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Images of ethnicity in later medieval Europe

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4

Moral Catalogues of Mankind

Although catalogues of ethnic groups, their virtues and vices, are not exclusive to the Latin world, it is especially in Latin manuscripts in the West that catalogues crop up from the tenth century onwards.¹ These ethnic catalogues listing virtues and vices should be viewed first and foremost as ethical devices. Ruminating about the transient nature of the world, the fleetingness of all things created, monks could take these lists to hand and pause on the sins and virtues of nations in time and space, on an east-west axis. Although Nicholas Howe has argued that catalogues present information firstly for knowledge's sake,² it is their moral-rhetorical function – to recall a thing's essence by chewing, as Mary Carruthers termed the monastic exercise of meditation – which predominates.³ As such, these lists should be viewed as a product of the medieval oral culture, as tools to remember and ruminate.⁴

1 In an Armenian text of the early eighth century, recorded (although not composed) by archbishop Stephen of Siunik, ten peoples and their speech characteristics are summed up. Borst, *Turmbau von Babel*, vol. 1, 282; Paul de Lagarde, 'Agathangelos', in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Historisch-Philologische Klasse* 35 (1889), 150-163. In the thirteenth century, this list was incorporated by the Armenian Wardan Areveltsi in his history of the world until 1267. As Paul de Lagarde has remarked, in this list language is reflective of a group's putative character. The Greek language is soft-natured, the Latin strong; that of the Huns audacious; the Assyrian humble or suppliant; the Persian rich; the Alan friendly; the Goth pleasant; the Egyptian tongue guttural, the Indian twittering like birds, and the Armenian agreeable, attaining all the qualities of the other languages. De Lagarde conjectures that this list was probably put together in the fifth century by an inhabitant of the East Roman Empire. De Lagarde, 'Agathangelos', 151. I am relying on De Lagarde's translation of the Armenian text.

2 Howe, *Old English Catalogue Poems*, 24.

3 Mary Carruthers uses this notion of chewing and images as food for memory work and meditation in the *Craft of Thought*, for example on page 136.

4 Stanzel, 'Zur literarischen Imagologie', 35-36 discusses Jack Goody's concept (in *Domestication of the Savage Mind*) that schematization arose from the transition from an oral to a written culture, in which memory and orality remain dominant. As Mary Carruthers argues throughout *The Craft of Thought*, however, it is especially within an oral culture that such schemas were necessary in order to memorize. According to Umberto Eco, the list is typical of primitive cultures, which lack a precise image of the universe. In such cultures, an attempt is made to list as many properties as possible without hierarchy. Listing (accidental) properties thus begins when we cannot grasp the boundaries of that which we wish to portray. Thus, as Eco notes, the list returns in the Middle Ages in encyclopaedic texts defining the material and spiritual. Cf. Eco, *Infinity of Lists*, 18. However, the function of these lists is not necessarily to grasp boundaries.

Lists could easily be memorized in the classroom, just as school children today still have to chant the names of counties, capitals or continents. But even so, I believe that it is highly likely that these catalogues, within their encyclopaedic context, served more than a practical function. This has to do with medieval hermeneutics, wherein encyclopaedic knowledge had both an educational, religious and moral purpose – these went hand in hand. In effect, just as most medieval maps, with the exception of the late medieval maps containing nautical information, were not intended to offer a topographical representation of the world, so these ethnic catalogues did not serve to offer practical information.⁵ Knowledge of geographical places, described by means of an etymology of their names, offered a tool in understanding the Bible's hidden messages.⁶ Moreover, by recollecting biblical geography, an important stage of events in the life story of humanity, by chewing on the diversity of mankind, remembering peoples' role in history and their ethnic 'essence', monks could thus hope to incur wisdom and strengthen their moral character.⁷ Searching through the 'pockets of memory' in their mind, those in the cloisters could thus hope to recognize sin through picturing the images of sinful peoples in their minds.

In this chapter, the early genesis of these comparative ethnic lists with concise enumerations of (mostly) vices will be discussed. Why did these lists suddenly appear in the tenth century in manuscripts produced in monasteries? Why were ethnic images 'chewed' on in this period? As we shall see, besides serving as common ethical devices for meditation, these ethnic catalogues should also be viewed within the specific medieval Christian concept of God's creation of the world and its teleological destiny, concluding with the Last Things and Final Judgment. It is the moral character of these peoples in relation especially to their (failed) Christianization and possible attainment of God's salvation at the end of time which is the underlying concept of these early ethnic catalogues. Chewing on ethnic images was thus, notably, chewing on the role of nations and their virtues and vices in relation to the end of time.

First, in this chapter, I will discuss the earliest extant ethnic catalogues in relation to their purpose as ethical instruments above repositories of practical information. These ethnic catalogues first appear in manuscripts held in Spanish monastic libraries within an Isidorean context. In addition, the contents of the ethnic lists will be examined – what was the food on which the monks were chewing? Were these characterizations drawn from ancient literary stereotypes, exegetical commentaries, or more practical information? I will then discuss the moral function of these catalogues in relation to comparative schematizations contrasting ethnic virtues and vices. Finally, I will address the internal order of these catalogues, an order which generally follows the geographical-temporal course from East to West. This will be discussed in relation to the eschatological notion of the creation of time in

5 Classified by David Woodward as 'transitional' and by Evelyn Edson as 'detailed' maps. See Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 3 and 7-9.

6 Lozovsky, *The Earth Is Our Book*, 48.

7 Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 30-31, 146. See chapter 1, where I argue that in medieval learning Western intellectuals explored the 'role' of geography not mentioned in the Bible.

the East and the end of all things in the West, when Christendom had reached the farthest peoples on the fringes of the West. Thus, just as the encyclopaedias and *mappae mundi* explained the world and all things and beings in it as part of God's creation in time, so ethnic groups 'fulfilled' their role in the history of mankind, either opening their ears and minds to the apostolic message or, due to their 'innate' ethnic vices, remaining deaf and stubborn in their sinfulness.⁸

The earliest ethnic catalogues can be arranged loosely into two groups: those predominantly listing a set of vices (though often commencing with the glory or wisdom of the Greeks or Egyptians); and those contrasting virtues and vices (usually starting with the envy of the Jews).⁹ First we shall turn to the earliest extant list, often rubricated as 'De proprietatibus gentium' (On the Properties of Peoples), whose point of beginning is Greek wisdom in the East. In the Appendixes, an overview is presented of all the lists discussed in this chapter.

Ethnic lists

At first glance, the composite tenth-century manuscript including the earliest known Latin ethnic catalogue which has come down to us, 'Wisdom of the Greeks, Strength of the Goths', seems to contain much encyclopaedic material for knowledge's sake (Appendix I). It is found in the Codex Aemilianensis, originating from the monastery of Suso in San Millán de la Cogolla, in mountainous La Rioja in northern Spain. The manuscript also contains the ninth-century Asturian *Albelda Chronicle* and *Prophetic Chronicle* and lists twelve peoples and their characteristics, mostly virtues or vices:

The wisdom of the Greeks.

The strength of the Goths.

The knowledge of the Chaldeans.¹⁰

8 See especially Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*; Evelyn Edson, 'World Maps and Easter Tables: Medieval Maps in Context', in *Imago Mundi* 48/1 (1996) 25-34; David Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps', in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75/4 (1985), 510-521. For the interplay between text and image see Uwe Ruberg, 'Mappae Mundi des Mittelalters im Zusammenwirken von Text und Bild', in Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg (eds), *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 1980), 550-592; Marcia Kupfer, 'Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretative Frames', in *Word & Image* 10/3 (1994), 262-288; Kathleen Biddick, 'The ABC of Ptolemy. Mapping the World with the Alphabet', in Tomasch and Gilles (eds), *Text and Territory*, 268-293.

9 See Appendix VI.

10 Here, the knowledge of the Chaldeans refers to their astrological science. Cf. Daniel 1:4 '...children in whom there was no blemish, well favoured, and skillful in all wisdom, acute in knowledge, and instructed in science, and such as might stand in the king's palace, that he might teach them the learning, and tongue of the Chaldeans.' See for example the Arabic Iberian Book of the *Categories of Nations* by Said al-Andalusi: 'Among the Chaldeans, there are many great scholars and well-established savants who contributed generously to all the branches of human knowledge, especially mathematics and theology. They had particular interest in the observation of planets and carefully searched through the secrets of the skies. They had well-established knowledge in the nature of the stars and their influence.' In Sema'an I.

The arrogance of the Romans.¹¹

The ferocity of the Franks.

The wrath of the Britons.

The passion of the Scots.¹²

The hardness of the Saxons.

The cupidity of the Persians.

The envy of the Jews.

The peace of the Ethiopians.¹³

The commerce of the Gauls.¹⁴

The context of the ‘Wisdom of the Greeks’ breathes encyclopaedic learning; it is preceded by a number of geographical items, such as an ‘Enquiry of the Whole World’ (following Iulius Honorius’ fifth-century *Cosmography*), with the number of seas, islands, mountains, provinces and so forth; an ‘Enquiry of Spain’, containing a description of Spain based on Isidore’s *Etymologies*; a list of Visigothic episcopal provinces; of the length of Spanish rivers, and the Seven Wonders of the World.¹⁵ The catalogue is followed by a list of commodities in Iberian regions, such as Narbonne chicken, Baeza figs, Galician honey, and science and education in Toledo in the period when the Goths ruled (Appendix II); a list of the five vowels, semivowels and consonants based on Priscian; a list of distances between Roman towns, and so forth.¹⁶ Although the manuscript does not contain Isidore’s *Etymologies*, the Isidorean – partially encyclopaedic – context is evident.¹⁷ Likewise, in the

Salem and Alok Kumar (eds and transl.), *Science in the Medieval World* (Austin 1991), 18-19. However, the Chaldeans were also viewed as enemies to Israel; in ninth-century Asturia, Saracens were often called Chaldeans, opposing the Goths, the new Israelites. See below, note 86.

11 The arrogance of the Romans possibly alludes to Augustine’s criticism that ancient Rome only desired justice in order to achieve fame, and arrogantly created its gods to enhance its power. Cf. Josef Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam: Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. Bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Lübeck and Hamburg, 1968), 20-21.

12 Cf. Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum*, Patrologia Latina 0610 II. The Scots in this period were the inhabitants of Ireland.

13 Cf. Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* 14, 5-6.

14 Printed in *Chroniques Asturiennes*, ed. Yves Bonnaz (Paris 1987), 11: ‘Sapientia Graecorum. Fortia Gothorum. Consilia Chaldaeorum. Superbia Romanorum. Ferocitas Francorum. Ira Britanniae. Libido Scottorum. Durtia Saxonum. Cupiditas Persarum. Invidia Iudaeorum. Pax Aethioporum. Commercia Gallorum.’ Although the earliest surviving example is contained in the *Chronicle D’Albelda*, completed in November 883, the list is not inserted in all the manuscripts of the chronicle. The oldest containing this list is the Codex Aemilianensis, Madrid Biblioteca Real Academia de la Historia MS 39, and dating circa 950. For the *Albelda Chronicle*, see *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, transl. and ed. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Liverpool 1999), 1-56. See Appendix I. Cf. Bonnaz, ‘Introduction’, in *Chroniques Asturiennes*, xxix-xxx. This section of the manuscript is titled *Liber Chronica*. Cf. Meyvaert, ‘Voicing National Antipathy’ 747; Brühl, *Die Geburt zweier Völker*, 274; Fichtenau, *Horizont*, 80; Bartlett, ‘Concepts of Race and Ethnicity’, 49; Bautier, ‘Peuples, provinces’, 3-4.

15 It deviates from the traditional list. Bonnaz, ‘Introduction’, lxxi note 4.

16 *Chroniques Asturiennes*, ed. Bonnaz, 8-13.

17 Bonnaz, ‘Introduction’, lxviii-lxx; Howe, *Old English Catalogue Poems*, 15 also presupposes a relationship between the encyclopedic tradition and Old English catalogue poems. However, he cannot point to direct borrowings.

eleventh-century section of the so-called Roda Codex, the same catalogue features alongside a whole section of texts related to Isidore, including his praise of Spain, the ‘Enquiry’ of Spain, the Seven Wonders of the World, and the 72 languages of the world, which were said to have sprung forth from God’s punishment for mankind’s hubris in building the Tower of Babel.¹⁸

This early list is thus embedded in much geographical ‘knowledge’ as well as texts on grammar and language. The list of distances between Roman towns in the Codex Aemilianensis indeed stems from the ancient itinerary tradition of recording the routes to destinations.¹⁹ However, this catalogue of ethnic groups did not primarily serve practical reasons, such as travel. Indeed, what practical travel knowledge would this list offer an Asturian pilgrim – a list which speaks of the knowledge of the Chaldeans, or peace of the Ethiopians? This, however, was not the point. The scribe in Rioja, although not planning on making any road trip himself, included his (or copied an older lost version of another scribe’s) world view of peoples and their characteristics foremostly as a reference tool for reading, meditation and memorization. The medieval ethnic catalogue’s primary function was an ethical-mnemonic device to ruminate on the sinfulness of peoples within the concept of time and space. As such, these references prompted the monk to ponder about human diversity and vice. The list of 72 nations (said to have arisen from the confusion of languages) in this manuscript thus prodded the monk to recall how humanity – once united linguistically – had become confused and scattered across the earth as a result of God’s wrath, as recorded in Genesis. The list of ethnic groups – the scattered nations across the face of the earth – and their virtues and vices further enticed the monk to rethink the fate of human diversity in his mind, especially in regards to the embracement of Christianity. This he learned to do off by heart; such texts functioning as mnemonic tools of remembering.²⁰ Instead of embarking on a material journey, the scribe thus went on an emotional one, chewing on the words and images in his mind, painting the images, as Jerome had said, in his heart.²¹

Food for thought

This leads to the question what the monks were chewing on. Where did their food for thought come from? The ethnic reputations were the reaping of centuries of learned religious and literary

18 Real Academia de la Historia, MS 78 f. 196v. In another manuscript, Madrid, MS X 161. of the eleventh or twelfth century, the same catalogue again precedes the 72 languages, and the Six Ages of the World. Both Madrid, MS X 161 and MS 78 (see below) are also preceded by a section containing Orosius’ *Historiae adversum paganos*.

19 Some of these lists, such as the late third-century Antonine Itinerary charting land and sea routes, were carefully preserved in several manuscript collections; around 700, the famous *Ravenna Cosmography* lists circa five thousand geographical locations. Emily Albu, ‘Imperial Geography and the Medieval Peutinger Map’, in *Imago Mundi* 57/2 (2005) 136-148, here at 137-138.

20 See further chapter 5 for the relation between mnemonics and rhetoric, as discussed in Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*.

21 Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 132-134.

historiographical tradition.²² Knowledge of the diversity of mankind was gathered partly from classical tradition (stereotypes often originally based on climate theory, but whether the monks were aware of this is uncertain) and medieval encyclopaedias. Some of the characterizations can be stamped as ‘classical secular knowledge’: the Franks’ ferocity, the wrath of the Britons, the stupidity of the Saxons are commonplaces based on the unfavourable classical opinion of northern peoples as harsh, headstrong, unintelligent and fierce.²³

However, many characterizations stem either directly from, or in exegetical commentaries upon, the Pauline letters in the New Testament – letters written to evangelize and spread the message that the Messiah had arrived on earth and that the heavenly kingdom was nigh. In his exegetical commentary on the Galatians’ character trait of foolishness (foolish for choosing Mosaic Law above the Christian faith), for example, Jerome writes that ‘we have discussed in Paul’s letter to the Galatians how the Cretans are denoted as liars, the Galatians as stupid, or the Israelites as stiff-necked, or each province according to its own vice’.²⁴ This a scribe has condensed in the catalogue ‘The envy of the Jews. The astuteness of the Greeks’ in a tenth-century computus manuscript (Appendix VIII), and it is repeated and expanded by Robert Grosseteste around 1230: ‘The stiff-necked and grave hearted [= melancholy?] Jews, fickle Greeks, Cretan liars, ferocious Dalmatians, deceitful Moors, Franks swollen with rage, clever Athenians, indocile, senseless, slow-minded Galatians.’²⁵ Both refer to the Apostle Paul’s letters to community members residing among the Galatians and Cretans offering advice in proselytization; Epimenides’ paradox (the Cretan Epimenides’ claim that all Cretans are liars) is quoted in Paul’s letter to Titus to exemplify their unreliability.²⁶ Both center on how peoples, according to the character of the province where they come from, are deaf to the Christian message.

22 Stanzel, ‘Der nationalitätenschema’, 85 notes that most stereotypes in early modernity were drawn from an ethnographic-literary treasure store. I would however like to emphasize here the influence of Bible exegesis, whose commentators reinforced traditional stereotypes.

23 See Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden*, 187-194.

24 Jerome, *Patrologia Latina* 26, Col. 0574C: ‘Quomodo autem vel Cretenses mendaces, et stulti Galatae, vel dura cervice Israel, vel unaquaeque provincia proprio vitio denotetur, in Epistola Pauli ad Galatas disseruimus.’ See also Hrabanus Maurus, *Enarrationes in epistolas Beati Pauli*, *Patrologia Latina* 112, Col. 0672A.

25 Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek 321 f. 136: ‘Judei duri cervice et gravi corde Greci leves Cretenses mendaces Dalmate feroces Mauri vani Franci tumidi Athenienses ingeniosi Galate indociles, vecordes, tardiores ad sapientiam’. Robert Grosseteste, *Expositio in epistolam sancti Pauli ad Galatas* III 1, ed. James MacEvoy: ‘ut Cretenses mendaces, malae bestiae, uentres pigri; Mauri uani; Dalmatae feroces; Phrygae timidi; Athenienses ingeniosi; Graeci leues; Iudaei graues corde et dura ceruice’. Cf. Gabriel Meier, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis* (1899), vol 1, 292-294. It should be noted that the Einsiedeln catalogue does not include the fearful Phrygians mentioned by Grosseteste. The stiff-necked is a reference to Exodus 32:9 and Deuteronomy 9:13, where the Israelites break the covenant by constructing a golden calf in the absence of Moses, whilst he is receiving the Ten Commandments on Mount Horeb. God’s wrath threatens to destroy the idolators. The Germans are sometimes also called stiff-necked.

26 Titus 1:12.

Likewise, the envy of the Jews, and their stubbornness in rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, is prominent in many of these catalogues.²⁷ This image runs through the New Testament and Bible exegesis; it is, for example, evoked in a passage on Paul and Barnabas' preaching in Antioch, where their proselytizing success among the non-Jewish audiences was said to incite envy among the Jews, who ridiculed the evangelists and displayed stubbornness in their refusal to accept the Christian message.²⁸ Jews, it was thought, had failed to comprehend their own divinely prophesized destiny and therefore lived 'in error that they should have readily been able to understand and rectify'.²⁹ This is relevant as Augustine had taught that Jews played a crucial role in humanity's salvation, as their repentance and conversion to Christianity were deemed incumbent to Christ's Second Coming.³⁰ This would explain the prominent place of the Jews in the catalogues. Moreover, the worst sin of all, arrogance or pride (*superbia*), interpreted as rebellion against God and root of all evil, is attributed to Rome. This would again point to the biblical-exegetical origin of these characterizations, reflecting Rome's early persecution of Christians and the ambivalent shift in its reputation from the centre of civilization and *virtus*, as viewed in Roman antiquity, to a location of impiety, avarice, malice and other evils, as expounded in the Pauline letter to the Romans and frequently satirized in eleventh and twelfth century Latin poetry.³¹

In the same catalogue, some peoples are also compared to animals: the Saxons to horses, the Britons to goats, the Picts to beasts of burden, the Scots to birds.³² These comparisons are related to the moral lessons of medieval bestiaries, although these do not mention European peoples by name, and the monstrous races only by exception.³³ In medieval bestiaries he-goats (*hirci*) are associated with lust; the devil was believed to take on the guise of a goat in order to have sex with a female, a practice still going on in twelfth-century Ireland according to Gerald of Wales.³⁴ It is likely that

27 The term used is often 'stiff-necked'; see further chapter 7 note 66 and 69 for the stiff-necked Germans.

28 Acts 13:45. See Suzanne Lewis, 'Tractatus adversus Judaeos in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse', in *The Art Bulletin* 68/4 (1986), 543-566, here at 552 for apocalyptic images of Jewish obstinacy.

29 Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley 1997), 11.

30 Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* xvii 46 and xx 29 and *Tractatos adversus Judaeos*, *Patrologia Latina* 42, 51-67; Sermo 200, 2 in *Patrologia Latina* 38, 1030. See Lewis, 'Tractatus adversus Judaeos', 544 note 4 for further references. Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation. Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (New York 1990), 93; B. Blumenkranz, 'Augustin et les juifs; Augustin et le judaisme', in *Recherches augustiniennes* 1 (1958), 225-241.

31 Romans 1:18-32. Ingomar Weiler, 'Ethnographische Typisierungen im antiken und mittelalterlichen Vorfeld der "Völkertafel"', in Stanzel, Weiler and Zacharasiewicz (eds), *Europäischer Völkerspiegel*, 97-118, here at 107. For anti-Roman invective, see chapter 5 note 54 for further references.

32 See For another, much later example of comparing peoples to animals, see Berckenmeyer's *Curieuse Antiquarius* (printed in 1731), 10-12, wherein the Frenchman is compared to an eagle, the German to a bear, the Italian to a fox, the Spaniard to an elephant, the Englishman to a lion regarding their behaviour. Quoted in Stanzel, 'Zur literarischen Imagologie', 19.

33 Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*, 122-124.

34 Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica* II 23-24, ed. Dimock, 110, transl. O'Meara, 58. According to Jeffrey Cohen, we must view Gerald's remarks as part of his representation of women in corporal demonizing terms, at the same time expressing desire conjoined to disgust, cf. Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands', 93; Debra Hassig, 'Sex in the Bestiaries', in Debra Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast* (New York 2000) 72; in an Icelandic saga written before 1200, the Danes are ridiculed as goats and

these animal comparisons also, like the awaited conversion of the Jews, had an apocalyptic context, which will be discussed further below. In the twelfth-century *Hortus deliciarum*, written for the Benedictine Hohenburg nunnery (also known as Mont Sainte-Odile) in Alsace, a *versus rapportati* depicting a monster made up of animal parts, is accompanied by an eschatological text on the *Six Cities* (the city of angels, the worldly city, Jerusalem, Bablylon, hell, paradise respectively) with reference to Psalm 48:13, stating that man seeking honour will perish like beasts.³⁵ Eschatological animal imagery is also present in Rupert of Deutz' twelfth-century *On the Victory of God's Word*, where he relates the apocalyptic seven heads of the dragons to the kingdoms of Egypt, Israel, Babylon, the Persians and Medes, the Greeks, Romans and the Antichrist. The lioness symbols Babylon, the bear the Persians and Medes, the leopard the Greeks, the beast with the ten horns the Romans.³⁶ In the Ethiopic *Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and Earth*, in an Abyssinian manuscript spuriously identified as the lost 'Book of Enoch' in the seventeenth century, seven nations are similarly related to seven animals, for example Ishmaelites to wild asses, Canaanites to crows and Persians, in this case, to lions.³⁷ Here, the animals to which these peoples are compared, have an allegorical meaning (as in medieval bestiaries), within an eschatological context, as this catalogue is preceded by a passage on the Seven Earthquakes, prophesized in the Book of Revelation, upon the breaking of the sixth seal at the Final Judgment, which again concludes with animal imagery.³⁸ Animal comparisons continue to crop up in later sources such as John of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, comparing the English to foxes, the French to lambs, the Normans to large bears, the Britons to boars, and the Scots to lions.³⁹ Just as animals were allegorically compared to peoples, so they could also symbolize capital sins.⁴⁰

the Swedes as horse eaters, according to Koht a 'scornful term for pagans'. Koht, 'Dawn of Nationalism', 276. A twelfth-century Latin bestiary, on the other hand, speaks of the sharp eyesight of goats (*capri*), symbolizing God's omniscience, and the fiery warlike character of the horse. See for example *The Book of Beasts*, transl. T.H. White (New York 1984), 40-41 and 74-75.

35 Cf. Gérard Cames, 'A propos de deux monstres dans l'*Hortus deliciarum*', in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 11 (1968), 587-603, here at 587-589. More research needs to be done on imagery in twelfth- and thirteenth-century *distinctiones* and biblical glosses explaining animal allegory in relation to ethnicity.

36 Quoted by Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 80.

37 See *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth and Other Works of Bartholomaeus Anglicuskhayla Mîkâ'êl (Zôsîmâs)*, ed. and transl. E.A. Wallis Budge (London 1935), v-xx. It was later ascribed to an unknown fifteenth-century Bakhayla Mîkâ'êl, but parts of the manuscript may be older.

38 For medieval bestiary literature in general see for example Wilma B. George, *The Naming of the Beasts. Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* (London 1991); Hassig, *The Mark of the Beast*. See Revelations 6:1-8 for animal imagery in the Apocalypse. Cf. 'And hearken also to the word of the Prophets and Apostles, "There have gone forth from Jacob and the House of Israel those who are called sheep", even as Enoch saith, "From the ass of the desert shall be born an ox", that is to say, Abraham from Târâ, and a ram shall be born from the ram, which he saith is Jacob, from Isaac. And Esau he calls "a pig of the desert"'; *The Book of Mysteries*, 108. In Honorius of Autun's *Imago Mundi* XXVI, a number of cities are compared to animals: Rome to a lion, Brindisi to a deer, Carthage to an ox, Troyes to a horse.

39 John of Fordun, *Scotichronicon* II 126: 'Sculptor, dum sculpes Anglos, facies quasi vulpes, / Et Gallos agnos, Normannos fac bene magnos / Ursos, sed Britannos apros, Scotosque leones.' Walther, Scherz', 153a. Here the comparison is however that of a sculpted image. Cf. also K.F.W. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexicon* (Leipzig 1876), vol. 4, 648: 'Hispanus instar Elephantis, Italus instar Vulpis,

Chewing on the food of images both classical and exegetical, these monks were thus engaging in exercises to contemplate a people's proclivity to fall into sin and its role in the history of humanity. The purpose of these exercises was however not to succumb to the pitfalls of vice but to overcome these inclinations and achieve virtue by imitating good and avoiding evil.⁴¹ The rise of comparative ethnic catalogues in the tenth century can be viewed in line with a heightened attention to moral comparative admonition in this period. To this end, the fourth-century heuristic scheme developed by Prudentius was repeatedly employed to ruminate on the fate of mankind. In one of the most influential of allegorical pitched battles between good and evil, Prudentius' *Psychomachia* thus visualizes in words how Christianity overcomes heathen idolatry, Anger attacking Patience, Chastity beleaguered by Lust.⁴² It is especially within the comparative ethnic catalogues – notably those beginning with 'The Envy of Jews' – that this same moral function of the lists comes to light. More generally, around the ninth century, a rise in the production of treatises on virtues and vices (by among others Alcuin) also occurred in light of the Carolingian ethical reform.⁴³ The generation of the accumulative ethnic catalogue will be discussed further below.

Contrasting virtues and vices

Although none of the catalogues of peoples correspond directly to the Evagrian or Gregorian ethical systems of seven or eight deadly sins, and as such cannot be viewed as a systematic application of the cardinal sins or virtues to ethnicities, both are obviously closely related and aim at controlling the passions of the soul.⁴⁴ The medieval binary viewpoint of interpreting a thing by means of contrast – *in bono* and *in malo* – was indeed also applied to peoples and served an admonitory purpose.⁴⁵

How moral battles could be transformed into ethical devices of meditation in this period becomes clear from the following example. Just as Christianity battles heathen beliefs in Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, so does a pitched battle between the vices occur in Salvian of Marseilles' fifth-century *On the Governance of God*. In this highly moralistic work condemning the vices of the Christians in the late antique world – vices which are more damnable than those of the invading barbarians, because the latter lack the Word of God – Salvian engages rhetoric to drive his message home. The Christians are equally steeped in vice as the barbarians – 'the barbarians are unjust, and

Gallus instar Aquilae, Anglus instar Leonis, Germanus instar Ursi'; the text states: in relation to courage (the source is presumably much later).

40 Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept* (Ann Arbor 1967), 60.

41 Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 159.

42 Idem, 148.

43 Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Turnhout 1993), 114-120.

44 Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 66. Various systems existed. In the sixth century, Gregory the Great listed seven principal sins: vainglory, envy, wrath, sadness, avarice, gluttony and lust – all stemming from the sin of pride. Earlier, in fourth-century Egypt, the ascetic monk Evagrius had drawn up an eighth-fold system including pride. In 'Nationalitätenschema', 87, Stanzel also relates the early catalogues to the seven deadly sins.

45 Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*, 123.

so are we. The barbarians are avaricious, and so are we. The barbarians are unfaithful, and so are we. The barbarians are greedy, and so are we. The barbarians are lewd, and so are we.’⁴⁶ Yet the sin of the barbarians is less displeasing to God, as they are pagans. The Christians, on the other hand, should have known better. Salvian goes on to discuss a number of specific vices of the barbarians:

The Saxons are savage. The Franks are treacherous. The Gepidae are ruthless. The Huns are lewd. In short, the life of all barbarian nations is corruption itself. Do you think their vices have the same guilt as ours? Is the lewdness of the Huns as blameworthy as ours? Is the perfidy of the Franks as reprehensible as ours? Is the drunkenness of the Alemanni as blameworthy as the drunkenness of Christians? Is the rapacity of the Alani as much to be condemned as the greed of Christians? What is stranger if a Hun or Gepid cheats, he who is completely ignorant of the crime of cheating? What will a Frank who lies do that is new, he who thinks perjury is a kind of word and not a crime?⁴⁷

Salvian’s condescending excuses for the sins of the pagans serve here as a mirror for the Christian world. In the same tedious vein, he continues in book VII by contrasting virtues and vices among the barbarians (the same procedure was adopted by Tacitus in his praise of Germanic virtues in contrast to Roman decadence):⁴⁸ ‘The Goths are perfidious yet chaste, the Alani unchaste yet less perfidious, the Franks liars yet hospitable, the Saxons cruel in their savagery, yet admirable in their chastity. All these peoples thus carry in them certain bad but also good qualities.’ The only exception concerns the Africans, who in Salvian’s opinion were steeped in the typical evils of the southerner (consistent with climate theory): ‘Where inhumanity must be reprehended, they are inhumane; if drunkenness, they are drunk; if falseness, they are the most deceitful; if artifice, they are the most fraudulent; where cupidity, they are the most lustful; where perfidy, they are the most perfidious.’⁴⁹

46 Salvian of Marseille, *De gubernatione Dei* IV 14, Patrologia Latina 53 Col. 0086A: ‘Injusti sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus; avari sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus; infideles sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus; cupidi sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus; impudici sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus.’

47 Idem, Col. 0086C-0087A: ‘Gens Saxonum fera est, Francorum infidelis, Gepidarum inhumana, Chunorum impudica; omnium denique gentium barbarorum vita, vitiositas. Sed numquid eundem reatum habent illorum vitia quem nostra, numquid tam criminosa est Chunorum impudicitia quam nostra, numquid tam accusabilis Francorum perfidia quam nostra, aut tam reprehensibilis ebrietas Alani quam ebrietas Christiani, aut tam damnabilis rapacitas Alani quam rapacitas Christiani? Si fallat Chunus vel Gepida, quid mirum est, qui culpam penitus falsitatis ignorat? Si pejeret Francus, quid novi faciet, qui perjurium ipsum sermonis genus putat esse, non criminis?’

48 Meyvaert, ‘Voicing National Antipathy’, 747. However, Tacitus’ *Germania* was barely copied throughout the Middle Ages, excepting the monastery of Fulda in the ninth century. See F. Haverfield, ‘Tacitus during the Late Roman Period and the Middle Ages’, in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 6 (1916), 196-201.

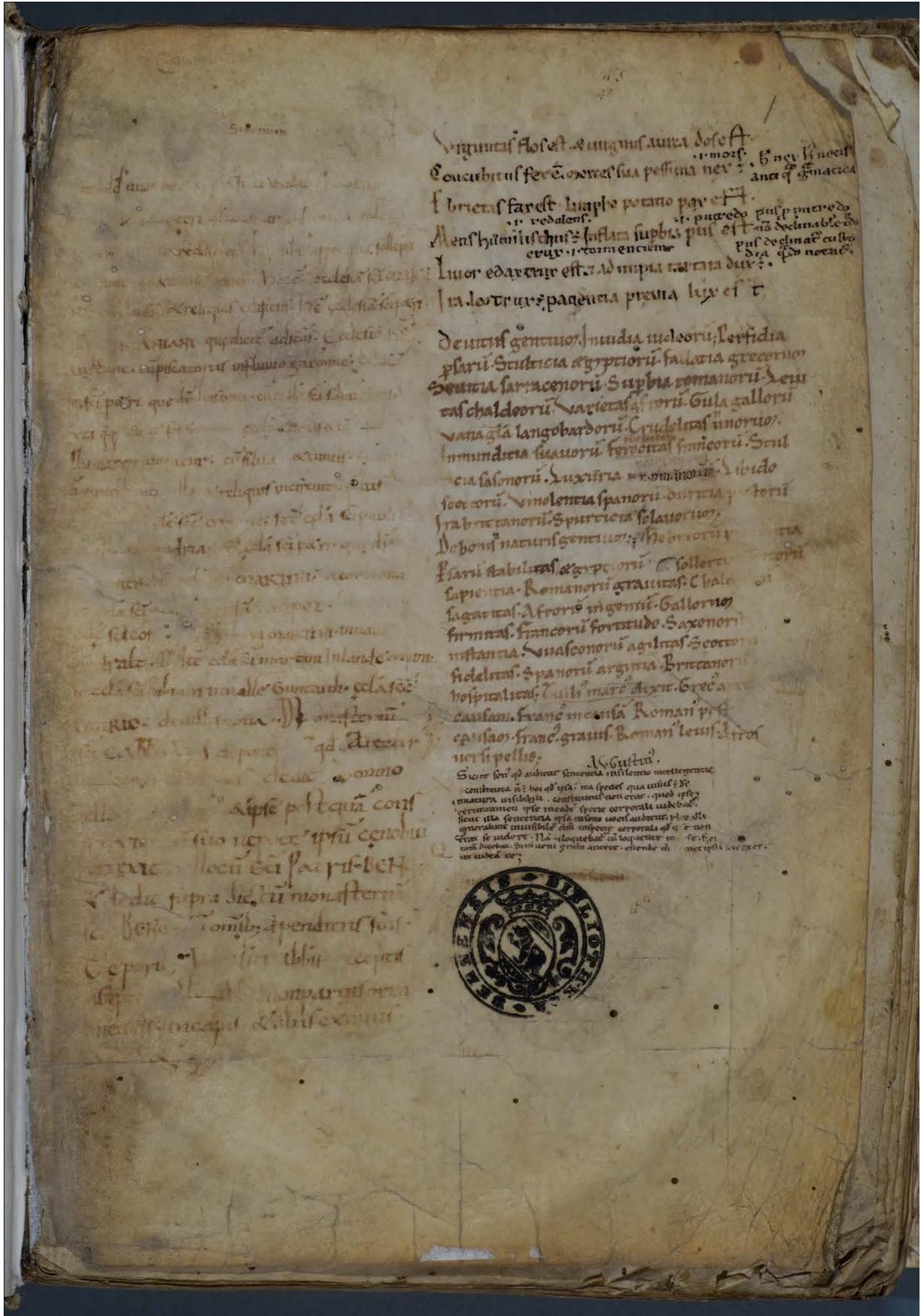
49 Salvian of Marseille, *De gubernatione Dei* VII 15, Patrologia Latina 53 Col. 0142C-0142D: ‘Gothorum gens perfida, sed pudica est; Alanorum impudica, sed minus perfida; Franci mendaces, sed hospitales; Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate mirandi. Omnes denique gentes habent, sicut peculiaris mala, ita etiam quaedam bona. (...) In Afris pene omnibus nescio quid non malum. Si accusanda est inhumanitas, inhumani sunt; si ebrietas, ebriosi; si falsitas, fallacissimi; si dolus, fraudulentissimi; si cupiditas,

How these two passages from Salvian's book could be transformed into ethical devices of rumination on the good and the bad becomes clear from a Carolingian manuscript from the eighth or ninth century currently held at the University of Leiden and possibly compiled at the monastery of St Gall. Taken from two different chapters, these two passages have been explicitly excerpted together as an independent *centos*. The manuscript further contains the Sibylline prophecies, epigrams and inscriptions, Roman monuments, Anglo-Saxon glosses, and excerpts from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.⁵⁰ As in the Codex Aemilianensis, the catalogue of peoples is preceded by (a more detailed version of) the Wonders of the World, expressing amazement at the created world. For this scribe, Salvian's diatribe was however worthwhile to stand on its own, as an excerpted entry on the evils and virtues of peoples. The manuscript thus displays the interweaving of 'knowledge', wonder at the world, and moral admonishment. As a separate list, Salvian's message was thus turned into an ethical tool, to ponder sin, possibly to learn off by heart.

These catalogues did not simply contain moral messages in order to avoid the pitfalls of sins, however. They should also be viewed within the context of the medieval epistemology of time, space, and God's creation and design. The interweaving of 'knowledge', meditation and morality in ethnic catalogues is thus tight-knitted in both content and form in relation to the passage of time and prophecy in a teleological Christian concept of salvation. Heresy and evil must be banished, and peoples must battle their inner vices, are they to achieve God's grace. In the final paragraphs of this chapter, I will therefore examine a specific function of these ethnic catalogues: as devices for the rumination of the world's expected end in time and space, from East to West. Not only did these ethnic catalogues serve to warn against moral pitfalls, they were interpreted specifically within the fundamental medieval world view of the expectation of the second world. Coursing from East to West, the ethnic vices could thus also be viewed as dominoes, ticking and toppling one another over. This will be explained below.

cupidissimi; si perfidia, perfidissimi.' Salvian concludes by saying that although these vices are present in other peoples, in the Africans they have gained the upperhand.

50 Cf. Meyvaert, 'Voicing National Antipathy', 747 note 11. The manuscript is Leiden Vossius Latin Q 69 f. 37r-38v.



Viginti flos est sanguis auma dose A.
 Concubitus ferē exeret sua pessima nex.
 f brieas far est lupis potano par e H.
 Mens hānūi schūi? infla supbia pui et t.
 Luor edax tūe est ad impu tū tūa dūx.
 In laor tūe paqētia pēua hū e t.

De uitis gentiu. Inuidia iudeoru. Perfidia
 plari. Sculticia egyptioru. Inuidia grecoru
 De uita sarracenu. Supbia romanoru. Deu
 tal chaldeoru. Varietas sarroru. Gula galloru
 Vana glā langobardoru. Crudelitas unoru.
 Inmundicia sarroru. Furciosa francoru. Scul
 cia sarroru. Luxuria romānōrū. Inuidia
 sarroru. Inuidia spanoru. Duritia patoru
 Inuidia britanoru. Spurcicia selauoru.
 De boni naturis gentiu. Inuidia romānōrū
 Inuidia stabulans egyptioru. Sollicitudo romanu
 Inuidia. Romanoru grauitas. Chaldeoru
 Inuidia. Afroru in geniu. Galloru
 Inuidia. Francoru fortitudo. Saxonoru
 Inuidia. Sualconoru agilitas. Sarroru
 Inuidia. Spanoru arguta. Britanoru
 Inuidia. Inuidia. Inuidia. Inuidia. Inuidia.
 Inuidia. Inuidia. Inuidia. Inuidia. Inuidia.



Bern MS 48 f.1, 'Envy of the Jews, Perfidy of the Persians'; 11th century

Peoples in time and space

A recurrent strain in medieval thought held that the world and all things in it, including mankind, were signs of God's providence, foresight and mystery. As such, the creation was viewed as something which could be read, as a 'book of nature', through which God revealed his truth.⁵¹ Nature, in short, was not autonomous but bore meaning.⁵² At the same time, the form of the list – which resembles numerical matter by its accumulative nature – represented the embodiment of the divine order.⁵³ Numbers might reflect the harmony of the cosmos and the perfection of the creation, but were also interpreted in relation to the passage of time, especially in apocalyptic thought. Just as medieval annals placed events within a temporal frame – listing events in relation to time and the awaiting of the Last Things – so lists, too, of kings or empires could mark the advance of time.

Furthermore, Evelyn Edson has elaborately demonstrated how medieval maps, more than a realistic representation of geographical fact, reflect the prophesized history of the world from its creation to the day of reckoning.⁵⁴ As such they are theologized medieval pictures.⁵⁵ These images depict time in relation to space, from the genesis in the East, where Paradise is located, in slow progression to the West. The Book of the Apocalypse is the cornerstone to this concept of creation, foretelling the end of the world and of time. It is this underpinning concept of time in relation to space that bore the measurement of time in lists of genealogical generations, in computus calculations, in listings of days, months. Lists containing genealogies, geographical information and computus material, which frequently accompany *mappae mundi* in the manuscripts, are as such about the measurement of time, listing dates in relation to space. Numerous *mappae mundi*, indeed, contain extracts of geographical knowledge in the form of lists, drawn not only from Isidore but also for example Orosius, with lists of the seas and winds, provinces and cities.⁵⁶

Significantly, many of the earlier ethnic catalogues are in manuscripts containing computus material, calculating the Easter calendar and measuring time, demonstrating the relation between cosmos and humanity in time and space.⁵⁷ As mentioned above, world maps were often incorporated in computus manuscripts from the Carolingian period onwards.⁵⁸ Especially the

51 Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, 122.

52 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York 1994), 126.

53 Daniel Anlezark, 'Understanding numbers in London, British Library, Harley 3271', 137-155, here at 140. Available on Cambridge Journals Online, *Anglo-Saxon England* 01 Mar 2010.

54 Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, esp. chapter 4.

55 Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time', 514.

56 See for example the manuscript containing the Albi map dating from the last half of the eighth century and compiled in Spain. It includes the *Notitia Galliarum*, listing the provinces of Gaul, and 'De nominibus Gallicis', on the meaning of Gallic place names. Cf. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 32; see also Edson, 'World Maps', Figure 4, on page 31, for a 'list map' in the British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.XII f.64 of the tenth century.

57 For example, the tenth-century Einsiedeln MS 321; cf. Appendix VIII; E. Edson, 'The Medieval World View: Contemplating the Mappamundi' in *History Compass* 8/6 (2010) 503-517, here at 508.

58 Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 61.

‘centrifugal computus manuscript’, classified as such by Faith E. Wallis, contains a miscellany of subjects related to time, including geography, genealogy, prognostication and medical texts and recipes.⁵⁹ Geographical texts in computus manuscripts often concern excerpts from Pliny, Isidore or the *Marvels of the East*, an Old English prose text composed around the year 1000.⁶⁰ Besides the computus calculations, the passing of time is measured in genealogies, lists of bishops, texts on night, the year, and the moon.⁶¹ The famous eleventh-century Ripoll manuscript which contains at its heart Easter cycles and a medieval map thus exemplified ‘the vision of an orderly universe, classified and described to reveal the divine plan’.⁶²

As discussed in chapter 1, the concept of the course of time and space was construed, as Edson puts it, with ‘one of the primary tools of medieval historical thinking’: the westward progression of the empires throughout time – from Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece (Macedonia), to Rome in the West, echoing the eschatological prophesy in the Book of Daniel, composed during the Maccabean revolt.⁶³ Naturally, this was a historical concept, in which time and place were bound together, each corner of the earth the stage for one of the four kingdoms as part of the divine plan, as Orosius had set out in his *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*.⁶⁴

The ethnic catalogue seems to follow a similar principle of order – and is as such not the jumble it seems on first sight.⁶⁵ At first glance these lists (especially after the eleventh century) appear in many variants containing differences both in content (mentioning different peoples) as well as in order. This would seem to concur with Ingrid Baumgärtner’s observations about the mutability of medieval maps.⁶⁶ For example, two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the eleventh century both contain ethnic lists which are very similar in content yet at variance regarding their internal order. Below are both side by side:

The wisdom of the Greeks

The envy of the Jews

The pride of the Romans

The generosity of the Longobards

The victory of the Egyptians

The envy of the Jews

The wisdom of the Greeks

The cruelty of the Picts

59 Idem, 73; Faith Elena Wallis, ‘MS Oxford, St John’s 17: a Medieval Manuscript in its Context’, University of Toronto Dissertation (1985), 610-639.

60 Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 74.

61 Idem, 75.

62 Idem, 80; Ingrid Baumgärtner, ‘Die Welt im kartographischen Blick: Zur Veränderbarkeit mittelalterlicher Weltkarten am Beispiel der Beatustradition vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert’, in Wilfried Ehbrecht, Angelika Lampen, Franz-Joseph Post and Mechtild Siekmann, *Der weite Blick des Historikers: Einsichten in Kultur-, Landes- und Stadtgeschichte. Peter Johaneck zum 65. Geburtstag* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2002), 527-549, here at 537.

63 Daniel 7. Again, in Daniel’s dream, the four empires appear as animals: a lion with the wings of an eagle; a bear; a four-headed panther with four wings; and a ten-horned beast. Cf. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, 158.

64 Lozovsky, *The Earth Is Our Book*, 73-74.

65 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, xviii.

66 Baumgärtner, ‘Die Welt im kartographischen Blick’.

The sobriety of the Goths	The strength of the Romans
The enthronement of the Franks	The generosity of the Longobards
The gluttony of the Gauls	The gluttony of the Gauls
The wrath of the Britons	The pride or ferocity of the Franks
The stupidity of the Saxons	The wrath of the Britons
The passion of the Scots	The stupidity of the Saxons or Angles
The cruelty of the Picts. ⁶⁷	The passion of the Scots. ⁶⁸

Although the second list jumps from the Greeks to the Picts, and although the catalogues lack a rigid order of progression from East to West, or a clockwise direction from east, to south, to west, to north, as in Isidore's description of the winds, still most of the earlier examples of ethnic lists do commence with the ancient peoples of the east: the Greeks, Jews, Chaldeans, Egyptians. Catalogues then normally move towards Rome and finally westwards to the Franks, the Britons, the Saxons, and the Picts.⁶⁹ As such, these lists can be placed on the patristic east-west axis of identity. Both in space (from east to west) and time the lists reflect progression, as they conclude with the ethnic groups to whom the scribes might belong – as history comes home, so to speak.

As mentioned in chapter 1, this westward progression might be related to a specific strain of medieval theological thought: that throughout time events passed from East to West, where eventually God's realm would bring this sublunary to its end.⁷⁰ Humanity was created in the East (where Paradise is located on the *mappae mundi*),⁷¹ and would cease to exist when events had reached the farthest boundaries of the West; then the day of reckoning would dawn. In the twelfth

67 British Library, Cotton Caligula A. XV f. 122 v.: 'Sapientia Grecorum. Invidia Judeorum. Superbia Romanorum. Largitas Longobardum . Sobrietas Gothorum. Elevatio Francorum. Gula Gallorum. Ira Brittonum. Stultitia Saxonum. Libido Scottorum. Crudelitas Pictorum.' It is mentioned by Thomas Wright in *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (1842) vol. 1, 43 note. The manuscript further contains entries on medicine, the moon, stars and winds. The reference to the Picts may reflect the ethnic origin of the scribe. See Appendix I.

68 Harley 3271 f. 6v.: 'Victoria Aegiptiorum. Invidia Judeorum. Sapientia Graecorum. Crudelitas Pictorum. Fortitudo Romanorum. Largitas Longobardorum. Gulla Gallorum. Superbia vel ferocitas Francorum. Ira Britanorum. Stulticia Saxonum vel Anglorum. Libido Hibernorum.' See Appendix III. A facsimile is printed in R.H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* II (Oxford 1952), plate 53, 388. The list is attached to the Tribal Hidage. Daniel Anlezark writes that Scribe C (the manuscript contains various hands) was possibly responsible for the compiling of the composite manuscript, and that he was writing in 1032; see Anlezark, 'Understanding numbers in London', 154-155. The sixteenth-century French Pierre Hamon, who compiled the first 'palaeographic tract', inserted the same list in his manuscript (now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 19116 f. 40v.), as an example of Saxon writing, which was presented to him by an Englishman named 'Giovan Schuz' on 7 July 1567. Which manuscript Mr. Schuz was showing him, is unknown. See H. Omont, 'Le recueil d'anciennes écritures de Pierre Hamon' in *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartres* 62 (1901), 57-73, here at 70. Flach, *Les Origines de l'ancienne France*, 128, dates the manuscript to 1064, but for unknown reasons (the entry before the list mentions the date 969 in a charter).

69 Howe, *Old English Catalogue Poems*, 24-25.

70 S. MacKenzie, 'The Westward Progression of History on Medieval Mappaemundi', in P.D.A. Harvey, *The Hereford World Map*, 335-344; Edson, 'Mappamundi', 508. This scheme was based on Daniel 2:31-45, who speaks of the successive realms of gold, silver, bronze and iron.

71 See chapter 1.

century Hugh of St Victor (c. 1096-1141), who taught at the monastic Augustinian school of St Victor in Paris, put this clearly:

The order of space and time seems to be in almost complete correspondence. Therefore, divine providence's arrangement seems to have been that what was brought about at the beginning of time would also have been brought about in the East – at the beginning, so to speak, of the world as space – and then as time proceeded toward its end, the centre of events would have shifted to the West, so that we may recognize out of this that the world nears its end in time as the course of events has already reached the extremity of the world in space.⁷²

The westward progression in time was however not merely restricted to events. Among some theologians, including Hugh of St Victor, this apocalyptic concept of the world's termination in the West was additionally tied to the idea that this would be achieved when Christianity had reached the farthest reaches of the West. Evelyn Edson has noted that there was a belief that the gospel spread from East to West in the direction of the far reaches of the British Isles and Spain. And here reflections on ethnic characterizations enter the stage. Just as the apostles bring Christianity to the boundaries of the world following a geographical order in the Old English poem *The Fates of the Apostles*, so the enduring vices of peoples both ancient and contemporary were agents of events past, present and future.⁷³ Within this concept, the willingness of peoples to embrace the Christian message and overcome any ethnic tendencies to fall into vice, thus went hand in hand. As becomes clear from the manuscripts in which some of the early ethnic catalogues are embedded, it is within this specific context that some of these lists should be placed.

⁷² Hugh of St Victor, *De Arca Noe morali* IV 9, in *Patrologia Latina* 176 Col. 677D: 'Ordo autem loci, et ordo temporis fere per omnia secundum rerum gestarum seriem concurrere videntur, et ita per divinam providentiam videtur esse dispositum, ut quae in principio temporum gerebantur in Oriente, quasi in principio mundi gererentur, ac deinde ad finem profluente tempore usque ad Occidentem rerum summa descenderet, ut ex ipso agnoscamus appropinquare finem saeculi, quia rerum cursus jam attingit finem mundi'; quoted from Edson, 'Mappamundi', 507-508.

⁷³ Howe, *Old English Catalogue Poems*, 24. See also Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World. Geography, Literature and English Community 1000-1534* (2006).

The evangelical viewpoint is also connected to at least two manuscripts containing ethnic catalogues: in a manuscript containing the dictionary of Papias; and in a manuscript preserving a collection of letters by Yves of Chartres, Anselm, Seneca and Cicero. In both manuscripts, the peoples' vices ('De vitiis gentium') are contrasted with their virtues ('De virtutibus gentium'), in the tradition of the combat between Good and Evil.⁷⁵ The ethnic characteristics are highly stereotypical and run along the lines of climate theory, the southerners fickle yet intelligent, the northerners ferocious and stupid, yet strong and full of endurance:

The envy of the Jews,	The prudence of the Hebrews.
The perfidy of the Persians,	The steadfastness of the Persians.
The cunning of the Egyptians,	The ingenuity of the Egyptians.
The deceit of the Greeks,	The wisdom of the Greeks.
The savagery of the Saracens,	The dignity of the Romans.
The fickleness of the Chaldeans,	The sagacity of the Chaldeans.
The inconstancy of the Africans,	The intelligence of the Africans.
The gluttony of the Gauls,	The durability of the Gauls.
The vainglory of the Longobards,	The strength of the Franks.
The cruelty of Huns,	The perseverance of the Saxons.
The uncleanness of the Suevi,	The agility of the Gascons.
The ferocity of the Franks,	The faithfulness of the Scots.
The stupidity of the Saxons,	The acuteness of the Spanish.
The hardness of the Picts,	The hospitality of the Britons.
The luxury of the Gascons,	The alliance of the Normans.
The passion of the Scots,	The Greek is enraged beforehand, the
The winebibbing of the Spaniards,	Frank during, the Roman afterwards.
The wrath of the Britons,	The strong Frank, the grave Roman,
The filth of the Slavs,	the crafty African, Tullius Marcus has
The rapacity of the Normans.	said.
	The always cunning African. The
	always skilful Roman. The always

2, 3b; Von den Brincken, *Fines Terrae*, illus. 17. See also Englisch, *Ordo Orbis Terrae*, 347-362. Their mission destinations are mentioned on nearly all the 15 known Beatus maps (without actually depicting the head). A Beatus map image was also depicted on the chapel wall of San Pedro de Rocas in southern Galicia, including the heads of the apostles. See Serafín Moralejo, 'El mapa de la diáspora apostólica en San Pedro de Rocas: notas para su interpretación y filiación en la tradición cartográfica de los "Beatos"', in *Compostellanum* 31 (1986), 315-340. According to Baumgärtner, there are four manuscripts with apostle's heads; see 'Die Welt', 542.

⁷⁵ In Codex Matritensis v 191, printed by John M. Burnam, 'Miscellanea Hispanica', in *Modern Philology* 12/3 (1914), 165-70, here at 169; and in Namur 118 f. 6v-7r. In the Codex Matritensis, list has been inserted at the close by a thirteenth-century hand. However, the earliest known manuscript containing a similar contrastive list, Bern 48 f. 1 dates from the eleventh century. The Namur manuscript, containing the letter collection, dates from the twelfth century, according to Paul Faider, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 200. See *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 11 (Berlin 1894), 389-390. Cf. Kot, 'Old International Insults', 186; Meyvaert, 'Voicing National Antipathy', 747.

sluggish Gaul. The always quick Iberian.⁷⁶

Directly following this catalogue is the Byzantine apocryphal list on Christ's preachers and disciples, the preachers of the faith and teachers of peoples, who sent out to spread the word, each taking on their own people: 'Peter Rome. Andrew Albania. Jacob Spain. John Asia. Thomas India. Matthew Macedonia. Phillip Gaul. Bartholomew Lycaonia. Simon Egypt. Matthew Judea. Jacob, the Lord's brother, Jerusalem. Judas, Jacob's brother, Mesopotamia. The apostle Paul, together with the other apostles, was not given his own part because he is master of all and elect priest' – a list which, according to some scholars, the famous Beatus map was in fact designed to accompany.⁷⁷

The comparative ethnic catalogue is here thus directly followed by a list summing up how the apostles each spread to the corners of the earth to proselytize. It is likely that both the text and accompanying images in the Beatus manuscripts, the ethnic catalogues and the list of the apostles were gathered for monks to meditate on the Last Things.⁷⁸ This concept of the end of time in concurrence with the spread of the gospel and eventual Christianization of humanity, also explains the prominence of the Jews and other non-Christian peoples at the beginning of the catalogues. There was the notion, as said above, based upon Augustine's writings, and influenced by the writings of the fourth-century North African Donatist Tyconius, that the end of the world would come once all of humanity had been converted to Christianity.⁷⁹ The Apocalypse and Second Coming of Christ, the *parousia*, should not however in Augustine's view, be calculated literally according to the prophesy of the Book of Revelations, as the chiliasts believed. Instead, each individual should concentrate on attaining God's grace and thus avoid damnation.⁸⁰ Given, however, that ethnic groups had an 'essential' character, as Isidore had etymologized, it is seemingly natural that the focus would lie on the fate of peoples in relation to the question whether they might attain God's grace, despite the fact that they were hampered by their 'innate' ethnic vice. This is why, as discussed in chapter 3, Raoul Ardent in his sermon on the Pauline letter to the Galatians, summons

76 Bern MS 48 f. 1. See Appendix VI for Latin text and other variants.

77 'Petrus romam. Andreas albaniam. Iacobus hispaniam. Johannes asiam. Thomas indiam. Mattheus macedoniam. Philippus galliam. Bartholomaeus licaoniam. Simon zelotes egiptum. Mathias iudeam. Iacobus frater domini ierosalem. Judas frater iacobi mesopotamiam. Paulo apostolo cum ceteris apostolis nulla sors propria data est quia in omnibus magister est et predicator electus.' Different versions of the list are also quoted by Beatus of Liébana, *Beati in Apocalapsin Libri Duodecim*, Henry A. Sanders (ed.), 116-117, based on Isidore, *Etymologiae* VII 9, 1-4: 'Peter Rome, Andrew Acaia, Thomas India, James Spain, John Asia, Matthew Macedonia, Philip Gaul, Bartholomew Licaonia, Simon Zelotes Egypt, James the brother of the Lord Jerusalem' and in 'De Ortu et Obitu Patrum' in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 83 Col. 154, which is sometimes attributed to Isidore, and also includes Thaddeus and Matthias. See John Williams, 'Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map', in *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997), 7-32, here at 7-8. Cf. T.D. Kendrick, *St James in Spain* (London 1960), 188-189; Baumgärtner, 'Die Welt', 530, 542; Englisch, *Ordo Orbis Terrae*, 336-364.

78 Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 152-155.

79 Cf. Romans 11:25-27.

80 See Paula Fredriksen, 'Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse', in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (eds), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London 1992), 20-38.

the ethnic groups to overcome their 'innate' ethnic vices in order to be reborn in Christ.⁸¹ As such, each nation held its own place in the history of salvation.

Apocalyptic visions

It is possible that some scribes wrote down these catalogues under express chiliastic expectations that the world was to come to an end after the Sixth Age of Man had passed, six thousand years after the creation of the world. The manuscripts containing these catalogues include entries on the Six Ages, or other apocalyptic texts.⁸² The period and location in which these catalogues first appear – the tenth century – might in this respect also indicate a prophetic context. The earliest known catalogue, the 'Wisdom of the Greeks', is contained in an Iberian manuscript including the *Albelda Chronicle*, which is closely related to two other texts, the *Chronicle of Alphonse III* and the *Prophetic Chronicle*.⁸³ Both the *Alphonse Chronicle* and the *Prophetic Chronicle*'s theme is the recovery of Iberia from the Saracens. Within eighteen months the Goths, God's chosen people, so the chronicles prophesize, will overcome their enemy as the Israelites had in Babylon, and liberate Spain, their Judea.⁸⁴ In the *Prophetic Chronicle*, reflecting on Ezekiel 38-39, the Goths are associated with Gog; Israel (the promised land) is accordingly transmuted into a territory inhabited by the Ishmaelites.⁸⁵ The insertion of Isidore's praise of Spain in the Roda Codex might also be interpreted within this context, as it depicts a Canaanite land of milk and honey. As a result of their own sins (as usual, widespread fornication by ecclesiastics), God has sent the Saracens (in the *Alphonse Chronicle* called Chaldeans, a common nomenclature for Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula) to punish the Goths as a scourge for their sins.⁸⁶ The Ishmaelites (or Chaldeans) will however rule for a mere 170 years. In order to calculate how long the Ishmaelites had already reigned over Iberia, the *Prophetic Chronicle* contains genealogies and lists of the reigns of Muslim leaders. This leads to the convenient prediction that they will be driven out in the following year, in 884.⁸⁷ As said above, the earliest known ethnic catalogue is closely related to these Asturian

81 See chapter 3 for 'innate characteristics' of peoples.

82 The above catalogue contrasting virtues and vices in another thirteenth-century manuscript, for example, is preceded directly by 'On the End of the World' (*De fine mundi*) (and further Dares Phrygius) and 'On Simon the Sorcerer' (*De Simone mago*). In Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 2874 f. 64v.; cf. Appendix VI.

83 Both the *Albelda* and the *Alphonse Chronicle* also contain continuations of Isidore's *History of the Goths*.

84 Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 45-47. For more on the Goths as a Chosen People, see J.N. Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', in Gustavo Vinay (ed.), *La storiografia altomedievale: 10-16 aprile 1969* (Spoleto 1970), 261-311.

85 This belief was possibly inspired by Mozarab churchmen who were actively influencing the Asturian kings as successors of the Goths. Tolán, *Saracens*, 98-99.

86 Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 52-54. For other examples of the Saracens as Chaldeans, see for instance Tolán, *Saracens*, 88 and 94 on Eulogius of Córdoba's use of the name Chaldeans. See further chapter 9 for chosen peoples and the prelapsarian state.

87 Tolán, *Saracens*, 98-99.

chronicles prophesizing the downfall of Islam in Iberia at the hands of the Goths, God's chosen people.

Whether or not this should be interpreted within an eschatological framework, remains the subject of debate. There is discussion among scholars whether eighth-century Beatus of Liébana himself actually believed that Christ's Second Coming was imminent. Some scholars claim he considered the Spanish Adoptionist movement (which claimed that Christ was God's adopted son) and its defender, the Toledan Archbishop Elipandus, as the embodiment of the Antichrist.⁸⁸ However, as John Williams has argued, it is more likely that Beatus was an adherent of the Tyconian belief that the Second Coming was unknown to man.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, in his own day, the approaching year 800 was certainly believed by many as the end of the Sixth Age of Man upon which the events prophesized in the Apocalypse would unfold. When Christ refused to appear in the eastern skies, expectations and calculations were subsequently shifted to the ninth and tenth centuries. All the maps depicting the heads of the apostles date from the tenth century or later.⁹⁰ The tenth century, wherein the first ethnic catalogues appear, also witnessed a high production of copies of Beatus' commentary on the Apocalypse. It was also a period of growing anti-Islamic sentiment in Iberia and Sicily and the expressed belief that Muhammad himself was the Antichrist.⁹¹ This was certainly the tenor of the *Alphonse Chronicle* and the *Prophetic Chronicle* containing the earliest known ethnic catalogues. The apocalyptic fear, and the high production of Beatus copies, would continue through to the twelfth century.⁹²

Chosen peoples and salvation

The location of the production centres of the earliest catalogues – Asturia, home of the 'chosen people' of the Goths – points to the influence of apocalyptic expectations in the tenth century. By the eleventh century, Anglo-Saxon monks were also expressing a heightened awareness of the imminent end of time. This was the period when Wulfstan was issuing his dark sermons on the showering of destruction upon the Anglo-Saxon people because of their damning sins.⁹³ The catalogue 'Victory of the Egyptians' (Appendix III), which is inserted directly after the so-called Tribal Hidage, again presents an 'apocalyptic interest in numbers' – as the ages in history proceed to their end – and suggests 'a new Christian order promised in the symbolic numbers of the Old Testament, and

88 Kevin R. Poole, 'Beatus of Liébana: Medieval Spain and the Othering of Islam', in Karolyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan (eds), *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from antiquity to Modernity* (place 2009), 49-51, believes that this was the case.

89 John Williams, 'Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus of Liébana', in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca 1992), 217-233.

90 John Williams (ed.), *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London 1994-2003); Baumgärtner, 'Die Welt', 527-549.

91 Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 56. It must however be noted that the first known catalogue does not mention the Saracens.

92 Idem, 61. See also Whalen, *Dominion of God*, for twelfth-century apocalyptic thought.

93 Mary P. Richards, 'Wulfstan and the Millennium', in Michael Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000* (New York 2002), 41-48.

fulfilled in the New'.⁹⁴ Notably, the Anglo-Saxons also proclaimed themselves a chosen people, like the Goths. The Tribal Hidage, which is a division of 34 Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and tribes in England in hides of land, may also reflect the division of the Promised Land according to Joshua 15-22.⁹⁵

Catalogues of vices of peoples were thus expressions of a geographical and temporal progress of history and the role of humanity on its path to the end of time. In the tenth century, monks, first in Iberia but soon also elsewhere in Western Europe, took to noting the ethnic vices in catalogues in order to ruminate on ethnic sins, in order to avoid the pitfalls of vice and attain virtue. The urge to ponder on the sins and fate of peoples possibly increased as a result of the expectancy of the imminent end of time. At the same time, cataloguing and listing (not just in ethnic catalogues, but also for example in religious calendars or moral *dicta*) was a reflection of the divinely created order of the world in relation to time and space.

Things, as Augustine had put forward, carried in them intrinsic signs, through which mankind could grasp God's creation.⁹⁶ Things of nature were to be marvelled at, like the Seven Wonders of the World. As John Block Friedman wrote, in medieval intellectual thought 'every creature is a shadow of truth and life, and the natural world holds in its depths the reflections of Christ's sacrifice, the image of the Church militant and the various virtues and vices'.⁹⁷ Just as monstrous races thus epitomized virtues and vices as signs of God's providence, so the knowledge of mankind and the virtues and vices of peoples was fundamental in defining a people's role in the scheme of God's salvation and in serving as an ethical tool in order to overcome vice and obtain virtue.⁹⁸

Development of catalogues

From the eleventh century onwards, these ethnic catalogues found their way into many manuscripts. From the twelfth century, these catalogues, often jotted down in the margin or on the front or back folio cover instead of within an encyclopaedic context, transform into a marriage of traditional knowledge and contemporary observation.⁹⁹ This is evident from additions to the catalogue 'Envy of the Jews, Perfidy of the Persians' and 'Envy of the Jews, Wrath of the Britons' in thirteenth-century English manuscripts (Appendix VI), which speak of the rapacity and community of the Normans. Adaption to a contemporary world view is obvious in a version of the 'Wisdom of the Greeks' catalogue in a fourteenth-century Karlsruhe manuscript (Appendix IX), which now speaks of the lust (*luxuria*) of the Saracens, parsimony of the Tuscans, courtliness of the French and incomparable generosity of the English, popular reputations in twelfth-century Latin poetry and vernacular courtly

94 Anlezark, 'Understanding Numbers', 155.

95 Idem, 154.

96 See chapter 1.

97 Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*, 122-123.

98 Idem, 109.

99 For example, Augsburg Codex II 1.2 2° 90 f.1r.

literature.¹⁰⁰ In later periods, ethnocentric tendencies also become more discernable, for example in a Bohemian catalogue (Appendix IV, Dolný Kubín manuscript) where the scribe was at odds as to what to insert on the vices of the Bohemians – and left the space blank. The location of the production of the catalogues also travelled from south to north, and from Western to Eastern Europe, first by German settlers in the east, later, in the seventeenth century, followed by Polish writers.¹⁰¹

This development can be seen as part of a new attitude in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to incorporate contemporary cultural images reflecting expressions of ethnicity. A natural consequence of this new attitude was an eagerness to examine one's own experience within the world. Despite the fact that tradition placed high value on knowledge based on authority instead of that derived from geographical observation, the catalogues now evolved to include peoples and images representing twelfth-century views.¹⁰² Although the ethnic catalogue was thus originally an ethical religious tool, from the twelfth century onwards it would enter into the literary domain. That it could do so, and thus retain its relevance into early modern times, results from the fact that nearly all poetry and literature of the day was moral or 'wisdom literature', pointing to rules of conduct and knowledge of nature and mankind.¹⁰³ As such, within their rhetorical-mnemonic context, these images *had* to adapt to a new awareness of identity in order to retain their relevance and function as powerful images in the mind. In chapter 5, this literary development, influenced by new fresh textbooks of rhetoric, will be examined further.

100 See especially chapters 7 and 8 for images of the French and English. For Saracen lust, see Tolan, *Saracens*, 152; Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment', 125-126. Cf. Kot, 'Old International Insults' 186-187 note 6, for a similar later list dating from the sixteenth century onwards, in French, printed in *Instruction trèsbonne et trèsutile faite par Quatrains* (Lyon 1561).

101 Cf. Kot, 'Old International Insults', 182, 185.

102 See Lovozsky, *The Earth Is Our Book*, 139-144, for the weight of authority.

103 Howe, *Old English Catalogues*, 19.