus stadium, solstiti die medio nullam umbram iaci puteumque eius experimenti gratia factum totum inluminari. Ex quo apparere tum solem illi loco supra verticem esse, quod et in India supra flumen Hypasim fieri tempore eodem Onesicritus scribit. (Similarly it is believed that in the town of Syene, which is 500 stades from Alexandria, at noon on the day of the solstice no shadow is cast and that a well made only for the sake of this experiment is entirely filled with light. From this the sun appears to be vertically above that place. Onesicritus writes that this also happens at the same time in India above the Hypasis river.)
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.

[^50][No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:

Ezekiel XXX.6.
haec dicit Dominus Deus et corruent fulcientes Aegyptum et destruetur superbia imperii eius a turre Syenes gladio cadent in ea ait Dominus exercituum.
(Thus says the Lord: Those who support Egypt shall fall, and the pride of its empire shall be destroyed. From the tower of Syene they shall fall within it by the sword, says the Lord of Hosts.)
F. Commentary:

This pair of inscriptions seems to be drawn from Scripture. There are a number of other items on the map drawn from the Bible. Syene is at the edge of the world, as mentioned in Ezekiel; the city is separated from the Ethiopian strange races by the Nile River, and the Great Ocean lies to the south of the races.

## (52) Gens Labro Prominenti

A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 83].

Gens labro prominenti unde sibi faciem obumbrans ad solem.
(A people with a prominent lip with which they shade their face from the sun.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii. 18.

Aliae labro subteriori adeo prominenti ut in solis ardoribus totam ex eo faciem contegant dormientes.
(Others [are born] with a lower lip projecting so far that in the heat of the sun they cover their face with it while sleeping.)
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The Gens Labro Prominenti are solely represented in Isidore in this case.
However, they may be found in other sources, and the common words are not rare enough to warrant definitive identification of Isidore as the source.
(53) Fauni
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 83].

Fauni semicaballi homines.
(Fauns, half-horse men.)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.
[No mention of this race.]
D. Isidore, Etymologiae.
[No mention of this race.]
E. Other:
[No mention in Augustine or Mela.]
F. Commentary:

The fauni have no parallel in any of the three main sources. The image accompanying the text depicts a centaur. Fauns and centaurs were initially separate beings in mythology, but Bevan and Phillott mention that they became associated in later times, as they have been here.
(54) Satyrs
A. Text of the Hereford map [Bevan and Phillott, p. 83].

Satirii ... ${ }^{46}$
(Satyrs)
B. Pliny, Naturalis historia.
[No mention of this race.]
C. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 31.5 (p. 137).

Satyri de hominibs nihil aliud praeferunt quam figuram.
(Satyrs display nothing human but the form.)
D. Isidore, Etymologiae, XI.iii.21.

[^51]Satyri homunciones sunt aduncis naribus; cornua in frontibus, et caprarum pedibus similes, qualem in solitudine Antonius sanctus vidit. Qui etiam interrogatus Dei servo respondisse fertur dicens (Hieron. Vit. Paul. erem. 8): 'Mortalis ego sum unus ex accolis heremi, quos vario delusa errore gentilitas Faunos Satyrosque colit.' Dicuntur quidam et silvestres homines, quos nonnulli Faunos ficarios vocant. (Satyrs are little men with hooked noses, with horns in the forehead, and with feet like goats, like the one that St. Anthony saw in the desert. Also, having been questioned, he is reported to have responded to the servant of God, saying (Jerome, Life of Paul the Hermit, 8): 'I am mortal, one of the inhabitants of the desert, whom heathens, having been deluded by various errors, worship as fauns and satyrs.')
XII.ii.33:

Satyri facie admodum grata, et gesticulatis motibus inquieti.
(Satyrs have a rather pleasing face, and are restless with agitated movements.)
E. Other:

Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, I. 48 (p. 12).
Satyris praeter effigiem nihil humani.
(The satyrs have nothing human except their superficial appearance. p. 48.)

## F. Commentary:

The inscription has been erased, and identification is impossible. A case for either Isidore or Solinus can be made in this instance; the inscription is short enough to reflect Solinus, but the accompanying image reflects Isidore's description. It is more likely that Isidore is the source for the satyr, based on the image.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSIONS

As noted in Chapter II, Bevan and Phillott wrote that the author of the Hereford map relied heavily upon Solinus for the inscriptions pertaining to the strange races. Bevan and Phillott identify thirty-two (of the fifty-four) races on the map that are mentioned by Solinus, and thirty of the races that are mentioned by Isidore. Some of the races, as shown in the previous chapter, are unique to the Hereford map (for example, the Tigolopes), and others are shared by all three major sources considered in this thesis (for example, the Blemmies and Pygmies). Purely statistical analysis, therefore, will not solve the question of sources for the strange races.

Textual analysis, however, reveals a great number of similarities between the inscriptions on the map and Solinus's Collectanea rerum memorabilium. Eleven texts are drawn from Solinus's Collectanea: Scythians (4), Scitotauri (5), Cathari (6), Essedones (7), Hyperboreans (8), Arimaspi (11), Phanesii (22), Straw Drinkers (38), Himantopodes (40), Maritime Ethiopians (45), and Agriophagi (47). Indeed, for the Agriophagi, it is possible to correct a scribal omission by using Solinus's text. The Hereford map says "Agriophagi Ethiopes solas panterarum et leonum carnes edunt
habentes regem cuius in fronte unus est." Solinus, also discussing the Agriophagi, says a bit more: "occidentem versus Agriophagi tenent, qui solas pantherarum et leonum carnes edunt, rege praediti, cuius in fronte oculus unus est." ${ }^{2}$ The author has here identified the "qui" of the Solinus excerpt, and has otherwise quoted Solinus directly. The image on the map shows a clothed figure with a crown and scepter and one eye in his forehead. The inscription for the Cathari can be similarly amended. ${ }^{3}$

Solinus is directly cited as the source for the Hyperborians, Astomi, and the inhabitants of the Eones Islands, as well as a passing reference for the Anthropophagi:
"Isti inclusi idem esse creduntur qui a Solino Antropophagi dicuntur inter quos et Essedones numerantur..." ${ }^{4}$ Solinus does, in fact, count the Essedones among the Anthropophagi: "Inter Anthropophagos in Asiatica parte numerantur Essedones..."5 The Hereford inscription elaborates upon the enclosure, drawing on Alexandrian legend, and distancing itself from Solinus.

Isidore is nowhere mentioned in connection with the strange races, although his influence can be felt in six inscriptions: Hippopodes (25), Pygmies (30), Persians (34), Hermaphrodites (39), Gens Labro Prominenti (52), and Satyrs (54). Isidore's mention is likely responsible for the inclusion of the minotaurs as a race. The Etymologiae is seemingly responsible for the depiction of the satyr on the Hereford

[^52]map, although the inscription may have derived from Solinus. ${ }^{6}$ Similarly, the inscriptions for the Gens Labro Prominenti and Albani share words with Isidore's text, but as they are relatively common words for describing the traits of these two races, this similarity cannot establish the Etymologiae as a source for either race. ${ }^{7}$

Further challenging the likelihood of the author's dependence upon Isidore are the inscriptions for Magog and the sirens. The Hereford map's description of the peoples of Gog and Magog ${ }^{8}$ is more disturbing than Isidore's, and likely reflects the author's reliance on sources other than Isidore for the strange races. Likewise, Isidore clearly regards the sirens as mythological creatures. Looking at other inscriptions on the map, Isidore is credited only with supplying the inscription for the monoceros (unicorn), and Pliny is mentioned nowhere on the map.

Given the large number of parallels between the Hereford texts and Solinus, as well as the direct citation of Solinus as a source of so many inscriptions of various types, it is extremely likely that Solinus's Collectanea rerum memorabilium was used by the map's author directly. Other works (as discussed in Chapter III) certainly affected the variety and naming of the races, but Solinus is clearly the major source for textual descriptions of the strange races. Further supporting the theory that the author had a copy of Solinus, he is connected to a few other entries, as well, notably the Eale, Rhinoceros, and Ganges River.

[^53]
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ P. D. A. Harvey, Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map (London: The British Library, 1996), p. 7; also Naomi Kline, A Wheel of Memory CD-Rom (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).
    ${ }^{2}$ Harvey, Mappa Mundi, p. 7.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ Harvey, Mappa Mundi, p. 54. The inscription reads "Richard de haldingham o de Lafford."
    ${ }^{4}$ Harvey, Mappa Mundi, p. 7.
    ${ }^{5}$ W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, Mediæeval Geography: An Essay in Illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi (1873; reprint, Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing \& Co., 1969), pp. 2-7. They also discuss an earlier essay, published in 1861, which identifies Richard de Bello as the author of the map.
    ${ }^{6}$ Harvey, Mappa Mundi, pp. 9-10.

[^2]:    ${ }^{7}$ Although Richard was in the church for sixty-six years (1260-1326), these calculations expect he had been 20 before becoming rector in Kent.
    ${ }^{8}$ Harvey, Mappa Mundi, pp. 9-10.
    ${ }^{9}$ N. Denholm-Young, "The Mappa Mundi of Richard of Haldingham at Hereford," Speculum 32 (1957), pp. 307-14, at p. 308.
    ${ }^{10}$ Bevan and Phillott, pp. 6-7, mention both their own dating and that of M.
    D'Avezac. G. R. Crone dated the map for Marcel Destombes, ed., Mappemondes A. D. 1200-1500: Catalogue préparé par la Commission des Cartes Anciennes de l'Union Géographique Internationale (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964), p. 197.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ C. Plinius Secundus, Naturalis historia, 7 vol., ed. C. Mayhoff (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1985), II. 5 (vol. I, p.. 129): "That its shape has been rounded into the form of a perfect globe is shown by its name in the first place, and by the agreement of men on it naming it 'orb,' and also by the evidence of the things themselves."

[^4]:    ${ }^{2}$ For a fuller derivation of the zonal map, see J. B. Harley and David Woodward, The History of Cartography, 6 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987-2000), I, p. 300.
    ${ }^{3}$ Harley and Woodward divide world maps into four categories: Tripartite, Zonal, Quadripartite (a conflation of Tripartite and Zonal), and Transitional. Harley and Woodward, History of Cartography, I, pp. 296-9.
    ${ }^{4}$ Ernest Brehaut, An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville (New York: Burt Franklin, 1912), p. 37.

[^5]:    ${ }^{\text {s }}$ For more, see Evelyn Edson, Mapping Time and Space (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 164-6.
    ${ }^{6}$ St. Augustine, The City of God against the Pagans, 7 vols., ed. and trans. Eva Matthews Sanford and William McAllen Green, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), XVI. 9 (pp. 48-53).

[^6]:    ${ }^{7}$ Sallust, Lucan and Vergil all refer to the world in terms of the T-O design, although it is uncertain if any of their texts included tripartite maps before their transcription in the Middle Ages. See Edson, Mapping Time and Space, pp. 18-24.
    ${ }^{8}$ The passage most often associated with tripartite maps is the division of the world by Noah's sons, Genesis, 9-10. The names of the sons are often included on the continents they received to populate: Shem, Asia; Japheth, Europe; Ham, Africa.

[^7]:    ${ }^{9}$ Snorri Sturluson, The Prose Edda: Tales from Norse Mythology, trans. Jean I. Young (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1954), p. 25.

[^8]:    ${ }^{10} E z e k i e l, 5.5$ : "Thus says the Lord God: This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the center of the nations, with countries all around her." Revelation, 21.2: "And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."
    ${ }^{11}$ Harley and Woodward, History of Cartography, pp. 299-318.
    ${ }^{12}$ Harley and Woodward, History of Cartography, p. 302.

[^9]:    ${ }^{13}$ P. D. A. Harvey, Medieval Maps (London: British Library, 1991), p. 25.

[^10]:    ${ }^{14}$ W. L. Bevan and H. W. Phillott, Mediceval Geography: An Essay in Illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi (1873; reprint, Amsterdam: Meridian Publishing \& Co., 1969). Hereafter referred to as Bevan and Phillott.
    ${ }^{15}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 8. Ormesta is an acronym for Orosii Mundi Istoria, or History of the world by Orosius.
    ${ }^{16}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 9.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ John Block Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought
    (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 34.
    ${ }^{2}$ Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942): 159-97, at p. 160, note 1.

[^12]:    ${ }^{3}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 160.
    ${ }^{4}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 160. The first known appearance of pygmies is in the Iliad III,6.
    ${ }^{5}$ These people were later identified with the antipodes, a legendary race living south of the equator in the southern temperate zone.

[^13]:    ${ }^{6}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 162.
    ${ }^{7}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," pp. 163-4.
    ${ }^{8}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 164. The unicorn has been connected to the Indian rhinoceros, and the Astomi to Himalayan tribesmen who used strongly smelling fruits as a remedy to height-sickness.
    ${ }^{9}$ Megasthenes cites the Brahmans as his source for many of the strange races. This is reported in Strabo's Geography (XV, I, 57). See R. C. Majumdar, The Classical Accounts of India (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960), for Strabo's account. ${ }^{10}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 165.

[^14]:    ${ }^{11}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 165.
    ${ }^{12}$ Strabo, Geography (XV, 2), in John W. McCrindle, Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1971), p. 7. Strabo is reluctant to accept much of what has been written about India, as the reporters were generally soldiers, who "marched in haste" through the region, and often contradict their fellow soldiers.

[^15]:    ${ }^{13}$ J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Calcutta: Chuckjervertty, Chatterjee \& Co., Ltd, 1960), p. 6 note.
    ${ }^{14}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 167.
    ${ }^{15}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 167.
    ${ }^{16}$ The Beowulf-manuscript (British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv) contains the Old English versions of both the Letter and the Wonders of the East along with Beowulf. Andy Orchard edited the Latin and Old English texts of the Letter in Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995). The Letter was later translated into Middle English, and the Middle English version is found in a single manuscript of the fifteenth century. See Vincent DiMarco and Leslie Perelman, The Middle English Letter of Alexander to Aristotle (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi N. V., 1978), for the Middle English text. Translations into Middle Irish, Old Icelandic, French and German also exist; see Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds., Medieval England: An Encyclopedia (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), p. 418.

[^16]:    ${ }^{17}$ Friedman, The Monstrous Races, p. 7.
    ${ }^{18}$ The Letter of Pharasmanes to Emperor Hadrian was copied often and the author was given various names. Some copyists also changed the recipient from Hadrian to Trajan. It was translated into various vernaculars. See Friedman, The Monstrous Races, p. 7, for more information on these two letters.
    ${ }^{19}$ The Wonders of the East is also known as The Marvels of the East.
    ${ }^{20}$ Szarmach, et al., Medieval England, p. 494.

[^17]:    ${ }^{21}$ John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg, eds., Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), p. 341.
    ${ }^{22}$ St. Augustine, The City of God against the Pagans, 7 vols., ed. and trans. Eva Matthews Sanford and William McAllen Green, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 41.
    ${ }^{23}$ Augustine, City of God, p. 43.
    ${ }^{24}$ Augustine, City of God, p. 49.

[^18]:    ${ }^{25}$ Isidore, Etymologiarum sive originum libri $X X$, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford:
    Clarendon Press, 1962), XI.iii.
    ${ }^{26}$ Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," p. 169. Hrabanus's De universo is, essentially, a gloss on Isidore's Etymologiae.
    ${ }^{27}$ Books XV and XVI are a treatise on Geography, and Bartholomew discusses some of the strange races that exist in Ethiopia and India. For a discussion of the date of

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ Moderm English names have been taken from Friedman, The Monstrous Races, pp. 9-21. Where no name is reported in Friedman, the name used by the Hereford artist or the location of the race has been used.
    ${ }^{2}$ F. E. Roemer, Pomponius Mela's Description of the World (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988); Saint Augustine, The City of God against the Pagans, 7 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965).
    ${ }^{3}$ Naomi Kline, $A$ Wheel of Memory, CD-Rom (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, forthcoming); Bevan and Phillott, Mediaeval Geography.

[^20]:    ${ }^{4}$ C. Plinius Secundus, Naturalis historia, 7 vols., ed. C. Mayhoff (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1985); Pomponius Mela, De chorographia, ed. C. Frick (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1967); Solinus, Collectanea memorabilium rerum, ed. T. H. Mommsen (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1979); Isidore, Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx, 2 vols., ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). It should be noted that the Isidore does not have individual page numbers, and only references to the section of the text are supplied here.

[^21]:    ${ }^{5}$ Literally, cynocephali means "dog-head."

[^22]:    ${ }^{6}$ Information on the Liber Breac and Raramnus is from Medieval Saints: A Reader, ed. Mary-Ann Stouck (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999), p. 561.

[^23]:    ${ }^{7}$ Bevan and Phillot, p. 59.

[^24]:    ${ }^{8}$ Bevan and Phillott suggest that the name is a corruption of "Satarchae."
    ${ }^{9}$ For "publica."

[^25]:    ${ }^{10}$ For "vindicaverunt."

[^26]:    ${ }^{11}$ For "taeduit."

[^27]:    ${ }^{12}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 62.

[^28]:    ${ }^{13}$ Isidore has just introduced the nomadic races of Scythia as a new topic.

[^29]:    ${ }^{14}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 52.

[^30]:    ${ }^{15}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 55.
    ${ }^{16}$ For "pupillam."

[^31]:    ${ }^{17}$ Pliny's source is Isigonus of Nicea.

[^32]:    ${ }^{18}$ For "minotauris."

[^33]:    ${ }^{19}$ For "sunt."
    ${ }^{20}$ For "filii."

[^34]:    ${ }^{21}$ Literally, anthropophagi means "man-eaters."

[^35]:    ${ }^{22}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 53.
    ${ }^{23}$ I.e. the Nomads.

[^36]:    ${ }^{24}$ For "ovis."

[^37]:    ${ }^{25}$ For "hippopodes."

[^38]:    ${ }^{26}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 75; Harvey, Mappa Mundi, p. 40.

[^39]:    ${ }^{28}$ I have changed the punctuation here by inserting a period. Pliny also explicitly noted that these races are 3 times 9 inches (ternos dodrantes), and I have substituted the proper measurement.

[^40]:    ${ }^{29}$ A juger is approximately half an acre.
    ${ }^{30}$ The Greek word for pygmy translates to "a cubit (in height)."

[^41]:    ${ }^{31}$ For "ad."

[^42]:    ${ }^{32}$ Genesis 9-10.
    ${ }^{33}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 82.

[^43]:    ${ }^{34}$ For "celeres."
    ${ }^{35}$ For "sunt."
    ${ }^{36}$ The author Pliny refers to is Ktesias.

[^44]:    ${ }^{37}$ For "utriusque."

[^45]:    ${ }^{39}$ Again, Pliny is referring to Ktesias.

[^46]:    ${ }^{40}$ Bevan and Phillott amend this to "Maritimi," thus "Maritime Ethiopians."

[^47]:    ${ }^{41}$ The scribe omitted "oculus."

[^48]:    ${ }^{42}$ For "celeres"

[^49]:    ${ }^{43}$ Pliny says "eight cubits," which converts to twelve feet.
    ${ }^{44}$ Literally, "sixty color stone."

[^50]:    ${ }^{45}$ Bevan and Phillott, p. 93. They do not cite the source for Orosius.

[^51]:    ${ }^{46}$ The remainder of this inscription has been erased.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Chapter IV, no. 47: Agriophagi.
    ${ }^{2}$ Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 30.6 (p. 131).
    ${ }^{3}$ See Chapter IV, no. 6.
    ${ }^{4}$ See Chapter IV, no. 18: Anthropophagi.
    ${ }^{5}$ Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 15,13 (p. 84).

[^53]:    ${ }^{6}$ This is purely conjecture; all attempts to read the text accompanying the image of the satyr have been unsuccessful so far. The satyr is pictured with homs and cloven feet, similar to Isidore's description; the inscription, however, is short enough to parallel either author's text. See Harvey, Mappa Mundi, p. 16, caption.
    ${ }^{7}$ See Chapter IV, no. 15: Albani and no. 52: Amycytrae.
    ${ }^{8}$ See Chapter IV, no. 3: Terraconta.

